Saudi Perceptions of Linguistic Representations for Women in Use of Arabic Language

Submitted by:

Miramar Yousif Damanhouri

A Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Integrated) in Applied Linguistics

School of Education,

Communication and Language Sciences,

Newcastle University

December 2013

Declaration

I declare that all the material which is not my own, has, to the best of my ability, been acknowledged. The material in this thesis has not been submitted previously by the author for a degree at this or any other university.

Signed: _____

Dedication

This work is dedicated:

to the souls of my mother and my father
who would be delighted today to witness
me reaching this stage

to my husband, Rajeh, and my lovely
daughter, Maryam for their love and
patience

Acknowledgements

I would like to begin by thanking Almighty Allah for making my dream come true by giving me the opportunity to see the conclusion of this work.

My sincere gratitude goes to my supervisor, Dr. Peter Sercombe, for his guidance, dedication and valuable advice. I would like to acknowledge that this work would not have been completed at this standard without his elaborative feedback.

A special thank goes to my father and my mother (may they rest in peace Insha Allah) who were always supportive by pushing me to pursue my education. Although they are not with me today, I really feel them collecting their harvest as a result of their efforts.

My heartfelt gratefulness goes to my husband and my daughter for sharing with me every step of this thesis and for accompanying me throughout my PhD journey. Of course, I would not forget to thank my brothers and my sister for their endless emotional support. Sister, thank you for making things easy for me especially during my fieldwork trip.

Finally, I would like to thank my colleagues who helped me in distributing and collecting the questionnaire, and the people who took part in this research by participating in the questionnaire and in the focus group discussions.

Abstract

The influence of the feminist movement on language and gender studies has been considerable over the past several decades across many languages. Such studies have sometimes identified linguistic sexism in these languages. Language professionals have shown the relation between language and the position of women in society by examining representations of the sexes in language systems and language use. These studies have contributed to language planning and language reform across many languages.

This study examines the complex relationship between linguistic representations of women and their social position in Saudi society. The results suggest the existence of linguistic sexism in the use of Arabic due to the constant absence, or marginalization, of women in many aspects of language. These are explored in this study as linguistic representations tend to symbolize men as the norm for human behaviour leading to women's marginalization in language and in society as well. For example, the generic use of masculine forms fails to convey the social recognition and inclusion of women, in theory and in practice, and sometimes leads to lexical gaps and cognitive confusion, for readers and or listeners of Arabic, where there is reference to gender. The results from this study also suggest the existence of an inter-relationship between language and the social reality of Saudi women in Saudi society. Accordingly, some recommendations regarding language reform have been suggested based on participants' views collected from the fieldwork data. In addition, and very importantly, the study shows that women's marginalization is a product of social norms rather than religious or legal norms.

Table of Contents

Table of Contents   x

List of Tables

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1. Background of the study

During the last ten years, the issue of women's rights has been the subject of investigation by social activists and writers in Saudi Arabia, which was blessed by his Majesty King Abdullah Bin Abdul-Aziz. This has contributed to positive changes in women's status in Saudi society with regard to employment and education opportunities, and other social rights (see sections 2.4.1.2 and 2.4.1.3). Now, women have more access to jobs that were previously dominated by men, especially jobs with high status, and they have equal opportunities with men in obtaining a scholarship to study abroad. They now have the right to participate in municipal elections as voters and as candidates. This research investigates women's rights from a different angle, that is, the linguistic right of recognition, in other words, the inclusion of women in theory and in practice. This study focuses on women's depiction in the Arabic language used in Saudi Arabia, in particular. The aspects of language explored in this study are based on different types of overt linguistic sexism[1], as discussed in other languages (see chapter 3). These aspects are: terms of address and reference for women, using the generic noun (masculine form) in job titles to refer to women in positions with high status, and using the generic noun (masculine form) to refer to women.

The study investigates if linguistic sexism exists in the use of Arabic language in Saudi. In Arabic, the gender of the noun is shown by forms, which are either feminine or masculine, and in associated adjectives, verbs, pronouns, and prepositions. If the noun is animate, then the gender corresponds to natural sex; thus /*rajul*/ man, and /*jamal*/ camel are masculine, while /*ʔum*/ mother and /*faras*/ mare are feminine. There are also many pairs where the unmarked form is masculine, for example, /*mucalimun*/ teacher, and the marked from is the feminine

---

[1] Mills (2008) compared between overt linguistic sexism and covert or indirect linguistic sexism. The former refers to the type of usage which can be straightforwardly identified as it signals to hearers that women are the inferior group in relation to males. The later refers to the humorous or ironic use of the language to reflect a stereotypical image of a man or a woman. For example in the TV advertisements for Burger King, the chorus for a song about the 'double meat whopper' is 'I am man'.

form /*mucalimatun*/ (Khalil, 1999). He adds that for inanimate nouns, feminine nouns generally have a feminine suffix while masculine nouns are unmarked. The other parts of speech, such as, verbs, adjectives, pronouns and prepositions must agree with the noun they refer to in person, number and gender (Khalil, 1999). Ferguson (1959) indicates that Arabic is a 'diglossic' language due to the existence of a higher and a lower register used in semi-exclusive contexts. The higher register is sometimes referred to as *fusha,* classical Arabic or standard Arabic, and the lower register is the colloquial form of language. The focus of this study is on the use of Arabic as prescribed rather that described. Saul (2003: 179-180) draws a distinction between descriptive and prescriptive grammar rule:

> descriptive grammarians take as their goal describing languages as they actually are – as they are spoken and written by their native speakers. Prescriptive grammarians are interested in languages as they should be.

This study tends to reveal the attitudes of a sample of Saudi males and females toward the relation between the depiction of women in these aspects of language and the social position of women in Saudi society. Whether the language is viewed as "a reflection of sexist culture," as Cameron (1990: 14) argues, or if it is used to construct the social reality of women as Spender (1980) believes, this is a major point to be investigated in this study. This topic is interpreted in the light of feminism and linguistic theory. From the beginning of feminism's Second Wave, language's relation to gender was at the centre of its concerns, and this interest has contributed to an increasing number of studies in many languages that show the impact of women's movement on language and communication.

Studies conducted across many languages regarding linguistic sexism have demonstrated that honorific systems in languages, for example, formal and informal forms, and terms of address, reflect discriminatory practices in terms of gender (e.g. Poynton, 1985). Pauwels (1996) indicates that the findings of studies regarding language and gender have shown that (a) women's terms of address and reference are largely defined according to the significant men in their lives, and (b) linguistic representations for women and men suggest asymmetrical treatment in terms of different parameters such as power, formality, marital status and age.

Consequently, dealing with the invisibility and the marginalization of women in different languages has been an important characteristic in feminist language planning efforts across

languages and cultures. Reforming practices have been taking place according to the language in question, whether it is a grammatical gender language or a natural gender language.

The main concern, objectives and questions of the study are set out below to justify the importance of the study, why it was chosen and what it is hoped to be achieved through its completion.

1.2. The main concern of the study

This study covers a topic that has not been discussed in studies related to gender issues in Saudi Arabia. Hopefully, one result of the study will be a push for gender equality in terms of linguistic representations.

The main concern of feminist language planning is linguistic representations and treatment of the sexes: the way in which we speak or write about women and men often expresses inequality and discrimination. Pauwels (1996:253) indicates that "men are treated and represented as the norm in language, setting the standards for human representation in language." She adds that women's linguistic representations are always determined according to this norm; women are either included under the linguistic norm (e.g. the generic use of the pronoun *he*), resulting in their invisibility, or women's representation is treated as a deviation from the 'male' norm (e.g. *poet-poetess*), leading to their 'marked' linguistic treatment. Feminist researchers believe that many languages express a bias in favour of men and against women (Miller and Swift, 1976; Spender, 1985; Cameron 1990; and Penelope, 1990). This bias affects both the structure and use of languages and has been called 'sexist'.

The main concern of this research is based on feminist language planning, which suggests alternative forms to sexist practices. According to Pauwels (1996:253), "feminist language planning efforts have a predominantly social rather than linguistic motivation: language reform is believed to contribute to an improvement in social equality, to an alleviation of a social problem." This research aims at reflecting the attitudes of Saudis toward the linguistic representations for women when addressing them or talking about them to investigate the existence of linguistic sexism in the use of Arabic language, and if alternative forms to sexist forms should be suggested in case the results of the study shows the existence of linguistic sexism in the use of Arabic.

1.3. Objectives of the study

In the middle of the 1970s, feminist linguists started exploring the relation between language and gender by identifying and criticizing sexist practices mainly in English, and in many other languages. The following are the objectives of this study, based on feminists' identifications of linguistic ways used to address women or refer to them in other languages:

- To identify if there are areas where the woman is marginalized in the use of Arabic to further understand the relation between these areas and the social position of women in Saudi society.

- To raise awareness about a topic that has not been discussed in studies related to language and gender in Saudi Arabia. This is because linguistic sexism cannot be detected unless serious studies are conducted to investigate the existence of this phenomenon in the language in question. For the past several decades, many studies have been conducted to look into the way languages represent and treat women and men, and they have shown linguistic sexism in many other languages (Pauwels, 1998).

- To reflect the attitudes of male and female Saudis toward the linguistic representations of women in the use of Arabic, and to see if these attitudes reflect linguistic sexism like other languages.

- To suggest alternative forms to sexist forms of the language in case the results show the existence of linguistic sexism in the use of Arabic.

The methods used in the study are based on these objectives which are explored from a phenomenological perspective. This perspective is a way to identify a phenomenon through how it is perceived by the actors in a situation. Phenomenological perspective explores subjective experience within the taken-for-granted, 'commonsense' world of the daily life of individuals. It emphasizes the spatial and temporal aspects of experience and social relationships (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006). This allows for the meaning of the phenomenon to be further understood and for the event to be described from the respondents' point of view (Lester, 1999). Lester adds that this can be achieved through gathering quantitative and qualitative data representing the perspectives of the research

participants. This approach enables the researcher to understand subjective experience and to gain insights into people's motivations, actions, reasons and understandings.

1.4. Study Questions

The research objectives are explored through the following questions, which are formulated based on aspects of the linguistic sexism discussed in chapter three.

1. Does linguistic sexism exist in the use of Arabic according to the perceptions of Saudi males and females?

    (a) Do terms of address and reference reflect the marginalization of women in society?

    (b) Is the female gender included in the use of the male form?

    (c) Does a reverse gender title in positions with high status and academic circles ignore women's identity?

2. How do Saudi males and females perceive the relation between the use of Arabic when addressing women, or referring to them, and the social position of Saudi women in society?

    (a) Do linguistic representations for women in the use of Arabic reflect the limited opportunities of women in the economic development in Saudi society and/or,

    (b) Are they used to construct the position of women in society?

3. What attitudes do Saudi males and females express about women's representations in the use of Arabic?

    (a) Is addressing a woman by her first name considered a linguistic right of recognition?

    (b) Should the female gender form be added to the male gender form? (see section 1.1)

    (c) Should alternative female titles be identified and used in academic circles and jobs with high status?

1.5. Significance of the study

Due to the scarcity of data and information about the issue of linguistic representations of men and women in Arabic language, this study provides a background to pave the way for future research in the area of language and gender, especially in Saudi Arabia. Arabic as a language has been absent from many important publications. For example, although Hellinger

and Bussmann's three volume *Gender across Languages* series provide a comprehensive collection of in-depth description of gender related issues in a total of 30 languages with very diverse structural foundations and socio-cultural backgrounds, in volume 1 there is only a reference to Moroccan Arabic which is considered just one variety of many varieties of Arabic language. In addition, Corbett's (1991) *Gender* looks at a huge range of languages; however, there are only four brief references to Arabic, which has a very complicated gender system.

This study provides an overview of the social position of women in Saudi society and how it is related to language use when addressing or talking about them. If the results confirm the existence of linguistic sexism in the use of Arabic language, alternative forms will be suggested in order to raise the status of women and to preserve their linguistic rights of recognition, similar to language reform strategies which have taken place in other languages.

1.6. Organization of the thesis

This thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter one outlines the main objectives, purpose and significance of the study, in addition to the study questions. Chapter two provides a brief historical background to the feminist movement and its relation to sociolinguistic research, especially in the area of language and gender, as well as the existence of feminism in the Arab-Muslim world in general, and the position of women in Saudi Arabia in particular. Chapter three identifies different types of overt linguistic sexism found in different languages, and language reform strategies in accordance with the language in question. The methodology used in the study, including the design of the survey and the focus group, is outlined in chapter four. Chapter five presents a detailed analysis and discussion of the perceptions of Saudi males and females toward the linguistic representations for women in use of Arabic. Chapter six summarises and concludes important points related to the study questions and objectives in the light of feminism and linguistic theory.

Chapter 2 Language and Gender

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the link between sociolinguistics and gender is considered in order to further understand how the feminist movement was triggered into criticizing early sociolinguistic studies, and then became interested in sociolinguistic research, especially in the area of language and gender. The historical background of the three waves of feminism is provided to appreciate the emergence of different schools of thought within the Second and the Third Waves of Feminism, and their understandings of language and gender. In addition, this chapter presents the existence of feminism in the Arab-Muslim world in general, and the position of women in Saudi Arabia in particular. Then, the theoretical position of the study will be identified accordingly.

2.2 Sociolinguistics and gender

Different definitions of sociolinguistics have been provided. Trudgill (1974:32) defines it as "that part of linguistics which is concerned with language as a social and cultural phenomenon. It investigates the field of language and society and has close connections with the social sciences, especially social psychology, anthropology, human geography and sociology." This definition draws the connection between linguistics and other fields of social sciences, and that what Labov's case studies show (discussed later in this section). Downes (1984:15) views sociolinguistics as a "branch of linguistics which studies those properties of language and languages which REQUIRE reference to social, including contextual, factors in their explanation." The importance of context in explaining linguistic properties is implied in this definition which corresponds to the notion of community of practice adopted by postmodern feminists (discussed later in this section). Sociolinguistics' aim is perceived by Holmes (1992: 6) as "to move towards a theory which provides a motivated account of the way language is used in a community, and the choices people make when they use language." This view implies a reciprocal relationship between language and social reality as people make linguistic choices which might reflect, and construct social reality.

In the 1970s, sociolinguistic interest in the relationship between language and gender was established as a result of Lakoff's (1975) study, *Language and Women's Place*. However, before considering this, the emergence of sociolinguistics and its links to formal linguistics, sociology, and anthropology are discussed.

The word 'sociolinguistics' was first used in 1939 by Thomas Hudson in the title of his article 'Sociolinguistics in India' in *Man in India*, and later in 1949 it was adopted in linguistics by Eugene Nida in the second edition of his *Morphology* (Paulston and Tucker, 2003). However, the concept of language as a social phenomenon is linked to Whitney (1867: 404), when he declares that:

> Speech belongs not to the individual, but to the member of society. No item of existing language is the work of an individual; for what we may severally choose to say is not language until it be accepted and employed by our fellows. The whole development of speech, though initiated by the acts of individuals, is wrought out by the community.

Kroeber (1988) indicates that the concept of the relation between language and society had passed along from Whitney to Saussure to Millet to Matinet to Weinreich to Labov. As early as 1872, Fukuzawa observed that dialects were not just specific to a region, as samurai and merchants spoke differently. This fact suggests that there is a relation between language and a speaker's social position, and the example indicates that in pre-modern Japan samurai and merchants were at the opposite ends of the social scale (Coulmas, 2005). In addition, there were many attempts in understanding the relation between language and society. For example, Jespersen (1922) claimed that men and women talk differently as women tend to use less complex sentences and they often do not finish their sentences, because they talk without thinking of what they are going to say. However, sociolinguistics of gender has become much more sophisticated and Jesperson's statement seems a bit simplistic nowadays. Bloomfield (1933) demanded a development of a study of linguistics which deliberately abstracted from meaning and the socio-cultural environment of language. Lewis (1947) indicated that a society cannot exist without the use of symbols; however, different societies use language in different ways. Smaller primitive societies make more use of ritual but less of language in managing their group activities than larger western societies do. Western societies, by the extensive use of verbalization, become more highly organized in industrial

and political enterprise and more integrated into larger, and more powerful, and more cohesive units.

In his study of the speech community of New York's East Side, Labov (1982 [1966]) established sociolinguistic methodologies which had a great impact on the quantitative approaches in the study of language variation. Meyerhoff (1996) indicates that Labov used and introduced the independent social variables such as region, age and social class in explaining linguistic variation. These variables have been used in subsequent work which has led to important findings within and across cultures. In addition to providing linguistic data, Labov's case studies also show different ways and new methods of studying linguistics by extending the interest of early sociolinguistics research to other fields such as anthropology, sociology and the social psychology of language (Meyerhoff, 1996).

Early sociolinguistic studies tended to be conducted on elderly male informants in agriculture and rural areas, as sociolinguists believed that such men were the best subjects due to the fact that they were the least likely to have been influenced by other dialects (Gibbon, 1999). However, Labov's studies in 1972 were criticised by feminists for only studying male speakers of vernacular English (James, 1996). He was also criticized for basing the criteria of the socio-economic status of the subjects largely upon the occupation of the men, while women were chosen based on the occupation of their fathers (if single), or their husbands (if married or widowed). This method of not defining women according their own socio-economic status was misleading to the research findings (Cameron and Coates, 1989).

The emergence of different social movements in western countries since the late 1960s has drawn attention to the notion of group specificity (Gibbon, 1993), for example, the activists of Northern Ireland civil rights who ask for equal rights for Catholics, and those of African American civil rights in USA who did the same; in the same way, women also started to identify themselves as different from men which led them to form the first wave feminism "suffrage movement" (see section 2.3.1.1). Consequently, the new emergence of these groups affected sociolinguistic studies. As well as studying white, male, heterosexual, middle-class norms, new variables were added such as ethnicity, age and gender, traditionally known as sex. Labov (2001) emphasized that gender as a variable needs to be associated with other social variables.

Early studies focused on women's forms of speech and the disadvantages of using them. For example, Lakoff's *Language and Woman's Place* (1975) was the beginning of real interest in women's talk, which indicated that women tend to use modals and tag questions abundantly, as well as hedging strategies. The findings of Trudgill's (1972) *sex, covert prestige and linguistic change in the urban British English of Norwich study* suggest that women tend to over-report their pronunciation more than men. Trudgill regards this to women's greater 'status-consciousness'. Other studies' findings indicate women's greater variability in stress, pitch, and intonation (Coleman, 1971; Sachs, 1975; and McConnell-Ginet, 1978).

This 'gender dichotomy' approach: 'women speak like this, men like that,' is characterised as following a 'deficit' approach because men's language is considered as the norm. Cameron (1995a) and Coates (1986) argue that this kind of research suggests that any deficit model that required compensatory behaviour by women was the woman's fault, and led to the possible solution that the woman was "requir[ed to assimilate] to what was in effect a male norm" (Henley & Kramarae, 1991: 22). Critics like Bodine (1975), Brown & Fraser (1979), Smith (1979), Nichols (1983), Thorne et al (1983), and West & Zimmerman (1985) argue that the many isolated variables assessed as 'woman's language' contribute to sex-stereotyped speech.

Freed (1996) referred to studies that tend to make inaccurate generalizations, for example, women seek more verbal intimacy than men (Tannen, 1990), women are less secure and more status-conscious in their speech than men (Labov, 1972), and women use standard 'correct' speech more than men (Trudgill, 1972). Accordingly, Bergvall (1996) indicates that researchers working on language and gender should examine the 'communities of practice' within which gender is constructed and performed through discourse. That is how gender is perceived by postmodernist feminism, where gender is performative in nature (see section 2.3.1.3.1). Lave and Wenger, (1991:464) define Community of practice as:

> an aggregate of people who came together around mutual engagement in an endeavour. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations – in short, practices- emerge in the course of this mutual endeavour. As a social construct, a CofP is different from the traditional community, primarily because it is defined simultaneously by its membership and by practice in which that membership engages.

This definition of CofP is a dynamic, rich and complex one as it stresses the concept of 'practice' especially in researches on the relationship between language and gender as it provides an "ideal framework for exploring the process by which individuals acquire membership in a community whose goal they share; and it provides a means of studying the acquisition of sociolinguistic competence" (Holmes and Meyerhoff, 1999:182). They add that it also offers explanations of how linguistic changes spread through a speech community provided by a precise distinction between core and peripheral members in a community of practice.

The next section shows feminism's perception, concerns, and attitudes toward the position of women in society, in addition to different strategies adopted by the movement to obtain its objectives.

2.3   Feminism

Although feminism as a movement does not exist in Saudi Arabia, the subject of this study which investigates the existence of linguistic sexism in the use of Arabic is mainly a feminist subject. In addition, the aspects of Arabic tested in this study have been the subject of investigation by feminists across many languages. Accordingly, it is crucial to understand the background of feminism as a movement throughout the three waves of feminism in order to understand where Saudi Arabia fits into these waves.

The word *feminist*, meaning women's emancipation, is originally French and was used in political debates in the late 19th century. Hubertine Auclert, the French women's suffrage advocate, was the first to call herself a feminist, and then the term feminism was used largely after 1900 across Europe (Hannam, 2007). There is no clear definition for feminism since as a movement it has had different agendas across the board; however, it stands generally against women's oppression and looks for causes of that oppression, which leads to women's marginalization, invisibility, and devaluing in society. Ramazanoglu (1989) indicates that due to the diversity of women's struggles, it is very difficult to give a unified definition for feminism. Alternatively, she lists some of the shared objectives of the different varieties of feminism as:

- trying to change the existing unequal relations between sexes which regard women as subordinate to men
- questioning what is believed to be natural or acceptable in society

- raising questions about knowledge and science since all feminist thoughts are largely based on a subjective standpoint on knowledge of the relations between women and men

The theory and practice of feminism is viewed by Gibbon (1999: 4) as "a philosophy which challenges social arrangements regarding women's and men's relative value, status, positions, roles and opportunities." Accordingly, Harding (1987: 181) indicates that "feminist epistemology (the theory of knowledge) is –or should be –about finding ways to draw knowledge out of women's experience." She adds that:

> Once we undertake to use women's experience as a resource to generate scientific problems, hypotheses, and evidence to design research for women, and to place the researcher in the same critical plane as the research subject, traditional epistemological assumptions can no longer be made (Harding, 1987: 181).

Traditional epistemological assumptions in early sociolinguistic studies tended to neglect women's experiences by conducting studies on only male informants. Then the emergence of different social movements including women's movement affected sociolinguistic studies (see section 2.2).

Feminism as a movement was established as a reaction to the French revolution in 1789, as it raised the question of what is meant by an active citizen. Another influential factor was Mary Wollstonecraft's, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* in 1792, written after the French Revolution, in which she calls for women's education to build them intellectually, so they can contribute to shaping the new social order (Hannam, 2007). Her message of changing women's character and outlook would change the social order for everyone and was inspiring for many nineteenth century feminists in Britain. Hannam indicates that when Napoleon came to power, revolutionaries regarded women as 'patriotic mothers' who had a key part to play in developing the new republic by educating their children into the values of republican citizenship. This gave women an innovative and semi-public role although they were identified largely with the home and family. Being excited about the new ideas of the Enlightenment and the upheavals of the French Revolution, women began to imagine alternative social and gender relations.

The movement has adopted a wide range of concerns, attitudes and strategies, but its objective was to raise the status of the female, who constitutes half of the human race, to have formal equality with men in the law, politics and civil society.

2.3.1 Waves of feminism

The chronological framework of the three-wave model is based on the experience of Britain and the United States; however, it might be misleading when applied to other countries as, for example, in Denmark the first wave was in the late 19th century before suffrage demands, the second suffrage phase was just before and during the First World War, and the Third Wave occurred in the 1970s (Hannam, 2007).

2.3.1.1 First Wave Feminism (1860s-1920s)

The contributions of feminism throughout the three waves are based on strategic planning that took place within the First Wave Feminism. In other words, feminists prioritized voting over other political and social demands due to the symbolic importance of the vote, which they believed would enable them to push for social and political changes if women bonded across national boundaries to transform the world for their own interest (Hannam, 2007). Accordingly, organized suffrage movements[2] were formed in the 1860s aimed at political development.

Some suffrage organizations based their argument on equal rights and women's common humanity with men, saying that they could not be fully human unless they obtained citizenship

---

[2] Suffrage organizations' demand for the right to vote was not formed in the United States until the Civil War, although this issue was raised at the Seneca Falls Conventions in 1848. Two national groups were established: the National Woman Suffrage Association, led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan Anthony, and the American Woman Suffrage Association, led by Lucy Stone. In Britain, women's suffrage societies joined in 1868 in a loose federation called the National Society for Women Suffrage. Organized movements for women's suffrage were developed later in Australia, New Zealand, France, Canada and Scandinavia in the late 1880s-90s. In Germany, women attributed the delay in their demand for the vote to the authoritarian political system. With the departure of the German Chancellor, Bismarck, in 1890, liberal reforms were more feasible. However, the Federation of German Women's Associations formed in 1894 excluded women's suffrage from their agenda because it was not a priority for most of the members. Once Marie Stritt became president in 1899, women's demand for suffrage was pushed to the top of the official programme. Women's suffrage was viewed as a radical demand in many moderate women's associations in France, and this pushed women who were frustrated with this cautious outlook to form their own organizations. For example, Hubertine Auclert broke her association with the moderate feminists and formed Suffrage des femmes (Women's Suffrage) in 1876 (Hannam, 2007: 50).

---

rights, and others based it on gender differences, arguing that women would bring special qualities to politics (Hannam, 2007).

As a result of all of these campaign efforts, women had obtained the right to vote in most countries in Europe and North America by 1920. However, New Zealand was the first country to grant women their right to vote. In France and Italy, suffragists had to wait until after the Second World War, and it was not until 1971 that women in Switzerland gained voting rights (Lorber, 2010). She adds that in Britain women gained the right to vote as a reward for their war service, whereas women in Finland and Norway gained the right to vote in 1906 and 1913, respectively, due to their support for the national movement. In this way, the suffrage campaigns had contributed to raising feminist consciousness.

2.3.1.2   Second Wave Feminism

Second Wave Feminism grew in the late 1960s and early 1970s out of the Civil Rights movement in the United States in the 1970s, which demanded equal rights for black people. Then demands for women's rights followed accordingly. Women's demands and expectations were raised to full civil rights as a result of their participation in the war efforts. However, government concerns about social instability after the upheavals of the war led them to stress traditional gender roles. Under these conditions, women did not surrender as they continued to organize, demanding improvement in their employment and family lives through trade unions and political parties, in addition to their own single-sex organizations (Hannam, 2007). Bodkin (2011) indicates that gender roles debates were influenced by Simon De Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* (1953), in which she highlighted women's lack of identity in always being considered 'the other' in relation to men. Gradually, the image of the perfect wife and mother started to change with the expansion of women's participation in higher education and the opportunities offered in the labour force. These changes led young women to pursue their studies and married women to work part-time for low wages. Another piece of writing that was very influential is *The Feminine Mystique* by Betty Freidan in the 1960s, in which she conveyed the frustrations of white, middle-class housewives in suburban America; these women complained about their lives being unfulfilled (Johnson and Lloyd, 2004).

Hannam (2007) indicated that women in the 1960s started to take part in the black civil rights movement, through which they established networks and learned new tactics leading them to ask about their own rights. In the 1960s, Friedan established the National Organization of Women (NOW) along with other labour and civil rights activists to "bring women into full participation in the mainstream of American society now" (LeGates, 2001: 348). In Britain, the women's liberation movement was influenced by the campaign of women factory workers for equal pay. With the establishment of a National Women's Coordinating Committee, women started to ask for equal pay, equal education and employment opportunities, free contraception and abortion, and 24 hours nurseries. The liberation movement was extended across Europe. With the designation of an international women's year in the United Nations in 1975 and then the institution of the decade for women (1976-1085), the UN called on governments to improve health, educational levels for women and employment under the banner of equality, development and peace (Hannam, 2007). The liberation movement, along with UN demands, pushed forward legislation that aimed to enhance equal pay, employment and equal education opportunities, sex discrimination laws and the legalization of abortion.

There is tension in feminist debates on equality and difference, and whether equality should be based on the adoption of the world as it is defined by men and formed by male values, or whether equality should be based on apparent differences between men and women, meaning the appreciation of feminine qualities in the public as well as in the private sphere (Evans, 1995). As there is no unified body of feminist thought, there are within Second Wave Feminism different schools of thought, each corresponding to a specific view of language.

2.3.1.2.1   Liberal Feminism

Liberal Feminism looks at women's struggle as a result of their unequal rights compared with those enjoyed by men. Based on the idea of equality, the main focus of Liberal Feminists was on gender-neutral solutions, and moving into areas of the public sphere that were traditionally forbidden to women (Gibbon, 1999). She adds that Liberal Feminists' relation to language and gender started in the early 1970s, by investigating the linguistic obstacles to women's full participation in the public sphere. For example, Miller and Swift's (1980) focus was on language reform with regard to inequities in grammatical prescription and use, i.e. the generic

masculine pronoun, and the lack of parallelism in reference to gender, in addition to commonly used language that trivializes or deprecates women.

These early efforts effectively challenged the grammatical masculine generic, problems of exclusive language, and out-dated and sexist naming practices. Language reform research provided support for a welcoming climate, especially with women joining the labour force in increasing numbers. This is discussed in detail in chapter three.

2.3.1.2.2 Radical and Cultural Feminism

To Radical Feminists' understanding, women's oppression is a result of male control of their sexuality and procreative capacities. Jaggar & Rothenberg (1978) point to the tenets of Radical Feminism in which women were the first oppressed group; their oppression is the most widespread; their oppression is the deepest and most difficult to eradicate; their oppression causes the most suffering to its victims; and women's oppression provides a conceptual model for understanding all other forms of oppression as various groups (even Nature) are feminized in order to be brought under control. Similarly, Spender (1980) indicates that language is man-made, due to man's control of public discourse and the dissemination of writing. This approach has contributed to raising the consciousness of many researchers to the destructive power of patriarchy.

Unlike Radical Feminists, Cultural Feminists tended to put women at the centre of their concerns, and they intended to show how women's ways were valuable and different from men's ways, rather than trying to make them equal to men (Gibbon 1999). In *Wickedary*, Daly (1987) turns conventionally negative words for women like *crone, witch, shrill, cackling*, into positive meanings by using new applications. In Zimmerman & West's (1975) study of adults, they found that interruptions (overlapping) were infrequent and equally distributed in same-sex conversations, whereas in cross-sex exchanges males initiated 96% of the total interruptions. On the other hand, James & Clarke (1993) argue that overall research on gender difference in interruptions does not contribute to just the difference in the frequency of use; rather, interruptions or any other linguistic tool can be used to dominate or to collaborate. From a different angle, Maltz and Broker indicate that growing largely in different 'sociolinguistic subcultures' may result in men-women miscommunication (Sunderland, 2006).

Accordingly, researchers adopting the difference approach tend to positively describe and evaluate women's talk mostly in all-women conversations (Sunderland, 2006).

2.3.1.2.3   Marxist and Socialist Feminism

Unlike liberals who believe that the capacity for rationality and the use of language distinguish human beings from animals, Marxists believe that our ability to produce our means of substance distinguish human beings from animals - not human nature (Tong, 2009). Marx (1972: 20-21) states, "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but the social existence that determines their consciousness." Although Marxism does not address women as a class, Marxist Feminism views women as the disadvantaged group due to the creation of a capitalist class structure, coupled with patriarchy, which results in continuous oppression. According to Marxist Feminists, women were engaged in unpaid or low-paid labour because of the division between spheres of production (Evans, 1995).

The Socialist Feminist approach is similar to that of Marxist Feminism; however, they add that capitalism is bound to patriarchy (Tong, 1989). She explains that Marxist Feminists believe that class, which is imposed by capitalism, is the primary reason for women's oppression as workers, with men being the secondary oppressors of women as women. On the other hand, Socialist Feminism regards women's oppression as being due to class and gender. Patriarchy-capitalism is viewed by some Socialist Feminists as a dual system which is mutually supporting. Based on a material foundation, men are provided with the power to control women's labour and access to important economic resources, and also have control over their sexuality and reproduction (Tong, 1989).

To other Socialist Feminists, patriarchy and capitalism are unified by the concept of the sexual division of labour which is based on who gives orders and who receives them, who stimulates the work and who does it, all of which contribute to viewing women as the secondary work force to capitalism-patriarchy (Tong, 1989).

Whether patriarchy-capitalism is viewed as a unified system or a dual one, the main concern of socialist feminists throughout the early and mid-1980s was the gender division of labour within the workplace and in the family, both of which were influenced by the socio-cultural arrangements (Gibbon, 1999).

In analyzing the conversation in male-female interaction, Marxist and Socialist Feminist theory adopt a dialectical materialist approach which involves the sexual division of labour, in other words regarding women's marginalization to the work to which they are consigned (Tong, 1989). In Fishman's (1978) work on conversation between female-male couples, she found that women made more effort to maintain the flow of conversational topics. She adds that women used more attention-getting openings in order to be heard (such as "D'ya know what?"), asked more questions, and filled more silences in order to sustain men's conversational topics. On the other hand, men initiated topics with statements because they were more certain of being listened to. Fishman (1978) concludes in her analysis, from a Marxist Feminist perspective, that there is a division of labour in conversation where the labourer (the woman) is required to take what work (conversation) she can get, while the capitalist (the self-absorbed man) enjoys economic (conversational) freedom.

Within the Marxist framework, MacKinnon (1983) indicates that men are privileged to enjoy the power to interrupt, to raise topics, and to hold the floor of conversation which contribute to their control of the production of speech, as well as the power to name, and to organize the world around one's own perceptions. In conclusion, the Marxist-Socialist framework is used as an approach to explain the symbolic relationship between economics and constructing language and gender.

2.3.1.3 Third wave feminism

Third Wave Feminism emerged in the 1990s as a result of adopting postmodernist thinking into feminist principles (Flax, 1990). Mills (2008) indicates that Third Wave Feminism is considered a development from Second Wave Feminism since the theoretical integrity of the Third Wave Feminism depends, mostly, on the framework of Second Wave Feminism; however, there are major differences between the two waves with regard to their analysis of language and gender. The term Third Wave Feminism in UK is used to refer to a feminism in which gender identity is seen as being socially constructed, unlike Second Wave Feminists, who focus on biological differences. Gender is viewed by Second Wave Feminism as a binary distinction between male and female, so gender and sex refer to the same thing in their studies (Mills, 2008). To Third Wave Feminism, gender refers to the social behaviours, expectations and attitudes associated with performing as a male or female (Wodak, 1997). On the other

hand, in the US the difference between the two waves lies on the conflict between younger and older more established feminists; that is, it is a generational conflict rather than a theoretical issue (Mills, 2008). Gilley and Columnist (2005) indicate that Rebecca Walker set herself up as separate from her literal mother, Alice Walker, the famous Second Wave Feminist, by officially launching the Third Wave as an identifiable entity in her article (1992) *Becoming the Third Wave*. Third Wave Feminism established itself as the domain of 'young' feminists and had a tendency to separate along age lines.

2.3.1.3.1   Postmodernist Feminism

Knox and Marston (2004: 264) define Postmodernism as "a view of the world that emphasizes openness to a range of perspectives in social inquiry, artistic expression, and political empowerment." This suggests the importance of context in understanding different perspectives. Postmodern Feminists believe that we can portray ourselves to the world through the usage of the language as more or less masculine or feminine, as more or less heterosexual, as more or less passive, active or authoritative (Gibbon, 1999). Cameron (2003) indicates that feminine and masculine behaviours are learned through repeated practice and imitation of being a woman or a man through a process of social learning. She views gender as a social construct and not a biological constitution. She adds that gender is performative in nature, meaning that people can change their gendered behaviour according to the given context.

The central concern of Postmodernist Feminism is how language contributes to the creation of the categories and identities we come to see as natural, and that includes sex and gender. This leads linguists to adopt Postmodernist views on gender performance in order to analyze conversational practice considering all gender performance as an act rather than "a natural extension of our anatomical inheritance" (Gibbon, 1999: 10). Butler (1990) indicates that gender is not what we are, nor a set of characteristics, but rather it is an effect we produce by what we do. Similarly, Cameron (1992: 43) argues that the *difference* theorists, and the *deficit* and most *dominance* theorists, consider gender as a solution rather than a problem that needs to be explained. She proposes that instead of focusing "on how subjects constantly negotiate the norms, behaviours, and discourse," masculinity and femininity should be defined for a particular community, so as to produce themselves as "gendered subjects."

2.4   Feminism in Arab-Muslim countries

Feminism as a movement in Arab-Muslim countries exists in some countries, especially in Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco, Syria and Lebanon, as a result of nationalist and anti-colonial struggles which provided the context for women to raise their own demands. However, the nature of their demands was not unified. In Egypt, for example, although women took part in the uprising against the British in 1919, they were disappointed when suffrage was limited to men after independence in 1922. This led Huda Shaarawi, the most influential figure in the inter-war feminist movement in Egypt, to establish in 1923 the Egyptian Feminist Union (EFU), which campaigned for a range of reforms including political rights (Hannam, 2007). Due to the volatile political situation, nationalist feminists had to shift their priorities, and to change the nature of their demands to include women's education and the reform of the personal status law, leading to equal secondary school education for girls, and equal opportunities for both sexes for entry to the state university in the 1920s (Hannam, 2007). They also introduced the issue of increasing the minimum marriage age for both sexes. In 1934, the political climate changed with the return to Liberalism. In the same year, the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IWSA), which was formed in Berlin in 1904, held its congress in Istanbul (De Haan, 2004). Turkish women gained suffrage, even though there had been no former colonisation of Turkey as in other countries in the region. This provided new motivation for the EFU to campaign for suffrage in Egypt (Hannam, 2007), and Shaarawi demanded political rights for all Arab women at the Arab Congress in Cairo in 1944. In 1956, Nasser introduced votes for women as a result of the pressure of suffrage campaigners, alongside the need to modernize the state. Although Shaarawi was a nationalist and resisted British domination, she believed in many western ideas and called for a gradual reform to adopt western institutions and a secularist understanding of the state (Guenena and Wassef, 1999). These ideas led her to remove her veil upon her arrival in Egypt after attending the IWSA congress in Rome in 1923. Others, like the writer Malak Nassef, argued that those who unveiled were upper-class women obsessed by fashion not a desire for liberty or the pursuit of knowledge, for they should find in Islam a way to renovate the whole society (Hannam, 2007). Those who called for women's liberation within Islam became more influential in the latter decades of the twentieth century because they targeted all classes of society.

In the 1930s, feminists in Syria and Lebanon focused on social reform which would alleviate women's social problems rather than political rights, including the right to vote. This tactic was designed to broaden the appeal of women's organizations in order to help them influence the growing movement for independence from France (Thompson, 2000).

Feminism in Morocco did not grow from a militant cause or from nationalism, but emerged as a result of the encounter between the Moroccan indigenous culture/civilization with western culture/civilization (Sadiqi, 2003). This is considered a form of 'modernism' which is largely an urban phenomenon. The Moroccan feminism that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s was liberal (i.e. secular), with the aim of associating modernity with universal values such as gender equality and human rights, in order to improve the situation of Moroccan women (Sadiqi, 2003). This movement was supported by the state, political parties and intellectuals right after independence as a result of worldwide industrialization, international trade exchanges and rapid urbanization. Sadiqi (2003) further indicates that these Liberal Feminists were a class phenomenon which produced the new post-independence bourgeois class, including the first women pharmacists, jurists, medical doctors, and university professors, among others. Educating women was not motivated by the interest in liberating women but rather by the social prestige attached to the level of education of women being linked to the personal status of their fathers and husbands (Sadiqi, 2003). Similarly, Walters (1999) indicates that in Tunisia a girl's education was partly influenced by the idea of producing more marriageable daughters. In other words, education increases the status of the family. It is worth mentioning that the birth of Liberal Feminism in Morocco is connected to both highly educated men who had been exposed to western thought, and women of the upper and middle classes. The involvement of women in the liberation movement was to improve women's lives, while men encouraged women's education due to its importance in producing a good future for Moroccan citizens in terms of the empowerment of women leading to the empowerment of the country. Sadiqi (2003: 22) indicates that:

> On a wider scale, Moroccan post-colonial discourses and readings of participation in the national liberation movements have a clear gendered dimension and produced gendered ideologies where women were relegated to the second position after men. However, evaluated against the preceding state of affairs, Moroccan women's access to education, and through it, to the written word, made their voices heard for the first time in the history of Morocco.

The discourse for some academic writing, such as that of Mernissi (1975), has questioned patriarchy and how gender differences were created by humans and constructed within specific socio-cultural contexts, leading to the division of labour and to the definition of gender roles. Although female Liberal Feminists supported men when they were resisting national oppression or defending religious identity, they opposed them when resisting patriarchy (Nelson, 1974; Youssef, 1974; Mernissi, 1975). To some extent Liberal Feminism was greatly enhanced specifically in the late 1990s by the creation of centres for research on women, as well as graduate programmes on gender/women studies at the university level in Rabat, Fes, and Ifrane (Sadiqi, 2003).

However, since the 1980s, it has been the emergence of religious (conservative) feminists who read modernity as a return to 'authenticity', and who stress 'Islamic law'. They have succeeded in connecting with the vast majority of women who are poor, illiterate and deeply religious, and have even connected with women outside Morocco because they represent their own culture. Sadiqi (2003: 33) indicates that:

> Within the Moroccan socio-cultural context, the use of religion by women in public space
> is revolutionary in itself as 'public' religion has never constituted a woman's domain in the
> recorded history of Morocco. Religious feminism …. asks for women's rights within 'Islamic
> law'.

Among Muslim countries, it is noticed that feminism should be discussed within Islamic precepts in order to address the vast majority of women. Yamani (1996: 26) indicates that at the fourth world conference on women by the United Nations Development Programme held in September 1995, the majority of Muslim women who represented their Muslim countries expressed their belief that "Islam is a great unifying force and has the scope to allow for greater human rights and dignity to women." The Algerian representative, Hanadi Semichi, called for "religious tolerance within the framework of Islam." Focusing on illiteracy and general poverty in that part of the world, the Pakistani premier, Banazir Bhutto, stressed that women's liberation and independence should be based on an Islamic structure. The Egyptian representative, Suzanne Mubarak, emphasized "the importance of democracy as the ideal environment for freedom and for the prosperity of movements of emancipation and liberation within the context of sound religious values" (Yamani, 1996: 26).

Moving on to the Gulf countries, it is worth mentioning that feminism as a movement does not exist as in the other Arab countries mentioned above, as the position of women in the Gulf countries depends on the advancement in overall development and urbanization which differs from one state to another (Fakhro, 1996). For example, Bahrain was the first Gulf country to introduce education for both sexes at the beginning of the 20th century, followed by Kuwait. In the UAE, such programmes started in the 1950s, whereas in Oman they started only in the 1970s. Kuwaiti women were ahead of women in other Gulf countries in demanding political advancement when they submitted a request to the Kuwaiti parliament demanding the right to vote after the election in 1984 (Fakhro, 1996). However, when the legal committee consulted with the Ministry of Islamic Affairs, this request was rejected, on the grounds that women lacked the ability and expertise to vote. Consequently, women were not permitted to participate in the election of October 1992, despite assurances to the contrary given by the government during the Gulf War (Fakhro, 1996). Regarding the situation in Qatar, Fakhro further indicates that the introduction of education for females in 1955 met with resistance, especially from the conservative and tribal elements of society. With regard to employment in Bahrain, the UAE and Kuwait, women enjoy various employment opportunities and positions in accordance with Islamic principles and many professional women practise all sorts of professions while wearing their *hijab* without contradicting their physical nature and Islamic teachings (Khayat, 2006). Although women's participation in the workforce started late in Oman, female employment increased rapidly especially in the public sector. Omani women are now pilots, police officers, company directors and under secretaries (Fakhro, 1996). In other words, they hold jobs which were traditionally dominated by men.

2.4.1 Women's position in Saudi Arabia

In terms of geographical dimension, Saudi Arabia is the largest country in the Middle East with a population of approximately 25 million people. The country was founded in 1932 by King AbdulAziz Ibn AbdulRahman Al Saud after a 30 year campaign to unify much of the Arabian Peninsula. The first Saudi state was established in 1744 when Muhammad Ibn Saud and Muhammad Ibn Abd-al-Wahhab joined forces to form one entity. This entity was shaped by the power of the Al-Saud family, combined with the conservative Salafi trend of Ibn Abd-al-Wahhhab which has a strict interpretation of Islam following the Hanbali school. However, Saudi Arabia has embraced crucial steps towards reform, largely at the initiative of King

Abdullah in response to demographic pressure (Echague and Bruke, 2009). The steps towards reform have adopted more moderate Hanafi, Shafi'i and Maliki schools, as follows:

> King Abdullah has shown a willingness to adopt a more inclusive approach to religious minorities and women, who have been invited to partake in official state sponsored dialogues on the future of the country (Echague and Bruke, 2009: 3).

Saudi Arabia's legal system is derived primarily from the principles of *Sharia* law (Islamic law) which is based on the *Qur'an* (the Holy book) and *Sunna* (Prophet's Muhammad's customary behaviour, and opinion on various issues drawn from the *Haddith* (the Prophet's narrations)), and Arabic is the official language.

In Saudi Arabia, a feminist movement does not exist; however, there are individual contributions with regard to women's rights by male and female writers and social activists, and these have led, to an extent, to positive changes in women's social position in society. Women's position in Saudi Arabia has been shaped by many factors such as social attitudes, superficial and literal interpretations of Islamic teachings, the accessibility and quality of education, and the historical socio-economic and political conditions (Khayat, 2006). She further indicates that these factors reflect social restraints which have led to limited women's participation in developing the Saudi community. Social restraints may be explained by the obstacles that females have been facing in seeking knowledge and employment, and these are discussed in detail (see section 2.4.1.2, 2.4.1.3) in contrast with the rights of women in the *Qur'an* and Islamic law (see section 2.4.1.1).

2.4.1.1   Women's rights in Islamic law

In Arabia, when Islam first appeared women held a very low position in society. In the pre-Islamic era (Aljahiliyah), it was a mark of dishonour for a man to have a daughter, and led many of them to bury their female children alive (El-Nimr, 1996). Female infanticide was usually prompted by one of two reasons: fear of poverty or fear of disgrace. With the emergence of Islam, this practice was prohibited and women gained a higher status because the *Qur'an* promotes the doctrine of human equality with no distinction due to sex, race, colour, nationality, caste or tribe (El-Nimr, 1996). This is expressed by the Holy Qur'an when addressing men and women as an emphasis on equality between men and women in regard to their respective duties, rights, virtues and merits, as in the following verse (Karmi, 1996):

> Muslim men and women, believing men and believing women, obedient men and obedient women, truthful men and truthful women, steadfast men and steadfast women, humble men and humble women, men and women who give alms, men who fast and women who fast, men and women who guard their modesty, men and women who remember God much, for them God has prepared forgiveness and a mighty reward (Qur'an, 33:35).[3]

Men and women are equal in performing all their duties such as prayer, the payment of zakat (tax for the poor), and the enjoining of good and the forbidding of evil (El-Nimr, 1996). Even chastity is also enjoined on both sexes, as indicated in the following verse (Karmi, 1996):

> Tell the believing men to lower their gaze (from looking at forbidden things), and protect their private parts (from illegal sexual acts). ……... And tell the believing women to lower their gaze (from looking at forbidden things), and protect their private parts (from illegal sexual acts) (Qur'an, 24: 30-31).

Parallelism is noticed in the linguistic use of *Qur'an* when addressing men and women, especially when it comes to rights and obligations. In addition to men's and women's equality with regard to religious duties and obligations, their position and status in the eyes of God are also similar (El-Nimr, 1996):

> Whoever works righteousness, whether male or female, and is a true believer, we shall surely make them live a good life, and we shall pay them certainly a reward in proportion to the best of what they used to do (i.e. Paradise in the Hereafter) (Qur'an, 16:97).

The *Qur'an* also grants men and women equal rights with regard to seeking education and employment (El-Nimr, 1996: 92), as Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) encouraged equal opportunities for education for both men and women when he said "Seeking knowledge is mandatory for every Muslim."

Prophet Muhammad not only revealed the importance of seeking knowledge, He also practised it. He used to answer questions by addressing enquiries on all sorts of social, religious and economic matters raised by men and women (El-Nimr, 1996). El-Nimr (1996: 101) refers to an incident which emphasizes women's wisdom. When a woman once argued with the Caliph 'umar in the Mosque, and she proved her point, he declared "this woman is right and

---

[3] All verses from the Qur'an are taken from:

Al-Hilali, M and Khan, M (1983). <u>The English translation of the meaning and commentary</u>. King Fahd Complex for the printing of the Holy Qur'an.

'umar is wrong" in the presence of other people. The relationship between men and women who are bonded by a common belief in God is identified in the following verse:

> The believing men and the believing women are (helpers, supporters, friends, protectors) of one another: they enjoin the doing of what is right and forbid the doing of what is wrong, and they are constant in prayer, and they give the Zakât, and obey God and his Messenger Muhammad...... (Qur'an, 9:71).

This verse reveals that the relationship between believing men and women depends on mutual support where they enjoin each other to do right and avoid wrong. In this sense, believers should be active and positive (Naseef, 2007).

When talking about the functional relationship between men and women, the concept of sexual equality is perceived as a complementary relation in the Qur'an as men and women complement each other. This is because there are biological differences which enable men to do certain kinds of work that require physical power and fitness (El-Nimr, 1969). Of course, there are physically strong women and physically weak men; however, under normal circumstances the physical structure of men is stronger than women. This point is clarified in this verse:

> And they (women) have rights (over their husbands) similar (to those of their husbands) over them to what is reasonable, but men have a degree (of responsibility) over them (Qur'an, 2: 228).

For Sheikh 'abdu, a Muslim scholar and a social reformist, this verse does not mean that men are better than women, but instead it emphasizes that each sex has some preferential advantage over the other, though men have a degree over women (Doi,1989). The consensus of scholars is that the degree refers to the principle of guardianship, which includes financial obligations (El-Nimr, 1996). Men are considered as breadwinners in Islam, and their guardianship is based on this principle. They are obliged to support and protect the interest of their families.

However, a woman's role as a mother and wife is considered in Islam as a sacred and noble one because it is vital in shaping the future of the nation by being half of the society and raising the other half. El-Nimr (1996) refers to the great respect mothers receive from their children, as the *Qur'an* speaks of the mother's right in many verses. As a mother, she should be

respected and treated well by her children even if she is an unbeliever. Even Prophet Muhammad emphasizes the rights of mothers over fathers. Accordingly, it is expected that Muslim mothers, when they reach old age, will receive care and consideration from their children in gratitude to their parents, and this is linked with gratitude to God (El-Nimr, 1996).

This fact does conflict with a women's right to seek employment. There is nothing that prevents the society from benefiting from women's exceptional talent in any field. AlMunajjed (1997: 20) emphasizes that the "*Qur'an* gives all women the right to work and earn money outside their homes, provided that this work does not result in harm to herself, her husband or her children." This is according to the following verse:

> For men there is reward for what they have earned, and (likewise) for women there is a reward for what they have earned (Qur'an, 4:32).

Even marriage is governed by certain conditions. El-Nimr (1996) refers to the importance of the consent of both the man and the woman in Islam as an important condition of marriage. The woman also has the right to ask for divorce, as emphasized by Sahih Imam Bukhari:

> If a man gives his daughter in marriage and she dislikes it, the marriage should be annulled. Once a girl came to the Prophet (PBUH) and told him that her father had married her to a man against her will. The Prophet gave her the right to repudiate it (Doi, 1989: 137).

Law courts should find in Prophet Muhammad's actual legal decisions an example to follow when they deal with cases brought by women against their husbands (Aziz, 1956: 236). When Thabit ibn Qais's wife went to Prophet Muhammad complaining about his ugliness, and said "O Messenger of God (as for) Ibn Qais, I do not blame him for his character and piety, but I dislike infidelity in Islam" (El-Nimr, 1996: 99); she meant she did not want to go with another man whilst being married. The Prophet asked if she was prepared to give back the orchard given to her by him (as her dowry) and she agreed. The Prophet asked Qais to accept the orchard and divorce her (Hamadeh, 1996).

The woman even has a legal right similar to the husband's right of divorce as to whether to restrict the man's freedom in this regard or to have a similar right upon signing the marital contract and upon a mutual agreement; however, it is not acceptable behaviour by society (El-Nimr, 1996).

According to Islamic law, a woman enjoys complete independence where she can make any contract in her own name and she has the right to her own money, real estate, or other properties, whether she is single or married. She can maintain her properties or lease them without the permission of her guardians, whether a father, a brother or a husband (Badawi, 1991). It was not until 1938 that "the French Law was amended so as to recognize the eligibility of women to contract. A married woman was still required to secure her husband's permission before she could dispense with her private property" (Badawi, 1991: 20).

The *Qur'an* also discusses the division of inheritance, where women are entitled to inherit from different relatives such as a father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, siblings, children or spouse. Their share is half that given to men due to the greater economic responsibility of men assigned by Islamic law, not because of their superiority (El-Nimr, 1996). The woman's portion is considered a generous one as it is entirely her own and her husband has no right to any of it, unlike the man, who is responsible for his family's financial needs:

> There is a share for men and a share for women from what is left by parents and those nearest related, whether the property be small or large – a legal share (Qur'an, 4:7).

Another verse which most men interpret as being for the benefit of men is the word */qawwamun/* in the following verse:

> Men are (*qawwamun*) the protectors and maintainers of women, because Allah has made one of them to excel the other, and because they spend (to support them) from their means (Qur'an, 4:34).

El-Nimr (1996) indicates that the word *qawwamun* means protectors and maintainers, and refers to a person who takes the responsibility of protecting the interests of another as part of his guardianship. It does not regard men as the masters who should be blindly obeyed, but rather it refers to their physical strength and capacity for hard work in order to support their family. In return, the wife should respect and obey him as long as this does not conflict with God's directives. Therefore, men are obliged to take care of their families financially which is considered an obligation and not a privilege.

This section shows how women were given a high status with the emergence of Islam, and this supports the notion of women's empowerment within Islamic laws.

2.4.1.2   Social attitudes towards females' education in Saudi society

The discovery of oil in 1938 and the oil-generated revenue of the 1970s led to large-scale changes in Saudi Arabia, such as the opening of education for both boys and girls. The whole structure of the society was affected by the economic upheaval arising from the increased income from oil, giving rise to a tendency towards education abroad, and a change in life style (Yamani, 1996). Rehemi (1983) indicates that prior to formal schooling, which started in 1942 for boys, and in the 1960s for girls, informal schooling for boys and girls took place with the aim of teaching religious rituals, including learning the *Qur'an*, *Haddith*, and *Sunna* in order to learn Muslim behaviour. These sessions took place in the *Kuttab* which was usually attached to the local mosques (Doumato, 2000). Private tutorials for girls also took place in the homes of professional male or female Qur'an readers. Education for girls stopped at puberty, whereas young Saudi men had the chance to be sent abroad by the Ministry of Higher Education to continue their studies.

Issues related to women's education have been the concern of all leaders in Saudi Arabia. This view was expressed by King Abul-Aziz to St. John Philby, a British explorer who converted to Islam and became an advisor to the King by stating that it is permissible for women to read (Al-Rashid, 1976). Following these steps, King Saud started informal schooling for both boys and girls.

Saudi women's formal schooling started with the opening of the first school in Riyadh (AlMunajjed, 1997); however, education for girls faced opposition, especially in Buraydah where official forces had to break up demonstrations by the citizens of that town (Lacey, 1981). As a result, King Faisal had to convince the tribal Bedouins of the importance of women's education (Huyette, 1985) by explaining that there was no cause for argument as God enjoins learning for every Muslim man and women. He challenged them by asking them "Is there anything in the Holy *Qur'an* which forbids education for women?" (Lacey, 1981:368). The opposition to female education came from the conservative elements within Saudi society (Viola, 1986). These included conservative clerics and illiterate people (Al-Rashidi, 2000), in addition to those who rejected any attempts to change society, particularly regarding the advancement of women. King Faisal and his wife, Iffat Al Thunayan, who was so committed to educating females, established one of the first few private schools called Dar Al Hanan in 1956.

It had the aim of raising mothers on Islamic essence and modern educational theories. The male Islamic authorities finally approved women's education under one condition, that it was to be under their control and supervision (Al-Hazzaa, 1993 cited in Khayat, 2006).

Some conservatives in charge of girls' education were against Iffat's dedication to teach girls science, language and liberal arts. In 1970, Iffat also established the first college in Riyadh called *Kulliyyat Al Banat* 'Girls' College' and she further established a Saudi progressive association called *Al Nahdah AlSaudiayh* that provided free classes in Riyadh for illiterate women on hygiene and childcare, and courses on foreign languages in order to offer Saudi women the opportunity to participate in the society and to obtain independent identities (Hamdan, 2005). She managed by the end of the 1970s to get over a quarter of a million women enrolled in Saudi schools and colleges (Lacey, 1981). Education for men was administered by the Ministry of Education, whereas girls' education was administered by the General Presidency for Girl's Education and was aimed at preparing the girls to be successful housewives and good mothers, doing things which suited their 'nature', such as teaching, nursing, and medical treatment (Alireza, 1987). The conservative elements of the society had some concerns about the Ministry of Education, with its modern ideas of a secular educational system (Al-Rashidi, 2000). However, as a result of requests by the general public and the government after a fire in an elementary girls' school in Mecca in 2002 led to the death of 15 young girls, the General Presidency for Girl's Education and the Ministry of Education were amalgamated. This incident happened because the religious police prevented firemen from entering the school, leading to questions being raised about the safety of the girls' school buildings (Al-Sari, 2003 cited in Hamdan, 2005).

By 2005, female enrolment in schools represented an equal percentage of total school enrolment. When considering the content of curricula and courses, with the introduction of education for females, they were allowed to study subjects related only to religion and housekeeping; however, within three years of the formalization of female education, girls at elementary and secondary schools had more access to a wider variety of subjects including Islamic studies, Arabic, Mathematics, and science and housekeeping instruction and needlework. English was offered by private schools for all levels, whereas in government schools it was available only at the secondary level.

The first university to have a women's campus was King Saud University in Riyadh in 1979. In 1980, ten colleges opened offering a range of subjects including arts, education, general science such as biology, mathematics, religion, Arabic, geography, history, English, psychology and home economics (AlMalik, 1987); however, women were still not admitted to departments of engineering, law, pharmacy, marine sciences, meteorology, environmental design, geology, petroleum, agriculture, architecture and planning, and political science. In 1975, Saudi women were allowed to enter medicine followed by dentistry in 1980. With the increasing number of girls attending schools and universities, hundreds of schools for girls and women's campuses at almost all universities were established (AlMunajjed, 1997). Moreover, the number of women attending higher education to pursue masters and doctorates is continually on the rise. In 1990, statistics showed that women represented 47 per cent of the total undergraduate enrolment at colleges and universities in Saudi Arabia (Hamdan, 2005). By 2003, female private universities, institutes and colleges of higher education had been established and were still increasing in number. Effat College and Dar Al-Hekma started with the establishment of private colleges in 1999, followed by Prince Sultan in 2001. It offers academic programmes with high standards, and all of the subjects are taught in English except Arabic and Islamic studies (Khayat, 2006). Their programmes are designed according to the needs of the labour market. The programmes offered by private universities were not available before at government universities and colleges, and include architecture, law, special education, management information systems, and interior design, in addition to the other programmes. In 2009, King Abdullah University of Science and Technology opened. Social resistance, noticed largely through internet forums, was provoked because the university offers courses for men and women, although Saudi nationals comprise only 15 per cent of the student body (Doumato, 2010).

2.4.1.3   Social attitudes towards women's employment in Saudi society

When talking about Saudi Arabia, it is important to view the role of women in society before and after the oil boom as it was the major event that led to large-scale changes. Before the 1960s, women played an important role in the economics of the Bedouin family. Besides fulfilling their role as wives and mothers, they made woollen carpets and tents, women's clothing, and produced dairy products (Khayat, 2006). She adds that there were very few opportunities in the urban areas as women only engaged in dressmaking and minor crafts.

However, the production of oil led to the importation of foreign products which replaced the domestic crafts and products (Khayat, 2006). Consequently, women lost their only independent source of income (Rehemi, 1983; Almana, 1981). Harfoush (1983) emphasizes that women in the Gulf region lost their economic independence as a result of the economic development because women were replaced by male manpower for the sake of their comfort. The rapid economic development in Saudi Arabia did not include women in the labour market, so they lagged behind (Almana, 1981). This process is referred to by Samergandi (1992: 13) as the 'cultural lag theory', which proposes that "cultural lags occur during the process of social evolution when a closely integrated society experiences periods of rapid change." Similarly, Al-Rashidi (2000: 27) believes that "Arabs' traditional views of women were largely responsible for them lagging behind and being under-utilized in their participation in the development of their society," Moreover, Al-Hazzaa (1993, cited in Khayat, 2006) assigns the limitation of women's participation in the public sphere to social attitudes rather than Islamic law. This attitude is influenced by the pre-Islamic idea that women bring shame on their family (Farah and Kuroda, 1987). The social attitude in restricting the type of employment that suits women is considered the Kingdom's current problem in absorbing female graduates, and this is a point expressed by Al-Aridh (1997), who indicates that the huge number of female students graduating from schools and universities need to be absorbed in various jobs and professions in order to justify the tremendous expense of female education, given that government universities in Saudi Arabia provide free education.

The introduction of any new employment opportunities for women in Saudi will always create a debate because the society was largely accustomed to seeing women as teachers, administrators, or medical doctors. Social resistance was shown when the government opened up opportunities to employ women as sales clerks in stores catering for women's needs because women had complained about feeling embarrassed to buy intimate items from men (Doumato, 2010). When the Ministry of Labour started training programmes for women to become cashiers and receptionists (Doumato, 2010), again social resistance was shown because these professions have been dominated by men.

Among the obstacles affecting women's full participation in the public sphere is the guardianship concept applied in Saudi society. Women need a male guardian's (father, brother

or a husband) consent in order to study or to work (Doumato, 2010). She adds that a woman also needs her male guardian's permission to start a business or to take out a bank loan, and before 2005 women could not legally obtain a commercial licence for a business unless she hired a male manager.

Despite all of these restrictions, an increasing number of Saudi women confirm their ambition to play a larger role in the society (2,000 women were on the Jeddah commercial register in January 1994) (Yamani, 1996: 277). She adds that the sort of businesses Saudi women own or manage is based on women's needs, such as boutiques selling women's clothes and accessories, beauty salons and coffee shops. Others own and manage bookstores, stationery shops, art galleries, antiques and carpet shops. Doumato (2010: 440) indicates that the National Commercial bank reported in 2006 that Saudi women owned 40 per cent of the Kingdom's real estate assets, 20 per cent of stocks, and over 18 per cent of current bank accounts. She adds that women have obtained over 3,000 commercial licences in their own names in Jeddah and even more are reported in Riyadh. In addition to women's ambition, King Abdullah supported women's participation in the public sphere by offering them new opportunities in manufacturing and shopping malls, the hospitality industry, and government commissions that cater to women's needs. In addition, they are able to have high positions in both the public and private sectors.

2.5   Theoretical position of the study

The main concern of this study is to reflect the perceptions of the sample of Saudi participants on the relation between language use and the social position of women in Saudi society, in order to see if linguistic sexism exists in the use of Arabic language, as in other languages as discussed in chapter 3. Although sexism may exist (as identified by a feminist linguistic) separate from people's perceptions, it was necessary to reflect Saudis' perceptions in order to raise their awareness of a topic that has not been discussed in studies related to language and gender in Saudi Arabia. The theoretical position of this study has been identified based on which views best explain linguistic sexism in the context of this study, that is, Saudi Arabia, in the light of the schools of thought which emerged from the Second and Third Waves of Feminism (see sections 2.3.1.2, 2.3.1.3).

In this study, women in Saudi Arabia have been looked at as a homogeneous group because the social position of women in Saudi Arabia is largely based on biological differences, not on identity categories such as race, class or education. Moreover, with reference to section 2.4.1.2 and 2.4.1.3, it is noticed that female education and employment are faced with social resistance due to the social constraints imposed on Saudi women that have led to inequitable power relations between the two sexes. In addition, the aspects of language explored in this study have been widely used to address women in general as a wife, daughter, mother, employee, and even as a citizen, regardless of their age and socioeconomic differences. Saudis' perceptions regarding these linguistic representations of women have been overlooked. Here I explore if they reflect the existence of linguistic sexism in the use of the Arabic language, and if any steps toward language reform should be suggested.

The generic use of the masculine form in the use of Arabic is supposed to include females, although Arabic has a clear system of masculine and feminine gender like many other languages, e.g. Italian. The gender of the noun is shown by forms which are either feminine or masculine, and this is also true of adjectives, verbs, pronouns, and inflected propositions (Hachimi, 2001; Tobin, 2001). In such grammatical gender languages, gender can only be contested using a Second Wave feminist analysis (Mills, 2008). That is because the changes, which are taking place in many Western European languages, are not only at the level of semantics (the level of meaning or reference), but also at a morphological level (in the way that the form of the words changes) (Pauwels, 1998). A combination of Second and Third Wave analysis is necessary when dealing with 'natural gender' languages like English, in which gender is based on the inherent sex characteristic of the noun (Mills, 2008). In English, animate nouns are either masculine or feminine according to the biological sex of the referent of the noun. Inanimate nouns are neuter in gender. Accordingly, the discussion adopts the theoretical position of Second Wave Feminism and more specifically Liberal Feminism in terms of linguistic representations because the main aim of this research is to investigate the existence of linguistic sexism in the use of Arabic. Linguistic sexism has been a characteristic of Liberal Feminism. The discussion also considers Islamic principles since "the socio-political mood in Saudi Arabia is heavily Islamic, as Islam serves to legitimize all activities" (Yamani, 1996: 13). In addition, Saudi women find in the basic concepts of Islam their sense of power, their sense of identity, their freedom, and their equality with men. Addressing Muslim women

cannot be based entirely on the western feminist model, as its social structure ignores the role of motherhood and has been viewed as partly responsible for the deterioration of the western family (Yamani, 1996).

2.6   Summary of chapter

This chapter has provided a historical background of feminism to build an understanding of the motives for reforming women's realities, including language use. Their motives are simply explained by their struggle, which is a product of unequal rights and power. This chapter is related to the second objective of this study, as it aims to raise awareness about a topic that has not been discussed within the context of Saudi Arabia (see section 1.3). Accordingly, the position of women in the context of Saudi Arabia has been looked at based on this chapter; along with the analysis of the fieldwork data (see section 5.3). The investigation of linguistic representations of women in the use of Arabic is based on different types of overt linguistic sexism as perceived by Liberal Feminists, and this is discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 3 Language and sexism

3.1. Introduction

Feminists' concern with language and the representation of women is a characteristic of the Second Wave Feminism which started in the late 1960s and early 1970s. However, their relation with language and more specifically the issue of sexism in language started in the 1970s. This chapter consists of two parts; the first identifies different types of overt sexism as: the use of generic nouns and pronouns, derivation of female referent nouns, and terms of address of women. The second part focuses on the relationship between language and social attitudes in order to understand different views and approaches regarding language reform in different languages.

The aim of this chapter is to understand how linguistic sexism is viewed from Feminist perspectives. The types of overt linguistic sexism investigated in this chapter have been used as a basis to formulate the study questions which examine the existence of linguistic sexism in the use of Arabic in Saudi Arabia.

3.2. Sexism from feminist perspectives

Sexism and sexist language have received the attention of many linguists, such as Miller and Swift (1976), Spender (1980), Cameron (1985; 1990), Penelope (1990) and Mills and Mullany (2011). Before discussing types of linguistic sexism, it is important to review how it is defined from a feminist perspective. Sexism is defined by Kramarae and Treichler (1985: 411) as a social relationship in which, in most cases, males have the authority and power, and this relationship includes "behaviour, policy, language or other action of men or women which expresses the institutionalized, systematic, comprehensive or consistent view that women are inferior." Cameron (1990: 14) indicates that language:

> could be seen as a reflection of sexist culture, or … it could be seen as a carrier of ideas and assumptions which become, through their constant re-enactment in discourse, so familiar and conventional we miss their significance …. Thus sexism is not merely reflected but acted out and reinforced in a thousand banal encounters.

This definition highlights the possible role of language in shaping and reflecting attitudes and beliefs. Sexist language is viewed by Stanley (cited in Kramarae and Treichler, 1985: 412) as "one of the most powerful means of perpetrating a masculinist interpretation of the world, including the view that women are inferior, passive, and, by definition, subordinate to males," reflecting the carrier role of language. According to Vetterling-Braggin (1981:3), a statement is sexist if "its use constitutes, promotes or exploits an unfair or irrelevant or impertinent distinction between the sexes," for example, representing women negatively by using the language in a way that discriminates against them, or assuming that activities associated with women are necessarily trivial.

Earlier studies were preoccupied with various language issues such as women's representation in language, and women's naming practices. For example, Charlotte Stopes challenged the generic use of '*he*' in 1908 (Kramarae and Treichler, 1985), and Lis Jacobsen studied the Danish language in the Middle Ages in 1912 with regard to human agent nouns, where she found that men were named according to their social status while women were named according to their relationship with the men in their lives; however, the systematic study of linguistic sexism is related to Second Wave Feminism (Mills, 2008).

Second Wave Feminists across the world have made an effort to change the biased representation of sexes in language, which is called linguistic sexism and andocentrism (Bodine, 1975). She adds that these feminists triggered the interest of some linguists and other language professionals in investigating how languages present and treat women and men. Accordingly, the feminist mission was to compile lists of the sexist language items and categories against women in dictionaries in order to raise people's awareness of discrimination and suggest alternatives in order to avoid such language use (Miller and Swift, 1980; Kramarae and Treichler, 1985; Mills, 1989; Schultz, 1990; Doyle, 1994).

3.2.1.   Types of overt linguistic sexism

This section discusses the different types of direct linguistic sexism which can be identified through the use of linguistic markers or through the analysis of presupposition, suggesting women as an invisible or marginalized group in relation to men (Mills, 2008). Since the discussion is based on examples from different languages to show the common characteristics

between these languages regarding the issue of linguistic sexism, many examples are taken from Pauwels' (1998) *Women Changing Language* as she covered a broad range of languages. Before discussing different types of linguistic sexism, the effect of gender as a grammatical category was overlooked in order to understand how different languages are classified.

Gender as a grammatical category is relevant to nouns, in that nouns can be classified into various groups. Pauwels (1998: 36) indicates that "these groups then behave differently with regard to concord and agreement of other part of speech/language." In other words, it can affect adjectives, adverbs, the choice of determiners, and the replacement of a noun by a pronoun. Two major types of gender systems were distinguished by Corbett (1991): semantic or natural, and formal or grammatical. An example of the natural gender is English language in which gender is based on the inherent sex characteristic of the noun. For example, masculine nouns refer to male humans and animals, while feminine nouns refer to female humans and animals. Neuter is a third class which refers to objects and other inanimate things. In morphological systems (formal systems), the classification of a noun as masculine or feminine is based on morphological features (e.g. suffix, prefix) in addition to its semantic information, for example male human, female human. Formal gender Languages are known as grammatical gender languages, e.g. Italian, French, German, and Arabic.

3.2.1.1. The use of generic nouns and pronouns

The use of 'neutral' nouns and pronouns (masculine form) for generic purposes is common in many languages. Across languages, feminists have argued that this practice, and the primacy of the masculine gender in determining grammatical concord, have not only led to the invisibility and marginalization of women in language, but have also resulted in lexical gaps which occur when generic nouns and pronouns are used to refer to both males and females (Gibbon, 1999). For example, in English as a natural gender language, the use of a masculine pronoun for common gender nouns in generic contexts is more common, for example, 'the traveller is responsible for his own luggage.' The inherited use of masculine possessive in 'his luggage' creates a lexical gap for only including the male gender in the use of the masculine possessive, while the generic noun 'the traveller' is supposed to indicate either a male or a female traveller (Pauwels, 1998).

Soto et al. (1975) indicate that when the pronoun *he* is used generically, people are more likely to interpret it as referring exclusively to males rather than females. Similarly, Mackay and Fulkerson's (1979) survey on American college students on the interpretation of the pronoun *he* in its generic function*,* they found that 87 per cent of the students perceived it as referring exclusively to males. Mackay (1980) also indicated that when masculine generic pronouns with neutral (generic) antecedents were used in textbook paragraphs, students who read them assumed that they referred to men in 40 per cent of the cases. An interesting finding in Martyna's (1978) study on testing the generic use of *he* shows that women and men did not use or understand *he* as a generic pronoun in the same way; male informants understood *he* as referring to a male, whereas females understood that it refers to both a male and a female based on grammatical standard of correctness.

Another example of the use of the generic or 'neutral' masculine is the use of *man*, and related compound words like *chairman, postman* and *fireman*. In this case, the English language ignores women by allowing masculine terms to be used to refer specifically to males and generally to refer to human beings. The generic use *man* leads to the invisibility of women. Different studies have shown that this might result in cognitive confusion in addition to the lexical gaps created when generic and specific meaning cannot be distinguished (Martyna, 1980). Moulton et al (1978: 1034) note in the example 'All men are mortal' that if the use of men is gender-neutral, it would be possible to say 'Sophia is a man,' which is considered false or insulting.

The cognitive confusion created by using the generic masculine can lead to another problem, which is the exclusion of the female (Martyna, 1980; Cameron, 1985; Wolfe et al, 1989). This view was expressed by Spender (1985: 157) when she said:

> Through the introduction of *he/man,* males were able to take another step in ensuring that in the thought and reality of our society it is the males who become the foreground while female becomes the blurred and often indecipherable background. *He/man* makes males linguistically visible and females invisible. It promotes male imagery in everyday life at the expense of female imagery so that it seems reasonable to assume the world is male until proven otherwise. It reinforces the belief of the dominant group that they, males, are the universal, the central, important category so that even those who are not members of the dominant group learn to accept reality.

Feminist language critics comment that lexical gaps in relation to human agent nouns that result in the invisibility of women also exist in titles of professions in the grammatical gender languages which have a clear system with regard to gender (e.g. Italian and French). They argue that the considerable and rapid changes in women's participation in the market are not yet fully reflected in the language (Sorrels, 1983). This might be attributed to the long period when women lagged behind men in their actual participation in the public sphere.

In grammatical gender languages with productive feminine suffixes, or with a tradition of marking female agent nouns through suffixing, lexical gaps exist with the absence of the female-specific form because the masculine form is used as the generic noun. Sabatini (1985 cited in Pauwels, 1998:44) notes that in Italian – a language in which female agent nouns are normally formed through suffixing – there is no a female counterpart for words like *medico* (medical doctor), *architetti* (architect), *sindaco* (mayor), and *ministro* (minister), and there are no female terms for *ingenere* (civil engineer) and *finanzier* (financier), although there are female equivalents for many words ending in *–ere*: e.g. *infermierel-a* (male/female hospital nurse); *portierel-a* (doorman/ door women); *camerierel-a* (waiter/waitress). Similarly, some masculine words ending in *–ore* have no female forms, e.g. *assessore* (municipal official). Yaguello (1978 cited in Pauwels, 1998:44) states that   French lacks female equivalents for masculine words like *le directeur* (director), *docteur* (doctor) *professeur* (professor/teacher) and *ingénieur* (civil engineer), although there are productive feminine suffixes for the masculine *–eur*, e.g. *–euse* as in *vendeuse* (female shop assistant), *chanteuse* (female singer).

Gibbon (1999) points to another type of lexical gap that can be found in a range of occupational and other human agent nouns which contain the controversial free morpheme *–man*, e.g. *fisherman, chairman, fireman*. This morpheme is considered by many feminist critics to refer to a male person, conjuring up male images. Although in the English language there is a female equivalent morpheme available i.e *–woman* (e.g. chairwoman), this is seldom used to form the female equivalent for these words. Bem and Bem's (1973) study on the use of masculine generic and non-sexist generics in job advertisements in English shows that gender-biased generics can have an impact on women's and men's application for a job. In other words, when masculine generics (e.g. telephone lineman) were avoided, women's interest in pursuing job opportunities was higher.

In this respect, research was carried out by Schneider and Hacker (1973) on the use of gender-neutral language in titles and headings in history and social studies textbooks in the English language. Using neutral language reduced the male imagery associated with such titles. For example, when children were asked to provide illustrations associated with titles such as industrial man, 64 per cent of the pictures only showed men. This percentage was reduced to 50 percent when gender-neutral titles were used.

3.2.1.2. Derivation of female referent names

As noted in the previous section, the generic use of nouns and pronouns can result in lexical gaps leading to the invisibility of women. On the other hand, feminist critics argue that deriving female referent names from those referring to men (e.g. actor, actress) leads to the viewing of female elements as secondary, and as having a dependent status which contributes to women's marginalization and devaluation in language. That is because the unmarked form is used for masculinity whereas the marked form is used for femininity (Spender, 1985). Pauwels (1998: 47) points to examples from different languages[4] which show that it is a common characteristic in which the female gender is marked through suffixing; the feminine suffix is usually added on to the masculine base. This derivation process contributes to the representation of men as the norm and women as derivatives, and shows morphological asymmetry where the female form of an occupational noun is derived from those of men (Gibbon, 1999). The trivializing effect of the feminine version led an Italian female senator, who was concerned about sexism in language and who argued against the process of asymmetrical naming practices in the parliament, to prefer to be referred to in the newspaper

---

[4] English: Suffixes in English are no longer (very) productive. The suffixes *–esse, -ette* were added onto masculine (gender-neutral) base: *manager-manageress*; *poet-poetess*; *major-majorette*; *usher-usherette*.

German: The most common feminine suffix in German is *–in*, which is added onto a masculine base: *Lehrer-in* (teacher), *Autor-in* (author).

Italian: Italian has a number of suffixes, i.e. *–a, -trice, -essa*: *professore/professoressa* (professor); *avvocato/avvocatessa* (lawyer); *student/studentessa* (students); *president/presidentessa*.

by means of the masculine (Pauwels, 1998), noting that in grammatical gender languages like Italian, adopting the masculine titles of men would lead to women's invisibility.

3.2.1.3. Terms of address for women

The way women are addressed is another practice which discriminates against women, especially in courtesy titles. In many European languages (Danish, Italian, Dutch, English, French, German, Norwegian, Spanish and Swedish), women's courtesy titles are based on marital status[5]; however, this practice is not applicable for men. This discrepancy reinforces the idea that a woman is the property of a man (her father or her husband)[6]. Spender (1985: 27) comments from a feminist perspective indicating that:

> The practice of labelling women as married or single also serves supremely sexist ends. There is tension between the representation of women as sex objects and the male ownership rights over women and this has been resolved by explicit and most visible devices designating the married status of women.

Accordingly, women are supposed to reveal facts about their social status; however, if one wishes to address a man formally, one should prefix his last name with the term *'Mr'* which indicates that men are not expected to reveal facts about their social status (Saul, 2003). Alternative terms to courtesy titles for women are discussed in section 3.4.1. In the language of the media, asymmetrical use of professional titles also takes place when women's professional titles disappear and are replaced by the courtesy titles *Mrs* and *Miss*, for example, (President Reagan and Mrs Thatcher) (Pauwels, 1998). She adds, in German, a woman upon marriage is expected to adopt her husband's professional title, for example, *Frau Professor*, *Frau Doktor*. Another practice which still exists in some societies is referring to the woman in relation to her husband, as in *Mrs John Citizen*. This contributes to the view of women being the property of their husbands, where they have no linguistic identity of their own.

---

[5] For example, in Danish a woman is addressed as *Fru, Mevrouw* in Dutch, *Madam or Mrs* in English, *Madame* in French, *Frau* in German, *Signora* in Italian, and *Frue* in Norwegian. On the other hand, if a woman is not married, she is addressed as *Fruken* in Danish, *Juffrouw/Mejuffer* (Dutch), *Miss* (English), *Mademoiselle* (French), *Fräulein* (German), *Signorina* (Italian), and *Froken* (Norwegian) (Pauwels, 1998: 60).

It is worth noting that the sociolinguistic studies on address forms have often focused on different socio-cultural settings. Brown and Gillman (1960) point out that the choice of linguistic forms is determined by the formality of the context, and the relationship between interlocutors in a speech event. For example, in French, the use of *tu* (you (second person pronoun singular)) and *vous* (you (second person pronoun plural)), is governed by two factors: power and solidarity; where solidarity is mostly expressed in reciprocal use of either *tu* or *vous* pronoun; however, the plural form *vous* is used as a way of expressing formality, respect or social distance (Brown and Gilman, 1960).

3.3. The relationship between language and social attitudes

The range of views on the interrelationship between language and social attitudes contributes to different positions on language reform strategy and its purpose. One view is based on the belief that language reflects social reality, which means that the way in which language is used and structured is influenced by non-linguistic reality including organizations, social structure and social ideologies (Pauwels, 1998). She adds that this view was subscribed to by sociolinguists like Labov, Trudgill and Lesley Milroy, and anthropological linguists like Franz Boas, in studying the language in society and culture. Pauwels (1998) indicates that the supporters of this view believe that reforming sexist language would not lead to the desired social change. They consider the inequitable treatment of women is not a result of sexist practices in language, but reflected in them. Accordingly, they call for promoting social change and changing sexist attitudes in order to obtain social equality between the sexes, which will lead eventually to linguistic change. This view was expressed by Lakoff (1975: 47) as follows:

> Social change creates language change, not the reverse; or at best, language change influences changes in attitudes slowly and indirectly, and these changes in attitudes will not be reflected in social change unless society is receptive already.

However, this view was challenged by proponents of language reform, who argue that "language change lags behind changes in social and cultural practices" (Pauwels, 1998: 85). In other words, the changes in the position and roles of women in society are not reflected in language. For example, there is a lack of appropriate occupational terms for women, which indicates their invisibility and subordinate status despite their participation in professions traditionally dominated by men.

A second view is known as determinism. Supporters of this view think that language plays a fixed role in constructing culture and social reality (Kress & Hodge, 1979; Chen & Starosta, 2005). This view was influenced by the strong version of the Sapir-Whorfian hypothesis, which suggests that language can influence one's thinking since thinking occurs (primarily) through language. Accordingly, "language determines how we construct and view both the physical and the social world", for example, people with different native languages have different views of reality because they construct reality in different ways through their languages (Pauwels, 1998: 83). Supporters of this view believe that language is an instrument of both oppression and liberation. Feminists like Dale Spender who call for language reform adopt this view because, as she believes, men control the language, and specifically the English language. They can name, define, encode and change meanings; they even construct and present reality, which had resulted in creating a man-made language, and women's subordinate status in society. Spender (1980: 139) indicates that:

> Language helps form the limits of our reality. It is our means of ordering, classifying and manipulating the world. It is through language that we become members of a human community, that the world becomes comprehensible and meaningful, that we bring into existence the world in which we live.

The third view holds a middle position between the first and the second views of the relationship between language and social attitude. Its advocates believe that language not only reflects social reality, but also helps in shaping and transmitting social reality (Bright, 1976; Gao, 2005; Hudson, 1980). This view, known as the interactionist view, emphasizes the act of mutual influence between language and reality, where the direction of the effect between them is not determined. It is also known among some feminist scholars as a weak version of the Sapir-Whorfian hypothesis (Frank and Treichler, 1989). In other words, "language both helps construct sexual inequality and reflects its existence in society" (Graddol and Swann, 1989: 165). The advocates of this view believe that linguistic action regarding sexist language will not have a drastic effect in reducing discriminatory practices, but rather it can increase people's awareness that language as a medium for transmitting ideas and values is not neutral, and it may give women the opportunity to express their experiences and perspectives (Pauwels, 1998). Similarly, Cameron (1995b: 143) believes that the objective of changing sexist language is to increase the visibility of women as "changing what counts as acceptable behaviour is one of the ways you go about changing prevailing attitude." Mills and

Mullany (2011) believe that the aim of feminist research is not only to change the way that women and men think about the language that they use, but also to have an impact on the way that women and men are treated and the way that they think about themselves. They add that the specific political purpose of feminist studies is defined based on the role that language plays in creating, sustaining and/or perpetuating unequal gender relations and discriminations against women.

Language reform has taken different paths according to the type of linguistic sexism and according to the nature of language, whether it is a natural gender language or a grammatical gender language.

3.4. Language reform

The objective of language reform is to rid languages from sexism by substituting sexist practices with non-sexist ones in language use. Feminist language planning efforts are primarily motivated by social aspects rather than linguistic representations, as language reform is believed to play a major role in achieving social equality as it raises people's awareness of the importance of language as a medium for reflecting social changes, and expresses the recognition of the presence of women in society. The following are different approaches which have been undertaken to reform linguistic sexism, and these will be considered when analyzing the study data.

3.4.1. Adopting new forms of address

There are different proposals regarding the courtesy titles which distinguish married and unmarried women. One of the proposals was the introduction of a new title, *'Ms'*, to replace the discriminatory titles of '*Mrs, Miss'*. Another proposal suggests introducing the parameter of marital status and applying it to men. In this respect, Pauwels (1987: 136) comments on the *'Ms'* proposal:

> It is perhaps questionable whether the *'Ms'* proposal is indeed the simplest and the most efficient way of remedying the present imbalance in the personal title system. For instance, introducing another personal title for men … may have been simpler: a male equivalent for either *'Mrs'* or *'Miss'* would have filled the lexical gap … without having to remove two existing titles ('*Mrs'* and *'Miss'*) and replace them by a third title (*'Ms'*). Another alternative would have been to make '*Mrs'* the universal personal title for (adult) women …. And abandon the use of '*Miss'* to refer to adult, unmarried women.

Among the different proposals, the use of '*Ms*' has been largely adopted, especially in the US. Although the introduction of *'Ms'* is meant to be a replacement for '*Mrs*' and '*Miss*' to indicate that the person in question is (+female) and (+adult) without referring to her marital status, in Britain '*Ms*' is used as an additional option along with '*Miss*' and '*Mrs*', which violates its original message (Saul, 2003). She adds that there is also a misunderstanding of the meaning of 'Ms' in the US and the UK as some take it to refer to a feminist or a divorced woman. However, the use of the new title is used by women more than men in English speaking countries, and this is confirmed by estimates conducted by *Ms Magazine* in the late of 1970s, suggesting that one third of all American women preferred to use the alternative courtesy title '*Ms*' (Steinem, 1983). In other languages like French, German, Italian, Dutch and Danish, the gender inequality in courtesy titles was dealt with by redefining the equivalent of 'Mrs' to be used as a universal courtesy title to refer to adult women without reference to marital status (Pauwels, 1998).

3.4.2. Gender neutralization

Gender neutralization, which suggests minimizing or eliminating gender-specific expressions, is a strategy used to achieve linguistic equality of the sexes. In other words, in generic contexts, if the human agent nouns or pronouns or other parts of speech are marked as masculine or feminine, the morphosyntactic and lexical features should be neutralized for gender specially when dealing with natural gender languages because grammatical gender languages involve highly complicated systems with regard to gender and gender concordance with other parts of speech (Pauwels, 1989).

The gender neutralization approach entails adopting the masculine/generic form to refer to both sexes by eliminating the suffixed forms used for female professional and occupational nouns, for example, *poet* for *poetess* and *host* for *hostess.* This is because many of the suffixed forms caused morphological asymmetry and had a trivializing effect on the female bearer of the occupational noun, for example, the Italian female senator who preferred to be referred to in the newspaper by means of the masculine (see section 3.2.1.2). If it is important to reveal the gender of the person, this could be done lexically by using *'male/female'* before the generic form (Pauwels, 1998). Mills (2008) also refers to non-prestigious professional titles which have

been traditionally dominated by women, such as *'air hostess'*, which have now been replaced by more prestigious gender-neutral terms such as '*flight attendant*' or '*air steward*'.

Although Frank and Treichler (1989) argue that gender neutralization is not synonymous with non-sexist language, as the former refers to a process of linguistic description and the latter is a social functional description, gender neutralization is a strategy used to avoid sexist language. Mills (2008) indicates that she, along with other female academics, developed language guidelines through the University of Strathclyde's Programme for Opportunities for Women committee (POW) in 1990, when they first joined the university, which was a male-dominated technological institution. The language guidelines proposed included gender-free language focused on civility, since everyone in the university agreed that being civil to others was necessary. In this respect, Cameron (1995b: 134) argued:

> From a 'civility' perspective the point of using non-sexist language is not to challenge androcentric linguistic representations of the world at large, but merely to avoid offending/alienating women in the immediate context. This makes sexism a matter of individual men giving offence to individual women, rather than a systematic social process.

The POW committee challenged the language used to address women within the university as they felt it expressed a symbolic issue regarding women's presence in the university. For example, in a meeting the Chair started the meeting by saying 'Gentlemen, if we could begin the meeting' as if the attendees were all men. Mills (1989) believes that the reason behind using sexist language within the workplace is due to a belief that women are considered to be encroaching on masculine territory.

Mills (2008) explained that this was recognized by committee members, but these guidelines did not only target individuals, as the institution was involved in issuing these guidelines which were distributed throughout the university and to other universities in Scotland, with the assistance of the trade union within the university or by the institution itself. The aim of the POW committee was not only cleaning up the offensive language used about women, but rather to make the university environment a more welcoming place for women staff and students, and to reflect women's participation in the university.

This approach can also be used to form new gender neutral nouns especially when occupational and other human agent nouns have lexical or morphological features associated

with maleness, as in English there is a group of human agent nouns which contain the suffix -*man*, or its equivalent –*mand* in Danish and –*mann* in Norwegian and German (Pauwels, 1998: 110-111)[7]. Alternative generic forms are proposed for generic use which suggest the creation of new words or compounds involving the word –*person* or -*people* (and their equivalent in other languages) instead of the suffix -*man* or its equivalents in other languages, like *chairperson*, *salesperson* and so on. Another recommendation is to replace nouns containing –*man* with an existing gender-neutral synonym such as *president* or *head* for *chairman*, or to use 'human being' in English instead of the word *man*, and *ser humano* instead of *hombre* in Spanish.

Saul (2003: 179) refers to different recommendations regarding the use of the generic '*he/his*'. Some suggest attempting to avoid the need for a third person indefinite pronoun by using the plural form, for example, 'Students should make sure that they pick up handouts' instead of 'Each student should make sure that he picks up a handout,' or by using '*he or she'*, or '*s/he'*. She adds that the most appealing recommendation is to use '*they*' as a third person singular gender-neutral pronoun.

For prescriptive grammarians, the use of *'they'* and its variants '*their*' and '*them*' is not acceptable (Saul, 2003). Nonetheless, professional linguists find the descriptive side of language is more appealing as prescriptivism is often rather hard to justify since language changes over time. For Bodine (1998: 126), if '*they'* is illogical, then '*he'* is illogical too as 'one fails to agree in number, the other in gender'. Descriptively speaking, sentences like 'Anyone can do it if they try hard enough' or 'Who dropped their ticket?' are correct in English (Saul, 2003: 180-181); however, 'they' does not offer a universal solution, for example, 'Pat will pick up their shoes' is not acceptable even if Pat's gender is unknown. Instead, we can say 'Pat will pick up his or her shoes' or simply 'Pat will pick up the shoes'. This indicates that there is always a way to include both sexes in the use of language.

---

[7] For example, *salesman, chairman, businessman, police man* in English, *Formann* (Norwegian, president, chairman), *ombudsman* (Swedish), *Formand* (Danish, president, chairman), *zakenman* (Dutch, businessman).

3.4.3. Gender feminization

In grammatical-gender languages which have complicated gender marking systems in nouns, determiners and other parts of speech, such as Italian, French, Spanish, German and Arabic, gender feminization is more appropriate than gender neutralization as male terms when used for both sexes lead to women's invisibility in language (Mills, 2008). Consequently, feminists have campaigned for gender specification, meaning that separate terms are suggested to be used to refer to males and females (Pauwels, 2003). This can be achieved through systematic and symmetrical marking of gender in accordance with the language in question, and with the particular type of linguistic invisibility by making the invisible, who are in most cases women, visible, especially in generic contexts or in occupational terms which used to be dominated by men (Pauwels, 1998: 113). She gives examples from different languages, for example, in French, this approach leads to the systematic use of feminine suffixes to mark female job titles, for example, *la presidente* as the female equivalent of *le president* (the president), and the promotion of a new feminine suffix *–eure* as in *professeure* (professor), *docteure* (doctor)[8].

Language reform needs dedication and planning, and it cannot be attained by individual efforts, but rather requires collaborative efforts to achieve the desired changes, and also needs institutional support. Basing their arguments on equal (employment) opportunities and human rights acts, feminist language planners targeted agencies that can support the spread of change rapidly through a community due to their key role in shaping the representation of men and women, for example, publishers of educational material, the print media, education, and legislative writing (Pauwels, 2003). She adds that as a result of these efforts, terminology commissions, education ministries, employment councils and language academies have assisted feminist language planners in their task by making amendments according to their proposals. For example, in English speaking countries, non-sexist language policies are now found in many public and private sector organizations, and even in European counties and

---

[8] In Italian, for words ending in *–tore*, the suffix *–trice* is used to form the feminine form for occupational nouns, for example, *docttrice* for *docttore* (doctor), *ispettrice* for *ispettore* (inspector), for words ending in *-o, -iere, -ario*, the suffix *–a* is used to form the feminine form, for example, *medica* for *medico* (doctor), *ingegniera* for *ingegniere* (engineer), *segretaria* for *segretario* (secretary). Sabatini (1986) proposed that gender agreement in the complex noun phrase should consider the last mentioned noun to avoid complexity (cited in Pauwels, 1998).

supranational organizations such as UNESCO they are also increasingly developed (Pauwels, 1998).

3.5. Summary of chapter

To sum up, sexism is a practice that occurs in many languages; however, it differs in accordance with whether the language system is a natural or grammatical gender language, and it can differ according to ways in which women are perceived in a particular society. Based on the aspects of linguistic sexism discussed in this chapter, linguistic representations of women in the use of Arabic in Saudi Arabia have been considered in chapter five. In addition, different approaches to language reform have been looked at in order to see which approach can be adopted in case the results show the existence of linguistic sexism in the use of Arabic. Accordingly, the three main questions of the study[9] are based on the main topics raised in this chapter:

1) Types of overt linguistic sexism (see section 3.2.1)
2) The relation between language and social attitudes (see section 3.3)
3) Different approaches to language reform (see section 3.4)

The next chapter presents the methodological procedures used by the researcher to address the objectives and questions of the study.

---

[9] See section 1.4 .

Chapter 4 Research Design and Methodology

4.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology and procedures involved in planning and implementing this research. In addition to describing the study population, this chapter explains the overall approach in terms of the methods of data collection, including the design of the questionnaire and the focus group and the importance of these methods in acquiring the desired results. The analysis, including the statistical instruments and procedures used to analyse the quantitative and qualitative data, and the limitations of the data, are considered alongside the validity and reliability of the data, and the ethical issues.

The main objective of this study is to look into Saudi perceptions of the use of the Arabic language when addressing women or referring to them in order to investigate if linguistic sexism exists in the use of Arabic, as with the other languages mentioned in chapter three. It will then be decided whether alternatives to sexist forms of the language should be considered. As mentioned in section 2.5 that sexism may exist (as identified by a feminist linguistic) separate from people's perceptions; however, it was essential to reflect Saudis' perceptions in order to raise their awareness of a topic that has not been discussed in studies related to language and gender in Saudi Arabia. This objective is explored from a phenomenological perspective which can be achieved through gathering quantitative and qualitative data that reflect the research participants' perceptions of the investigated topic (see section 1.3). This perspective can reflect subjective experience and insights into people's understandings, motivations, reasons and actions.

Primary research needs to be undertaken in order to gather the necessary information. In order to investigate this issue, different approaches should be taken into account. There are two main paradigms in social science research, the positivist and critical interpretative approaches, respectively known as quantitative and qualitative, or deductive and reflective (Ticehurst and Veal, 1999). Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2007) believe that a variety of data collection tools are important to obtain reliable data. This surely depends on the research questions and on the nature of the research. In a mixed methods study, a quantitative phase

can be followed by a qualitative component to add depth to the quantitative results (Dornyei, 2007). He adds that mixed methods research has a unique potential to provide evidence for the validity of research outcomes through convergence and corroboration of the findings. However, interviews' data do not necessarily reflect the underlying memory but rather they represent voices adopted by research participants in response to the researchers' prompts and questions, and these voices might or might not truly correspond to what the research participant thinks or would choose to say in another context (Block, 2000).

I have used different methods to approach the objectives of study from different angles in order to improve the chances of acquiring reliable and better data and to gain valuable insights by garnering subjective views from the participants. A combination of quantitative and qualitative data is undertaken to build an understanding of the social context in which these attitudes and beliefs are formed. Both are used as the main sources of primary data collection, since they complement each other in terms of quantity and quality. For the quantitative part a questionnaire was administered, and for the qualitative part, focus groups were conducted. Both methods were used to address all of the research questions. The difference between the two methods is that the questions raised in the questionnaire were more precise whereas focus groups' questions were more general with no pre-defined set of answers. That is because the former studies and measures the attitudes of people objectively in a numerical way, and the latter seeks to gain a deeper understanding of peoples' subjective attitudes in a non-numerical way.

4.2. Description of the study population

In order to locate participants for this study, the researcher contacted five Saudi females and five Saudi males who were trusted colleagues willing to distribute the questionnaire. After explaining the purpose of the questionnaire to these colleagues, the questionnaire was distributed to participants who had to meet the following criteria:

1. They were native speakers of Arabic.
2. They were Saudis who had been born and raised in Saudi Arabia.
3. They were of various age groups, marital status, and educational and occupational backgrounds.

The three locations of residence selected by the researcher were Jeddah, Makkah and Taif. These were chosen to represent as accurately as possible the views of different segments of society. A detailed description of the study population is given in section 5.2. Six hundred copies of the questionnaire were distributed by hand, and 365 were returned (168 males and 197 females) (see appendix 1). The distribution took place in the government and private sector in universities, ministries, and banks; however, in private institutions, the distribution had to be achieved through the management office, which made it difficult to follow up with those people who had received the questionnaire. This led to a large number of unreturned copies. My colleagues, who helped me in distributing the questionnaire, were told to verbally explain the following points to the participants:

1. the purpose of the research
2. confidentiality and anonymity
3. the voluntary of their participation where they have the freedom to withdraw at any point if they feel uncomfortable answering any of the questions.

In addition, five focus groups were held by the researcher with just the females due to social considerations, as most of the institutions were segregated. Focus groups of men with the help of my male colleagues could not be conducted due to the difficulty in recruiting appropriate participants, bringing them together, moderating the group and being familiar with the topic and its details. Each focus group lasted for one hour. The following table shows a description of the focus groups' participants:

Focus group	Participants' number	Age	Marital status	Education	Occupation	Location of residence
1	5	25-35	married	Post-Graduate	Public college	Jeddah
2	5	40-50	married	Ph.D holders	Private sector	Jeddah
3	6	35-45	singles	Bachelor's degree	Private sector	Jeddah
4	5	35-45	2 married, 2 divorced, 1 single	Bachelor's degree	Private sector	Jeddah
5	6	25-35	5 married, 1 single	Bachelor's degree	4 house wives, 2 Public sector	Taif

Table: 4.1 Focus groups' participants

Focus group researchers may study naturally occurring social groups (e.g. friendship groups, work colleagues, or family members), as individual opinions are formed and shaped through talking and arguing with families, friends and colleagues about incidents and issues in everyday life (Wilkinson, 1998). However, Tonkiss (2004: 201) indicates that group members could share relevant selection criteria, but be unknown to each other. On the other hand, some participants might find it difficult to talk explicitly about intimate or personal matters to a complete stranger. Accordingly, a group of women aged between 25 and 50 were selected to obtain the benefit of their experience and insight in this area, because this age range is more experienced with the obstacles that might be encountered in both social life and the labour market with regard to women's participation in the public sphere. The target number of each group was six women; however, with the absence of some participants without prior notice, some groups were reduced to five participants. The group members already knew each other, and were selected for their similarities in terms of age, marital status, occupation, education and location of residence. This smoothed the progress of the discussion and encouraged the participants to attend. The process of distributing the questionnaire and of conducting the focus groups took place in the period between April 2011 and July 2011.

4.3.   The questionnaire and its design

Using a questionnaire as a research tool enables a large number of participants to be covered, and it is an effective way to reach male participants due to the segregation in most of the institutions in Saudi society.

In order to reduce non-responses to questions and collect meaningful and complete data, it is important to design and construct a questionnaire that is appealing and comprehensive to all respondents (Dillman, 2000). Oppenheim (1966) points out that the overall survey objectives and questionnaire design have to be clarified before thinking about the wording of particular questions. He argues that poorly designed questionnaires leave "too many loopholes" which lead to flawed data and answers which do not match the research objectives, or which are difficult to analyze (Oppenheim, 1966: 4).

Before developing the questionnaire, the areas that the questionnaire intended to cover were considered based on the aspects of language highlighted in chapter three and on the main

objective of this study. Accordingly, the questionnaire was divided into five main sections thematically, to facilitate the analysis (see appendix 1):

1. Demographic information includes respondents' gender, marital status, age group, occupation, education and the location of their residence.

2. Terms of address and reference for women

3. The use of the generic nouns to refer to females

4. The use of the generic nouns for females in job titles

5. General attitude towards the three aspects of language

The following aspects were followed in the design of the questionnaire:

• The respondent's reference number was placed on each page of the questionnaire to enable the respondents to be filed appropriately, and to prevent the questionnaires being mixed up.

• An appropriate title was applied, and a cover letter was attached to give more detail about the questionnaire's purpose and the reasons why the respondent should participate.

• The length of the questionnaire was kept short, and the questions were constructed in a reasonable order and in comprehensive language to facilitate the answering process and reduce misinterpretation.

• A majority of closed questions was used with comprehensive tick options in order to reduce the completion time and facilitate the analysis. Griffith et al. (1999) indicate that open-ended questions are more likely to result in missing data than closed-ended ones due to the greater duration of time required to answer them. However, although closed-ended questions yield a better completion rate, it is evident that they may lack accuracy and depth (Griffith et al., 1999). Accordingly, a mixed approach was used in the questionnaire to deepen and enhance the findings, especially with the male participants who did not participate in the focus groups.

4.4. Focus Groups

For little more than half a century, the focus group method has been employed in social science research. In other words, it is a relatively recent phenomenon among social scientists.

The invention of the focus group method is attributed to the sociologist Robert Merton and his colleagues Patricia Kendall and Marjorie Fiske (Wilkinson, 1998).

A focus group interview is conducted by having a small group discuss a topic or issue defined by the researcher (Morgan, 1997). The discussion should explore a specific set of issues (Kitzinger and Barbour, 1999). Powell et al. (1996: 499) define a focus group as "a group of individuals selected and assembled by researchers to discuss and comment on, from personal experience, the topic that is the subject of research." For Bedford and Burgess (2001: 121), a focus group is "a one-off meeting of four to eight individuals who are brought together to discuss a particular topic chosen by the researcher(s) who moderates or structures the discussion."

These definitions suggest common features that identify focus groups: organized discussion (Kitzinger, 1994), collective activity (Powell et al., 1996), social events (Goss and Leinbach, 1996) and interaction (Kinzinger, 1995). The role of the moderator is to involve group discussions about a topic selected by him/her and to present it through either a task-based method, by presenting a video clip or playing a game, or simply by asking them open questions to encourage discussion. The discussions are usually audio/video-taped and transcribed in order to constitute the data; however, the focus group conducted in this study was only audio-taped due to social considerations.

Until recently, individualistic research methods (e.g. the individual interview) have been used extensively as the norm within feminist psychology. However, understanding the person within a social context has become the main concern in feminist psychology due to the role of interaction in constructing meanings and knowledge, as highlighted by Hare-Mustin and Marecek (1990) and Morawski and Agronick (1991).

On the other hand, focus groups provide an important methodological tool for feminist research in general as they help in exploring issues relevant to the person in context – that is, to study the individual within a social context – thus avoiding decontextualization (Bryman, 2008).

Group discussion provides women with a supportive environment in which they can explore their experiences (Finch, 1984). Mies (1983: 127) points out that "this collectivization of women's experience is …… a means of getting more and more diversified information." In other words, through sharing experience, women can raise their consciousness and they can develop an awareness of the social and political processes which constructed their experiences. The attitudes of Saudi women towards the biased use of language helped me to reach an understanding through the sharing of these women's experiences of the social and cultural elements that may have led to their marginalization in the language when they are addressed or referred to.

Another advantage of the focus group method is that it generates a huge amount of data through interaction. This is produced, as Merton (1987: 555) indicates, by participants asking questions, disagreeing with each other and challenging each other, and thus serves "to elicit the elaboration of responses." Wilkinson (1999) points out the fact that group interaction, as it is a normal part of social life, provides a less-artificial situation. Consequently, there is a greater opportunity to elicit information from the participants and to derive understanding from the lived experiences of women. Through focus group discussions, hypotheses can be explored or generated (Powell and Single, 1996) and questions or concepts for questionnaires and interview guides can be developed (Hoppe et al., 1995; Lankshear, 1993).

In addition to the benefits to the researcher of using the focus groups method, there are a number of benefits for the participants of focus group research; for example, they have the opportunity to be involved in the decision-making process (Race et al., 1994) and the chance to work collaboratively with researchers (Goss and Leinbach, 1996). They can also become a medium for change (Race et al., 1994).

Focus groups were conducted by the researcher with five to six women who shared similar characteristics or common interests. Participants were encouraged to share their perceptions and points of view regarding the investigated topic. The normal group size is six to ten participants (Morgan, 1998 cited in Bryman, 2008). He adds that a smaller group is preferable if the topic is controversial or complex and when participants have much to say on the researched topic. Due to the nature of the proposed topic, which is related to women's experiences and their involvement with society, the target size of each group was six

participants due to its sensitivity, but the absence of some participants resulted in a reduction in the group on some occasions to five participants. This method was applied to obtain more in-depth information on participants' perceptions, insights, attitudes, experiences, or beliefs in order to complement the results of the questionnaire. In addition to a prepared list of open questions, a caricature[10] related to the subject of the study was used to encourage the group to engage in the discussion.

As the main aim of the study is to look into the relation between the investigated aspects of language and the social position of women in Saudi society, the open questions used in the focus groups represented this point (an example of the first focus group is provided - see appendix 14 and 15) .

Examples of questions related to aspects of language in the study are:

1) What are the most common terms used in Saudi society to address women or refer to them?
2) How do you perceive terms of address and reference of women used in Saudi society?
3) Is the generic use of the masculine form in the labour law applied to both men and women equally? (participants were provided with a copy of the related articles in the labour law)
4) Are municipal councils' resolutions clear in terms of women's participation in voting and nomination? (participants were provided with a copy of the related document)
5) Why job titles with high status are used generically?
6) Do you accept the use of the masculine form in job titles for traditional positions, for example, teacher of Arabic language**?**

Examples of questions related to the social positions of women in Saudi society are:

1) To what extent does the caricature reflect women's status in the society? (participants were provided with a copy of the caricature- appendix 12)
2) Why is mentioning women's name in Saudi society not appropriate although Prophet Mohammad used to refer to his wives by their names without any reservations, and even King Abdulaziz used to be proud of his sister Noura?
3) Why are females' schools named by using numbers rather than using female historical and Islamic figures, as in males' schools?

---

[10] See appendix 12.

4) Do you think the society's awareness has been raised with the increasing number of educated women?
5) Do you think females should be admitted to new areas of study like Marine Science, Petroleum?
6) What are the obstacles affecting women's full participation in the economic development of society?
7) In terms of equality, do you think women should participate in the expenses of the house?

Examples of concluding questions are:

1) Do you think women should be addressed by her first name?
2) Do you think women should be referred to explicitly in the labour law?
3) Do you think job titles should be feminized?

In addition to the advantages of focus groups, there are a number of disadvantages. Practical disadvantages and the theoretical limitations of using the focus group method in conducting research were discussed by Wilkinson (1998). She indicates that the practical disadvantages include the following: conducting a focus group session might be difficult and time consuming, especially in recruiting appropriate participants and bringing them together. Moderating a group needs some prior training (and practice) in the skills of managing the group, controlling the topic when they talk about irrelevant matters, and giving the opportunity for all participants to participate. In other words, the moderator's role is very important in promoting debate, by asking questions and probing for details and moving things forward when conversation is drifting or has reached a minor conclusion. Moderators also should not influence participants' opinions or positions, and that is what distinguishes focus groups from individual interviews.

Wilkinson (1998) adds that the researcher needs specialized equipment for good-quality recording. Perhaps the most important practical problem which can be considered an extremely painstaking and time-consuming process is the transcription of the tapes (how good the recording quality is) followed by the analysis of a huge amount of transcribed data. It is very difficult to analyse such quickly produced data, or to develop a strategy of analysis that includes a theme and a pattern.

The theoretical limitations of the method include the fact that focus group data are produced by small numbers of people who might not be a representative sample for the whole population (Wilkinson, 1998). Wilkinson and Kitzinger (1995) believe that one of the most common problems is to make assumptions of underlying attitudes, opinions, feelings, or motives for individuals' talk. Finally, the method of the focus group may discourage some participants from participating if they are not articulate, are shy, or have communication problems.

4.5. Analysis and limitations of the data

Upon the completion of the process of quantitative data collection, the data were put into an SPSS 17.0 programme (Statistical Procedures for Social Science) in order to run tests for statistical confidence. The process started with the coding of each variable of the data with a number to facilitate processing and analysis. Then, all the closed questions were measured by a 5-point scale in which 1 and 2 represented the levels of agreement and acceptance of each statement, 4 and 5 represented levels of disagreement and non-acceptance of each statement, and 3 represented neutral positions. However, question 19 was measured by a 3-point scale in which 1 represented a sexist term, 3 represented a non sexist term, and 2 represented a neutral position.

The data were analysed by univariate analysis to produce simple counts of each value for a variable and its percentage frequencies to "communicate the key features" of the data for more in-depth analysis (Robson et al., 2005: 59). Because the analysis focused on the difference in male and female perceptions regarding the linguistic representations for women in the use of Arabic, cross-tabulation was used to indicate any significant difference in perceptions between these two groups, based on the result of a chi-square test. Due to the length of the study, other variables like age range, marital status, educational and occupational background and location of residence were considered only if the analysis showed the significance of these variables.

Qualitative data analysis was used to provide an explanation for the findings of quantitative data analysis. In other words, a combination of quantitative data analysis and qualitative data analysis was undertaken to get more in-depth information on participants' perceptions,

insights, attitudes, experiences, or beliefs regarding the investigated topics. Focus group data were analysed thematically. In other words, the researcher drew themes across the entire data set in order to capture something important about the data in relation to the research questions, and represent some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set.

Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data in order to interpret various aspects of the research topic (Boyatzis, 1998). The followings are the identified themes which were based on the research questions:

- Participants' perceptions on terms of address and reference of women
- Participants' perceptions on the generic use on the masculine form in the labour law and in the municipal councils' resolution
- Participants' perceptions on the generic use of the masculine form in occupations with high status
- Participants' perceptions on the social position of women in Saudi society

After identifying the themes of the focus groups' data, transcription of the verbal data was completed. There are various conventions for transforming spoken text into written texts (see Edward and Lampert, 1993; Lapadat and Lindsay, 1999). In conversation analysis, some systems of detailed transcription have been developed (see Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998), which, will result in many pages of text per focus group meeting. However, thematic analysis does not require the same level of details. The researcher can focus on the research questions and only transcribe the portions that assist in a better understanding of the phenomenon of interest (Boyatzis, 1998). Accordingly, I transcribed data related to the identified themes, and then I translated them into English. Being familiar with the depth and breadth of the content of the data by reading the entire data set is an important step before the coding process because it helps in identifying possible patterns while reading through.

The process of coding is part of analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1994) as data can be organized into meaningful group (Tukett, 2005). Before the coding process, decisions should be made regarding the theoretical framework. In thematic analysis, themes can be identified either in an inductive or 'bottom up' way (Boyatzis, 1998), or in a theoretical or deductive or 'to down' way (Crabtree and Miller, 1999). An inductive approach is data driven, in other words, a process of coding data without trying to fit them into a pre-existing frame. On the other hand, a 'theoretical' thematic analysis is driven by the researcher's theoretical interest in the area.

The coding process is influenced by choosing between these two approaches. In the former, the specific research questions can evolve through the coding process, whereas in the later, you code for specific research questions. I based the analytical framework for the focus groups' data on a theoretical approach because it tends to provide more detailed analysis of some aspects of the data rather than a rich description of the data overall. Accordingly, the coding process followed the identified themes mentioned earlier, and it was done manually.

Another decision should be made regarding the level of analysis. Boyatzis (1998) indicates that themes can be analysed either: at a semantic or explicit level where the analyst reflects the surface meanings of the data, or at a latent or interpretive level where the analyst goes beyond the semantic content of the data by identifying the underlying ideas, assumptions, and ideologies – that are theorised as shaping or informing the semantic content of the data. A combination of semantic and latent level of analysis was done. Semantic level of analysis was used (see section 5.3) to provide an explanation for quantitative data analysis and to get more in-depth information on participants' perceptions, insights, attitudes, experiences, or beliefs regarding the investigated topics. Then latent level of analysis was used in the discussion of data (see section 5.4) to provide a deeper level of analysis and to identify the underlying ideas and ideologies.

Throughout the analysis, those who participated in the questionnaire were referred to as a respondent (R) preceded by (F) for female respondents and (M) for male respondents. People who participated in the focus groups were referred to as a participant (P) preceded by (F) since all participants in the focus groups were females.

The study was limited to three cities of the western province of Saudi Arabia (Jeddah, Makkah and Taif). Other distant and remote areas were not covered due to the difficulty in travelling to these areas in addition to the fact that social change in these areas is more static than in urban areas, which might not affect the result of the study. The justification of the choice of these three cities is given in the analysis chapter (see section 5.2.6). There also was the difficulty of urging people to participate in completing the questionnaire due to the sensitivity of the topic of the study.

Another limitation is that focus groups were only conducted with females due to social considerations and the segregation between males and females in most of the institutions; however, most of the questions of the questionnaire were provided with a space for comments to obtain more in-depth insights, in the form of 'Have you any comments'. Some difficulties were experienced in arranging appointments for focus groups leading to the cancellation of some focus groups when more than one participant expressed their inability to participate. Moreover, analyzing reversal attitudes of participants and conflict of attitudes within the same group of gender was not an easy task.

4.6. Validity and reliability

A pilot study was carried out by the researcher prior to conducting the actual field study in order to assess the extent of the study problem. The pilot study was conducted with Newcastle University Saudi students. In this preliminary exercise, two focus groups were held in February 2011 with Saudi postgraduate students (males and females) to test the clarity of the Arabic version of the questionnaire in terms of language and consistency, noting that the Arabic version of the questionnaire was distributed. Accordingly, some questions were adjusted, other questions were omitted, and others were added. After constructing the final version of the questionnaire, it was distributed to ten Saudi postgraduate and undergraduate students in two stages, with the same participants, one at the beginning of March 2011 and the other at the end of March 2011. The results demonstrated similar answers and this confirmed the validity of the questionnaire. The number of returned copies of the questionnaire suggested the reliability of the results. A reliable test (Chi-square) was used throughout the analysis to explore differences and similarities in gender perceptions because this is the main focus of the study.

Before conducting the actual focus groups in the period between April 2011 and July 2011, two pilot focus groups were conducted to see if the general questions would generate the desired data in terms of quality and relevance to the topic investigated. The general questions were based on the topics raised in the questionnaire but left open to participants' interpretations. The actual focus groups and the questionnaire, which was distributed by hand, took place in Saudi Arabia in the three cities mentioned in section 4.2. The focus group was the methodological tool used in this research to give more insight and meaning to the survey

data results, and to obtain more valid and reliable data. This concurs with Golafshani (2003), who stated that "engaging multiple methods …… will lead to more valid, reliable and diverse construction of realities."

4.7. Ethical issues

In all methods of social research, ethical issues should be considered (Homan, 1991). Bryman (2008) indicates that the Research Ethics Framework (REF) outlines the ethical issues faced when conducting research. All participants should be aware of the following:

1. The purpose of the research: this means that the participants should be given as much information as needed for them to decide whether to participate, and they should be informed of how their contributions will be used. Peel (2004) indicates that they should know that their participation is voluntary. They should be informed that they are free to refuse to answer or comment on any of the questions asked by the researcher.

2. Confidentiality and anonymity: this means that the researcher should deal with the identity and records as confidential, and s/he should also ensure that individuals are not identified or identifiable. Holmes (2004) suggests some tips to protect participant data. The researcher should not store participants' names and addresses on hard drives, and should use identifier codes on data files and keep the list of participants and their identifier codes in a locked cabinet. However, the focus groups method is not fully confidential or anonymous due to the fact that the material is shared with others in the groups (Bryman, 2008), but it is the duty of the researcher to assure the participants that everything said in the session is confidential and to ensure that all participants will keep it confidential.

3. No harm can be caused by their participation. Harm might include physical harm, stress and loss of self-esteem.

Finally, the researcher should respect the codes and traditions of the society where s/he is conducting the study. For example, it is not acceptable for the Saudi society to videotape the session if it includes women participants due to the customs, traditions and prevailing thoughts of those involved. This will be discussed in detail in the analysis chapter. In this way,

facial expressions and body language of agreement and disagreement cannot be conveyed in the analysis; however, the researcher should take that into consideration.

All of the ethical issues were considered in the questionnaire and focus groups. For example, a cover letter was attached to the questionnaire to give more details about the questionnaire's purpose and the reasons why the respondent should participate. It also informs the respondent about confidentiality, anonymity and voluntary of their participation. In addition, it gives the respondent the freedom to withdraw at any point if he/she feels uncomfortable to answer any of the questions. The respondent's reference number was placed on the questionnaire, so the respondents are referred to in the research by using this reference number.

In focus groups' sessions, the researcher was keen to take participants' verbal agreement to their participations. They were informed of the purpose of the research and given the opportunity to refuse to be engaged in the discussion if they did not want to. They were also assured that everything said in the session will be kept confidential. I used identifier codes for the participants in a way that they could not be identified or identifiable.

4.8. Summary of chapter

This chapter justified my approach in answering the research questions. It has also shown how the quantitative and qualitative data were dealt with, and how ethical issues were considered. The next chapter provides a comprehensive analysis and discussion of the quantitative and qualitative data. Qualitative analysis was used in this study to obtain a more in-depth explanation of the figures obtained from the quantitative data.

Chapter 5 Analysis and discussion

5.1. Introduction

The first part of this chapter analyses background information on the study population who participated in the questionnaire, to show the different segments of the society covered in this study. The second part illustrates the perceptions of Saudi males and females toward the linguistic representations of women in the use of Arabic, because this is the focus of the study, whereas other variables are considered if these appear to be significant. The analysis is followed by discussion of the fieldwork data in relation to the theoretical position of feminism towards language and gender studies.

A combination of quantitative data analysis and qualitative data analysis[11] was undertaken to obtain more in-depth information on the participants' perceptions, insights, attitudes, experiences, or beliefs regarding the investigated topics. The linguistic representations of women covered in this study include:

1. Terms of address and reference for women
2. The use of generic nouns (masculine form) to refer to females
3. The use of generic nouns (masculine form) for females in occupations.

All Arabic terms are placed between slashes and written by using the reading conventions for transcribed Arabic forms developed by Asad (2003) – see appendix 13.

These aspects of language were chosen based on the different types of overt linguistic sexism in some languages mentioned in section 3.2.1 to answer the following main questions:

1. Does linguistic sexism exist in the use of Arabic according to the perceptions of Saudi males and females?

---

[11] FR or MR & (serial number) refer to comments by female or male respondents, respectively.
FPII & no. refers to comments by female participants in focus groups, followed by first name and last name initials, followed by the number of the focus group, for example (FPDA1).

2. How do Saudi males and females perceive the relation between the use of Arabic when addressing women or referring to them and the social position of Saudi women in society?

3. What attitudes do Saudi males and females express about women's representations in the use of Arabic?

5.2. Demographic information of the study population

Demographic information includes details of the respondents' gender, marital status, age group, occupation, education and the location of their residence.

5.2.1. Gender

The analysis focuses mainly on the similarities and differences between males' and females' points of view, to convey an overall impression of how they view the subject of linguistic representations in the use of Arabic language when addressing or referring to women.

Table (A3.1 – Appendix 3) shows that females constituted 54% of the total population while males constituted 46%. It was easier to access female institutions and contact individuals due to the segregation between males and females in most of the public and private sectors. All other variables like marital status, age group, occupation, education and location of residence are classified by gender because it is the main focus of this study.

5.2.2. Respondents' marital status

Table (A3.2 – Appendix 3) shows that of all the male respondents, 50.6% were single and 47% were married, while only 1.8% were divorced and 0.6% were widowed, compared to 37.1% of the females being single and 53.8% being married, with just 7.6% being divorced and only 1.5% being widowed. When comparing married women to single, widowed or divorced women, it was found that they constituted the majority. Single women were more likely to be younger. Marriage is very important for females as most families' main concern in Saudi Arabia is to get their daughters married before a certain age. Being widowed or divorced for women is not accepted by a large segment of the society for two reasons: first, women are considered symbols of honour because their sexual purity may affect the honour and reputation of the family and, second, because of the importance of the guardianship concept in Saudi society.

Unlike women, marriage for a man is largely his own decision whenever he wants to get married or not without consideration of the age factor.

5.2.3. Age distribution

According to table A3.3 (Appendix 3), the age distribution figures show that the highest percentage of male respondents fell in the age range of 18-24 at 48.2%, because it was easy to access this age group as most of them were students. The proportion of females in different age groups was more reasonably distributed than that of males as the researcher had access to different female institutions due to the segregation between males and females in most of the public and private sectors. The highest percentage of the female respondents was 31% in the 35-44 age range, followed by 27.9% among the 18-24 age range, followed by 24.4% in the 25-34 age range. The questionnaire was distributed mainly among educational institutions and banks and different ministries, and this justifies the low number of respondents over 55 years old as the retirement age in the labour market is 60.

5.2.4. Respondents' occupations

Table A3.4 (Appendix 3) shows that 5.1% were unemployed women and only 2.4% were unemployed men. These low percentages compared to other groups were not due to the low level of unemployment in Saudi Arabia, but rather to the distribution process which took place in the workplaces, as mentioned above. The table also shows an equal percentage at 45.2% for both male government employees and students, and only 7.1% for self or private employees because it was very difficult to obtain permission from private institutions to distribute the questionnaire, as time is more valuable in the private sector than in the government sector, meaning the high work load and fewer employees (in the private sector). On the other hand, the females' figures show close percentages among students and self or private employees (25.4%, 26.9% respectively), and a high percentage among government employees at 42.6%. Again, it was easier to access and distribute the questionnaire in the government sector after obtaining permission on the content of the questionnaire, and then the distribution was done personally. On the other hand, in the private sector the distribution had to be done through the management office in any institution and could not be done

personally, making it impossible to follow up with people who received the questionnaire, and leading to the wasting of a large number of unreturned copies.

5.2.5. Respondents' highest level of educational qualifications

A high proportion of male respondents (table A3.5 – Appendix 3) had a bachelor's degree (66.7%), followed by a high school certificate (23.8%), followed by a diploma certificate (6%), but only 3% of male respondents had a master's degree, and only one male respondent had a doctorate. The majority of females (65%) had a bachelor's degree, followed by 13.7% with a high school certificate. About equal numbers of female respondents held a master's degree or a doctorate, but only 2.5% of females had a diploma certificate. Nowadays, males and females in Saudi Arabia have more concerns about obtaining at least a bachelor's degree, which is evident from the annual high numbers of male and female university graduates, based on the statistical information provided by the Ministry of Higher Education website[12] which indicates that the job market in Saudi Arabia is highly competitive.

5.2.6. Location of respondents' residence

Table A3.6 (Appendix 3), shows that the questionnaire was distributed in the western province of Saudi Arabia, specifically in three cities: Jeddah, Makkah and Taif. Jeddah has a special status because it is the second largest city after Riyadh, and it has the main harbour on the Red Sea. In addition, it is the entry point to Makkah for pilgrims who arrive by air or by sea. Accordingly, Jeddah is considered one of the main trading centres in the KSA, leading to high exposure to different nationalities through trade and employment. The exposure to different cultures may influence perceptions, interactions and communication (Young, 1998). People in Makkah also have this exposure but only with Muslims during the performance of the religious rituals where people come from different countries to perform Hajj and Umra. On the other hand, Taif is to an extent isolated and it has limited exposure to different nationalities due to its location on the slopes of the Sarawat Mountains, and the people there largely come from tribal roots. These three cities were selected to represent as accurately as possible the views of different segments of the society. In practice, it would be difficult to cover the entire

---

[12] Saudi Ministry of Higher Education http://www.mohe.gov.sa [accessed on April, 2012]

Kingdom because this process would require travelling to distant and remote areas. This justifies the large proportion of female and male respondents in Jeddah, where the researcher was based, at 71.1% and 55.4% of the total sample, respectively.

5.3. Saudi perceptions of linguistic representations of women in use of Arabic

This section is comprised of three main sub-sections representing the three aspects of linguistic representations for women mentioned in the introduction of this chapter. The study focuses on these three aspects based on the aspects of language explored in other languages which suggest a biased use of language in favour of men and against women (see section 3.2.1). The analysis is based mainly on differences and similarities in perceptions among male and female respondents in addition to other variables, if the analysis shows the significance of these variables due to the length of this study.

5.3.1. How are women addressed and referred to in Saudi Arabia?

Male Saudis have largely adopted a list of words to address women specifically in the colloquial form of Arabic, as shown in section 5.3.2.2. Items listed in tables 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5 are used in the standard form of Arabic, and items in tables 5.6, 5.7, 5.8 are used in the colloquial form. Males' and females' attitudes toward these items should be reflected whether they have negative or positive connotations through an evaluation of respondents' acceptability or refusal of these terms, especially female respondents since they are the addressee. However, before examining these views, a general attitude of male and female respondents regarding the mentioning of a woman's name in public, as a form of address and reference, is considered (see Table 5.1).

Do you think mentioning the name of women in public is socially prohibited in Saudi society?	Yes		Sometimes		No		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Males	132	78.6	16	9.5	20	11.9	168	100
Females	169	85.8	10	5.1	18	9.1	197	100

Table 5.1 General view towards women's names

Table 5.1 shows that the majority of male and female respondents believed that mentioning the name of a woman in public is socially prohibited in Saudi society (78.6%, 85.8%

respectively). This indicates that this customary practice, as perceived by some respondents (MR 240; MR242; FR20), is a phenomenon which has been looked at from a phenomenological perspective [13] in order to build an understanding of the respondents' perception of this phenomenon, and to obtain more insight into people's motivations and actions. Both Male and female perceptions have been reflected in the analysis.

Alshugairi (2008) criticized this phenomenon in his newspaper article by stating:

> The role of women today has been marginalized to the extent that some people deal with women's voices and names like */cawrah/* (the private parts of males and females that should be covered)! …… Some people call their wives */?al?ahil/* (the family), */?alHurma/* (the woman) and they apologize when they mention these terms. Others call their wives */?um ?alciya:l/* (the mother of children) *or /mara/* (woman). Why do they not call the woman by her name… O Messenger of Allah when someone asked You who is the most beloved one to You? He said in public Aisha his wife without feeling embarrassed. I do not know what causes these people to be embarrassed and why?[14]

This shows that hiding a woman's name is a phenomenon based on social norms rather than religious norms, as Prophet Muhammad used to refer to his wife by her name without reservations, and He represents a role model for all Muslims. Instead, alternative terms for women's names are used by a large segment of Saudi society to save the face of the speaker and/or the listener. Reasons for adopting such a practice are discussed in section 5.3.1.1.

To obtain more in-depth views regarding the existence of this social phenomenon in Saudi society, the female participants in the focus groups were asked to give their insights about a caricature[15] that described an old lady who was asked by a woman about her name three times, and who each time gave different answers which led to the same conclusion (appendix 12). She was either the daughter of (her father's name), or the wife of (her husband's name), or the mother of (her son's name). A female participant thought that even women feel

---

[13] see section 4.1

[14] Translation mine

[15] See section 4.4 & appendix 12

embarrassed to mention their names in public because they have become accustomed to hiding their personal identity. She said:

> The caricature reflects the importance of the presence of men in women's life in our society. It isn't only men who feel embarrassed at mentioning women's name in public, but also women, especially the old ones who are used to not mentioning their names in public. They would rather refer to themselves by using kinship titles because they feel that it is not appropriate to use their personal names (FPMB1).

This indicates that such a customary practice has gained general acceptance among women, especially the older generation who more likely to have a lower level of education. However, another participant pointed out that "My male cousins are still in elementary school, but they and their friends would pick on each other if they knew the name of the mother of any of them" (FPDA1). This suggests that avoiding women's name in public is a phenomenon in large segments of the society, and exists even in younger generations. The existence of this phenomenon is well-rooted to the extent that if a man mentions his wife's name in public, it is considered unusual because it violates the social norms known largely by the society. The caricature strongly expresses "the dependency of women on men because women are defined in relation to a male relative (father, husband or son), especially if the woman is unemployed" (FPAF4). This dependency can be social due to the importance of the guardianship concept in Saudi Arabia, or it can be financial especially when women are unemployed.

Moreover, the figures in table 5.1 suggest that using a woman's personal name in public is considered socially taboo in Saudi society because it provokes social concerns and reservations as a woman's personal identity includes her physical appearance, name and even her voice; all these are considered part of the symbol of honour. A topic becomes socially taboo when a group, culture, or society expresses strong social prohibition against words, objects, actions, discussion, or people that are considered unfavourable or offensive. Alfardan (2006) raised this point in her newspaper article:

> A large segment of Saudi society would feel ashamed of mentioning the names of their female relatives in front of others due to social attitudes associated with the society in which they live, making them feel offended when someone mentions their sister's name. This is evident in the campaigns of the census, where the campaign staff were faced with anger and indignation when they started to ask about the names of women in the house, forcing some employees to record false names[16].

Even when it comes to official documentation, people show unjustifiable resistance to giving accurate information about their female relatives' names. This emphasizes that a woman's name has become a socially taboo topic. This reflects the secondary position of women in patriarchal societies, as the function of the name is not only to address or refer to someone, but rather it is a personalized image of the individual.

Obscuring women's personal identity is not only practised on a personal level, it is also practised by educational institutions. This is evident by the asymmetrical process of naming boys' and girls' schools. This is a point which is discussed by AlSuraihi (2010) in his newspaper article by stating:

> Naming schools is part of the educational process, and the names given to males' schools are perfect examples of men of this nation in order to be the role model for the students..... This educational lesson is missed when dealing with naming the females' schools which follow numbers as if this nation did not know Khadija Bint Khuwailid, Na'ila, Asmaa' and Zubayda[17].

This indicates that the deliberate omission of women's names in general in Saudi society has gained gradual acceptance, and has been widely practised even in naming female schools. This customary practice is undertaken by the General Presidency for Girls' Education (led by male conservative elements of the society) who reflected their belief in such practices, and in the type of education they wanted to provide females with (see 2.4.1.2).

In an initiative for more reforms in Saudi society, King Abullah bin Abdulaziz called the girls' university in Riyadh the University of Princess Noura Bint Abdulrahman, the sister of King Abdulaziz, the founder of Saudi Arabia in 2008. Al-Dakeel (2008) indicates in his article that it is a message to those who think that a woman's personal identity should be hidden. King

---

[16] Translation mine

[17] Translation mine

Abdullah has remained consistent in supporting issues related to women's empowerment in Saudi society through increasing the visibility of women in society; however, these plans should take cautious steps if they are to be accepted by all the different segments of the society. One of the female participants expressed that naming female schools by numbers was not oriented by the government. She believed that the problem was with the male officials in the General Presidency for Girls' Education, who reflected their conservative attitudes toward women in naming female schools by numbers (FPMD4).

The invisibility of a woman's name is seen not only in the naming of female schools, but also in the way men perceive the contribution of women, according to one female participant:

> My father's major is in education and he conducted a workshop for the head teachers of male schools 6 years ago. They expressed their dissatisfaction with the female school's curriculum as the books used in it have the name of the female author written on the book (FPNA1).

This shows an attempt to disregard women's contributions, although men would not accept their contributions being neglected. It also reflects the prevailing attitudes toward women's social existence, which reinforce the visibility of men and the invisibility of women, and the interference of men in women's issues, even though female schools are segregated institutions.

The reasons for and the effects of this phenomenon that leads to the replacement of female personal names with different terms of address and reference are considered in the next section, in addition to the respondents' and participants' perceptions of the terms used to address or refer to women.

5.3.1.1. Reasons for not mentioning a woman's name in public

It is necessary to explore the extent of any similarities or differences between gender deferential perceptions of the reasons behind replacing women's personal names with different terms, which are used to save face for both the speaker and listener. This phenomenon needs to be understood and described from the respondents' and participants' viewpoints. The reasons listed in table 5.2 are based on factors that govern women's status in Saudi Arabia. These reasons entail religious versus social factors (see sections 2.4.1.1, 2.4.1.2

and 2.4.1.3). A chi-square[18] test was conducted in order to indicate significant differences in perceptions between the two gender groups.

Reason	Male					Female					Chi-square
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Sig.
Religious considerations	10.7%	10.7%	26.7%	24.7%	27.3%	3.9%	13.3%	11.1%	27.8%	43.9%	.000
Saudi customs and traditions	68.7%	22.7%	4.7%	1.3%	2.7%	74.6%	20.4%	1.7%	1.1%	2.2%	.532
Social attitudes towards women's role in Saudi society	17.3%	27.3%	34.7%	14.7%	6.0%	26.1%	33.3%	20.6%	15.0%	5.0%	.040
Obscuring women's identity	24.0%	20.0%	30.0%	15.3%	10.7%	34.6%	26.8%	14.0%	15.6%	8.9%	.005
Showing respect to women	39.3%	23.3%	18.0%	10.0%	9.3%	14.4%	17.2%	20.6%	22.2%	25.6%	.000

Table 5.2 Reasons for not mentioning a woman's name in public

One of the significant differences between males' and females' views about mentioning a woman's name in public related to religious considerations (*P=.00*). Table 5.2 shows that the large majority of females (71.7%), and slightly over half of the males respondents (52%) thought that religious consideration was not the main reason behind this phenomenon, and thus Islam cannot be held responsible for these assumptions, as It has given women a high status with regard to their basic rights (see section 2.4.1.1). It can also be said that all women's contributions in the early days of Islam are well recognized in Islamic history, and their names are not obscured, as discussed later in section 5.3.3.1.1. However, more men (10.7%) than women (3.9%) showed strong agreement with basing their assumptions on religious considerations, and this shows how religious principles can be interpreted by different organizations and even by different individuals. It also shows how customary practices are adopted and passed from generation to generation without recognizing if they belong to social or religious norms, thus creating what I call 'a grey area'.

In addition to the gender disparity on religious consideration, there is disparity in social attitudes towards the role of women in society. Over half of the females (59.4%), but fewer males (44.6%), viewed this phenomenon as a reflection of social attitudes toward the role of women in the society. This view, adopted by some segments of the society, is reflected in the social resistance to the introduction of education for females and their subsequent

---

[18] A chi square test will be used throughout this chapter to explore and report gender differences and similarities in perceptions.

employment (2.4.1.2, and 2.4.1.3). A female participant whose father used to work for the Ministry of Education said that "when they started building females' schools, they were faced with resistance from the society as they did not want girls to go out of the house" (FPSB3). When female education was first introduced in Saudi Arabia in the 1960s, it was under the supervision of the General Presidency for Girls' Education (led by male conservative elements of Saudi society) who rejected the secular education system and aimed to prepare girls to be ideal and successful housewives and good mothers and to do work suited to their 'nature', such as teaching, nursing and medical treatment (see 2.4.1.2.). Then gradually the quality of female education started to be developed when it was administered by the Ministry of Education as a result of the fire incident in the girls' school (see 2.4.1.2.). With regard to employment, social resistance has been shown to the introduction of new occupations for women, such as sales persons, lawyers or cashiers, since these professions have been dominated by men, and so the social attitude is apparent in restricting the type of women's employment (see 2.4.1.3).

Another significant association between respondent gender and the reasons for concealing a woman's names is the obscuring of the woman's personal identity (*p=0.00*). More women (61.4%) than men (44%) believed that men tend to do so to avoid embarrassment (MR282, MR287) and to avoid the jokes that might be made by other people when they know the name of someone's mother, wife or sister (MR308). This is because women are considered a symbol of honour in Saudi society so when men want to provoke someone, they joke by using women's names. In this respect, one of the female participants (FPMB1) pointed out that:

> When I had obtained my master's degree, my husband placed an announcement in the newspaper by stating my full name first, followed by my kinship title as (the wife of his name). Imagine that his colleagues at work, instead of congratulating him, started to pick on him because they knew his wife's name (FPMB1).

This means that even if the man is moderate in his attitude towards women, the society would impose such restrictions on him in order to get him to follow what is seen by the majority as the social norm for Saudi society. Another female participant indicated that "When I was studying abroad, the Saudi club made an announcement that */?um maHmu:d/* (the mother of Mahmoud) had obtained her PhD" (FPNY4). I argue that this reflects the narrow mindedness of not overtly attributing the woman's success to her. Even people who have the chance to

study abroad still have similar practices. This view is also influenced by the idea that women are the symbol of honour and in order not to bring shame on the family; the woman's personal identity should not be visible. However, more men (62.6%) than women (31.6%) regarded it as a means of showing respect to women, and this represents a significant difference between gender perceptions at (*p=0.00*). In fact, some men who believe in women's rights tend to address women by respectful terms like */?um fula:n/* (The mother of (the son's name)) to show respect to women, but at the same time intend not to mention a woman's name in public to follow social norms known by Saudi society. It is worth mentioning that addressing a man as */abu: fula:n/* (the father of (the son's name)) is also a common term of address and reference for men and is also used to show respect to men, yet not with the intention of hiding the man's personal identity.

Both the men and the women shared a similar view regarding Saudi customs and traditions (91.4%, 95% respectively) as a reason for hiding a woman's name from the public. Saudi society seems to be influenced by the pressure of these norms because the society in general has become accustomed to the idea that a woman's natural place is only her home, where she performs her natural role of taking care of the house and children. This perception was especially prevalent after the discovery of oil, when working women were replaced by male manpower for the sake of their comfort, resulting in the postponement of the introduction of formal education for women (see section 2.4.1.3). This marginalization is reflected in the way of addressing women by different terms and not her first name. Although these norms vary from one society to another within the same country, it seems that the majority of people in Saudi Arabia are influenced by the pressure of these norms regardless of any change that might have taken place, and this is reflected in the figures when the participants were asked if addressing women by their first name in public is socially prohibited in Saudi Arabia (see table 5.1).

Although the majority of the women (94.2%) and men (80.9%) thought that addressing a woman by her first name was a form of recognition (table A10.1 - Appendix 10), they still felt uncomfortable about mentioning a woman's name in public. According to a female participant, "It is all about customs and traditions based on a superficial interpretation of Islamic teachings and by not understanding what lessons can be learnt through the

interpretation of any religious text" (FPBG1). This might be regarded to some interpreters who bring the religious text down to their level, by extracting meanings that suit their individual perceptions as far as women are concerned, to give power and superiority to men. This is a view shared by another participant, a PhD holder in Arabic language:

> We don't have a problem with the availability of religious texts, but rather we have a problem with understanding and going beyond the religious texts. For example, I am teaching a text where Prophet Muhammad was teaching Muslims some of the Islamic principles regarding the relation between the husband and his wife by telling them 'Do not talk about your intimate relation with your spouse to anyone'. Then Asmaa Bint Yazid said: 'they (men) do and they (women) do too'. I teach my students that women used to negotiate and express their opinions in the presence of the Prophet's companions, even on private issues (FPSS2).

It is very important to show the underlying meanings and implications when reading any religious text. This text not only refers to the importance of keeping marital relationships confidential, it also refers to how Prophet Muhammad used to give women the chance to negotiate and express their opinions.

The analysis in this section shows that replacing a woman's name with different terms is a product of social norms rather than religious ones, at least in the opinion of the majority of the male and female respondents, who attributed this phenomenon to Saudi customs and traditions. It also shows that a slightly larger number of men compared to women took a neutral position, perhaps because it is an issue that concerns women more than men. The next section analyses the terms of address and reference for women used in Arabic (standard form and colloquial form).

5.3.2. Terms of address and reference for women

This section addresses question (1-a), which investigated the existence of linguistic sexism in terms of address and reference for women in the use of Arabic, and whether they reflect women's marginalization in society. As mentioned above, mentioning women's names in public is considered socially taboo in Saudi society according to the respondents (table 5.1), so people tend to use a linguistic strategy called x-phemism in order to maintain their self-image (i.e. save face) and to avoid offending others, by replacing women's names with different terms. Allan and Burridge (2006) created the term x-phemism to refer to the union set of euphemisms, orthophemisms and dysphemisms. They define *euphemisms* as using alternative

words to replace a dispreferred expression or word, to save the face of the speaker and/or the hearer, for example, the word '*period*' is used by a woman to avoid such embarrassment. In contrast, *dysphemism* is defined by Allan and Burridge (2006: 31) as the use of "a word or phrase with connotations that are offensive either about the denotatum and/or to the people addressed or over hearing the utterance", for example, the use of the term *'bleeding'* for *'period'*. Finally, *orthophemism* is a formal expression used to express politeness in a formal way (Allan and Burridge, 2006), e.g. the use of the term *'menstruation'* for *'period'*. Terms of address and reference for women in Arabic have been classified based on the x-phemism concept developed by Allan and Burridge.

A distinction should be made between terms of address and terms of reference, where the former refer to terms used when talking to women and the latter refer to terms used when talking about women. Participants' perceptions on the use of the most common terms of address and reference are looked at through the level of their acceptance of these terms. This section is further classified into two subsections: each subsection consists of terms used in two levels of the Arabic language (standard form and colloquial form).

5.3.2.1. Terms of address and reference for women in standard Arabic

Terms of address and reference for women in standard Arabic will be classified into three subsections: addressing women with formal terms, addressing women with kinship terms and addressing women using titles. Tables 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5 show that most of the male and female respondents expressed their acceptance of almost all the items listed in these tables.

5.3.2.1.1   Addressing and referring to women with formal terms

The terms */?imra?ah/* (woman) and */nisa:?/* (women) are formal terms which are rarely used in everyday conversations as they are used in standard Arabic orally in formal situations or in written texts, for example, in formal speeches and religious discourse.

Terms	Male					Female					Chi-square
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Sig.
/?imra?ah/ (woman)	47.6%	28.3%	13.9%	3.0%	7.2%	47.3%	25.0%	10.1%	8.0%	9.6%	.212
/nisa:?/ (women)	39.2%	32.5%	17.5%	2.4%	8.4%	40.4%	31.4%	13.8%	8.0%	6.4%	.170

Table 5.3 Addressing women with formal terms

The chi-square suggests no significant association between gender and their perceptions of the word /?imra?ah/ (woman) and the plural form /nisa:?/ (women), as above 70% of males and females showed their acceptance of both terms when used as terms of reference and terms of address. Accordingly, these terms are considered 'orthophemistic' when referring to women in accordance with their positive social meaning: 'prowess, strength, wisdom' as suggested by some respondents (FR339; FR103; FR107). In addition, these terms are considered formal expressions when addressing women or referring to them.

5.3.2.1.2   Addressing and referring to women with kinship terms

Addressing women or referring to them with kinship terms[19] (the term 'kinship' here includes affinal[20] like /Haram fula:n/ (wife of (her husband's name)), and consanguine[21] like /kari:mat fula:n/ (daughter of (the father's name)), /?uxt fula:n/ (sister of the brother's name), and /?um fula:n/ (mother of (her son's name)). These are less formal than the two terms in table 5.3. Although these terms are used to save the face of the male speaker or the male hearer, the acceptance level of the males and females shows that they represent euphemistic terms.

---

[19] Addressing women according to their relationship with the men in their lives.

[20] Kinship by marriage.

[21] Kinship by blood, i.e. being biologically descended from the same ancestor as another person.

Terms	Male					Female					Chi-square
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Sig.
/Haram fula:n/ (wife of her husband's name)	53.6%	20.5%	14.5%	6.0%	5.4%	36.0%	24.9%	20.1%	12.7%	6.3%	.012
/kari:mat fula:n/ (daughter of the father's name)	42.2%	30.7%	18.1%	6.0%	3.0%	48.9%	23.4%	15.4%	8.5%	3.7%	.422
/ʔuxt fula:n/ (sister of the brother's name)	35.5%	33.7%	16.9%	6.0%	7.8%	14.3%	23.3%	15.3%	13.2%	33.9%	.000
/ʔuxt / (sister)	42.8%	30.1%	13.3%	6.0%	7.8%	14.3%	51.9%	15.3%	4.2%	14.3%	.000
/ʔum fula:n/ (mother of her son's name)	68.7%	22.3%	6.6%	.6%	1.8%	47.6%	30.2%	12.7%	5.3%	4.2%	.000

Table 5.4 Addressing women with kinship terms

The literal meaning of the word */Haram/* is 'sanctuary or whatever is sacred' according to an Arabic dictionary, *Lisan al-Arab[22] (*1290). Holy places can be called */Haram/*, and the term can also be used to refer to places of secular value like the private property attached to a house. A chi-square test showed a significant difference (*p=0.01*) between the gender perceptions of this term. The discrepancy of the gender views is more apparent in their lack of acceptance of this term as 19% of the females compared to 11.4% of the males considered that this term was inappropriate as it leads to women's invisibility (FR126). On the other hand, the majority of males (74.1%) expressed their acceptance of this term, and the majority of females (60.9%) viewed this term as a positive one, as it has become a prestigious form of reference (FR117), especially when women are married to a man with a high status, like a minister, ambassador or engineer. Some female participants did not mind introducing themselves in relation to their husbands as long as it did not lead to their marginalization, meaning using kinship terms in addition to introducing themselves by their personal names. According to one of the participants, "I introduce myself with my personal name first then introduce myself as */Haram fula:n/* (the wife of my husband's name) to people from his side, whether family or friends, for the sake of introduction and not for marginalization" (FPAA3). The same point was raised by another female participant: "Introducing women with kinship titles is acceptable if it is easier

---

[22] '*Lisan al-ʿArab*' (The Arab Tongue) was completed by Ibn Manzur in 1290. Occupying 20 printed book volumes, it is one of the best-known and most comprehensive dictionaries of the Arabic language.

for the people I am introduced to, to know me, but this does not mean that my personal name should be unknown" (FPNY4). This indicates that context might influence women's attitude towards how they are being addressed and how they refer to themselves. Other participants indicated that "if a woman is financially independent by having a good profession, she should be introduced according to her social status not to her husband's" (FPBG1), a view shared by another participant (FPSB3). I argue that this is because financial independence empowers women.

The term of address /kari:mat fulan/ (daughter of (the father's name)) is derived from /karuma/ which means 'to be generous or to have virtue and good qualities' (Abdel-el-Jawad, 1989: 318). The majority of males (72.9%) and females (72.3%) had a favourable attitude towards this term, due to its positive association with generosity. According to a female participant, introducing herself in relation to her father made her feel proud (FPLS3).

/Haram fula:n/ (the wife of (her husband's name)), and /Kari:mat fulan/ (the daughter of (her father's name)) are used mainly on wedding invitations, which express sometimes male-biased formulations by assuming that the standard addressee is male in order to avoid mentioning the woman's names explicitly. When invitations are sent to women in Saudi Arabia, they are often addressed according to the status of the men in their life, either a father or a husband. In addition, many families consider that the name of the bride should not be mentioned, but rather she should be addressed as /Kari:mat fula:n/ (the daughter of (her father's name)), which can be misleading and lack accuracy if the bride has sisters (FPAA4). In this practice, women are primarily defined, named or addressed in accordance with the significant men in their lives, leading to their marginalization and justifying the neutral or the rejection position taken by some respondents.

There was a disparity between gender attitudes toward the expression /?uxt fula:n/ (sister of (the brother's name)). This expression is used more as a term of reference, and rarely as a term of address, because women are usually addressed in relation to the father or the husband. Although 69.2% of males accepted this expression, only 37.6% of females accepted it, which represents a significant difference between gender perceptions at (p=0.00). This difference might be regarded by the fact that this form of address is rarely used, especially if the woman is married or in her father's guardianship. On the other hand, the term /?uxt/

(sister) can be and is used as a term of address and reference for women. It is widely used by strangers to be polite, and has the meaning of 'sister in Islam'. Although more men (42.8%) than women (14.3%) expressed strong acceptance of this term, the overall acceptance of men and women was 72.9% and 66.2% respectively, which indicates that this term is a euphemistic one.

/?um fula:n/ (mother of (her son's name)) is considered an honorific term of address and reference for women as "the birth of a child is considered praiseworthy and deserving of recognition" (FR110). If the first child is a daughter, this expression would probably be changed later to acknowledge a son born after the daughter, a practice that represents males as superior and dominant. Again, this practice shows that according to social norms, women's personal identity should be hidden even if the female is young. A chi-square test suggested a difference between males' and females' level of acceptance at (*p=0.00*). The majority of male respondents (68.7%) strongly accepted this term, but only 47.6% of females had this view, which might be because of the importance of using the son's name even if he is younger than the daughter. Regardless of this difference, the majority of males and females at least accepted this term (91% and 77.8% respectively); indeed, in my experience it is the most common term used by males and females, and the role of motherhood is highly praised in Saudi society due to its importance in shaping society (FR339; FR117; FR110). Accordingly, this term is considered a euphemistic one, and it is even more common in the colloquial form of Arabic among a large segment of the society. The importance of */?um fula:n/* was highlighted by one of the participants:

> Kinship terms especially */?um fula:n/* (mother of (her son's name)) are important to draw a distance between a female and a male stranger. They are mainly used when dealing with a male stranger, for example in the market or workplace (FPMB1).

The term */?um fula:n/* is thus used as a shield between a woman and a man to achieve personal space and maintain distance with full formality and respect and no personal dialogue when interacting with a male stranger or a non-family relative. 9.5% of the women however expressed that this term was unacceptable, compared to just 2.4% of males. This difference in their views might be in regard to the importance of the tradition of using sons' names in this address form and the fact that it leads to the marginalization of women. According to one of the participants:

> */?um fula:n/* is the most common term of address and reference for women used by men and even by women, and is a positive one as it implies respect due to the importance of the role of mothers; however, this does not mean that girls' name should be hidden. I was in a gathering with my neighbours where they started to introduce themselves, each one as */?um fula:n/* using their son's names. Then, when I introduced myself as */?um fula:n/* mentioning my daughter's name, they said why do you not use your son's name as this is the norm in the society? I said because my daughter is older than my son. Why should I devalue her? (FPDA1)

This suggests that this woman had started to question the unequal linguistic treatment toward males and females in Saudi society. This may be due to the gradual changes in women's social position in society, with the introduction of better quality education and more female engagement in employment. Women themselves can have a great role in empowering themselves and in changing society's views toward women, by correcting such practices that undermine their existence. It should be noted that, in the *Holy Qur'an*, it is common to refer to women by using kinship terms, for example, */?imra?atu cimra:n/*, the wife of Imran; */?uxt mu:sa/*, the sister of Moses; */?um mu:sa/*, the mother of Moses. However, this does not mean that the name of women should be hidden from the public. For example, */maryam/* (Mary) is addressed in the *Holy Qur'an* not only as */?uxt haru:n/*, the sister of Haron, on some occasions, but also on other occasions she is addressed by her personal name */maryam/* (Mary).

5.3.2.1.3   Addressing and referring to women using titles

Traditionally, the term */sayyidah/* (Mrs) is a title used to refer to a woman of high status or to a woman in her middle age and beyond. The word */sayyidah/* (Mrs) is derived from */sa:da/* (having authority and dominance) and it is associated with important female Islamic figures (FPSS2, FPAA3). At the present time, the social meaning of this title has changed to refer to a married woman, with the introduction of the title */?a:nisah/* (Miss), referring to an unmarried woman. This is the result of the influence of foreign labour in Saudi Arabia from Arab countries like Egypt, Lebanon and Syria, and through the media (FPSB3; FPDA1). In addition, women themselves may be contributing to emerging terms becoming more widely used because they themselves use the terms */sayyidah/* (Mrs) and */?a:nisah/* (Miss) as forms of address (FPLS3). Referring to women with titles is mostly used on wedding invitations by moderate people who avoid male-biased formulations. They address the invitation directly to the female addressee, using the title followed by the personal names of the women.

Terms	Male					Female					Chi-square
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Sig.
/sayyidah/ (Mrs)	44.6%	28.9%	16.9%	6.0%	3.6%	62.4%	24.2%	9.1%	3.8%	.5%	.005
/ʔa:nisah/ (Miss)	43.4%	25.9%	21.1%	3.0%	6.6%	63.3%	19.1%	10.1%	4.3%	3.2%	.001

Table 5.5 Addressing women using titles

Table 5.5 shows that both terms are 'euphemistic' because the majority of men and women had a favourable attitude towards both terms as they express recognition and personalization since they have to be followed by women's names.

5.3.2.2. Terms of address and reference for women in colloquial Arabic

This section deals with terms of address and reference for women in colloquial Arabic. It will be further divided into three sections: borrowed terms of address and reference for women, colloquial terms of address and reference for women, colloquial terms of reference for women. A general look at the chi-square results suggest an association between gender and level of acceptance for almost all of the items listed in Tables 5.6, 5.7 and 5.8.

5.3.2.2.1 Borrowed terms of address and reference for women

The exposure to other national cultures (Egypt, Lebanon, Morocco and Tunisia) as a result of foreign labour, the Hajj season and the media have promoted the introduction of the terms /sit/ (woman) and /mada:m/ (wife) to Saudi society.

Terms	Male					Female					Chi-square
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Sig.
/sit/ (woman)	17.5%	28.9%	28.9%	16.9%	7.8%	14.4%	18.7%	22.5%	31.0%	13.4%	.00
/mada:m/ (wife)	32.5%	29.5%	19.3%	12.7%	6.0%	44.4%	31.7%	13.8%	7.9%	2.1%	.03

Table 5.6 Borrowed terms

For both terms (table 5.6), there are significant statistical differences between the views of males and females. Opposite views can be observed as 46.4% of men expressed a favourable attitude towards the term /sit/ (woman), whereas 44.4% of women expressed an unfavourable attitude towards it. This is used as a term of address and reference to refer to a married woman or to a woman in her middle age and beyond as a form of respect (FR 114). In other societies, for example, in Lebanon, it is used with the addition of woman's name, but in

Saudi society it is used on its own. This difference might explain the disparity (*p=.00*) as the term lacks personalization and is not a common one. The second difference (*p=.03*) was in the perception of the term */mada:m/* (wife), which is of foreign origin, particularly French, to refer to a married woman, and it is pronounced the same way with a long vowel [a:]. It is considered an emerging term in Saudi society, stemming from the foreign labour from Arab countries that have been influenced by western communities as a result of colonization. The majority of the women (76.1%) and most of the men (62%) perceived this term positively. It is considered a prestigious term reflecting respect and high status (FR117), and, I argue, the use of foreign terms from English and French implies cosmopolitan awareness. Accordingly, the term /mada:m/ is considered a euphemistic term which has been widely used by Saudis as a result of having Filipino domestic helpers, who refer to the female householder as madam. There is also the influence of the media (in series and movies). The difference in views can be observed in the unacceptability level as some males and females did not perceive this term positively (18.7%, 10% respectively), and this might be due to the foreign origin and/or lack of usage of this term in their social circles.

5.3.2.2.2   Colloquial terms of address and reference for women

The terms listed in table 5.7 are colloquial terms used to address women or refer to them. As a member of the Saudi community, these terms are widely used in the three cities where the questionnaire was distributed, except for the term /caju:z/ (old woman) which is used only in Taif among old generations. Table 5.7 shows a considerable gender differences in their perceptions of the items listed below at (*p=.00*).

Terms	Male					Female					Chi-square
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Sig.
/Hurma/ (woman)	30.1%	27.1%	16.3%	15.7%	10.8%	2.1%	10.1%	11.6%	24.3%	51.9%	.000
/Hari:m/ (women)	28.3%	27.1%	25.3%	12.7%	6.6%	3.2%	14.4%	12.2%	21.8%	48.4%	.000
/mara/ (woman)	17.5%	25.3%	25.3%	15.7%	16.3%	3.2%	4.3%	8.6%	22.5%	61.5%	.000
/bint/ (girl)	21.7%	24.7%	22.9%	15.1%	15.7%	6.3%	10.6%	7.9%	12.2%	63.0%	.000
/niswa:n/ (women)	16.3%	25.3%	30.7%	16.3%	11.4%	3.2%	9.0%	16.4%	27.5%	43.9%	.000
/caju:z/ (Old woman)	3.6%	3.6%	9.0%	19.9%	63.9%	1.1%	1.6%	1.6%	4.8%	91.0%	.000

Table 5.7 Colloquial terms of address and reference for women

The singular form /*Hurma*/ (woman) and the plural form /*Hari:m*/ (women) are derived from the standard word /*Haram*/ with the same meaning of 'sanctuary' or 'whatever is sacred'. Both terms are widely used by many segments of the society. Two respondents (MR230; FPSB3) believed that /*Hari:m*/ was introduced to the Arab world through the Ottoman Empire. It was used to refer to an area exclusively for females in a secluded part of the house of the sultan; it had extensive gardens and was decorated with all kinds of flowers and water fountains to entertain the /*Hari:m*/ (women). However, it also refers to the women who lived inside this property and who rarely left the house, but lived a materially luxurious life. In addition, slaves in the empire could be kept in harems as slave-girls to serve the family of the sultan (Çolak, 2002). The term /*Hari:m*/ in Saudi Arabia gradually replaced the standard word /*nisa:?*/ to refer to all women; however, both terms /*Hurma*/ and /*Hari:m*/ have developed negative connotations because they are used to express a lack of commitment and weakness (FPNY4). This was evident from the majority of female respondents (above 70%) who rejected the use of these terms, compared to over 50% of the male respondents, who accepted the use of these terms, with different levels of acceptance. A male respondent claimed that /*Hurma*/ and /*Hari:m*/ were not used to insult women but were used according to what is socially accepted (MR290) as people have become accustomed to the use of these terms unintentionally. The men's lack of awareness of the negative connotations of these terms reveals that they had not considered the women's preferences as the function of a term of address is not only to address someone, but is also a form of respect and to show the addressee how he/she is perceived by the addresser. Usually, people tend to use a term of address preferred by an addressee.

The term /*mara*/ (woman) is derived from the standard from /*?imra?ah*/ (woman) to refer to a married woman, unlike the term /*bint*/[23] (girl), which refers to an unmarried virgin woman regardless of her age (FPLS3). The term /*bint*/ absolutely devalues women's status as it implies a childlike woman with no brain who is unstable (FPMB1). It should be used as an adjective to differentiate between boys and girls and it is not appropriate as a term of reference or address

---

[23] /bint/ is also British slang for a woman or girl, but it is offensive and signals the referent as lower class and unrefined. It is also now rather dated. Originally, the word was an Arabic slang term used during the first and second World Wars among British and Allied servicemen stationed in Egypt and neighbouring countries.

(FPAA3). A sexual connotation[24] of these two terms was identified by the majority of the female respondents (above 60%) who also strongly rejected both terms. A female participant, a PhD holder in Arabic language, indicated that */mara/* and */bint/* reflect the social position of women in society based on biological differences between males and females (FPSS2). This contributes to views of women in general as subordinates and men as superiors. She supported this point by giving the word */canis/* (spinster) as an example, which refers linguistically to men and women who reach middle age without getting married, but it is not in use socially to refer to men because the social meaning of this word refers exclusively to women based on the biological changes of menopause (FPSS2). New generations are unaware of the fact that this word can be used to refer to men too because social meaning is usually inherited by one generation from another. On the other hand, a man who reaches middle age without getting married is known as a */cazib/* (bachelor), a term which has a positive connotation in that engaging in a marital relationship is his own choice. This confirms a bias in the connotations attributed to the words based on biological differences between males and females.

Another interesting point was raised by other female participants regarding the use of the colloquial term */rijja:l/* (man) versus the use of the term */mara/* (woman):

> The use of the word */rijja:l/* (man) in colloquial Arabic which is derived from the standard form */rajul/* (man) has maintained the positive attributes of a man (power, physical strength, dominance). On the other hand, the use of the word */mara/* (woman) in colloquial Arabic which is derived from the word */?imra?ah/* (woman) has developed a negative connotation with the reduction of the letters (FPDA1).

Another participant indicated that in addition to the negative connotation the word /mara/ (woman) developed, the way in which this word is used may raise resentment (FPSB3).This example points to the role of acoustic and morphological changes where the use of the stress on the letter /j/ has contributed to stressing the positive attributes of a man, and the reduction of the letters in */mara/* has led to a decrease in women's value.

---

[24] An indication of the virginity of females

On the other hand, more than 40% of the male respondents accepted both terms */mara/* and */bint/* with different levels of acceptance, in addition to more than 20% of them taking a neutral position reflecting the majority of the men's viewpoints. To these male respondents, the terms should not insult women (MR253) because it is about unintentionally repeating the terms one is used to hearing (MR298). For (MR293), the relation between the speaker and the woman (the addressee) identifies the connotation of the term, for example the term */bint/* is acceptable if the father or mother uses it, but not strangers or any other male relatives, whether a brother or a husband or a cousin. In this way contextual factors can certainly affect a word's meaning.

The perception of the term */niswa:n/* (women), derived from the standard form */nisa:?/* (women), is another considerable difference in the results, "revealing negative connotations and implying a stereo-typical image of talkative and gossipy women" (FR89). That is because this word is usually used as */kala:m niswa:n/* (women's words), to imply lack of knowledge and commitment. This negative connotation was perceived by 71.4% of the females compared to 41.6% of the men, who showed a favourable attitude towards the usage of this term in addition to 30.7% of men who took a neutral position constituting the majority of the males' opinion.

An overwhelming majority of women (91%) and a smaller majority of men (63.9%) strongly rejected the term */caju:z/* (old woman), which lacks respect and courtesy toward elderly women as it implies negative attributes, e.g. powerlessness, weakness, and/or ineffectiveness. Although this term can be used to address an old man, this is not common.

In short, the majority of the women in the sample considered colloquial terms of address and reference for women in this section as derogatory due to their negative connotations arising from the acoustic and morphological changes to the formal terms, in addition to the context in which these terms are used.

Considering the age of the respondents as a factor that might affect their attitudes, a general view of the figures (Appendix 4) suggests that the percentage of acceptance of the male respondents decreases with the increase in the age group for all of the items listed in the tables (A4.1, A4.2, A4.3, A4.4, A4.5) representing colloquial terms of address and reference for

women. However, there is an exception for the terms */Hurma/* and */Hari:m/*, which might be due to the lower number of respondents in the age groups (45-55 and over 55). In addition, although some female respondents expressed concerns regarding these two terms, women in general in Saudi Arabia widely use these terms in their singular and plural forms to refer to women. On the other hand, the rejection percentage by the female respondents increases with the increase in their age group. In fact, it was observed that females had a strong objection to the use of these terms with the increase in the age group, indicating that women become more sensitive to these terms when they grow older as they perhaps expect more respect, and/or because they become more aware of the negative connotations of these items.

Taking into consideration the education factor of the respondents, the figures in Appendix 5 show that the male respondents with higher qualifications tended to less strongly accept these terms, as their education in general may increase their horizon of thoughts and awareness. In contrast, the more qualifications the female respondents had, the stronger the objection they had towards the use of these terms when addressing or referring to women. This indicates that formal education seems to be a significant variable affecting the results as education might affect people's awareness of the social position of women in society.

Finally, the figures in Appendix 6 suggest that female respondents in general in the three locations of residence allocated by the researcher have concerns about the use of these terms to address or to refer to women; however, the level of acceptance of the females in Taif of the terms */Hari:m/* and */bint/*, at 40%, indicates that these two terms were more common in Taif than the other terms listed in the tables. On the other hand, the acceptance level of the males of almost all of these terms was very high among the three locations of residence (Jeddah, Makkah and Taif).

5.3.2.2.3   Colloquial terms of reference for women

When considering the terms in table 5.8, it can be noticed that they lack specification. Accordingly, these terms are used as terms of reference to save the face of the speaker and/or of the listener, but are not commonly used as terms of address. The results show a discrepancy between gender views at (*p=.00*) for all terms (see table 5.8).

Terms	Male					Female					Chi-square
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Sig.
/ʔalciya:l/ (the children)	22.3%	19.3%	26.5%	15.1%	16.9%	3.7%	9.0%	18.1%	20.7%	48.4%	.000
/ʔal jama:ca/ (the group)	19.3%	19.3%	28.3%	18.7%	14.5%	2.6%	8.5%	16.9%	24.9%	47.1%	.000
/ʔalʔahil/ (the family)	52.4%	26.5%	14.5%	3.6%	3.0%	15.4%	28.2%	17.6%	15.4%	23.4%	.000
/ʔum ʔalciya:l/ (mother of the children)	34.3%	30.1%	22.9%	6.6%	6.0%	12.2%	15.9%	20.1%	19.0%	32.8%	.000

Table 5.8 Colloquial terms of reference for women

The terms */ʔalciya:l/* (the children), */ʔaljama:ca/* (the group), and */ʔalʔahil/* (the family), lack personalization, meaning woman's individuality is ignored as she is addressed as a group (more than one person). The literal meaning of the term */ʔalciya:l/* (the children) reflects women as vulnerable creatures by equating their status to that of children. While 41.6% of men accepted this term of reference, 69.1% of women rejected it. The fact that 32% of men also rejected the use of this term leads us to consider this term as a dysphemistic one. */ʔaljama:ca/* (the group) is another dysphemistic term in accordance with the result that shows favourable attitudes toward it by the male respondents (38.6%), but unfavourable attitudes from the majority of female respondents (72%), in addition to the 33.2% of men who did not accept this term. The female respondents' attitudes toward the use of both terms */ʔalciya:l/* (the children), */ʔal jama:ca/* (the group) largely depended on two factors, age and education (see appendices 7 and 8). The female respondents rejected (with different levels) the use of both terms, increasingly with age (tables A7.1, A7.2 – appendix 7), and they also strongly rejected the use of both terms the more qualifications they had (tables A8.1, A8.2 – appendix 8). This suggests that the level of these women's awareness of the implications of these terms increased with the increase in their age, especially when accompanied by an increase in the level of education.

On the other hand, male respondents' attitude towards the use of both terms seems mostly to depend on level of education; the more educated they were, the more aware they became as they rejected (with different levels) the use of both terms (tables A8.1, A8.2 – appendix 8). This implies that education is an important factor in shaping men's attitudes toward women.

Although the term */ʔalʔahil/* (the family) also leads to the invisibility of women and lacks personalization, the level of acceptance of this term suggests that it is used as a euphemistic term, implying that the woman is the husband's family which is an important unit of society.

Analysis and discussion

In this way, it reflects more respect than the first two items in (Table 5.8). More men than women accepted this term as a term of reference (78.9%, 43.6% respectively). To some participants */?al?ahil/* (the family) in its plural meaning is a positive term because the plural form is often used in Arabic as a form of respect (FPAA3; FPHB5), similar to the French plural form when used to imply respect.

Finally, the term */?um ?alciya:l/* (mother of the children) has two functions. According to Abd-el-Jawad (1989:318), the first function of terms like */?um ?alicya:l/* (the mother of the children) is to treat the wife as a representative of the whole family and the house, which is considered a sign of respect and honour. He adds that the second function of this term is "intended to mask the identity, personality or femininity of the wife." Even the positive function of using euphemistic terms when they are used mainly to hide a women's personal identity seems to symbolize the prevailing role division in Saudi society, that is, a wife can only be seen at home taking care of the children. This conclusion ties neatly with the figure which indicates that slightly above 50% of the women did not accept */?um ?alicya:l/* (the mother of the children). On the other hand, the male respondents showed a high level of acceptance towards this term (64.4%).

This section has shown how terms of address and reference for women used in Arabic (standard form and colloquial form) are perceived by these Saudi males and females. The next section reflects the relation between using these terms and social attitudes toward women.

5.3.2.3.   The relation between using terms of address and reference for women and social attitudes

In examining how males and females viewed the relation between addressing women by different terms rather than their first name, and social attitudes toward women in Saudi society, the questionnaire participants were asked if substituting women's names by different terms contribute to the followings (see appendix 1, question 12).

| Statement | Male | | | | | Female | | | | | Chi-square |
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Sig.
Reflecting the marginalization of women's full participation in the economic development of Saudi society	10.7%	21.4%	24.4%	25.0%	18.5%	31.5%	23.4%	16.2%	16.8%	12.2%	.000
Reflecting the dependency of women upon men in her life	31.0%	35.1%	19.0%	8.9%	6.0%	24.4%	38.1%	11.2%	16.2%	10.2%	.025
Reflecting women as weak and need protection	34.5%	27.4%	19.0%	11.9%	7.1%	17.9%	23.0%	17.3%	26.0%	15.8%	.000
Reflecting the importance of obscuring women's identity	11.9%	20.2%	31.0%	21.4%	15.5%	29.1%	21.4%	19.9%	15.8%	13.8%	.001
Reflecting women in a secondary position to that of men	17.3%	23.2%	20.2%	18.5%	20.8%	31.8%	22.1%	17.4%	14.4%	14.4%	.025

Table 5.9 Terms of address and reference for women and social attitudes

The chi-square results (Table 5.9) show a remarkable discrepancy between gender perceptions. One of the important differences between males' and females' views regarding the effect of avoiding using women's first name as a term of address and reference is that a slim majority of the women (54.9%) thought that obscuring women's personal identity in the use of Arabic terms of address and reference reflects the marginalization of women's full participation in the economic development of Saudi society, whereas 43.5% of men had a contradictory view. This marginalization indicates that language is not a neutral tool to articulate ideas as it expresses thoughts, ideologies, values and attitudes conveyed consciously or unconsciously. If women become marginalized in the language, I argue that this affects their visibility in society, meaning they have to struggle to be visible. The struggle to be visible can be noticed with the emergence of Second Wave Feminism when women in western societies started to demand equality after their participation in the war effort and being involved with the black civil rights movement. It was not until then that women were recognized as economically significant (Hannam, 2007).

Table 5.9 shows that the majority of men (66.1%) thought that addressing women by different terms reflected the dependency of women upon the men in their life. This contradicts their response to the previous point since they view women as dependents and not as full participants in the development of society. A smaller majority of women (62.5%) also stated that this linguistic marginalization implies women's dependency on men, and this is reflected in addressing women with kinship terms. This is related to the fact that only in 2002 women were allowed to apply for an individual status (ID) card. Before that, they were added as a dependent to their guardian's identity card; however, since issuing the ID card for women,

many changes have taken place in favour of women, and this is a step towards considering women as independent individuals (FPSB3). Women's dependency on men is reflected in the importance of obtaining the male guardian's approval if the woman wants to study or to work (see section 2.4.1.3). This puts extra pressure on women especially when they have a deteriorating relationship with their husbands. With the absence of public transportation and the prohibition of driving for women, dependency on men is more apparent. Hammad (2011a) commented on */alciqal/, a* Facebook campaign which appeared in response to another campaign on Facebook entitled 'I will drive my car myself' (June 17, 2012). This campaign was led by a woman who demanded that women should be allowed to drive their own cars. Hammad (2011a) stated in her article:

> You have the right to oppose opinions, or attitudes, but not to confiscate an opinion that violates your ideas, or accuse them of immorality and lack of modesty, or use violence to silence them. The women's driving campaign made a debate about women driving a car. The */alcigal/* campaign has serious implications summarized in the following:
>
> 1. */alcigal/* campaign considered women's demand for driving as an invitation for corruption and it attributed some of the harassment and rape against women in the world to women's driving, and some of the campaign supporters attributed the opinions of prohibition women from driving cars to the fact that it leads to the forbidden. On the other hand, they missed that men too when driving their cars may commit murder, theft and terrorist operations. Then why not depriving men from driving under this principle?
>
> 2. This campaign also considered women's demands for driving which opposed their opinions as an invitation to liberal thoughts in order to distract people from standing for women's legitimate demands. Note that women in the Prophet's era used to ride animals as they were the only mean of transportation[25].

The title of the campaign reflects brutality, as */alcigal/* itself refers to physical abuse because it is used by men as a weapon when they are engaged in a fight. It is similar to a trouser belt being used as a weapon to whip someone. The title of this campaign evokes violence, reinforces abuse and diminishes any existing character of a woman, even though the women's campaign was peaceful and moderate in asking to legalize the act of women driving. */alcigal/* campaign could have replied peacefully to women's demands for driving instead of creating a threatening slogan and using threatening language.

---

[25] Translation mine

It has been noted that it is common to address women in relation to a male (a father, a husband, or a son) which expresses the importance of men in their lives. This might be related to the fact that the man is supposed to be committed to the financial support of the family. This view is not unique to Saudi Arabia. A female participant, who is originally from a Yemani background, indicated that:

> Most of the terms of address and reference used in the colloquial form of Arabic in different parts of Arab countries reflect how women are viewed by the society. For example, women in Yemen are referred to as */makalif/* which is derived from */kulfa/* (burden) (FPSS2).

In some Arab countries, women are viewed as a burden, which can be financial, especially if women are unemployed, or a social burden as women are looked at as a symbol of honour. In addition, these countries view women as dependents, and these views are reflected in the terms of address and reference for women (for more examples of terms of address and reference used in Egypt and Morocco, see Bassiouney, 2009 and Sadiqi, 2003).

In addition, the majority of men (61.9%) thought that the use of these terms portrayed women as weak and in need of protection due to the exploitation of some weak, immoral souls who use this information to create problems for the family (MR199 and FR150), and the jokes that might be created by other people when they know the name of a mother, wife or sister of someone (FR142 and MR308). The woman's personal identity includes her physical appearance, her name and even her voice, all of which should be hidden from the public based on Saudi social norms. Even women sometimes use the term */?um fula:n/* (the mother of (her son's name)) to hide their personal identities, which reflects their acceptance of this customary practice used "to build a barrier between them and other men especially in the market and to follow what is socially accepted" (FR117). Although 40.9% of the female respondents showed their agreement with this point, a slightly higher percentage (41.8%) of females had a contradictory point of view, revealing that this practice shows the unjustifiable jealousy adopted by a large segment of society, either consciously or unconsciously (FR86; FR107; FR339; MR298).

Slightly above 50% of the women and only 32.1% of men thought that linguistic representations of women related to terms of address and reference reflected the importance of obscuring women's personal identity, whereas 31.0% of men took a neutral position. This

view is a result of prevailing norms in society that reflect social ignorance of how Prophet Muhammad used to refer to his female relatives, and how he used to negotiate women's queries without reservation. In this respect, a female participant said:

> In the college where I was working, we had to issue ID cards for all employees. A husband of one of the employees refused to place his wife's photo on the card, although the card was used only in the college, a segregated institution (FPSB3).

This illustrates the power of some men over women, since some women have no right to take simple decisions without their male guardian's consent, as some male guardians control every step the woman takes.

A slim majority of the women (53%) and fewer men (40.5%) agreed that this phenomenon reflected that women were in a secondary position to that of men. Hammad (2010a) stated in her article that:

> Although Allah created all people equally, and did not differentiate between a male and a female ………, in a patriarchal society, some religious fanatics practice their power to influence people's viewpoints by placing women in a secondary position, whereas men are in a superior one in the name of Islam, leading to the oppression of women in different areas of life. Not only this, but they give men the right to impose their guardianship on women from birth to death, for example, women cannot learn or work without her guardian's consent, leading some parents to deprive their daughters, sisters and wives from opportunities in education and work[26].

Research suggests that this kind of practice can limit social development in society. In her study of female employment in Saudi Arabia, Khayat (2006) concludes that the misinterpretation of religion which gives men absolute power, and the implementation of such interpretations by the government as laws, and then the adoption of such rules by society as customs and norms, are factors hindering women's employment and social development, knowing that most of the 'interpreters' are men. She supports her argument by referring to the guardianship status, which is supposed to refer to men's financial obligation rather than absolute power; however, some strict interpretations of the guardianship give men absolute power over women, leading

---

[26] Translation mine

to women not being able to make their own employment decisions as they cannot work without a male guardian's consent.

The use of dysphemistic terms when addressing women shows a lack of consideration for women's feelings (FR107 and FR79), a lack of respect (FR160), and a lack of recognition of women's rights (MR282), under the claim of providing protection (MR173). Such practices are unjustifiable because women have to be respected and appreciated. Calling women by their first names is a form of recognition of their existence as expressed by the majority of these women (94.2%) and the majority of the men (80.9%) (see table A10.1 – appendix 10).

In conclusion, this section has discussed the first aspect of the language investigated in this study, i.e. terms of address and reference for women used in two forms of Arabic (standard form and colloquial form). The second aspect of language (using the generic noun to refer to females) is discussed in the next section in order to investigate the existence of linguistic sexism in the use of Arabic.

5.3.3. Using the generic noun to refer to females

This section is related to question (1-b) which looks into the existence of linguistic sexism in the generic use of the masculine form in the use of Arabic in Saudi Arabia; in other words, it looks at whether it reflects women's marginalization in the use of Arabic. The analysis of this section is based on the consensus of Arabic language scholars on using the masculine noun generically to refer equally to males and females in theory and in practice for the sake of language economy (Al-Gazzami, 2008). Different contexts have been tested, including some articles from the labour law and the voting resolutions for municipal councils, in order to test the existence of biased use of language, as discussed in details in sections 5.3.3.1 and 5.3.3.2. In this respect, the researcher considers linguistic sexism as any violation of language use when the generic noun is used to refer to females in theory but not in practice.

These contexts are tested because "words are obviously of paramount importance in the law; in a most basic sense, the law would not exist without language," especially when talking about human law (Danet, 1980: 448). Accordingly, the linguistic expression of law is important as it refers to people's rights and obligations (Pauwels, 1998). She adds that the ambiguity of

andocentric language use "has severely hampered women's legal rights, including women's access to some professions and women's right to vote" (Pauwels, 1998: 29).

5.3.3.1. Using the generic noun in labour law

The linguistic expressions in labour law in Saudi Arabia are based on the use of the masculine form under the assumption that it refers to both males and females. In light of article 3 and article 4 of the labour law enacted by the Ministry of Labour[27] in 2005, males' and females' perceptions have been considered to understand if the generic nouns include females in theory and in practice.

Article 3:

Arabic	*/alcamalu*	*Haqun*	*lil*	*muwaTini/*	
English	the work	right	of	every citizen (sing. mas. form)	
Arabic	*/?almuwaTinu:n*	*mutasawu:n*	*fi*	*Haqi*	*?alcamali/*
English	all citizens (pl. mas. form)	equal	in	right	the work
Meaning	Work is the right of every citizen and all citizens are equal in the right to work.				

Article 4:

Arabic	*/yajibu*	*cala*	*SaHibi ?alcamali*	*wal*	*alcamili*
English	Should	on	employer (sing. mas. form)	and	the worker (sing. mas. form)
Arabic	*?aliltiza:ma*	*bi*	*muqtaDaya:ti*	*?alSari:cati/*	
English	the adherence	with	provision	the Sharia	
Meaning	The employer and the worker should adhere to the provision of Sharia (Islamic code of religious law).				

[27] Saudi Labour Law http://portal.mol.gov.sa/ar/Pages/OrganizeWork.aspx?m=3 [accessed May 2012]

Statement	Male					Female					Chi-square
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Sig.
The word citizen (masculine form) can be applied to both men and women.	54.2%	23.2%	11.9%	7.7%	3.0%	61.2%	19.9%	5.1%	7.1%	6.6%	.066
There are equal opportunities for men and women with regard to employment in Saudi Arabia.	21.4%	31.5%	17.3%	21.4%	8.3%	8.7%	3.6%	12.8%	40.8%	34.2%	.000
Enacting these articles using the masculine gender is vague.	16.7%	26.8%	31.0%	17.9%	7.7%	23.6%	28.7%	22.1%	16.4%	9.2%	.256
Enacting these articles using the masculine form affects women's rights.	17.3%	24.4%	25.0%	23.8%	9.5%	27.8%	25.3%	17.0%	18.6%	11.3%	.070
These articles enacted in 2005 should be updated for a better understanding.	29.8%	17.9%	41.1%	6.5%	4.8%	54.2%	19.8%	19.8%	4.2%	2.1%	.000

Table 5.10 The use of the generic noun in labour law

Both males (77.4%) and females (81.1%) believed that the word 'citizen' in its generic use (in article 3) can be applied to both men and women (Table 5.10). Statistically there was no significant difference in perceptions of males and females toward the inclusive use of the masculine form generically to refer to both males and females according to the chi-square value. Despite this similarity, there is a considerable difference between their perceptions at *(p=0.00)* where 75% of the women thought that equal opportunities do not exist for men and women with regard to employment opportunities in Saudi Arabia, compared to 52.9% of men who had a contradictory view. Although many areas are now available for women's employment, there are still restrictions in other areas as women are still not admitted to engineering, marine science, meteorology, environmental design, geology, petroleum, and political science because these fields have been dominated by men. Accordingly, they are considered male territories with a strong male association. Al-Sahli (2005) stated in his newspaper article that:

> Using the masculine form generically in drafting the articles of the labour law in Saudi Arabia is purely theoretical. In practice, all the texts of laws and regulations are still being read to refer to males exclusively without reference to females[28].

This is evident from the fact that when the government opened up opportunities to employ women as sales clerks in stores catering for women's needs, in response to women's

---

[28] Translation mine

complaints about feeling embarrassed to buy intimate items from men, social resistance to women's employment in retail arose (Doumato, 2010). In spite of this resistance, the government ordered all shops selling women's undergarments to hire all female sales staff by 2006, effective by 2008. Accordingly, Saudi women's freedom to choose a profession is limited more by social rather than by legal norms. She adds that although women are now allowed to study law, they are not allowed to act as lawyers due to the prevailing attitude towards what is suitable for women. In addition, the Ministry of Labour initiated training programmes to help women become cashiers and receptionists (Doumato, 2010). Women's work as cashiers in a supermarket provoked the people who stand against women's employment, and this social resistance can be noticed with the introduction of new employment opportunities for women because these new jobs used to be dominated by men. For them engaging in such work places is considered encroaching on masculine territory. In this way, the social attitude is apparent in restricting the type of employment to what is perceived to suit women's nature. According to a female participant:

> Although the man is responsible for providing the essentials to his family, with the increase of the cost of living and the low income of the individual, the participation of a woman in the extra expenses has become necessary (FPSB3).

This view is shared by two other female participants (FPAA3; FPDA1). This shows that women still look at men as breadwinners in Saudi society as these respondents stated that they can only participate in the 'extra expenses' of the house and not in the essentials, unlike many women in the west who contribute to living expenses, including essential and extra expenses. This view was shared by almost all of the focus group female participants when they were asked about their perceptions regarding their participation in the household expenses. This is also confirmed in Khayat's study (2006), where she stated that for the majority of her Saudi female respondents, the motivating factors that encouraged them to take up employment in general were personal satisfaction and personal independence, rather than family and personal economic needs. Therefore, these women do not view equality as equal roles, but rather equal employment opportunities which should be based on qualifications and not on gender. However, the need to work is one of the reasons for some female employment, as some women are responsible for a whole family (FPAA3).

Enacting these articles using the masculine form can be seen as vague, and this is a view that was shared by most women (52.3%), and men (43.5%), while 31% of the men took a neutral position, representing the majority. Moreover, 53.1% of women and 41.7% of men, and 25% of men who expressed a neutral position, believed that enacting these articles using the masculine form affects women's rights in a society where "women's rights and men's rights are not equal and working conditions for women are different from those for men" (FPDA1). According to a business lady:

> When the labour law was enacted, it addressed only males, but now with the increasing number of women in the labour market, it should be changed. I think using the masculine form generically in the labour law would undermine women even if there were equal opportunities for males and females (FPNT2).

This is because formal education in KSA started in 1942 for males and in 1960 for females, leading to the lack of female qualifications required to cope with market needs at this time. Even the quality of education provided to females used to focus on preparing women to be housewives and the only fields available for them were teaching and later medicine; however, nowadays, females have a variety of choices, but again these are still limited (see section 2.4.1.2). Accordingly, the labour law should be clear about whether women are included or not, giving a form of recognition of the existence of women in the society. This vagueness leads to different interpretations in accordance with the different views of the definition of women's role in general. Two contradictory views are presented by Al-Sahli (2005) in his newspaper article:

> Advocates for women's participation in the public sphere believe that new areas for women's work should be opened up as they have become more realistic about the importance of women's role in the development of the society as long as women's work is restricted to the provisions of Islamic Sharia in terms of dress code, but should not be derived from the customs and traditions. In contrast, opponents to women's participation in the public sphere would reject women's work due to the importance of the role of women as a wife and as a mother as they believe that a large proportion of women work for luxury reasons in addition to the high unemployment rate among men[29].

This indicates that two segments of the society, the moderate and the conservative, have opposing views regarding women's participation in the public sphere. People with moderate

---

[29] Translation mine

views believe that there is no reason to disrupt the capabilities of half of the society, and thus affect its economy, as long as women respect the codes of the workplace and preserve their *hijab*. Women's education and participation in the public sphere should not contradict chastity and dignity. In this respect, a business lady indicated that:

> Personally, for the sake of my business, I go to the court myself and follow up with different ministries wearing my *hijab* as I should respect the codes of the place I am visiting, and this should not prevent me from pursuing my career (FPSB2).

On the other hand, people with conservative views towards women resist women's participation in the public sphere as they believe that the priority should be for the man because he is the guardian of the family, noting that not every woman has a male guardian who is responsible for her financial expenses, but in doing so they ignore the fact that the reason behind women's acceptance of even badly paid job opportunities is the need for a monthly income. In fact, sex segregation of women should give them a professional advantage, with the absence of competition with male counterparts, if women-only spaces are created across all sectors, and if they are given the opportunity to manage their own matters. However, in real life all ministries are controlled and dominated by men.

Ambiguity of the language of law not only lies in the use of the masculine form, but also in the lack of a comprehensive narrative defining some codes, such as what professions are open for women's employment, particularly in the private sector. With regard to *the provision of Sharia* (in article 4), is it related to the segregation between sexes, to dress code, a combination of these or some other cause? A business lady looked at this issue from a practical angle:

> When private companies apply for permits from the ministry of labour to employ women, they are faced with a verbal law defining some codes for women's employment, such as providing a separate space for women, separate toilets, a separate entrance and video conferencing equipment to allow communication (FPSB3).

Leaving this term in its broad meaning has led many private companies to feel reluctant about the issue of employing women in their companies because again there is no written explanation of the conditions of employing women in private companies. So the lack of comprehensive 'narrative' defining the conditions for women's employment might result in discouraging women's employment especially in the private sector.

Other codes that might need clarification are found in article 149, 'women should work in fields suitable to their nature excluding jobs deemed *detrimental to health* and likely to expose women to *specific risks*'. This article might refer to biological differences between the two sexes because it is impossible to assume that it is acceptable for men to work in jobs harmful to their health. Accordingly, males' and females' perceptions were considered to understand if the expression 'detrimental to health' and 'specific risks' need more explanation.

Statement	Male					Female					Chi-square
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Sig.
'Jobs deemed detrimental to health' are subject to different interpretations.	35.7%	32.1%	13.1%	8.9%	10.1%	43.4%	36.2%	10.2%	8.7%	1.5%	.006
'Jobs exposing women to specific risks' are subject to different interpretations.	35.7%	31.5%	15.5%	9.5%	7.7%	40.3%	38.3%	10.7%	8.7%	2.0%	.048

Table 5.11 The use of some codes in labour law

Table 5.11 shows that most of both the female and male respondents thought that 'jobs deemed detrimental to health' was subject to different interpretations (79.6%, 67.8% respectively). Also, the majority of women (78.6%) and a smaller majority of men (67.2%) thought that the expression 'jobs exposing women to specific risks' was subject to different interpretations. These two expressions were ambiguous and imprecise to the majority of the respondents, as they could be interpreted in different ways, again according to the definition of women's role in society. It is worth mentioning that this is the only article that refers to women's employment opportunities in Saudi labour law. A business lady expressed her view regarding this ambiguity:

> On what basis can one consider the job as unhealthy or risky? Is it related to long or late hours, or travelling abroad, or heavy industry operation, or a factory environment, or chemical lab involvement, or radiation and x-rays exposure for pregnant women? Accordingly, many private companies would not hire females because there is no narrative directive that defines these codes (FPNT2).

This indicates that the two terms (healthy and risky) are very broad and can be interpreted in different ways. The broadness of these terms may affect women's right to make their own employment decisions.

When participants were asked if these articles, enacted in 2005, should be updated for a better understanding, the results reveal a significant difference between gender perceptions at (*p=0.00*). Table 5.10 shows that the majority of female respondents (74%), but only 47.7% of

the male respondents, stated their agreement towards this point with different levels of agreement. However, 41.1% of men compared to 19.8% of women took a neutral position. This indicates that the sample of women in this study thought that more clarification of the language used in the labour law is needed, alongside more specification of some ambiguous codes to boost their rights. Different suggestions were made by the female participants regarding this issue. One participant suggested that, based on the segregation between gender in most of the sectors, women should have a separate labour law exclusively addressing them in order to boost their rights (FPLS3), and it should be updated with the opening of new fields for women (FPHB5). Another participant suggested:

> If legislators tend to be clear in acting law in general, they have to follow the linguistic use followed in Qur'an where the masculine plural form refers to males and females, but when the plural masculine form is accompanied by the plural feminine form, the masculine form refers exclusively to males especially when referring to rights and obligations in order to be clear and not subject to different interpretations. Accordingly, in articles that refer to men exclusively, singular masculine form should be used, or a clear statement should be added that shows the exclusion of women in such articles (FPAA3).

Looking into the use of the masculine form generically in the language of law tested the clarity of the language, so women would know their rights and obligations. I agree with FPAA3 that the only way to achieve clarity is to follow the linguistic use followed in the Qur'an which is very clear and there is no doubt about the inclusion of women. Even in other grammatical gender languages, the plural masculine form would include males and females.

The high percentage of men who took a neutral position suggests that women's issues are being neglected by men perhaps because some of the male respondents looked at gaining more employment opportunities for women as a privilege and not as a right (MR310; MR322; MR246). This attitude might be related to the fact that men are supposed to be committed to the financial support of the family. But again, I argue that employment opportunities should be based on qualifications and not on gender, given that not all women have a male legal guardian. We must also note that the legislators in general in Saudi Arabia are men. Accordingly, there should be an involvement of women in enacting these articles in order to avoid any bias in the use of language (FPSB3).

In addition to the language of the labour law which is considered a factor that might affect women's right to make their own employment decisions, participants were asked to provide

insights regarding the obstacles affecting women's full participation in the public sphere. This was done to reflect a clear picture of the reasons behind women's struggle in patriarchal societies, as detailed in the next section.

5.3.3.1.1. Obstacles affecting women's full participation in the public sphere

Saudi males' and females' insights regarding obstacles affecting women's full participation in the public sphere were also considered. This was to help me further understand the conditions that govern women's work, which may result from ambiguous language used in the Saudi labour law. The possible obstacles stated in table 5.2 are based on literature review sections related to women's status in Saudi society (see sections 2.4.1.1, 2.4.1.2 and 2.4.1.3). From literature, it has been noted that women's position in Saudi Arabia has been shaped by many factors such as social attitudes, superficial and literal interpretations of Islamic teachings, the accessibility and quality of education, and the historical socio-economic and political conditions.

Obstacle	Male					Female					Chi-square
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Sig.
Religious considerations	27.4%	28.6%	13.7%	10.7%	19.6%	9.3%	12.4%	10.3%	34.5%	33.5%	.000
Saudi customs and traditions	48.2%	33.3%	9.5%	6.0%	3.0%	59.5%	27.7%	5.1%	5.6%	2.1%	.213
Social attitudes toward women in some professions	35.7%	38.1%	19.0%	4.2%	3.0%	37.9%	45.6%	9.7%	4.6%	2.1%	.123
Limited job opportunities available to women	28.0%	41.7%	17.9%	6.0%	6.5%	47.2%	33.8%	9.2%	7.2%	2.6%	.001
Limited educational fields available to women	26.8%	31.0%	21.4%	10.1%	10.7%	50.3%	32.8%	5.6%	7.7%	3.6%	.000

Table 5.12 Obstacles affecting women's participation in the public sphere

Table 5.12 shows that male respondents (56%) viewed religious considerations as an obstacle affecting women's full participation in the public sphere; however, it can be noticed that the majority of female respondents (68%) had a contradictory view. This result reveals a significant difference in perception between males and females at (*p=.00*). It seems that a large percentage of males based their views on religious considerations, contradicting what Islamic history has recorded about women's participation in the development of the society. If we go to Islamic history, women's participation in the public sphere has been appreciated and recognized. Prophet Muhammad's wife 'Aisha was among the memorizers of Hadith as one-sixth of the Hadith records her as being part of the chain of transmission of the Traditions of

the Prophet (Yamani, 1996). She was a very learned woman, and she was and still is considered a great authority in Islamic Jurisprudence. One of her pupils, 'urwa ibn Al-Zubair, who was a great scholar of literature, testified to her place in learning when he said: "I did not see a greater scholar than 'Aisha in the learning of the Qur'an, obligatory duties, lawful matters, poetry and literature, Arab history and genealogy" (Doi, 1989). She is known as one of the most reliable interpreters of Islamic law. Even Prophet Muhammad acknowledged 'Aisha's wisdom in the Hadith, "Learn half of your religion from that red-headed one!", 'Aisha, the prophet's wife and the daughter of the first Caliph, Abu-Bakr (Yamani, 1969: 264).

Another example of a great female scholar in Islam in the Abbasid reign is Sayyida Nafisa, a descendent of 'Ali , the fourth Caliph. One of the pupils who sat in her circle in Al-Fustat, when later he was at the height of his fame, was Imam Shafi'i, the founder of the Shafi'i school of Islamic law (El-Nimr, 1996). She adds that Sheikha Shuhda was also one of the important scholars in Islam. She used to lecture in one the principle mosques of Baghdad to large audiences on literature, rhetoric and poetry. Islamic history witnessed many other learned Muslim women who were religious narrators, teachers, writers, poets, nurses, physicians, and skilled workers, who were respected for their contributions to Muslim society (for more examples, see Hammad, 2010b). This indicates that women were encouraged to participate in fields that were available at that time for their intellectual benefit and according to Islamic teaching.

Both the men and women in this sample (81.5% and 87.2% respectively) considered that Saudi customs and traditions were a hindering factor for female employment due to social attitudes toward women in some professions, and this view was shared by both the males and females (73.8% and 83.5% respectively). For example, "from a very young age, males and females are brought up intentionally or unintentionally in a way that suits their nature to match the classical figure of a man and a woman" (FPNY4), and "girls should be trained for the role of sisters, mothers and wives, whereas boys should be trained to be strong and tough, and should be served by their sisters" (FPAF4). Thus, the society has become accustomed to women occupying traditional roles and professions. Any change to this norm is considered a violation of what is socially accepted. The idea of cooperation between men and women in household chores is also not acceptable by a large segment of Saudi society, especially among the older

generations, and particularly among the illiterate and older women who are accustomed to the idea of the superiority of men. A female participant said:

> Boys and girls in my family were raised equally, and even the boys were responsible for making their beds and preparing their sandwiches; however, once my grandmother saw my brother making his sandwich, she was annoyed with us (the girls) because she thinks that this is a female duty (FPNA1).

Accordingly, the society is largely accustomed to an explicit or implicit recognition that women should occupy a secondary position to that of men inside and outside the house.

A business lady who had been working in the private sector for over 20 years viewed social factors as the crucial obstacle affecting women's full participation in economic development. She said:

> I think the obstacles are mainly social, but not really work wise. I think women who were determined to pursue a career even for fields of study that were not available for women in Saudi Arabia like architecture, photography, and interior design, it is noticed that they had the chance to study abroad especially for women from open-minded and well off families, and then proved themselves in such careers even if it was on the private level. However, women have mainly succeeded in business, especially on the private level. Although it was not under their name until 2005, they used to practise their business from home or under the umbrella of a man (FPNT2).

This indicates that the name of a man was very important in the life of working women, especially businesswomen. It was sometimes considered an obstacle for the business because men had to be involved in everything such as for access to money, licences and dealing with government institutions. Since 2005, women can obtain a business licence, and they have access to government institutions with the opening of ladies sections in these institutions, but still require a male guardian's approval to start a business. However, this depends on women's circumstances. Women from moderate families, which constitute a limited segment of the society, could impose themselves, but when it comes to different segments of the society it is a different issue. An example was provided by a female lecturer participant, "I have students in my class who cannot do their homework because their fathers do not permit an internet connection in the house" (FPNA1). According to another female participant, the constraints imposed on women reflect the social view towards women which can be explained by being accustomed to and familiar with practices taking place in society. She indicated:

Before the discovery of oil, women used to work in producing woollen carpets and tents, and women's clothing, in tending sheep and in farming the land, specifically among Bedouin families. In the urban areas, women were more into dressmaking. With the production of oil, women lagged behind because they were replaced by male manpower for the sake of comforting them and providing them with protection, and their products were replaced by products imported from foreign countries (FPSB3).

In this way, people have become accustomed to women being away from the market and confined inside the house. This confinement has revived some pre-Islamic views toward them, that is, the considering of women as a symbol of honour, leading to the fear of letting women out of the house unless it is important.

Table 5.12 shows that limited job opportunities available to women were considered an obstacle affecting women's full participation in society, and this view was shared by the majority of female respondents (81%) and the majority of male respondents (69.7%). Both female respondents (83.1%) and male respondents (57.8%) regarded this limitation in job opportunities to the limited educational fields available to women because they still did not have access to some professions. For example, women have not been in political positions for a long time because political science as a field of study is still not available for them.

Table 5.13 shows the gender perceptions toward offering women fields of study that have not been available to them, except for engineering, which is offered at Effat College (a private university) specifically architecture, electrical and computer engineering, and information systems. This indicates that Iffat Al Thunayan, King Faisal's wife, has been consistent in her commitment to educating females in accordance with modern educational theories (see section 2.4.1.2).

Field of study	Male					Female					Chi-square
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Sig.
Engineering	30.4%	23.2%	16.1%	19.6%	10.7%	57.9%	27.4%	5.1%	6.6%	3.0%	.000
Marine Science	20.2%	16.1%	21.4%	29.2%	13.1%	41.8%	27.0%	16.3%	12.2%	2.6%	.000
Meteorology	27.4%	21.4%	16.7%	22.0%	12.5%	43.4%	23.0%	14.8%	15.3%	3.6%	.001
Environmental Design	45.2%	29.2%	15.5%	5.4%	4.8%	54.3%	31.5%	9.1%	4.6%	.5%	.022
Geology	25.0%	25.6%	21.4%	19.6%	8.3%	40.6%	32.0%	14.2%	11.2%	2.0%	.000
Petroleum	18.5%	16.1%	16.7%	25.0%	23.8%	26.9%	19.8%	19.3%	24.4%	9.6%	.004
Political science	28.0%	23.2%	19.6%	13.1%	16.1%	52.8%	21.3%	8.1%	12.2%	5.6%	.000

Table 5.13 Attitudes to fields of study for women

The majority of women (above 65%) showed a favourable attitude towards almost all of the fields mentioned above except for petroleum, where they scored (46.7%), also representing the majority (table 5.13). The majority of men showed a positive attitude towards environmental design (74.4%), followed by engineering (53.6%), political science (51.2%), geology (50.6%) and meteorology (48.8%). In spite of this positive attitude, there were also different levels of disagreement among male respondents toward some fields of study, such as meteorology (34.5%), engineering (30.3%), political science (29.2%) and geology (27.9%). Some men also showed a negative attitude towards petroleum and marine science (48.8% and 42.3% respectively). Some comments made by the male respondents (MR310; MR322; MR323; MR246) indicated that they believed that studying these majors was against women's nature and their capabilities. This can explain in part how the ambiguous codes mentioned in the labour law might be interpreted. Most of the female participants indicated that they can be involved in most of these fields in terms of planning, because they are not capable of being involved in a tough and hard-working environment like heavy industry or factories, knowing that the weather in Saudi Arabia is extremely hot in the summer (FPMD4; FPHF5; FPLB5; FPLS3). This view was also expressed by 52% of the questionnaire female respondents in the space provided for their comments. Unlike many of the women in western societies who asked for total equality with men in terms of social and political rights, the sample of women in this study perceived equality in terms of obtaining equal opportunities in fields that suit their physical and psychological nature.

After examining the use of the masculine form in some articles from the labour law, a further investigation was conducted to see if the generic noun in the municipal voting resolution is used in its inclusive form to include males and females.

5.3.3.2. Using the generic noun in the municipal councils' voting resolution

The municipal elections allow the general public to participate in the running of the affairs of the municipal services. The right for women to vote in the municipal councils was a controversial issue during Saudi Arabia's first elections for public office in 2005 because municipal councils were new experience for Saudi society. In addition, after the discovery of oil, working women were replaced by manpower for the sake of their comfort, so society had become accustomed to women being away from the public sphere. Accordingly, the introduction of new opportunities for women in the public sphere may have provoked some segments of the society, specifically the conservative ones. However, other segments of the society who believe in women's rights would argue in favour of women. The voting resolution for municipal councils, which were announced by the Ministry of Municipal Affairs in October 2003, had no criteria for the gender of voters or candidates as it was again announced using the masculine form (see appendix 11).

Statement	Male					Female					Chi-square
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Sig.
The voting resolution for municipal councils includes men and women.	16.1%	24.4%	22.0%	28.0%	9.5%	13.9%	13.9%	22.7%	30.4%	19.1%	.023
Using the masculine form generically is vague.	26.8%	30.4%	22.6%	10.7%	9.5%	39.7%	29.9%	13.4%	10.8%	6.2%	.039
Using the masculine form generically affects women's rights.	23.8%	23.8%	23.8%	16.1%	12.5%	35.1%	26.3%	15.5%	12.4%	10.8%	.079

Table 5.14 Municipal councils' resolution

Table 5.14 suggests that 40.5% of men and only 27.2% of women thought that the municipal resolution is supposed to include women as all legislation is written using the masculine form to include males and females. This led a few women to put themselves forward as candidates; however, their applications were declined (Doumato, 2010) because they were not allowed to participate. On the other hand, 49.5% of women and only 37.5% of men thought that women were not included in the resolution, leading to a discrepancy between gender perceptions at (*p=0.02*).

The presence of contradictory views within the same gender group suggests that using the generic form of language in the municipal resolution is vague, a view shared by the majority of male respondents (57.2%) and the majority of female respondents (69.6%). This ambiguity

affected women's voting rights and ability to nominate themselves as a candidate, as suggested by 47.6% of men and the majority of women (61.4%). This view is shared by a female participant who thought that "women's inclusion in the resolutions is not clear; resulting in the exclusion of women in the first round to marginalize the role of women in the society, and it is considered as an obstruction to the capabilities of half of the society" (FPDA1). The municipal councils were established to solve the problems of the society for both men and women, and women may also have specific issues that have to be solved.

Al Zaied (2009) reported in his newspaper article that:

> Deputy Minister of Municipal Affairs indicated that there is a possibility of women's participation in the next municipal election, which was supposed to be held in 2009 and was postponed for two years, as the resolution addressed the citizen (masculine form) to include all citizens. In addition, there is a committee to study the voting system and it will deliver a decision regarding this issue[30].

This indicates that women's voting rights are not governed by legal norms. The Deputy Minister of Municipal Affairs confirms in this message that the word citizen in its masculine form should refer to all citizens, including women; however, his expression (a possibility of women's participation) reflects uncertainty. This is because the change can happen but it may be very gradual, especially in patriarchal societies, in order to convince the elements that are against the full participation of women in the public sphere.

The possible reasons for excluding women's participation in the municipal elections in table 5.15 are based on literature review sections related to women's status in Saudi society (see sections 2.4.1.1, 2.4.1.2 and 2.4.1.3). These are related to the obstacles women have been facing especially after the discovery and the production of oil in Saudi Arabia which was the major event that led to a rapid economic development. However, women lagged behind because their role at that time was not identified.

---

[30] Translation mine

Reason	Male					Female					Chi-square
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Sig.
Religious considerations	27.4%	22.0%	23.8%	11.3%	15.5%	26.2%	17.9%	9.2%	21.0%	25.6%	.000
Saudi customs and traditions	50.0%	31.0%	10.7%	3.6%	4.8%	62.4%	25.3%	4.1%	6.7%	1.5%	.008
Limiting the role of women in society	28.6%	29.2%	20.2%	11.9%	10.1%	45.9%	32.5%	11.3%	6.7%	3.6%	.000
Saudi social attitudes towards women's role in society	33.3%	36.9%	18.5%	7.7%	3.6%	47.2%	37.9%	9.2%	4.6%	1.0%	.007

Table 5.15 Reasons for excluding women's participation in municipal elections

Table 5.15 reflects significant statistical differences between the views of males and females on the reasons behind excluding women's participation in the municipal elections as voters and candidates in 2005. 49.4% of men compared to 44.1% of women viewed religious consideration as a reason behind excluding women from participating in municipal elections; however, 46.6% of women compared to 26.8% of men had a contradictory view leading to a discrepancy between gender perceptions at (*p=0.00*), and also to a discrepancy between perceptions within the same group of gender. This indicates that there is a misconception of the difference between religion and social prevailing norms, since the *Qur'an* refers to the right for women to vote. In the following verse, when some women came to vote for Prophet Muhammad, He accepted them, which indicates the importance of considering women's opinions in all life matters (Hasan, 1994):

> O Prophet! When believing women come to you to give you the Bai'ah (pledge), that they will not associate anything in worship with Allah, that they will not steal, that they will not commit illegal sexual intercourse, that they will not kill their children, that they will not utter slander, intentionally forging falsehood (i.e. by making illegal children belonging to their husbands), and that they will not disobey you in Ma'ruf (Islamic Monotheism and all that which Islâm ordains), then accept their Bai'ah (pledge), and ask Allah to forgive them. Verily, Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful (Qur'an, 60:12).[31]

Since the announcement of the voting resolution for municipal councils, this topic became a controversial issue among many social activists and writers, as some of them supported women's participation and some were opposed to it. Finally, in 2011, the Shura council (the king's advisory and consultative body) supported women's participation as voters, but not as

---

[31]All verses of Qur'an are taken from:

Al-Hilali, M and Khan, M (1983). The English translation of the meaning and commentary. King Fahd Complex for the printing of the Holy Qur'an.

candidates; however, women demanded the full right of participation. In this regard, Hammad (2011b) stated in her article:

> The interaction of the Shura Council with women's issues is really appreciated. After a long debate, more than two thirds of the Shura council's members recognize the legal right of women to participate in municipal elections, but unfortunately did not pass the legal right to the full; as giving part of it, the right to vote, withholding their right to the nomination........ The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia granted women the right to vote and to nominate themselves in the elections of chamber of commerce, and the national organization for human rights, and the journalists' organization, and recently the literary clubs. Then, why are municipal elections dominated by men?[32]

The support given by the Shura Council for women to participate in the municipal elections as voters did not recognize the woman as a full citizen. The participation of women as voters only undermines women's capability of being candidates.

Later in the same year, Saudi Arabia granted women the right to vote and to nominate themselves as candidates in the next elections for municipal councils for the first time in its modern history, as part of the changes adopted by King Abdullah. Only men will vote in the elections held in 2011; women will be allowed to vote and nominate themselves in 2015.

In this regard, King Abdullah said on Sunday, September 25, 2011, on state television:

> Everyone knows that Muslim women in Islamic history have obtained a position that cannot be denied especially in counselling and giving advice since the time of the Prophet and his companions and followers. Because we refuse to marginalize the role of women in Saudi society in every field of work that complies with Sharia (Islamic law), it is decided, after deliberation with our senior *ulama* (Islamic authority), to grant women the right to submit their candidacy for municipal council membership and the right to vote in accordance with *Sharia* and to involve women in the *Shura* Council (the king's advisory body) as members, starting from the next term.

This announcement by the king of Saudi Arabia granting women the full right to participate in the municipal councils as voters and candidates and appointing women to the Shura council as full members is considered a bold move towards social and democratic reform. It is a promising step towards expanding and empowering the role of women in Saudi society. This announcement was praised by moderate and social activists and it raised their hopes for other

---

[32] Translation mine

demands for greater democratic and social rights, and it represents an important step forward in expanding the rights of women in Saudi Arabia. In addition, the king's announcement indicates that women's participation in every field of work has been recognized in Islamic history, contradicting the view of those who link excluding women's participation in municipal elections to religious consideration. The king's announcement also suggests that women's role in society has been marginalized for a long time and needs to be activated as a part of his reform plans to empower women.

I have noted above that the men and women shared a similar view regarding the customs and traditions of Saudi society as the main reason for not mentioning women's name in public, and as a hindering factor for female employment, specifically in the private sector. Similarly, Saudi customs and traditions were seen as a reason for excluding women from municipal elections in 2005, a view shared by the overwhelming majority of women (87.7%), and the majority of men (81%), as Saudi society is largely governed by customs and traditions. This has arguably led to a misconception about what is related to religion and what is related to social norms, reflecting an ignorance of Islamic teaching specifically on women's issues as a result of the long period, known as a cultural lag (Samergandi, 1992), where women have been marginalized from occupying key positions and from participating in making decisions. This prevailing attitude towards women has contributed to limiting the role of women in society, as suggested by the majority of female respondents (78.4%) and a smaller majority of male respondents (57.8%). This is especially if this role requires competing with men, or occupying a position higher than that of men. For opponents of women's participation in municipal councils, the issue of municipal councils is a new experience for Saudi society (MR310; FR89), and due to women's lack of capabilities and knowledge of municipal elections (MR322; MR323; MR246), the male guardian should represent the woman and act on her behalf after taking her opinion, because their participation in municipal elections will distract them from their main role as mothers and wives (MR290 and MR300). This superficial view reflects the marginalization of the role of women in society, and an underestimation of women's capabilities, because most women lack the opportunity to make simple decisions, as some men tend to exercise their power over women based on the concept of their guardianship (Doumato, 2010). The problem is not related to religion because, as I have shown, Prophet Muhammad permitted women to vote, and this provides evidence of the importance of taking

their opinion in all life matters. The problem is that women are looked at as second class citizens (MR321 and FR352), as there is no appreciation of women's opinions or decisions. The majority of women (85.1%) and the majority of men (70.2%) viewed excluding women's participation from the first round of municipal elections as a reflection of Saudi social attitudes toward women's role in society, in order to limit the role of women in the public sphere (FR24) and to have enough time to raise her kids (FR339). This is social resistance to the full participation of women in the public sphere, where women can only be recognized in academic and medical professions, but not in positions which require competition with men. However, King Abdullah's announcement on women's full participation in municipal elections, and in the Shura council as members, is a message to those who think that women's role is limited to the house and traditional professions, and is a step towards social equity.

It is noticeable that the generic use of the masculine form to include men and women in the labour law and in the municipal resolutions is purely theoretical as the linguistic expressions of law in general are exclusively read to refer to men, since women's rights and obligations are actually based on social norms more than legal or religious norms. In other words, women are seen through a social lens leading to different interpretations of andocentric language use. Consequently, the ambiguity of the linguistic expressions of law affects women's rights, and reflects certain social attitudes toward women in Saudi society. The majority of male and female participants indicated that the Saudi labour law and municipal resolutions should refer to women explicitly instead of using the masculine form inclusively, Table 5.16.

Statement	Male					Female					Chi-square
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Sig.
Saudi labour law should refer to women instead of using the male form.	38.7%	28.0%	23.2%	7.1%	3.0%	51.8%	18.7%	21.8%	4.7%	3.1%	.098
Municipal resolution should refer to women instead of using the male form.	30.4%	21.4%	31.0%	8.3%	8.9%	48.7%	18.7%	20.7%	5.7%	6.2%	.010

Table 5.16 General attitude towards addressing women in labour law and municipal resolutions

A female participant thought that using the masculine form generically was an obstacle affecting women's participation in different aspects of life (FPNA1), so any resolution related to Saudi citizens should address men and women equally so they would know their rights and obligations. An example was provided by another female participant to show the vagueness of using the masculine form generically:

After my father's death, he used to be a member of the board of directors at one of the newspapers, we received a letter from the newspaper written in the masculine form, asking us to nominate one of his sons to take over his place. We thought that the member should be male as we live in a male dominated society. However, when my brother attended the meeting, he found out that there was a lady who had taken her father's place. Accordingly, using the masculine form is vague and affects women's rights because it is read and understood to refer exclusively to males (FPMD4).

This confirms that for some participants, even when the masculine form is used in theory and in practice to refer to both males and females, it is read and understood to refer exclusively to males reflecting a male dominated society. This conclusion ties neatly with the figures in table 5.14, which suggested that most male and female respondents thought that using the masculine form generically was vague. This ambiguity takes place with the introduction of new opportunities for women that were not available to them before. That is because the use of the masculine form generically fails to deliver a consistent message as sometimes women are included and sometimes they are excluded. Similarly, in English, early research suggested that people are most likely to interpret the pronoun *he* and the noun *man* when used in its generic function to refer exclusively to men rather than women (Spender, 1980) (see section 3.2.1.1). Accordingly, the use of the masculine form generically in Arabic reflects the existence of linguistic sexism which entails male dominance in social relationships including behaviour, policy and language, as an indication of institutionalized, systematic or consistent views where women are placed in a secondary position compared to that of men (see section 3.2.1.1). Spender (1980) emphasised in her argument that the generic use of *he/man* promotes male imagery in everyday life until proven otherwise and is a reinforcement of the visibility of men and the invisibility of women, a step in ensuring that males are the norm for all human beings.

Wadud (1999: 4) in contrast indicates that there is no doubt of the inclusion of women in the language of the *Qur'an* due to the systematic use of the masculine plural form which is intended to include males and females equally when addressing all Muslims as one nation. In this case, the reference to males and females indicates equality in theory and in practice with no distinction. However, when indicating more specific issues like rights and obligations, the linguistic use of the *Qur'an* tends to explicitly address both males and females (like 'believing males and believing females' [masculine plural followed by feminine plural forms]). In this case, the masculine plural refers exclusively to males because of the inclusion of the female plural form. When referring to the individual, the *Qur'an* most often uses the term */nafs/* (self)

which is grammatically feminine, taking the corresponding feminine adjectival and verbal antecedents; however, conceptually it refers equally to masculine and feminine individuals (Wadud, 1999). Another example of using the singular form is the word */man/* (whoever) which is one of the rare Arabic terms used to refer to both males and females (Wadud, 1999). With reference to section (2.4.1.1), in all the verses that identify human rights, obligations, and duties, the Qur'an addresses women and men equally by using the plural masculine and the plural feminine forms to avoid ambiguity and to eliminate any doubt of the inclusion of females. This emphasises that the linguistic form of the Qur'an does not address men exclusively, as Karmi (1996) claimed. However, when examining the municipal resolution, it can be noticed that it is largely written using the plural masculine form, and was subject to different interpretations, resulting in excluding women from participating in the first and second round of municipal elections, and postponing women's participation in municipal elections to 2015 (see appendix 11).

In this section, different contexts have been examined to see if the generic use of the masculine form includes females in theory and in practice. The third aspect of language in this study is investigated in the next section to understand if the generic noun in occupations would lead to linguistic sexism.

5.3.4. Using the generic noun in occupations

Using the generic noun (masculine form) in occupations and professions in Arabic, especially in academic circles (universities and colleges) and in areas that used to be dominated by men, specifically professions with high status, is the third aspect of language use which has been tested to see if it leads to women's marginalization, as in the other languages discussed in chapter three. In newspapers, in the media and even in official documents, academic positions and positions occupied recently by women are expressed using the male form title. This section addresses question (1-c), which questions if reverse gender titles in positions with high status and in academic circles obscure women's identity. With reference to section (3.4.3), when dealing with grammatical gender languages with a tradition of marking female agent nouns through suffixing like French, German, Italian and even Arabic, the only way to avoid linguistic sexism is by feminization (gender specification), meaning separate terms need to be used to refer to males and females since using the masculine form generically may result in

the invisibility of women. Males' and females' attitudes toward using the masculine form generically in occupations and professions have been considered through the participants' perceptions of these terms, whether they view them as sexist, not sexist, or neutral. This section is further divided into two subsections: using the generic noun in academic circles, and using the generic noun in leading positions.

5.3.4.1. Using the generic noun (masculine form) in academic circles

Using the generic noun (masculine form) in Arabic is used in academic circles (universities and colleges) to refer to females occupying academic positions, for example, faculty member, assistant professor and associate professor. In table 5.17, chi-square results show a discrepancy between males' and females' perceptions with regard to the generic use of the masculine form in academic circles.

Terms	Male			Female			Chi-square
	Sexist	Neutral	Not sexist	Sexist	Neutral	Not sexist	Sig.
/cuDu hayʔat altadri:s/ Faculty member	22.8%	26.3%	50.9%	36.2%	23.0%	40.8%	.019
/ʔusta:ð musa:cid/ Assistant professor	27.5%	31.1%	41.3%	40.8%	25.5%	33.7%	.030
/ʔusta:ð muSa:rik/ Associate professor	24.6%	32.3%	43.1%	43.4%	23.5%	33.2%	.001

Table 5.17 Using the generic noun in academic circles for women

According to Al-Waseet Arabic dictionary (2005: 607), the term */cuDu/* refers to any organ of a human being, and it also refers to a member in a committee, or in a group, or in an organization and so on. In addition, it can be used in academic circles to refer to a faculty member.

Table 5.17 shows that the majority of male respondents thought that the term */cuDu/* (member) is not sexist even when it is used in academic circles as a faculty member. On the other hand, female respondents' perceptions reflected uncertainty as some of them viewed this term as not sexist, and about the same percentage of females viewed it as sexist due to the fact that the term */cuDu/* cannot be feminized, according to Al-Waseet Arabic dictionary, 2005. However, since using the masculine form generically may result in lexical gaps which occur when the language lacks words for women incumbents of professions, leading to the invisibility and marginalization of women in language, Arabic language scholars agreed on adding the feminine suffix */-t/* for the sake of the expansion in the use of language, but left it

up to personal choice (Al-Waseet Arabic dictionary). This indicates that using the term /*cuDu*/ (member) in its feminine form is linguistically correct. However, I argue that any insistence of using the word /*cuDu*/ (member) in its masculine form when referring to women reflects social resistance to equating women with men, especially when men and women are members of the same committee, or group, or organization (FPAA3).

Over 40% of women indicated that terms like /*?ustað musacid*/ (assistant professor), and /*?ustað muSarik*/ (associate professor) are sexist; however, over 40% of men had a contradictory view. More than 30% of women also viewed these terms as not sexist, which reflects diversity among the sample of women. According to some participants, using the masculine form would not lead to cognitive confusion because academic circles are segregated (MR253, FPNA1), and women are recognized in these positions since the introduction of universities in Saudi Arabia (FR117). For other participants, the entire system of our universities adopts universal standards, for example, academic requirements, and the organizational structure, including job titles (MR298 and MR303). In addition, using the generic nouns in occupations is a universal phenomenon (MR298 and MR303). This reflects that some participants are unaware of the language reform process that has been taking place in many languages, which is discussed in detail in section 3.4.

5.3.4.2. Using the generic noun (masculine form) in leading positions

Using the generic noun (masculine form) in Arabic is used in occupations with high status in reference to females occupying these positions (see table 5.18). All of the positions are traditionally occupied by men. The emergence of women in these high positions is related to King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz Al-Saud's initiatives, which encourage women's participation in the public sphere, leading to positive changes in the society. It is worth mentioning that the high authority has appointed most of these highly qualified women to these positions. During the last ten years, although the appointment of women in leading positions has been limited, it is on the increase.

Terms	Male			Female			Chi-square
	Sexist	Neutral	Not sexist	Sexist	Neutral	Not sexist	Sig.
/*ra?i:s* majlis ?ida:rat Jamciyat al?aydz/ Chairman of the Board of Directors of AIDS	30.5%	25.7%	43.7%	47.4%	20.9%	31.6%	.004
/*waki:l* waza:rat ?altarbiyah wa Altacli:m/	31.7%	31.7%	36.5%	52.0%	21.4%	26.5%	.000

Undersecretary of the Ministry of Education							
/na?ib wazi:r ?altarbiyah wa altacli:m/ Deputy Minister of Education	28.1%	26.9%	44.9%	48.0%	23.0%	29.1%	.000
/ra?i:s ?allajnah ?alculya: li?itiHa:d almustaƟmira:t alcarab/ Head of the Supreme Committee of the Union of Arab Women Investors	28.1%	29.9%	41.9%	45.9%	23.5%	30.6%	.002
/mudi:r ca:m libank ?algolf lil?istiƟma:r/ CEO Gulf One Investment Bank	26.3%	28.1%	45.5%	48.0%	25.0%	27.0%	.000
/?ara?i:s altanfi:ði: liSarikat colayan liltamwi:l/ Chief executive of the Olayan Financing Company	24.6%	28.1%	47.3%	42.9%	23.5%	33.7%	.001
/musa:cid li?ami:n Jeddah/ Vice Mayor of Jeddah Municipality	28.1%	31.1%	40.7%	46.4%	23.5%	30.1%	.002

Table 5.18 Using the generic noun in high positions for women

A general look at the chi-square results suggests an association between gender and their perceptions of the masculine form, when used generically in job titles specifically in positions with high status (table 5.18). The majority of men considered these forms as not sexist. According to some of the comments made by the male participants, it is not easy to address women by a feminized job title, especially in leading positions (MR302), because these positions are traditionally dominated by men and they are suitable only for the nature of men (MR258; MR311). In this respect, the masculine form can be used generically to refer to men and women (MR280; MR 237). As long as women are participating in different fields and sectors, the job title is not an issue (MR208) since the job title refers to the position and not to the person (MR310, MR320, FR357, FPBG1); however, the case would be different if a man occupied a position traditionally occupied by women. This shows an asymmetrical treatment towards men and women, and reflects a male dominated society.

In contrast, the majority of women considered the generic use of job titles as sexist because Arabic allows the recognition of women by feminization (FR88, FR134, FR111), so there is no reason not to feminize job titles when referring to women. The generic use of job titles in Arabic is 'linguistically wrong' (FR137) as it violates the complicated gender marking system in nouns, determiners and other parts of speech. It reflects the effect of other languages on Arabic as this phenomenon is well known in western languages (FPHB5). The use of the masculine gender in occupations with high status reveals that these were originally male positions, and the appointment of a woman to this position is an exception and not absolute, since Arabic language absorbs feminization.

Using the masculine gender title generically might result in a psychological invisibility for women in the workplace by allowing masculine terms to be used to refer specifically to males

and generally to males and females (MR268). This might result in a woman feeling that she would always need a man to make decisions as she does not have full recognition in her job title, even if she occupies a leading position (FPSS2). Women have always been tied to decisions taken by men and cannot change them, as traditionally almost all women's institutions are related to men's institutions, which restrains women from taking decisions even in issues related to women. Even in the Shura council (the king's advisory body) women were consultants for a long time, and attended but were not decision makers; now, they may be given more authority when they have become full members (FPBG1).

Using the masculine gender title generically also results in lexical gaps exactly like in the other grammatical gender languages discussed in section (3.2.1.1), with the absence of the female-specific form, despite there being female equivalents for all of the masculine terms like */raʔi:s/* (chairman, head), */waki:l/* (undersecretary), */naʔib/* (deputy), */mudi:r ʕam/* (CEO), */ʔaraʔi:s altanfi:ði:/* (Chief executive) and */musaʕid/* (vice). This can be done through suffixing by adding */-t/* (feminine suffix), and indeed this is actually done orally in informal situations. Another point expressed by a female participant was that Arabic absorbs the use of the masculine form in the plural form to refer to both sexes, but a job title is singular and a form of personalization and should be feminized (FPAA3). Feminization reflects women's role activation which has been marginalized for a long time, and I argue, it should be used to raise society's awareness of women's existence in the public sphere. On the other hand, avoiding linguistic sexism in natural gender languages like English can be achieved through a gender neutralization strategy by eliminating the suffixed forms, especially when dealing with job titles and professions (see section 3.4.2). This strategy cannot be applied to grammatical gender languages because it leads to the invisibility of women in these languages.

In addition to the lexical gaps, using the masculine form generically may result in cognitive confusion when generic and specific meanings cannot be distinguished, especially with unisex names (FR13; FR89) like Amal, Jihad, Shams, Nour. It is worth mentioning that the media and newspapers have a role in prompting the generic use of the masculine form, leading to cognitive confusion of the sex of the addressee. An example of the cognitive confusion resulting from using a job title generically was provided by a participant (FPRH1) who indicated that her husband contacted the Chamber of Commerce to talk to a management team

member who had a unisex name. He was surprised that the person was female because he had assumed that a person holding such an authoritative position would be male. This reflects the underlying attitude that controls the interpretation of the masculine form to refer exclusively to men, even when it is used generically.

There is a need to consider the impact of social factors (social norms) in addition to linguistic explanations. It is noticeable that the lack of use of female equivalents mainly relates to occupations with high social status that women cannot easily access. Linguistic sexism in job titles specifically in leading positions reflects social resistance to women 'encroaching' on masculine territory, since these rapid changes in women's participation in the market are not yet fully reflected in the language (MR318; FPAA3). As shown before, this resistance has been expressed through social constraints imposed on Saudi women since the introduction of education for women and then their subsequent employment. Accordingly, job title feminization is evidence of recognizing and accepting women in these positions (FR48). However, men may find it hard to accept the idea of appointing females in high-ranking managerial or authoritative positions and may resent competing with women or being subordinate to women. That is because the society in general has become accustomed to placing women in a secondary position. This was illustrated by two business women who had suffered problems when they were appointed to authoritative positions. One of them stated that:

> I started working in one of the well-known banks in Saudi Arabia; I was one woman with 4,000 men, and this caused a culture shock for the employees because they know women as secretaries and clerks, but not seniors. In the beginning, it was not easy for me, not because I could not face men as long as I respect my social and cultural norms, but because changing their perceptions was very difficult, especially for those over whom I had authority. They were expecting the negative side of a female. A few months later when they saw me as a professional, most of them changed their view in a positive way and I had a good influence on them. This opened the door for hundreds of women who are working now in banking (FPNT2).

Although the number of women who have benefited from the changes that have taken place in the society is limited, this small number of pioneers will open the door for other women when they show the society the positive side of their participation in work places. This example shows that women can be successful if they are given the opportunity to manage and hold authoritative positions. In male dominated societies, it is not easy for men to receive orders

from women, nor to be governed by one; however, this example shows that a change in attitudes is not impossible.

The second business woman believed that change could happen but needs time because the society should be prepared for the change, and that women should not give up easily, even if they are faced with resistance. She stated:

> When I was assigned to the Chamber of Commerce at a senior level, I had authority over men. In the beginning, I faced resistance and some men submitted their resignation. That is because men are not used to trusting women and cannot accept being governed by them. In four years, 63 women joined the department and my male colleagues' attitudes changed in a positive way (FPSB3).

The generic use of the male gender does not reflect the positive changes in the social structure of Saudi Arabia towards women's employment. When dealing with a grammatical gender language like Arabic, which has a clear system with regard to gender, it seems odd to use the masculine form to refer to a woman since it lacks personalization.

The considerable percentage of the women in the sample who viewed these terms as not sexist reflects a conflict of opinions within the same gender group. This may be due to the fact that the emergence of women in these positions is a recent phenomenon from the last ten years and such women in high status positions represent only a fraction of working women (FPFG1, FPDA1); clearly, minorities usually do not enjoy privileges given to the majority. In addition, some women accept the masculine job title because they have become accustomed to it without paying attention to its implication. A female participant occupying a senior position, who had not thought about this topic before, showed a reversal in her attitude towards using the masculine gender job title generically by stating:

> I have been always given a masculine job title, and have not thought about it, but I have just realized that the job title is a personalized image of the person. Frankly, I used to view it from a positive side because society expects that all the senior positions will be male dominated, and when they see a woman holding such a position, they are astonished. Now, after our discussion, I can see it from a different angle, that is, using a feminine job title could leave a positive influence for recognition as it is kind of a personalized image. I don't think it is used deliberately, but we can ask for a change if the language absorbs a counterpart for the masculine job titles. We can start with small committees and visit different companies, a step for raising awareness in the society (FPNT2).

Accepting the masculine job title for women is evidence of the struggle women face, in that they consider the feminization of job titles to be a minor issue. It shows how women are keen to reach senior positions regardless of obtaining society's recognition, and regardless of the implication of job titles. Raising the topic of the biased use of language has led some participants to recognize that feminizing job titles is not only a personalized image of the person, but rather it can raise the awareness in society of women's existence in the public sphere, as well as the fact that they can hold senior positions (FPAA3; FPSB3; FPNT2; FPSS2; FPNY4; FPAF4). This recognition was expressed when the female participants were asked if they would accept a masculine job title for jobs traditionally occupied by women, for example, a teacher or a medical doctor.

Some of the women refused from the beginning to adopt the masculine form for job titles. According to a female participant: "I worked with a female chief editor for a well-known magazine as a proof-reader, and she used to insist that her job title was written in the feminine form, which I approved because it is grammatically correct" (FPSS2). This shows that some women had started to recognize the asymmetrical linguistic treatment of women and men. It also shows women's resistance to such practices as the awareness level of women has been increased by being engaged in the labour market.

Although this aspect of language in particular showed different positions and different points of views because it was a new topic for most of the participants, when the respondents were asked for their opinions on whether job titles for women should be feminized, the majority of men (66.7%) and the majority of women (70.4%) expressed their agreement (table 5.19).

Statement	Male					Female					Chi-square
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Sig.
Women's job titles should be feminized.	36.9%	29.8%	25.0%	5.4%	3.0%	52.3%	18.1%	21.2%	4.7%	3.6%	.031

Table 5.19 General attitude towards job title feminization

Some participants believed that the generic use of job titles results in linguistic marginalization (MR265; MR246; MR199). Others stated that if a woman had reached a senior position, she deserved to be addressed by a feminine job title because it is a linguistic form of recognition (MR234; FR55; FR126). In addition, feminizing job titles would also raise the awareness of the society of women's presence in these positions, since the independence of women can be seen through the use of language, and in this way it is a strong instrument to change thinking patterns. However, raising awareness is not only based on linguistic use, but also on changing the attitude towards woman through educating society about the great role of women in Islamic history (FR365). This view was shared by another participant:

> Changing the linguistic representation for women would not change the society's attitude. Changing the language should be accompanied with raising awareness of the role of women in Islamic history and the role that women can play in the development of the Saudi economy. The change should take place in the language and in the thought (FPNA1).

This account implies the mutual influence between language and social reality, where the causal link between them cannot be assigned to one or the other. That is, language arguably both helps to construct the social reality of women, and reflects the social position of women in society (Graddol and Swann, 1989) (see section 3.3). Change should be cautious because Saudi society is largely resistant to any kind of social change, especially with regard to women's issues. A female participant indicated that the society should be prepared for any change by raising awareness in different ways first, and then implementing the change in similar steps to those taken when female education was introduced in Saudi Arabia (FPSB3). In history, it took the First Wave of Feminism from the 1860s to the 1920s to achieve the main target of women's suffrage (see section 2.3.1.1).

In addition, change will not take place with individual contributions, as one business woman indicated:

> The change can happen by creating networking (collaborative efforts) through non-profit organizations, or a page on Facebook or through a website. This approach shouldn't aim at competing with men or attacking them, but rather it should aim at educating women for social purposes, offering financial advice, empowering women in a positive manner, supporting them on how to educate and raise their kids, and presenting contemporary women's achievements (FPNT2).

This suggests that moderate and social activists who support women's empowerment need to work together to create good networking with each other and with the high authorities. These individual efforts should be collaborated under one umbrella with the objective of boosting awareness among women of their rights and needs, and to provide consultancy and guidance services in the areas of the social spectrum, human development and small business management. The First Wave Feminism movement connected across national boundaries to achieve their demands (see section 2.3.1.1). Nowadays, this link can be created easily with the presence of internet services.

Based on qualitative and quantitative data, Saudi perceptions of three aspects of language related to linguistic representations of women in the use of Arabic have been analyzed in depth throughout this section. The results of this fieldwork data will be discussed next to give a deeper level of analysis in relation to feminist theory of language.

5.4   Discussion of data

Many themes have been observed throughout the analysis of the fieldwork data. Among these themes are: the binary distinction between males and females in language and in social arrangements in Saudi society; the existence of a grey area between social and religious norms; and, above all, the inequitable power relations between the two sexes in Saudi society. These themes are discussed in this section in relation to feminism and their theoretical perceptions of the language.

The theoretical position of this study has been identified based on schools of thought that emerged from the Second and Third Waves of Feminism. The researcher has based the analysis of the fieldwork data on Liberal Feminist theory regarding linguistic representations for women, which suggests that male dominance of the language is a result of the power of men in society which incorporates society's perception of women as subordinates and men as superiors (see section 2.5). Based on the analysis of the fieldwork data, including the survey

and the focus group data, the context of Saudi Arabia within the Second and the Third Wave Feminism has been considered.

Although Third Wave Feminism challenges the homogeneity of women, Second Wave Feminist campaigning and consciousness since the 1960s contributed to major changes in the attitudes towards the role of women, especially in Western Europe and the United States. With the Third Wave of Feminism, the focus has changed from making general statements, either about women's language or the language used about women, into a more punctual analysis according to context (Mill, 2008) (see section 2.3.1.3). This means that Third Wave Feminist linguistics focuses on how language is used to achieve specific purposes in certain contexts (Christie, 2001). When considering the context of Saudi Arabia, where religion governs all aspects of life, gender cannot be looked at through Third Wave Feminism because men are still considered the breadwinners in Saudi society and their guardianship is based on this principle. This is in addition to the fact that gender and sex refer to the same thing; however, according to Third Wave Feminism, language itself can perform our gender as we can portray ourselves to the world through the usage of the language as more or less masculine or feminine, as more or less heterosexual, as more or less passive, active, or authoritative.

Islamic law gives the woman the right to her own income, money, real estate, or other properties, whether she is single or married, without her male guardian's interference. On the other hand, the man is responsible for providing the basic essentials for his family as part of his guardianship. A considerable number of female participants indicated that with the increase in life expenses, women's monthly income can help in the extra expenses but not in the essentials (see section 5.3.3.1). This indicates that they still looked at the man as a breadwinner. The sample of women in this study looked at work as a path to economic freedom and the fulfillment of their personal satisfaction. Accordingly, they perceived equality as equal education and employment opportunities, especially in fields that need more mental than physical effort and not in occupations that require a tough and hard-working environment (see section 5.3.3.1.1). This is in contrast to many women in western societies who believe in equal employment opportunities regardless of biological and physical differences. For the sample of women in this study, equality was perceived in terms of respect, linguistic representations, and social and political rights within Islamic laws and not essentially

according to western norms. For example, when comparing terms of address and reference in the use of Arabic with the European languages mentioned in section 3.2.1.3, it was found that in these languages females had concerns regarding the courtesy titles which are based on marital status. In these languages, *Mrs* and the equivalent terms in many European languages were used to refer to a married woman, whereas *Miss* and the equivalent terms in other European languages were used to refer to an unmarried woman; however, this practice is not applicable for men (Pauwels, 1998). This practice is viewed by Liberal Feminists as a representation of women as sex objects, where they have to reveal their marital status (Spender, 1980), leading them to introduce the term *Ms*. to refer to an adult female as an equivalent term to *Mr*. without referring to the marital status. The sample of women in this study had concerns about certain terms of address and reference which they viewed as pejorative due to their negative connotations; especially some of the terms used in colloquial Arabic (see section 5.3.2.2.2). Although men do not have to reveal their marital status in terms of address, women did not have concerns about revealing their marital status, nor introducing themselves by using kinship titles as long as it did not lead to their marginalization; in other words, it was permissible to use kinship titles for the sake of introduction and not for marginalization. However, addressing women by their first names was considered by most male and female participants as a form of recognition of their existence (see table A10.1 – Appendix 10). Similarly, linguistic sexism in the Japanese language was perceived by Japanese women, as Takemaru (2005) indicates, in terms of address and phrases associated with a stereotypical and dehumanizing description of women, as most of these words and phrases do not have counterpart terms for men. In this respect, the common use of terms associated with negative connotations can be considered linguistic sexism based on the definitions of linguistic sexism which challenge the linguistically biased treatment of men and women in the social relationships including behaviour, policy and language (see section 3.2).

This binary distinction between male and female can be seen in language and in social arrangements. Gender in Arabic, a grammatical gender language, is based on biological sex: masculine refers to males and feminine refer to females. Like many languages, in Arabic the generic use of grammatical forms refers in principle inclusively to men and women. International studies suggest the existence of linguistic sexism in many languages due to the fact that such generic forms are associated with males in the minds of users of the language.

With reference to Mackay and Fulkerson's (1979) survey on American college students on the interpretation of generic uses of *he,* they found that the majority of the students perceived the pronoun as referring exclusively to males. In this regard, a distinction between languages based on gender as a grammatical category was made. According to Corbett (1991), gender in natural gender languages like English is based on the sex characteristic of the noun. On the other hand, gender in grammatical gender languages like Arabic is based on morphological features in addition to the semantic information of the noun (see section 3.2.1). Accordingly, neutral solutions work only with natural gender languages to achieve linguistic equality of the sexes (see section 3.4.2). However, in grammatical gender languages, gender neutralization would lead to women's invisibility in the language (see section 3.4.3). Instead, feminization can give full recognition to women in these languages. The binary distinction between males and females is also noticeable in some Arabic terms of address and reference for women which refer to the biological nature of women, for example, some terms of address for women are related to the virginity of the female in addition to her social status (see section 5.3.2.2.2).

In terms of social arrangements, it can be noticed from the participants' comments (section 5.3.3.1.1) that this binary distinction between males and females is realized in the way of raising children, as the society in general (especially the older generations) is accustomed to raising both males and females in a way that suits parents' underlying belief of men as the breadwinners and women as only mothers and housewives. This scenario represents the classical figure of the nature of men and women as perceived even by western societies before World War One and until World War Two, due to governments' concerns about social instability after the upheaval of the war leading them to stress traditional gender roles (Hannam, 2007) (see section 2.3.1.2). However, the liberation movement across Europe and the United States led by Second Wave Feminism contributed to positive changes regarding political, social and civil rights for women due to women's insistence on gaining equal rights with men.

Although other Arab-Muslim societies have gone through many social and to some extent political changes with regard to women's issues, the position of women in Saudi Arabia has always been a controversial issue because of the existence of a grey area between social and religious norms. This area refers to the misconception of what is related to religion and what

is related to social norms. This takes place, as Khayat (2006) explained, as a result of the misinterpretation of Islamic teaching that gives men absolute power, the implementation of such interpretations by the government as laws, and then the adoption of such rules by society as customs and norms. For example, Saudi women were not allowed to participate in the first round of the municipal elections as candidates and as voters due to the existence of this grey area, and this can be explained by the view of the majority of the male participants, and a considerable percentage of female participants, who thought that religious consideration was a reason behind excluding women from participating in municipal elections (see table 5.15).

Unlike Saudi Arabia, in countries like Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco, Syria and Lebanon, women were able raise demands as a result of nationalist and anti-colonial struggle; however, the position of women in the Gulf counties depends on the advancement in overall development, for example, the introduction of education and new employment opportunities in the labour market for both sexes (Fakhro, 1996) (see section 2.4). However, female employment has been facing many obstacles in Saudi Arabia, most of which are social. Relaxing laws by allowing women to participate in new areas which do not contradict with Islamic law has always resulted in awakening the social concerns of conservative elements in the society, especially in the initial stages. The Saudi Arabian king's announcement on granting women the full right to participate in the municipal councils and giving women full membership in the Shura council is an example of the struggle women face as result of the existence of this grey area between religious and social norms, where women are always excluded with the introduction of new opportunities in the society. Balancing between these two poles is not an easy task because some religious beliefs are based on social norms as far as women are concerned. That is because the attitude towards women in Saudi society is still influenced by the attitude towards women in pre-Islamic history, where women were viewed as a symbol of honour because a woman's sexual purity was related to the honour of her family. In contrast, a man's sexual purity might only affect his personal honour and not his family's. However, when considering Islamic law, chastity is supposed to be enjoined on both sexes (Karmi, 1996) and one should follow the social behaviours assigned by the religion, including self-restraint against any form of intimate relations prior to marriage or outside marriage. In addition, both sexes are equal before God with regard to obligations and punishments (see section 2.4.1.1). Accordingly, the sexual purity of males and females should be perceived in the same way.

In terms of power within Second and Third Wave Feminism, Foucault's theorization (1978) of power has influenced Third Wave Feminists in that power is seen not as a possession but a network of relations which is contested in every interaction (Thornborrow, 2002). For Crawford (1995), within this type of analysis gender is viewed as a verb, something which you perform in interaction, not something which you possess; this contrasts with Second Wave feminism, in which those in power can use sexist words due to their institutional status.

In a male-dominated society like Saudi Arabia, the asymmetrical use of linguistic representations for men and women is influenced by the inequitable power relations between the two sexes (Alshugairi, 2008; Alsuraihi, 2010; Hammad, 2011a; Al-Salhi, 2005). There is an inter-relationship between the political and social dominance of men over women in society and the male dominance in language, where language both reflects this dominance and arguably enhances it. Accordingly, gender in Saudi Arabia can only be contested using a Second Wave Feminist analysis as social and political power is dominated by men. From the data, it can be noticed that these women lacked the opportunity to make even their own educational and employment decisions. In addition, women who are involved in making decision position are few and mainly found in the private sector; however, in the public sector in Saudi Arabia, almost all the ministries are managed by males rather than females. Female managers are seen in segregated workplaces like educational institutions, including schools and universities, and some health care centres and welfare centres, where they are still supervised and controlled by male officials or committees.

In addition to the political and social power given to men in Saudi society, they also control the language, especially in the public sphere, because all ministries are controlled by men and they are the ones who enact all resolutions and laws for both sexes. This goes hand in hand with the definition of sociolinguistics as "the study of the linguistic indicators of culture and power" (Llamas and Stockwell, 2002: 150). When testing some articles from the labour law and the municipal council resolutions (see section 5.3.3.1 and 5.3.3.2), I showed that the generic use of the masculine form inclusively fails to deliver a consistent message, whether women are included or not, resulting in a biased use of the language. The matter does not lie only in the cognitive confusion of the inclusion of women, but rather in the underlying attitude that controls the interpretation of the masculine form to refer exclusively to men even when

it is used generically. Consequently, power has become an important feature in language and gender relationships. An example was provided by a female participant (section 5.3.3.2) who indicated that when she received a letter from the newspaper where her father used to work asking for a representative for her father, she thought that the person should be a man based on the underlying belief she had that the newspaper was male territory; however, the masculine form had been used in the letter in its inclusive form. The ambiguity of male gender terms contributes to a problem in men's favour, as one does not know if men only are being referred to, or men and women, so there is no question of the inclusion of men, but many questions arise when it comes to women. Another such example was provided by a male respondent who interpreted a female name (unisex name) (see section 5.3.4.2) for a management member in the Chamber of Commerce to refer to a man. That is because it is a male dominated society where men constitute the majority in the public sphere, which might lead to the marginalization of women and sometimes to their invisibility when the masculine form is associated with a male image in the mind of the user of the language, even when it is used inclusively. Studies have shown that men are treated and represented as the norm for all human beings in many European languages, whereas women are subsumed under any linguistic reference to the man (Pauwels, 1998). For example, Schneider and Hacker's (1973) study suggests that when biased language was avoided, the male imagery association was reduced when children were asked to provide illustrations and pictures. Thus, there are larger social implications as the interpretation of such language use is related to attitudes that children grow up with. Similarly, Bem and Bem's (1973) study indicated that when sex-biased job advertisements in English were avoided (for example, *telephone lineman,* and *telephone frameman*), the interest of women in applying for the job increased. This indicates that the interpretation of the masculine form is based on the underlying beliefs of the user of the language, especially in contexts where there are strong male associations, for example, occupations to which women could not easily obtain access or from which they were sometimes legally barred.

As a linguistic group, males in the public sphere in Saudi Arabia constitute the majority of the labour force according to Khayat's study (2006) of the obstacles influencing the employment of Saudi females, and this reflects the inequitable power of males over females. Such inequity can be seen in the generic use of job titles for women holding high positions, suggesting an

asymmetrical treatment of males and females (see table 5.18). Even when women hold an authoritative position over men, they face challenges when dealing with all-male departments and struggle to change males' attitudes toward women in general (examples were provided by two businesswomen in section 5.3.4.2). This indicates that it is not only individuals' intentions that can explain the asymmetrical gender relations, but also the fact that institutions are significantly organized in terms of gender ideology. This can also be seen in the asymmetrical process of naming males' and females' schools. Males' schools are given the names of males' Islamic and historical figures with the intention of using these figures as role models for male students, whereas females' schools are given numbers, as if there are no good examples of female Islamic and historical figures.

The task of feminist research, as Lazar (2007: 150) points out, is:

> to examine how gender ideology and gendered relations of power get (re)produced, negotiated, and contested in representations of social practices, in social relationships between people, and in people's social and personal identities in texts and talks.

In this research, the biased use of Arabic in Saudi Arabia has been observed constantly in many occasions in the private sphere, for example, in terms of address and reference, and in the public sphere, for example, in job titles and some articles from the labour law. The linguistic representations examined in this study have been used to address women in general as a 'wife', 'daughter', 'mother', 'employee', and even as a 'citizen,' regardless of their age and socioeconomic differences. This constant absence of terms specifically for women in the use of language reinforces the invisibility and marginalization of women to a point where it becomes familiar and normal. Consequently, this invisibility becomes the norm and any change to this norm may be faced with social resistance or provoke social concerns. In this sense, language not only reflects and constructs the social position of women in society, but it also re-emphasizes the secondary position of women in society.

When considering different views regarding language reform (see section 3.3), one view, adopted by Labov, Lesley Milroy, and Lakoff, entails the call for promoting social change in order to obtain social equality, because the supporters of this view believe that language reflects social reality. Accordingly, challenging sexist practices would not lead to the desired social change. A second view, known as determinism (the strong version of the Sapir-Whorf

hypothesis), and adopted largely by Dale Spender, suggests that language change could lead to the desired social change because language is used as a weapon of oppression and liberation, and language affects our thought. A third view, known as the interactionist view (a weak version of the Sapir-Whorfian hypothesis), implies that changing sexist language would not lead to the desired social change, but could raise people's awareness of the implications of sexist practices because its supporters believe that language not only reflects social reality but is also used to construct it. The context of Saudi Arabia suggests the existence of an inter-relationship between the political and social dominance of men over women in society and male dominance in language. Accordingly, I argue that, changing sexist language should be accompanied by raising the society's awareness of the important role that can be played by women in economic development. Feminizing job titles and addressing women explicitly in the language of law would play a role in raising the society's awareness of the existence of women in the public sphere. In this way, the context of Saudi Arabia reflects the interactionist view of the relation between language and social reality.

In the light of Liberal Feminist perspectives of language and gender, linguistic sexism can be identified through linguistic markers or through presuppositions, suggesting women are an invisible or marginalized group in relation to men (Mill, 2008). This school of thought views women's struggle as a result of their unequal rights with men (Gibbon, 1999). It has been found that Liberal Feminism as a school of thought can provide linguistic explanations of the aspects of language discussed in this study, for example, the inclusion and exclusion of women in language. On the other hand, it can be applied only to an extent to provide a social explanation because each society is governed by different social factors, such as religion, beliefs, and customs and traditions. For example, these Saudi women perceived equality differently than women in Western countries. Accordingly, these social factors should be considered to give a clear picture of the social reality of any society.

5.5. Summary of chapter

This chapter has reported the perceptions of a group of Saudi males and females about the linguistic representations of women in the use of Arabic, and has provided a full analysis of these aspects of language in relation to the social context of Saudi Arabia. The discussion section linked the fieldwork data to the relevant literature related to Liberal Feminism and its

theorisation of language, in accordance with the context of Saudi Arabia. The next chapter sums up and concludes the significant findings in accordance with the objectives and questions of the study, based on the analysis of the results obtained from the fieldwork data.

Chapter 6 Summary, findings and recommendations

6.1.   Introduction

This chapter concludes the main issues introduced in this study regarding the relation between the Arabic linguistic representations used to address women or refer to them in Saudi Arabia, and the position of women in Saudi society. It also summarises the significant findings and recommendations based on the analysis of the results obtained from the fieldwork data in order to provide a clear picture of the three aspects of language use discussed in chapter five, which include:

- terms of address and reference for women
- the use of the generic nouns (masculine form) to refer to females
- the use of the generic nouns (masculine form) for females in occupations

The main concern of the summary is to draw a conclusion about the relation between language use and the social reality of women in Arabic, based on the following research main questions:

- Does linguistic sexism exist in the use of Arabic language according to the perceptions of Saudi males and females?
- How do Saudi males and females perceive the relation between the use of Arabic language when addressing women, or referring to them, and the social position of Saudi women in society?
- What attitudes do Saudi males and females express about women's representations in the use of Arabic?

The findings, recommendations and the contribution of the study are followed by its limitations in terms of the availability of the resources and the difficulties encountered in the process of data collection.

6.2.   Summary of findings

It was found that in the three aspects of language mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, there was a constant absence of women in the use of Arabic language, to the point that it has become a customary practice which has led to women's acceptance and silence about their invisibility in linguistic representations. This was made evident by some of the

female participants who had not thought about the issue of the biased use of language in favour of men and against women, until the issue was raised by the researcher, and by taking different positions while conducting the focus groups, as expressed by some participants (see section 5.3.4.2). This invisibility revealed the unequal treatment of women and men where men are represented as the norm for all human being, and women are subsumed under any linguistic reference to the man, by the generic use of the masculine form to refer to both males and females. This finding reveals the existence of linguistic sexism in the use of Arabic language, as in the other languages discussed in chapter three.

Based on the fieldwork data, the first factor affecting women's visibility in the language and in social life is mainly social. There is a misconception here between what is related to Islamic teaching and what is related to social norms, as a result of the misinterpretation and the superficial explanation of Islamic teaching as far as women are concerned. Customs and traditions have become part of the religion and religion governs all aspects of life in Saudi society, because it is the source of the law which leads to a continuous slowdown and increased restrictions in women's participation in the economic development of the society. This was evident in particular from the men's responses, in which religious consideration was seen as a factor hindering women's full participation in the development of Saudi society and in the municipal councils as voters and candidates (see table 5.12). Although females used to participate in almost all social areas that were available in the early days of Islam (see section 5.3.3.1.1), nowadays Saudi women face limitations and restrictions in their employment in spite of growing numbers of positions and fields of activity. An example of this is the social resistance they face to the introduction of new female employment opportunities. That is because women's work is perceived by some male respondents as a 'luxurious activity' (see section 5.3.3.1), noting that not all women are married, and some do not even have a male relative to represent them legally or take care of their financial needs. These constraints that affect women's visibility in the public sphere are related to the way in which women are addressed or referred to, leading to the view of women as an unknown entity whose identity should remain hidden from the public to the point that even a woman's name has become a source of embarrassment and shame, and has to be replaced with a list of terms of address that have been adopted by a large segment of Saudi society which contradicts what Islamic

history has recorded of the contributions of female Islamic figures without hiding their identities.

The social meaning of terms of address and reference, especially those used in colloquial contexts, are influenced by many factors: firstly, there is the linguistic meaning and its relation to the social view towards women e.g. */Hurma/* (woman) and */Hari:m/* (women) (see section 5.3.2.2.2); secondly, there is the role of acoustic and morphological changes ex. */mara/* (woman) (see section 5.3.2.2.2); thirdly, there is the context in which these terms are used, in addition to their usage and intonation ex. */bint/* (girl) (see section 5.3.2.2.2). Finally, the merging of some foreign cultures with the Arab community has resulted in the use of certain terms as requirements of politeness e.g. */mada:m/* (wife) and */sit/* (woman) (see section 5.3.2.2.1). All terms of address and reference used in the standard form of Arabic have preserved their positive meaning because they have not been influenced by these factors (see tables 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5). In contrast, colloquial terms of address and reference for women reflect the role of women as seen through the lens of society (as only mothers and housewives), or the dependency of women upon men as a result of the guardianship concept applied in Saudi society. They also imply the weakness of women and their need for the protection of men, leading to the placing of women in a secondary position compared to that of men[33]. On the other hand, men have preserved their terms of address and reference used in the standard form of Arabic, and the colloquial terms have even gained positive connotations. The positive attitudes expressed by most male respondents toward almost all of the terms of address and reference for women, even the ones perceived negatively by women, suggest a lack of awareness of the implications of these terms and may have reflected their beliefs of the natural position of women in society.

When moving to the second aspect of language use, the different contexts examined in this study, including some articles from the labour law enacted in 2005 and the voting resolutions for municipal councils (2003), showed the existence of linguistic sexism. The use of language in these contexts confirmed that the generic use of the masculine form is used in theory but

---

[33] See section 5.3.2.3.

not in practice, and refers in most cases to men. The ambiguous terms[34] used in the labour law arguably affect women's full participation, especially in the private sector, and their access to some professions.[35] That is in conjunction with the fact that working conditions for men and women are different, and the choice of women's career is controlled by the fields of study available to them and by the permission of the legal male guardian, who can restrict their ability to make decisions, leading to women being unable to take their own employment decisions. Accordingly, the employment process is based on gender rather than qualifications due to different views of the definition of women's role in general.

The participation of women in Saudi society is governed by social norms rather than religious or legal ones, as King Abdullah has remained consistent in his approach to reform and to improve the status of women. He opened the first co-educational university in 2009. He has also provided women with more access to jobs through the Ministry of Labour in addition to providing equal opportunities for males and females for scholarships to study abroad, and has appointed qualified women to authoritative positions. The king issued a royal decree (2006) requiring that only women work in shops selling women's necessities. Recently, in 2011, the king also decided that women can now be part of the Shura Council, his advisory body, as full members and can fully participate in municipal councils as voters and candidates. This is a step towards addressing the longstanding demands made by women. However, every change introduced to the society regarding women's empowerment has been faced by social resistance as a result of people being accustomed to the limited opportunities that have been available to Saudi women. This social resistance is reflected in the use of the language of the law in general and the labour law in particular, leading some private companies to avoid employing women. This is because there is a lack of comprehensive narrative defining some codes regarding women's employment, and the fields open to them (see section 5.3.3.1). In contrast, the use of the plural masculine form indicates equality in both Islamic speech and its message. It represents both sexes with equal respect, and rewards their productivity equally. For more precision and avoidance of any confusion, the masculine and feminine forms are

---

[34] See section 5.3.3.1.

[35] See section 5.3.3.1.

often used equally, especially in verses referring to duties, obligations and rights (see section 2.4.1.1).

Another factor that was found to affect women's visibility in the public sphere was the oil production in the 1960s, which led to rapid economic development in Saudi Arabia with the establishment of the labour market; however, the role of women was very limited, indeed, no public role was identified for them at that time (see section 2.4.1.3). Women's products were replaced by imported ones, and they lagged behind because they were replaced by male manpower for the sake of comfort and providing them with protection (see section 2.4.1.3). Consequently, society in general became accustomed to the idea that women's natural place is the home, performing a natural role of taking care of the house and the kids. Social resistance was shown to the introduction of formal education due to the fear of letting women out of the house on a daily basis; this fear resulted in the introduction of formal education for males first, while women lacked the means to obtain the qualifications required to cope with market needs at that time (see section 2.4.1.2). Even the quality of the education provided to females used to focus on preparing women to be housewives, teachers and, later, medical doctors. Nowadays, females have a variety of work choices but again these are still limited. The path of women's development has been full of constraints leading to the postponement of their full participation in the public sphere. These struggles are reflected in the use of language when addressing women or referring to them with terms that in most cases lack personalization and respect, most of which reflect the role of women only inside the house. The labour law also restricts women's employment opportunities by using vague and imprecise language,[36] as if it was enacted to address men exclusively although the number of working women is on the increase in accordance with the increase in their qualifications and the increase in their life demands.

Social resistance is also evident when women occupy a senior position where they have authority over men, because men often resent 'competing' with women or being governed by women. This attitude is reflected in the use of a masculine gender title for high-ranking managerial or authoritative positions in language that absorbs feminization, resulting in

[36] See section 5.3.3.1.

cognitive confusion for readers and/or listeners of Arabic when dealing with unisex names where generic and specific meaning cannot be distinguished. It also results in lexical gaps with the absence of the female-specific form. Using the masculine job title generically reflects women's marginalization because it is considered a personalized image of the person. In contrast, feminization of job titles means giving the full recognition to the female occupying the position. For example, if a deputy manager title is given to a person who performs the tasks of the manager; this reflects a limited and not full authority. Even female participants who showed acceptance of using a masculine job title showed a different attitude when they were asked if they would accept it for a position traditionally occupied by women (see section 5.3.4.2).

This conclusion ties in neatly with Liberal Feminists' views[37] regarding language and gender across many languages. Their view focuses on the obstacles affecting women's full participation in the public sphere, including language use. They perceive women's struggle as a result of their unequal rights in contrast with men. Accordingly, their linguistic efforts were based on gender equality in linguistic representations to avoid the biased use of language that leads to women's invisibility and marginalization. During the Second Wave of Feminism in the late 1960s and early 1970s, feminists' contributions were noticed in the area of language reform in accordance with the language in question, and whether it was a natural or grammatical gender language, in order to provide a welcoming environment for the women joining the labour market in increasing numbers (see section 3.4). This study was based on Liberal Feminists' view regarding equal linguistic representations within Islamic principles, as fourteen centuries ago, Islam granted women the basic rights[38] demanded by First Wave Feminism, and Second Wave Feminism like women suffrage, equal education and employment opportunities, in addition to other rights that govern their social life such as inheritance, marriage, divorce, and the right to manage their own property and money. This study was based on Islamic principles for two reasons: first, it aims at targeting all classes of Saudi society;

---

[37] See section 2.3.1.2.1.

[38] see section 2.4.1.1

second, Saudi women find in the basic concepts of Islam their sense of power, identity and freedom (see section 2.5).

When considering the relation between the use of Arabic language and social reality, it was found that language reflects social attitudes, beliefs and values. Arguably, it is also used to construct the social reality of women intentionally or unintentionally through the constant invisibility of women in the use of language, due to the existence of language choices which can challenge discriminatory practices. This is especially true in Arabic, as it allows feminization, in addition to the existence of a range of terms of address and reference which preserve women's respect, personalization and recognition. Accordingly, there is an inter-relationship between language and social reality. Therefore, besides avoiding the use of sexist language, it is important to raise people's awareness of the existence of women in society through making women more visible in the use of language and in social life. This conclusion corresponds to the interactionist view of language and social reality (the weak version of the Sapir-Whorfian hypothesis) which emphasizes the mutual influence of language and social reality, where the direction of the effect between them is not determined (see section 3.3). Findings include a greater awareness of women than men of the discriminatory nature of the use of Arabic, and of the link between language use and practice.

6.3. Recommendations

The recommendations are based on participants' and respondents' views collected from the fieldwork data, and reflect their insights regarding language reform in order to avoid the biased use of language, considering that the language in question is grammatical.

It is recommended that it is the role of the family and school in raising the awareness of the children from a very young age of the importance of showing recognition and respect to women in order to change the prevailing thoughts which are inherited from generation to generation. Girls and boys should be brought up equally without showing preference to boys over girls. They should both be able to take part in the responsibility of the house in an equal way. It is also recommended that the school curriculum should include the contribution of women to the development of society throughout Islamic history, in order to provide students with the correct foundation that can change their view of the role that might be played by women in economic development. However, this does not mean ignoring the role of

motherhood because it is considered a sacred and noble one in Islam[39] due to its importance in shaping the future of the nation. Girls' schools should be named in the same way as boys' schools, by using female Islamic figures who represent role models for students as part of the educational process, and a way of raising awareness of the role of women throughout history. This awareness should be reflected in the use of appropriate terms of address and reference for women that show recognition and personalization, rather than the use of terms that show a subordinate status of women. Addressing a woman by her first name was considered by the majority of male and female respondents to be a form of recognition (see table A10.1 – Appendix 10).

It is also recommended that the changes in women's role in Saudi society, which are apparent in women's participation in the public sphere in an increasing number, should be reflected in the use of language to raise the society's awareness of the presence of women in the labour market. This is related to the address of women in the language of law in general and the language of labour law in particular which refers to people's rights, obligations and duties (see table 5.16).

Any resolution related to Saudi citizens should address men and women explicitly instead of using the inconsistent form of the masculine gender inclusively, so they know their rights and obligations. This can be obtained by following the linguistic use followed in the *Qur'an* through using the plural masculine form when referring to males and females equally, with no distinction. More preferably, this may be done by using the masculine form and the feminine form together to avoid ambiguity and to eliminate any doubt about the inclusion of females. In articles that refer to men exclusively, the singular masculine form should be used, or a clear statement should be added that shows the exclusion of women in such articles. For the sake of clarity of the use of the language of law, it is suggested that women should have a separate labour law exclusively addressing them in order to preserve their rights. This suggestion is based on the fact that most of the sectors in the Saudi labour market are segregated. Some participants recommended the involvement of women in enacting such articles in order to avoid any bias in the language use (see section 5.3.3.1).

---

[39] See section 2.4.1.1.

With regard to reverse gender titles for women, especially for authoritative positions, it is recommended to feminize all female job titles when referring to women as there are female equivalents for all of the masculine terms through suffixing by adding the feminine suffix */-t/*, which is actually already used orally in informal situations. That is because Arabic language allows the recognition of women by feminization. The use of the masculine form generically suggests a male territory, and the appointment of a woman in this position is an exception. The rapid changes in the social structure of Saudi Arabia towards women's employment could be reflected in the use of language, a way of raising awareness of the existence of women and a kind of linguistic recognition since the job title in its singular form is considered a personalized image of the individual.

This change, which aims at raising awareness of women's rights, can take place through collaborative efforts by creating networking among social activists and their supporters under one umbrella, whether a website or non-profit organization, rather than individual contributions. It is noted that the First Wave Feminism movement (1860s-1920s) would not have succeeded without having connections across national boundaries (see section 2.3.1.1).

6.4. Contribution of the study

On a linguistic level, although the main concern of feminist research has moved to focus on contexts, speaker intention and interlocutor in addition to sexist discourse, there was a need to study single sexist items based on Second Wave feminist's perspectives because, up to my knowledge, these items have not been considered in other studies related to gender issues in Arabic within a Saudi context. In addition, the research questions have not been addressed in other related studies. This fact contributes to the originality of the study. Findings indicate a greater awareness of women than men of the discriminatory nature of the use of Arabic which can be clearly seen in tables 5.7, 5.8, 5.9, and 5.12. So the study includes both men and women in order to improve the chances of acquiring reliable and better data and to gain valuable insights regarding the investigated topic from the male and female participants. The constant absence of women in the use of Arabic has led to women's acceptance and silence about their invisibility in linguistic representations until the researcher raised this topic. Findings also suggest the existence of a reciprocal relationship between language and social reality due to the existence of language choices in Arabic that can challenge discriminatory practices.

Interestingly, the majority of male and female participants agree to the explicit use of language when referring to women (table 5.16), and the feminization of women's job titles (table 5.19). This indicates that there is a promising attitude towards language reform. This research can be used as a background for future research related to Arabic language and gender within a Saudi context. That is because there is a little reference to Arabic in relation to other languages in the most significant books in this area, for example, in Hellinger and Bussmann's *Gender Across Languages*, and Crobett's *Gender*.

On a social level, this study can raise awareness, especially among Saudis, of the importance of language in transmitting ideas and values from generation to generation, and in shaping and reflecting attitudes and beliefs. Accordingly, challenging linguistic sexism may not only reduce discriminatory practices, but might also increase the visibility of women in language and in the mind of the user of the language. This study also gave Saudi women the opportunity to express their experiences, perspectives and expectations regarding their social position in Saudi society, as these women's experiences were used as a source of knowledge. On a larger scale, this study adds a new dimension to feminist understandings of the struggle of women specifically in male-dominated societies, as a product of the social norms resulting from the inequitable power relations between the two sexes, whereas women's struggle in western societies is a product of their unequal rights and power with that of men. This work also provides evidence that Islam cannot be held responsible for women's struggle in patriarchal societies. It has been noted how Islamic principles stand out with regard to women's rights. The fact that some Saudi women are deprived of God-given rights is related to social practice and not to religious principles.

The linguistic representations of women within the context of Saudi Arabia were interpreted in this study in accordance with Second Wave Feminist perceptions of gender, and particularly with the Liberal Feminist based concept of equal linguistic representations for both sexes. However, this study reveals that there is a considerable gap with regard to the perceptions of social arrangements (see section 5.3.3.1.1). For example, the sample of women in this study perceived equality based on the difference between men and women, rather than adopting a world defined and formed by male values. They tend to reject playing roles that do not suit their physical and psychological characteristics. Adopting a western model of equality

between the sexes would put an extra burden on Saudi women because they are privileged within Islamic principles not to be responsible for the financial obligations of the family, and, at the same time they are granted equal rights with men in seeking education and employment. The sample of women in this study also valued the role of motherhood. In addition, this study suggests that Saudi women's empowerment can be attained by studying Islamic law so they can speak in the name of Islam in order to challenge the prevailing customs and traditions related to women's issues that are not based on Islamic principles.

6.5.   Limitations

The major limitation of this study is the scarcity of information about the issue of gender inequality in linguistic representations, particularly about linguistic sexism in the use of Arabic in Saudi Arabia. Nevertheless, there is some available research that addresses this issue in other Arab countries like Morocco, Egypt, and Jordan, which share common ground with Saudi Arabia because of the religion (Islam), for example, Bassiouney, 2009 and Sadiqi, 2003. Linguistic sexism in the use of Arabic may represent an important area for future research, for example, testing linguistic sexism in other contexts like school curricula, job advertisements and media.

Other limitations include the inability of the researcher to cover a wider area of Saudi Arabia due to the difficulty of travelling to distant or remote areas. In addition, the focus groups were only conducted with women participants due to social considerations; however, most of the questions of the questionnaire included a space for comments in order to give more in-depth information. Finally, due to the length of the research, the researcher was not able to exploit all data where the focus was mainly on differences between gender perceptions rather than other variables.

References

Abd-el-Jawad, H., 1989, Language and Women's Place with Special Reference to Arabic. <u>Language Sciences</u>, 11 (3), 305-324.

Al-Aridh, Th., 1997. <u>Women's Status in Saudi Arabia</u>. Al-Hayat Daily Newspaper, 11 June 1997.

Al-Dakeel, T., 2008. <u>?xu Noura yantaSiru li Noura</u> (Noura's Brother Has Won for Noura). Al-Watan Newspaper, 31 October 2008.

Alfardan, O., 2006. <u>Kalimatun yatahayalu biha alsucudiyu:n cala ðikri ?asma?i zawjatihim</u> (Words Used by Saudis to Hide Their Wives' Names). Al-Sharq Alawsat, 5 May 2006.

Al-Gazzami, A., 2008. <u>?almar?atu walluGatu</u> (The woman and the Language). Morocco: Almarkaz Althakafi Alarabi.

AlGhazali, M.,1992. <u>?alsunnatu ?anabawiyyatu bayna ?alfqhi wa ?ahli ?alHdi:Өi</u>. Cairo:Dar al-Shuruq.

Alireza, M., 1987, Women of Arabia. <u>National Geographic</u>, 172 (4), 423-453.

Allan, K. and Burridge, K., 2006. <u>Forbidden words: Taboo and the Censoring of Language</u>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

AlMalik, I., 1987. <u>Development Planning in Saudi Arabia: The Impact of the Oil Recession on Structure, Process, Values and Policy Outcomes</u>. Thesis (PhD). Saint Louis University.

Almana, A., 1981. <u>Economic Development and its Impact on the Status of Women in Saudi Arabia</u>. Thesis (PhD). University of Colorado.

AlMunajjed, M., 1997. <u>Women in Saudi Arabia Today</u>. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.

Al-Rashid, I., 1976. <u>Documents on the History of Saudi Arabia</u>, (3 volumes). Salisbury, North Carolina: Documents Publications.

Al-Rashidi, K. D., 2000. <u>Predicting Attitudes Toward Women Working in Mixed Settings with Men: The Case of Saudi Women Working in Hospitals</u>. Thesis (PhD). Wayne State University.

Al-Sahli, M., 2005. <u>Huqu:qu ?almar?ati bayna attanði:r wa taTbi:q</u> (Women's Rights between Theory and Application). AlRiyadh Daily Newspaper, 1 April 2005.

Alshugairi, A., 2008. <u>hal ?almar?atu ?insanun</u> (Are Women Human Beings?). Al-Watan Newspaper, 16 September 2008.

AlSuraihi, S., 2010. <u>ma za:l ?ismu ?almar?ati cawratun</u> (Women's Names are Still çawra). Okaz Newspaper, 1 March 2010.

AlZaied, M., 2009. <u>Deputy Minister of Municipal Affairs to Al-Watan: Committee of Experts of the Council of Ministers is Considering the Development of a Unified Index of Prices in the Kingdom</u>. Al-Watan Newspaper, 6 January 2009.

Arebi, S., 1994. <u>Women and Words in Saudi Arabia: The Politics of Literary Discourse</u>. New York: Colombia University Press.

Aziz, A., 1956. <u>Islamic Law in Theory and Practice</u>. Lahore: Punjab Educational Press.

Badawi, J., 1991. <u>Status of Women in Islam</u>. Burydah: Foreigners' Guidance Center.

Bassiouney, R., 2009. <u>Arabic Sociolinguistics</u>. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Bedford, T. and Burgess, J., 2001. The Focus Group Experience. In M. Limb and C. Dwyer, eds. <u>Qualitative Methodologies for Geographers: Issues and Debates</u>. New York: Arnold, 212-235.

Bem, S. and Bem, D., 1973, Does Sex-Bias Job Advertising 'Aid and Abet' Sex Discrimination? <u>Journal of Applied Social Psychology</u>, 3, 6-18.

Bergvall, V., 1996. Constructing and Enacting Gender through Discourse: Negotiating Multiple Roles as Female Engineering Students. In V. Bergvall, J. Bing and A. Freed, eds. <u>Rethinking Language and Gender Research Theory and Practice</u>. New York: Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 173-201.

Block, D., 2000, Interview Research in TESOL. Problematizing Interview Data: Voices in the Mind's Machine? <u>TESOL Quarterly</u>, 34 (4), 757-763.

Bloomfield, L., 1933. <u>Language</u>. New York: Henry Holt & Co.

Bodine, A., 1975. Sex Differentiation in Language. In B. Thorne and N. Henley, eds. <u>Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance</u>. Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 130-151.

Bodine, A., 1998. Androcentrism in Prescriptive Grammar. In D. Cameron, ed. <u>The Feminist Critique of Language: a Reader</u>. London: Routledge, 124-38.

Bodkin, R., 2011, The Economic Thought of Simone De Beauvoir in the Second Sex. <u>The Journal of Business Inquiry</u>, 10 (1), 33-40.

Boyatzis, R. E., 1998. <u>Transforming Qualitative Information: Thematic Analysis and Code Development</u>. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Bright, W., 1976. <u>Variation and Change in Language</u>. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Brown, P. and Fraser, C., 1979. Speech as a Marker of Situation. In K. R. Scherer and H. Giles, eds. Social Markers in Speech. London: Cambridge University Press, 33-61.

Brown, R. and Gilman, A., 1960. The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity. In T. Sebeok, ed. Style in Language. Cambridge: MIT Press, 253-276.

Bryman, A., 2008. Social Research Methods. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Butler, J., 1990. Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity. London: Routledge.

Cameron, D. and Coates, J., 1989. Women in their Speech Communities. London: Longman.

Cameron, D., 1985. Feminism and Linguistic Theory. New York: St. Martins Press

Cameron, D., 1990. The Feminist Critique of Language: A reader. 1st ed. London: Routledge.

Cameron, D., 1992. Feminism and Linguistic Theory. 2nd ed. New York: St. Martins Press.

Cameron, D., 1995a. Rethinking Language and Gender Studies: Some Issues for the 1990s. In S. Mills, ed. Language and Gender: Interdisciplinary Perspectives. London: Longman.

Cameron, D., 1995b. Verbal Hygiene. London: Routledge.

Cameron, D., 2003. Gender and Language Ideologies. In J. Holmes and M. Meyerhoff, eds. The Handbook of Language and Gender. Oxford: Blackwell, 447 – 467.

Chen, G. and Starosta, W., 2005. Foundations of Intercultural Communication. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Christie, C., 2001. Gender and Language: Towards a Feminist Pragmatics. Edinburgh: University Press.

Coates, J., 1986. Women, Men and Language. London: Longman.

Çolak, B., 2002. Portraits of Women in the Late Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire of Ahmed Midhat Efendi. Master Desertation. Bilkent University, Ankara.

Coleman, R. O., 1971, Male and Female Voice Quality and its Relationship to Vowel Formant Frequencies. Journal of Speech and Hearing Research, 14, 565-577.

Cooper, R. L., 1989. Language Planning and Society Change. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Corbett, G., 1991. Gender. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Coulmas, F., 2005. Sociolinguistics: The Study of Speaker's Choice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crabtree, B. and Miller, W., 1999. A Template Approach to Text Analysis: Developing and Using Codebooks. In B. Crabtree and W. Miller, eds. Doing Qualitative Research. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 163-177.

Crawford, M., 1995. Talking Difference: on Gender and Language. London: Sage.

Daly, M., 1978. Gyn/Ecology: the Mathematics of Radical Feminism. Boston: Beacon Press.

Daly, M., 1987. Webster's First New Intergalactic Wickedary of the English Language. Boston: Beacon Press.

Danet, B., 1980, Language in Legal Process. Law and Society Review, 14 (3), 447-564.

De Haan, F., 2004, Getting to the Source: a "Truly International" Archive for the Women's Movement. Journal of Women's History, 16 (4), 148-172.

Dillman, D., 2000. Mail and Internet Surveys – the Tailored Design Method. 2nd edition. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Doi, A., 1989. Women in Sharia. London:Ta-Ha Publisher.

Dornyei, Z., 2007. Research Methods in Applied Linguistics. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Doumato, E., 2000. Getting God's Ear: Women, Islam, and Healing in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf. United States: Columbia University Press.

Doumato, E., 2010. Saudi Arabia. In S. Kelly and J. Bereslin, eds. Women's Right in the Middle East and North Africa. New York: Freedom House, 425-457.

Downes, W., 1984. Language and Society. London: Fontana.

Doyle, M., 1994. The A-Z of Non-Sexist Language. London: Women's Press.

Echague, A. and Bruke,E., 2009. 'Strong Foundations'? The Imperative for Reform in Saudi Arabia. Fride [Online]. Available from: http://www.fride.org/publication/632/'strong-foundations'?:-the-imperative-for-reform-in-saudi-arabia [accessed 11 December 2012]

Edwards, J. A. and Lampert, M. D., 1993. Talking Data: Transcription and Coding in Discourse Research. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

El-Nimr, R., 1996. Women in Islamic Law. In M. Yamani, ed. Feminism and Islam: Legal and Literary Perspectives. Reading: Ithaca Press, 87-102.

Evans, J., 1995. Feminist Theory Today. London: Sage.

Fakhro, M., 1996. Gulf Women and Islamic Law. In M. Yamani, ed. <u>Feminism and Islam: Legal and Literary Perspectives</u>. Reading: Ithaca Press, 251-262.

Farah, T. and Kuroda, Y., 1987. <u>Political Socialization in the Arab State</u>. Boulder, Co: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Fasold, R., 1984. <u>The Sociolinguistics of Society</u>. Oxford: Blackwell.

Fereday, J. and Muir-Cochrane, E., 2006, Demonstrating Rigor Using Thematic Analysis: a Hybrid Approach of Inductive and Deductive Coding and Theme Development. <u>International Journal of Qualitative Methods</u>, 5 (1), 80-92.

Ferguson, C., 1959, Diglossia. <u>Word</u>, 15, 325-340

Finch, J., 1984. It's Great to Have Someone to Talk to: The Ethics and Politics of Interviewing Women. In C. Bell and H. Roberts, eds. <u>Social Researching Politics, Problems, Practice</u>. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 70-87.

Fishman, P., 1978, Interaction: The Work Women Do. <u>Social Problems</u>, 25 (4), 397-406.

Flax, J., 1990. <u>Thinking in Fragments: Psychoanalysis, Feminism and Postmodernism in the Contemporary West.</u> Berkeley: University of California Press.

Frank, F. and Treichler, P., 1989. <u>Language, Gender and Professional Writing</u>. New York: Modern Language Association of America.

Freed, A., 1996. Language and Gender Research in an Experimental Setting. In V. Bergvall, J. Bing and A. Freed, eds. <u>Rethinking Language and Gender Research Theory and Practice</u>. New York: Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 54-76.

Gao, Y., 2005, Sociocultural Contexts and English Language Learning in China: Retaining and Reforming the Cultural Habits. <u>The Journal of Chinese Sociolinguistics</u>, 2, 60-83.

Gibbon, M., 1993. Ethnic Subnationalism: Cultural Factors in its Emergence and Development. In R. Bock and M. Kelly, eds<u>. France: Nations and Regions</u>. University of Southampton, 60-69.

Gibbon, M., 1999. <u>Feminist Perspectives on Language</u>. New York: Pearson Education Limited.

Gilley, J. and Columnist, G., 2005, Writings of the Third Wave: Young Feminists in Conversation. <u>Reference and User Services Quarterly</u>, 44 (3), 187-198.

Gilligan, C., 1982. <u>In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development</u>. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Golafshani, N., 2003, Understanding Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research. The Qualitative Report, 8(4), 597-607.

Goss, J. and Leinbach, T., 1996, Focus Groups as Alternative Research Practice. Arena, 28 (20), 115-123.

Graddol, D. and Swann, J., 1989. Gender Voices. Oxford: Blackwell and Open University.

Griffith, L., Cook, D., Guyatt, G. and Charles, C., 1999, Comparison of Open and Closed Questionnaire Formats in Obtaining Demographic Information form Canadian General Internists. Journal of Clinical Epidemiology, 52 (10), 997-1005.

Guenena, N., and Wassef, N., 1999. Unfulfilled Promises: Women's Rights in Egypt. New York: Population Council.

Hachimi, A., 2001. Shifting Sands: Language and Gender in Moroccan Arabic. In M. Hellinger and H. Bussmann, eds. Gender Across Languages: the Linguistic Representation of Women and Men. Vol 1. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 27-51.

Hamadeh, N., 1996. Islamic Family Legislation: the Authoritarian Discourse of Silence. In M. Yamani, ed. Feminism and Islam: Legal and Literary Perspectives. Reading: Ithaca Press, 331-349.

Hamdan, A., 2005, Women and Education in Saudi Arabia: Challenges and Achievements. International Education Journal, 6 (1), 42-64.

Hammad, S., 2010a. hal ?almar?atu maxlu:qu darajatun Өaniyatun (Are Women second-class creatures?). Al-Madina Newspaper, 30 November 2010.

Hammad, S., 2010b. Qira:?:t fi: kita:bi ?almar?ati wal luGati (Readings in the Book of the Woman and Language). Unpublished paper. KSA: Arab Thought Series under the Microscope of the Islamic Conception.

Hammad, S., 2011a. Hamlatu alciqal wa dala:la:tuha (Aciqal Campaign and its Implication -1). Al-Madina Newspaper, 31 May 2011.

Hammad, S., 2011b. Haquna: na:qiSun ya: majlisu ?ašu:ra: (Shura Council, Our Right is not Complete). Al-Madina Newspaper, 21 June 2011.

Hannam, J., 2007. Feminism. Great Britain: Pearson Educational Limited.

Harding, S., 1987. Feminism and Methodology. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Hare-Mustin, R. and Marecek, J., 1990. Making a Difference: Psychology and the Construction of Gender. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Harfoush, S., 1983. Educational Progress and Work Opportunities for Females in the Gulf States. Riyadh: The Arab Educational Bureau for the Gulf States.

Hasan, A., 1994. ?awDa:cu ?almar?ati fi: al-Qur'ani ?alkari:mi (Woman's Status in the Holy Qur'an). Cairo: Dar Albayan Publisher.

Hellinger, M. and Ammon, U., 1996. Contrastive Sociolinguistics. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co.

Hellinger, M. and Bussmann, H., 2001. Gender Across Languages: the Linguistic Representation of Women and Men. Vol 1. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Henley, N. and Kramarae, C., 1991. Gender, Power and Miscommunication. In N. Coupland, H. Giles and J.M. Wiemann, eds. Miscommunication and Problematic Talk. Newbury, Park, California: Sage Publications, 18-43.

Holmes, J. and Meyerhoff, M., 1999, The Community of Practice: Theories and Methodologies in Language and Gender Research. Language in Society, 28, 173-183.

Holmes, J., 1992. An Introduction to Sociolinguistics. London: Pearson Education.

Holmes, L., 2004. Guidance for Ensuring Confidentiality and Protection of Data. In S. Becker and A. Bryman, eds. Understanding Research for Social Policy and Practice: Themes, Methods and Approaches. Bristol: Policy Press, 349-351.

Homan, R., 1991. The Ethics of Social Research. London: Longman.

Hoppe, M., Wells, E., Morrison, D., Gilmore, M. and Wilsdon, A., 1995, Using Focus Groups to Discuss sensitive Topics with Children. Evaluation Review, 19 (1), 102-114.

Hudson, R., 1980. Sociolinguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hutchby, I. and Wooffitt, R., 1998. Conversation Analysis: Principles, Practices and Applications. Oxford: Polity Press.

Huyette, S. S., 1985. Political Adaptation in Saudi Arabia: A Study of the Council of Ministry. Boulder CO; London: Westview Press.

Jaggar, A. and Rothenberg, P., 1978. Feminist Frameworks: Alternative Theoretical Accounts of the Relations between Women and Men. New York: McGraw-Hill.

James, D. and Clarke, S., 1993. Women, Men and Interruptions: A Critical Review. In D. Tannen, ed. Gender and Conversational Interaction. New York: Oxford University Press.

James, D., 1996. Women, Men and Prestige Speech Forms: a Critical Review. In V. Bergvall, J. Bing and A. Freed, eds. Rethinking Language and Gender Research. New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 98-125.

Jernudd, B., 1973. Language Planning as a Type of Language Treatment. In: J. Rubin and R.Shuy, eds. Language Planning: Current Issues and Research. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 11-23.

Jespersen, O., 1922. Language: Its Nature, Development and Origin. London: Allen & Unwin.

Johnson, L. and Lloyd, J., 2004. Sentenced to Everyday Life: Feminism and the Housewife. Oxford; New York: Berg.

Karmi, G., 1996. Women, Islam and Patriarchalism. In M. Yamani, ed. Feminism and Islam: Legal and Literary Perspectives. Reading: Ithaca Press, 69-85.

Khalil, A., 1999. A Contrastive Grammar of English and Arabic. Palestine: Bethlehem University.

Khayat, D., 2006. Female Employment in Saudi Arabia: an Analysis of the Obstacles Influencing the Employment of Saudi Females, Based on a Study of the Top 100 Companies. Thesis (Ph.D). Exeter: Exeter University.

Kitzinger, J. and Barbour, R., 1999. Introduction: the Challenge and Promise of Focus Groups. In R. Barbour and J. Kitzinger, eds. Developing Focus Group Research: Politics, Theory and Practice. London: Sage, 1-20.

Kitzinger, J., 1994, The Methodology of Focus Groups: the Importance of Interaction between Research Participants. Sociology of Health and Fitness, 16, 103-121.

Kitzinger, J., 1995, Introducing Focus Groups. British Medical Journal, 311, 299-302.

Knox, P. and Marston, S., 2004. Places and Regions in Global Context: Human Geography. New Jersey: Pearson Education Inc.

Koch., S. C., Schey, S., and Thimm. C., 2003. Communicating Gendered Professional Identity: Competence, Cooperation, and Conflict in the Workplace. In J. Holmes and M. Meyerhoff, eds. The Handbook of Language and Gender. Oxford: Blackwell, 468 – 486.

Kramarae, C. and Treichler, P., 1985. A Feminist Dictionary. London: Pandora Press.

Kress, G. and Hodge, R., 1979. Language as Ideology. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Labov, W., 1972. Language in the Inner City: Studies in the Black English Vernacular. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Labov, W., 1982 [1966]. The Social Stratification of English in New York City. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Labov, W., 1990, The Intersection of Sex and Social Class in the Course of Linguistic Change. Language Variation and Change, 2 (2), 205-251.

Labov, W., 2001. The Anatomy of Style-Shifting. In P. Eckert and J. Rickford, eds. <u>Style and Sociolinguistic Variation</u>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 85-108.

Lacey, R., 1981. <u>The Kingdom: Arabia and the House of Sa'ud</u>. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Lakoff, R., 1975. <u>Language and Woman's Place</u>. New York: Harper and Row.

Lankshear, A., 1993, The Use of Focus Groups in a Study of Attitudes to Student Nurse Assessment. <u>Journal of Advanced Nursing</u>, 18, 1986-1989.

Lapadat, J. C. and Lindsay, A. C., 1999, Transcription in Research and Practice: From Standardization of Technique to Interpretive Positioning. <u>Qualitative Inquiry</u>, 5(1), 64-86.

Lave, J. and Wenger, E., 1991. <u>Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation</u>. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lazar, M., 2007, Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis: Articulating a Feminist Discourse Praxis. <u>Critical Discourse Studies</u>, 4(2), 141-164.

LeGates, M., 2001. <u>In their Time: a History of Feminism in Western Society</u>. New York: Routledge.

Lester, S., 1999. An Introduction to Phenomenological Research. Taunton UK, Stan Lester Developments [online]. Available from: www.sld.demon.co.uk/resmethy.pdf [accessed 17 July 2012]

Lewis, M. M., 1947. <u>Language in Society</u>. London, New York: Social Science Publishers.

Llamas, C. and Stockwell, P., 2002. Sociolinguistics. In N. Schmitt, ed. <u>An Introduction to Applied Linguistics</u>. Great Britain: Arnold, 150-169

Lorber, J., 2010. <u>Gender Inequality : Feminist Theories and Politics</u>. New York : Oxford University Press.

MacKay, D. G. and Fulkerson, D. C., 1979, On the Comprehension and Production of Pronouns. <u>Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior</u>, 18, 661-673.

Mackay, D., 1980, Psychology, Perspective Grammar and the Pronoun Problem. <u>American Psychologist</u>, 35, 444-9.

MacKinnon, C. A., 1983, Feminism, Marxism, Method and the State: An Agenda for Theory. <u>Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society</u>, 8 (4), 635-658.

Martyna, W., 1978, What Does 'He' Mean? Use of the Generic Masculine. <u>Journal of Communication</u>, 28 (1), 130-139.

Martyna, W., 1980, Beyond the He/Man Approach: the Case for Nonsexist Language. <u>Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society</u>, 5 (3), 482-493.

Marx, K., 1972. <u>A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy</u>. New York: International Publisher.

McConnell-Ginet, S., 1978, Intonation in a Man's World. <u>Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society</u>, 3 (3), 541-559.

McElhinny, B., 1998. I Don't Smile Much Anymore: Affect, Gender and the Discourse of Pittsburgh Police Officers. In J. Coates, ed. <u>Language and Gender: a Reader</u>. Oxford: Blackwell, 309-327 .

Mernissi, F., 1975, Obstacles to Family Planning Practice in Urban Morocco. <u>Studies in Family Planning</u>, 6 (12), 418-425.

Merton, R., 1987, The Focused Interview and Focus Groups: Continuities and Discontinuities. <u>Public Opinion Quarterly</u>, 51, 550-557.

Meyerhoff, M., 1996. Dealing with Gender Identity as a Sociolinguistic Variable. In V. Bergvall, J. Bing and A. Freed, eds. <u>Rethinking Language and Gender Research Theory and Practice</u>. New York: Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 202-227.

Mies, M., 1983. Towards a Methodology for Feminist Research. In R. Klein and G. Bowles, eds. <u>Theories of Women's Studies</u>. London: Routledge and kegan Paul, 117-139.

Miles, M. and Huberman, A., 1994. <u>Qualitative data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook</u>. 2nd edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Miller, C. and Swift, K., 1976. <u>Words and Women: New Language in New Times.</u> New York: Anchor.

Miller, C. and Swift, K., 1980. <u>The Handbook of Non-Sexist Writing</u>. New York: Lippincott & Crowell.

Mills, J., 1989. <u>Woman Words</u>. Harlow: Longman.

Mills, S. and Mullany, L., 2011. <u>Language, gender and feminism: theory, methodology and practice</u>. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Mills, S., 2008. <u>Language and Sexism</u>. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

Morawski, J. and Agronick, G., 1991, The Restive Legacy: the History of Feminist Work in Experimental and Cognitive Psychology. <u>Psychology of Women Quarterly</u>, 15, 567-579.

Morgan, D., 1997. <u>Focus Groups as Qualitative Research</u>. London: Sage.

Moulton, J., Robinson, G. and Elias, C., 1978, Sex Bias in Language Use: "Neutral" Pronouns that Aren't. American Psychologist, 33 (11), 1032-1036.

Murdock, N. and Forsyth, D., 1985, Is Gender-Biased Language Sexist? A Perceptual Approach. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 9 (1), pp 39-49.

Naseef, O., 2007. Liberation Theology: Islam and the Feminist Agenda in the Qur'an. Bloomington: AuthorHouse.

Nelson, C., 1974, Public and Private Politics: Women in the Middle Eastern World. American Ethnologist, 1 (3), 551-563.

Nichols, P.C., 1983. Linguistic Options and Choices for Black Women in the Rural South. In T. B.Thorne, C. Kramerae and N.Henley, eds. Language, Gender and Society. Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 54-68.

Nilsen, A., 1977. Sexism as Shown through the English Vocabulary. In A. Nilson, H. Bosmagian, H. L. Gershuny and J. P. Stanley, eds. Sexism and Language. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English, 27-41.

Oppenheim, A.N., 1966. Questionnaire Design and Attitude Measurement. London: Heinemann.

Paulston, C. B. and Tucker, G. R., 2003. Sociolinguistics: the Essential Reading. Oxford: Blackwell.

Pauwels, A., 1987. Language in Transition: A Study of the Title 'Ms' in Contemporary Australian Society. In A. Pauwels, ed. Women and Language in Australian and New Zealand Society. Sydney: Australian Professional Publications, 129-154.

Pauwels, A., 1996. Feminist Language Planning and Titles for Women: Some Crosslinguistic Perspectives. In M. Hellinger and U. Ammon, eds. Contrastive Sociolinguistics. Berlin ; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 251-269.

Pauwels, A., 1998. Women Changing Language. London: Longman.

Pauwels, A., 2003. Linguistic Sexism and Feminist Linguistic Activism. In J. Holmes and M. Meyerhoff, eds. The Handbook of Language and Gender. Oxford, Blackwell, 550-70.

Peel, E., 2004. Gaining Informed Consent. In S. Becker and A. Bryman, eds. Understanding Research for Social Policy and Practice: Themes, Methods and Approaches. Bristol: Policy Press, 156-157.

Penelope, J., 1990. Speaking Freely: Unlearning the Lies of Fathers' tongues. New York: Pergamon.

Powell, R. and Single, H., 1996, Focus Groups. International Journal of Quality in Health Care, 8 (5), 499-504.

Powell, R., Single, H. and Lloyd, K. 1996, Focus Groups in Mental Health Research: Enhancing the Validity of User and Provider Questionnaires. <u>International Journal of Social Psychology</u>, 42 (3), 193-206.

Poynton,C., 1985. <u>Language and Gender Making the Difference</u>. Deakin: Victoria Deaken University Press.

Race, K., Hotch, D. and Parker, T., 1994, Rehabilitation Program Evaluation: Use of Focus Groups to Empower Clients. <u>Evaluation Review</u>, 18 (6), 730-740.

Ramazanoglu , C., 1989. <u>Feminism and the Contradictions of Oppression</u>. London and New York: Routledge.

Rehemi, M. F., 1983. <u>A Survey of the Attitudes of Saudi Men and Women Toward Saudi Female Participation in Saudi Arabian Development</u>. Thesis (PhD). University of Colorado, Boulder.

Robson, A., Pemberton, J. and McGrane, A., 2005. <u>Business Research Analysis</u>. Harlow: Pearson Custom Publishing.

Sachs, J., 1975. Clues to the Identification of Sex in Children's Speech. In B. Thorne and N. Henley, eds. <u>Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance</u>. Rowley. MA: Newbury House, 152-171.

Sadiqi, F., 2003. <u>Women, Gender and Language in Morocco</u>. Leiden; Boston: Brill.

Samergandi, R. S., 1992. <u>A Study of Factors that Contribute to the Discrepancy between the High Number of Women Receiving College Education and the Low Number of Women Participating in the Labor Force in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia</u>. Thesis (PhD). University of Maryland, Baltimore.

Saul, J., 2003. <u>Feminism Issues and Arguments</u>. New York: Oxford University Press.

Saunders, M., Lewis, P. and Thornhill, A., 2007. <u>Research Methods for Business Students</u>. Harlow [u.a.]: Financial Times Prentice Hall.

Schneider, J. and Hacker, S., 1973, Sex Role Imagery and the Use of Generic 'Man' in Introductory Texts. <u>American Psychologist</u>, 8 (1), pp. 12-18.

Schultz, M., 1990. The Semantic Derogation of Women. In Cameron, D., ed. <u>The Feminist Critique of Language: A Reader</u>. 1st ed. London: Routledge, 134-48.

Smith, P. M., 1979. Sex Markers in Speech. In K. R. Scherer and H. Giles, eds. <u>Social Markers in Speech</u>. London: Cambridge University Press, 109-146.

Sorrels, B., 1983. <u>The Nonsexist Communicator: Solving the Problems of Gender and Awkwardness in Modern English</u>. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Soto, D., Forslund, E. and Cole, C., 1975. <u>Alternative to Using Masculine Pronouns When Referring to the Species</u>. Paper presented at the Western Speech Communication Association, San Fransisco, CA.

Spender, D., 1980. <u>Man Made Language</u>. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Spender, D., 1985. <u>Man Made Language</u>. 2nd edition. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Steinem, G., 1983. <u>Outrageous acts and Everyday Rebellions</u>. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Sunderland, J., 2006. <u>Language and Gender: An Advanced Resource Book</u>. London: Routledge Applied Linguistics.

Swann, J., 2002. Yes, but is It Gender?. In L. Litosseliti and J. Sunderland, eds. <u>Gender Identity and Discourse Analysis</u>. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 43-67.

Takemaru, N., 2005, Japanese Women's Perceptions of Sexism in Language. <u>Women and Language</u>, 28 (1), 39-48.

Takemaru, N., 2010. <u>Women in the Language and Society of Japan: The Linguistic Roots of Bias</u>. United States of America: McFarland.

Tannen, D., 1990. <u>You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation</u>. 1st ed. New York: Morrow.

Tannen, D., 1993. <u>Gender and Conversational Interaction</u>. Oxford: OUP.

Thompson, E., 2000. <u>Colonial Citizens, Republican Rights, Paternal Privilege and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon</u>. New York: Columbia University Press.

Thornborrow, J., 2002. <u>Power Talk: Language and Interaction in Institutional Discourse</u>. Harlow: Longman.

Thorne, B., Kramarae, C. and Henley, N., 1983. <u>Language, Gender and Society</u>. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury Press.

Ticehurst, G. and Veal, A., 1999. <u>Business Research Methods a Managerial Approach</u>. Australia: Addison Wesley Longman Australia Pty Limited.

Tobin, Y., 2001. Gender Switch in Modern Hebrew. In M. Hellinger and H. Bußmann, eds. <u>Gender Across Languages</u>. Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 177–198.

Tong, R., 1989. <u>Feminist Thought : A Comprehensive Introduction</u>. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.

Tong, R., 2009. <u>Feminist Thought: A Comprehensive Introduction</u>. 3rd ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Tonkiss, F., 2004. Using Focus Groups. In C. Seale, ed. <u>Researching Society and Culture</u>. London: Sage, 193-206.

Trudgill, P., 1972, Sex, Covert Prestige and Linguistic Change in the Urban British English of Norwich. <u>Language in Society</u>, 1, 179-195.

Trudgill, P., 1974. <u>Sociolinguistics: An Introduction to Language and Society</u>. London: Penguin.

Tuketts, A., 2005, Applying Thematic Analysis Theory to Practice: A Researcher's Experience. <u>Contemporary Nurse</u>, 19 (1-2), 75-87.

Vetterling-Braggin, M., 1981. <u>Sexist Language: a Modern Philosophical Analysis</u>. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield.

Viola, J. W., 1986. <u>Human Resources Development in Saudi Arabia: Multinationals and Saudization</u>. Boston MA: International Human Resources Development Corporation.

Wadud, A., 1999. <u>Qur'an and Woman: Rereading the Sacred Text from a Woman's Perspective</u>. New York: Oxford University Press.

Walters, K., 1999. Opening the Door of Paradise a Cubit: Educated Tunisian Women Embodied Linguistic Practice, and Theories of Language and Gender. In M. Bucholtz, A. Liang and L. Sutton, eds. <u>Reinventing Identities: The Gendered Self in Discourse</u>. Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 200-217.

West, C. and Zimmerman, D., 1985. Gender, Language and Discourse. In T. A. Van Dijk, ed. <u>Handbook of Discourse Analysis: Discourse Analysis in Society</u>. London: Academic Press, 103-124.

Whitney, W. D., 1867. <u>Language and the Study of Language</u>. New York: Scribner, Armstrong and Co.

Wilkinson, S. and Kitzinger, C., 1995. <u>Feminism and Discourse: Psychological Perspectives</u>. London: Sage.

Wilkinson, S., 1998, Focus Groups in Feminist Research: Power, Interaction, and the Co-construction of Meaning. <u>Women's Studies International Forum</u>, 21 (1), 111-125.

Wilkinson, S., 1999, Focus Group Methodology: a Review. <u>International Journal of Social Research Methodology</u>, 1, 181-203.

Wodak, R., 1997. I Know We Won't Revolutionize the World with it, but …: Styles of Female Leadership in Institutions. In H. Kotthoff and R. Wodak, eds. <u>Communicating Gender in Context</u>. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 335-70.

Wolfe, S., Struckman-Johnson, S. and Flanagin, J., 1989. Generic 'Man': Distribution, Acquisition and Perception. In C. Lont and S. Friedley, eds. <u>Beyond Boundaries: Sex & Gender Diversity in Communication</u>, Fairfax, Va.: George Mason University Press, 51-61.

Yamani, M., 1996. Some Observations on Women in Saudi Arabia. In M. Yamani, ed. <u>Feminism and Islam: Legal and Literary Perspectives</u>. Reading: Ithaca, 263-282.

Young, D. (1998, September). Global Efficiency: Team Heat. CIO Magazine [Online]. Available from: <u>http://www.cio.com/archive/090198_team-content.html</u> [accessed 4 December 2012]

Youssef, N., 1974. <u>Women and Work in Developing Societies</u>. Westport: Greenwood Press.

Zimmerman, D. and West, C., 1975. Sex Roles, Interruptions and Silences in Conversations. In B. Thorne and N. Henley, eds. <u>Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance</u>. Rowley, M.A.: Newbury House, 105-129.

Appendices

Reference no.:......................... *(* for the researcher's use only)*

Appendix 1: Questionnaire

Saudi Perceptions of Linguistic Representations for women in Use of Arabic Language

Dear participant,

This study is part of the requirements toward the completion of the degree of PhD at Newcastle University (Education and Applied Linguistics Department). The aim of the research is to reflect Saudi attitudes toward linguistic representation of women in the use of Arabic.

Your participation in answering this questionnaire is highly appreciated as your insight and opinion will help provide a clearer picture about the obstacles affecting women's full participation in society. This questionnaire should not take more than 20 minutes; all information provided by you will be treated confidentially and will be used only for the stated purposes of this research. The questionnaire is anonymous, so you may answer the questions frankly without reservation. Your participation in this study is voluntary. If you feel uncomfortable answering any questions, you can withdraw at any point.

If you have any questions concerning the questionnaire, please do not hesitate to contact me on my email: **miramar@alharithi.com**

Thank you for sparing your valuable time.

Miramar Damanhouri

Reference no.:......................... *(* for the researcher's use only)*

*(Please tick (√) your answer)

1 - Gender				
☐Male		☐Female		
2 - Marital status				
☐Married	☐Divorced	☐Single	☐Widow	
3 - Age group				
☐18-24	☐ 25-34	☐ 35-44	☐45-55	☐over 55
4 - Occupation				
☐Government employee	☐Self or private employee	☐Unemployed	☐Student	☐Other (please specify): ……………………
5 - Education				
☐High school	☐ Diploma certificate	☐Bachelor's degree	☐Master's degree	☐Doctorate
6 - Location of residence (please specify):				
7 - From where have you obtained your elementary certificate? (please specify):				

8 - Do you think mentioning the name of women in public is socially prohibited in Saudi society? **(Please tick (√) your answer)**
☐Yes ☐Sometimes ☐No

(*) If your answer is (yes) please go to question 9, and if (no) please go to question 10.

9 - Why is it not proper to mention the name of women in public? *(Please tick (√) your answer for each statement)*	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
9.1- Religious consideration	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
9.2- Saudi customs and traditions	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
9.3- Social attitudes towards women's role in Saudi society	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
9.4- Obscuring women's identity	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
9.5- Showing respect to women	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
9.6- Others (please specify): ……………………………….	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐

10 -	To what extent do you accept the following terms when addressing or referring to women? *(Please tick (√) your answer for each point)*	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable
10.1-	/ʔimraʔah/ (woman)	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
10.2-	/nisa:ʔ/ (women)	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
10.3-	/sit/ (woman)	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
10.4-	/ʔum fula:n/ (mother of the son's name)	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
10.5-	/Haram fula:n/ (wife of the husband's name)	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
10.6-	/mada:m/ (wife)	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
10.7-	/kari:mat fula:n/ (daughter of the father's name)	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
10.8-	/Sayyidah/ (Mrs)	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
10.9-	/ʔanisah/ (Miss)	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
10.10-	/Hurma/ (woman)	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
10.11-	/Hari::m/ (women)	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
10.12-	/mara/ (woman)	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
10.13-	/niswa:n/ (women)	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
10.14-	/ʔum ʔalciya:l/ (mother of children)	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
10.15-	/ʔalʔahil/ (the family)	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
10.16-	/ʔalciya:l/ (the children)	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
10.17-	/ʔaljama:ca/ (the group)	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
10.18-	/bint/ (girl)	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
10.19-	/ʔuxt fula:n/ (sister of the brother's name)	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
10.20-	/ʔuxt/ (sister)					
10.21-	/Caju:z/ (Old woman)	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
10.22-	Any comments about this topic? ……… ………					

11 -	Why are females' schools named by using numbers rather than using female historical and Islamic figures, as in males' schools? *(Please tick (√) your answer for each statement)*	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
11.1-	Lack of female historical and Islamic figures	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
11.2-	Females' history is not important to maintain	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
11.3-	Saudi customs and traditions	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
11.4-	Naming process took place by the General Presidency for Girl's Education	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
11.5-	Obscuring women's identity	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
11.6-	Prevailing norms in Saudi society	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
11.7-	Have you any further comments?					

12 -	Substituting women's names by different terms contribute to which of the following? *(Please tick (√) your answer for each statement)*	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	disagree	Strongly disagree
12.1-	Reflecting the marginalization of women's full participation in the economic development of Saudi society	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
12.2-	Reflecting the dependency of women upon men in her life	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
12.3-	Reflecting women as weak and need protection	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
12.4-	Reflecting the importance of obscuring women'ss identity	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
12.5-	Reflecting women in a secondary position to that of men	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
12.6-	Others (please specify):	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
12.7-	Have you any further comments?					

Reference no.:**.........................** *(* for the researcher's use only)*

13 -	With reference to Article 3 of the labour law in Saudi Arabia enacted in 2005 which states: "work is the right of every citizen (masculine form)" and "all citizens (masculine form) are equal in the right to work." This is based on Article 4 which states "the worker (masculine form) and the employer (masculine form) should adhere to the provision of Sharia". To what extent do you agree with the following statements: *(Please tick (√) your answer for each statement)*	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
13.1-	The word citizen (masculine form) can be applied to both men and women.	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
13.2-	There are equal opportunities for men and women with regard to employment in Saudi Arabia.	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
13.3-	Enacting these articles using the masculine form is vague.	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
13.4-	Enacting these articles using the masculine form affects women's rights.	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
13.5-	These articles enacted in 2005 should be updated for a better understanding.	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐

14 -	Based on Article 149 which indicates that "women should work in fields suitable to their nature excluding jobs deemed detrimental to health and likely to expose women to specific risks," to what extent do you agree with the following statements: *(Please tick (√) your answer for each statement)*	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
14.1-	'Jobs deemed detrimental to health' are subject to different interpretations	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
14.2-	'Jobs exposing women to specific risks' are subject to different interpretations.	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐

Reference no.:........................ *(* for the researcher's use only)*

15 -	Do you think females should be admitted to the following fields of study? *(Please tick (√) your answer for each point)*	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
15.1-	Engineering	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
15.2-	Marine Science	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
15.3-	Meteorology	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
15.4-	Environmental Design	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
15.5-	Geology	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
15.6-	Petroleum	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
15.7-	Political science	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
15.8-	Have you any comments?					

16 -	To what extent do you think the following factors minimize women's participation in developing Saudi society? *(Please tick (√) your answer for each point)*	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
16.1-	Religious considerations	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
16.2-	Saudi customs and traditions	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
16.3-	Social attitudes toward women in some profession	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
16.4-	Limited job opportunities available to women	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
16.5-	Limited educational fields available to women	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
16.6-	Others (please specify):	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐

17 - Based on the voting resolution which states that "Voters (masculine form) should vote (masculine form) for their candidates according to procedures adopted in the polling stations at which they were enrolled", to what extent do agree with the following statements? *(Please tick (√) your answer for each statement)*	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
17.1- The voting resolution for municipal councils includes men and women.	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
17.2- Using the masculine form generically affects women's rights.	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
17.3- Using the masculine form generically is vague.	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐

18 - Why do you think women are not permitted to vote in the municipal councils? *(Please tick (√) your answer for each point)*	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
18.1- Religious considerations	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
18.2- Saudi customs and traditions	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
18.3- Saudi social attitudes towards women's role in society	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
18.4- Limiting the role of women in society	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐
18.5- Others (please specify): …………………………	1☐	2☐	3☐	4☐	5☐

19 -	To what extent do you feel the following job titles express sexism against women? *(Please tick (√) your answer for each statement)*		
19.1-	Jawhara Al-Angari <u>cuDu</u> majlis ?alxubara:? bimajlis ašu:ra: <u>Member</u> of the Shura Council of Experts		
	☐Sexist	☐Neutral	☐ Non sexist
19.2-	Sanaa Felimban <u>ra?i:s</u> majlis ?ida:rat Jamciyat al?aydz <u>Chairman</u> of the Board of Directors of AIDS		
	☐Sexist	☐Neutral	☐ Non sexist
19.3-	Princess Al-Jawhara Al-Saud <u>waki:l</u> waza:rat ?altarbiyah wa altacli:m <u>undersecretary</u> of the Ministry of Education		
	☐Sexist	☐Neutral	☐ Non sexist
19.4-	Nora Al-Fayez <u>na?ib</u> wazi:r ?altarbiyah wa altacli:m liSu?u:n albana:t <u>Deputy</u> Minister of Education for Girl's education		
	☐Sexist	☐Neutral	☐ Non sexist
19.5-	Ulfat Gabbani <u>ra?i:s</u> ?allajnah ?alculya: li?itiHa:d almustaϴmira:t alcarab <u>President</u> of the Supreme Committee of the Union of Arab Women Investors		
	☐Sexist	☐Neutral	☐ Non sexist
19.6-	Nahid Taher <u>mudi:r ca:m</u> libank ?algolf lil?istiϴma:r <u>CEO</u> Gulf One Investment Bank		
	☐Sexist	☐Neutral	☐ Non sexist
19.7-	Lubna Olayan <u>?ara?i:s altanfi:ði:</u> liSarikat colaya:n liltamwi:l <u>CEO</u> of the Olayan Financing Company		
	☐Sexist	☐Neutral	☐ Non sexist
19.8-	Dr. Samia Alamoudi <u>cuDu</u> hay?at altadri:s bijamicat almalik cabdul cazi:z bijiddah Faculty <u>member</u> at King Abdul aziz Jeddah		
	☐Sexist	☐Neutral	☐ Non sexist
19.9-	Dr. Salwa Nugali <u>?usta:ð musa:cid</u> bija:micat almalik sucu:d bilriya:D <u>assistant professor</u> at King Saud Riyadh		
	☐Sexist	☐Neutral	☐ Non sexist
19.10	Ahlaam Alqwaidi <u>?usta:ð muSa:rik</u> fi: kuliyat albana:t bijiddah <u>Associate professor</u> at the Girl's college Jeddah		
	☐Sexist	☐Neutral	☐ Non sexist
19.11	Arwa Al'ams <u>musa:cid</u> li?ami:n Jeddah liSu?u:n almaclu:mat bil?ama:nah <u>Head</u> of the municipality's electronic communications department		
	☐Sexist	☐Neutral	☐ Non sexist
19.12	Have you any comments for this topic?		

20 - To what extent do you agree with the following statements? *(Please tick (√) your answer for each statement)*	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
20.1- Addressing a woman by her first name is a form of recognition.	1 ☐	2 ☐	3 ☐	4 ☐	5 ☐
20.2- Women's job titles should be feminized.	1 ☐	2 ☐	3 ☐	4 ☐	5 ☐
20.3- Saudi Labour law should refer to women instead of using the male gender.	1 ☐	2 ☐	3 ☐	4 ☐	5 ☐
20.4- Municipal resolution should refer to women instead of using the male gender	1 ☐	2 ☐	3 ☐	4 ☐	5 ☐

Thank you for your cooperation.

Miramar Damanhouri

Appendix 2: Arabic translation of the questionnaire

التاريخ:27/ربيع الثاني/1432

الموضوع: نظرة المجتمع السعودي تجاه الاستخدام اللغوي عند الاشارة إلى المرأة في اللغة العربية

عزيزتي المشاركة،

هذه الاستبانة جزء من متطلبات الحصول على درجة الدكتوراه في جامعة نيوكاسل – بريطانيا (قسم طرق تدريس وعلم اللغويات التطبيقية). يهدف هذا البحث إلى دراسة كيفية الاستخدام الدلالي في اللغة العربية للتعبير عن المرأة في بعض المواقع وعلاقته بالعوامل التي تؤثر على وضعها في المجتمع السعودي، كما يهدف إلى توضيح نظرة المجتمع السعودي تجاه ذلك.

أقدر لك مشاركتك في الإجابة على هذه الاستبانة حيث أن وجهة نظرك في المواضيع المطروحة سوف تساعد على توفير صورة أوضح حول العقبات التي قد تؤثر على المشاركة الكاملة للمرأة في المجتمع.

الإجابة على الاستبانة لن يستغرق أكثر من 20 دقيقة، علما بأن جميع المعلومات التي تقدمينها سيتم التعامل معها بسرية تامة و سوف تستخدم فقط لأهداف البحث المبينة أعلاه. كما أنك غير مطالبة بكتابة اسمك على هذه الاستبانة مما يمنحك الفرصة للإجابة بحرية كاملة و بدون تحفظ. مشاركتك في هذه الدراسة هو عمل تطوعي و يمكنك التوقف عند أي فقرة في حالة عدم رغبتك في إستكمال الاستبانة.

إذا كانت لديك أي أسئلة تتعلق بالاستبانة، الرجاء الاتصال بي عبر البريد الإلكتروني على العنوان miramar@alharithi.com

أشكر لك تعاونك و منحي جزء من وقتك الثمين،

الباحثة / ميرامار دمنهوري

عند الإجابة المختارة لكل من الفقرات التالية:(٧) (*) الرجاء وضع علامة

1 –	**الجنس**		
☐ ذكر		☐ أنثى	
2 –	**الحالة الاجتماعية**		
☐ متزوجة	☐ مطلقة	☐ غير متزوجة	☐ أرملة
3 –	**الفئة العمرية**		
☐ 18 - 24	☐ 25 – 34	☐ 35 - 44	☐ 45 – 55 ☐ أكثر من 55
4 –	**الحالة المهنية**		
☐ موظفة – حكومي	☐ موظفة – قطاع خاص	☐ غير موظفة ☐ طالبة	☐ أخرى "حددي"(............)
5 –	**المرحلة التعليمية**		
☐ المرحلة الثانوية	☐ شهادة دبلوم ☐ المرحلة الجامعية	☐ ماجستير	☐ دكتوراه
6 –	**مكان الاقامه (الرجاء التحديد):**		
7 –	**المدينة التي حصلت منها على الشهادة الابتدائية (الرجاء التحديد):**		

8 –	**هل تعتقدين ان ذكر اسم المرأة عند الآخرين غير مقبول اجتماعيا في المجتمع السعودي ؟**
	(الرجاء وضع علامة (√) عند الإجابة المختارة)
☐ نعم	☐ احيانا ☐ لا

* إذا كانت إجابتك (نعم) الرجاء الانتقال إلى الفقرة 9، و إذا كانت (لا) الرجاء الانتقال إلى الفقرة **10**.

غير موافقة بشدة	غير موافقة	عديدة	موافقة نوعا ما	موافقة بشدة	**9 – ما سبب تحرج السعوديين من ذكر اسم المرأة عند الآخرين؟** *(الرجاء وضع علامة (√) عند الإجابة المختارة لكل من الفقرات التالية)*
☐5	☐4	☐3	☐2	☐1	9.1- اعتبارات دينية
☐5	☐4	☐3	☐2	☐1	9.2- عادات و تقاليد المجتمع السعودي
☐5	☐4	☐3	☐2	☐1	9.3- نظرة المجتمع السعودي تجاه دور المرأة في المجتمع
☐5	☐4	☐3	☐2	☐1	9.4- إخفاء لهوية المرأة
☐5	☐4	☐3	☐2	☐1	9.5- إظهار الاحترام للمرأة
☐5	☐4	☐3	☐2	☐1	9.6- أخرى "الرجاء التحديد" (...............................)

	لا أقبله بشدة	لا أقبله	محايدة	أقبله نوعا ما	أقبله بشدة	10 – ما مدى تقبلك للمصطلحات التالية عند الإشارة إلى المرأة؟ (الرجاء وضع علامة (√) عند الإجابة المختارة لكل من الفقرات التالية)
10.1- امرأة	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	
10.2- نساء	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	
10.3- البِنت	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	
10.4- أم فلان	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	
10.5- حرم فلان	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	
10.6- مدام	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	
10.7- كريمة فلان	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	
10.8- سيدة	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	
10.9- آنسة	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	
10.10 حُرمة	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	
10.11 حريم	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	
10.12 مَرَه	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	
10.13 نسوان	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	
10.14 أم العيال	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	
10.15 الأهل	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	
10.16 العيال	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	
10.17 الجماعة	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	
10.18 بنت	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	
10.19 أخت	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	
10.20 أخت فلان	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	
10.21 عجوز	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	
10.22 أي تعليقات بخصوص هذا الموضوع؟						

....
....

	غير موافقة بشدة	غير موافقة	عايدة	موافقة نوعا ما	موافقة بشدة	11 – لماذا تمنح المدارس الحكومية للبنات "أرقاما" لا تدل إلا على تسلسل رقمي بدلاً من أن تحمل أسماء نساء جديرات عرفهن التاريخ و الإسلام كما تتم تسمية مدارس البنين؟ *(الرجاء وضع علامة (√) عند الإجابة المختارة لكل من العبارات التالية)*
11.1–	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	لأن عدد الشخصيات التاريخية للنساء محدود.
11.2–	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	لأن إحياء تاريخ الشخصيات التاريخية للنساء أمر غير ضروري.
11.3–	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	تبعاً لعادات و تقاليد المجتمع السعودي.
11.4–	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	تمت عملية تسمية المدارس من قبل الرئاسة العامة لتعليم البنات.
11.5–	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	لإخفاء هوية المرأة.
11.6–	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	الفكر السائد.
11.7–						أي تعليقات بخصوص هذا الموضوع؟ ....

	غير موافقة بشدة	غير موافقة	عايدة	موافقة نوعا ما	موافقة بشدة	12 – استبدال أسماء النساء بمصطلحات مختلفة يدل على: *(الرجاء وضع علامة (√) عند الإجابة المختارة لكل من العبارات التالية)*
12.1–	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	تغييب المرأة عند استخدامنا للغة
12.2–	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	تهميش مشاركة المرأة في التنمية الاقتصادية للمجتمع
12.3–	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	اعتماد المرأة على الرجل في شؤون حياتها
12.4–	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	ضعف المرأة و حاجتها للحماية
12.5–	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	اخفاء لهوية المرأة
12.6–	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	وضع المرأة في منزلة أقل من الرجل
12.7–	□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	أخرى – الرجاء التحديد (..)
12.8–						أي تعليقات بخصوص هذا الموضوع؟ ....

	غير موافقة بشدة	غير موافقة	محايدة	موافقة نوعا ما	موافقة بشدة	13	إلى أي مدى تتفقين مع العبارات التالية في ضوء المادة الثالثة من نظام العمل و التي تنص على"العمل حق للمواطن" و "المواطنون متساوون في حق العمل"، و المادة الرابعة و التي تنص على أنه " يجب على صاحب العمل و العامل عند تطبيق أحكام هذا النظام الالتزام بمقتضيات الشريعة الإسلامية" ؟ (الرجاء وضع علامة (√) عند الإجابة المختارة لكل من العبارات التالية)
	☐5	☐4	☐3	☐2	☐1	13.1	كلمة "المواطن" تعبر عن الرجل و المرأة.
	☐5	☐4	☐3	☐2	☐1	13.2	هذا يعني أن هناك فرص وظيفية متساوية للرجال و النساء.
	☐5	☐4	☐3	☐2	☐1	13.3	كتابة هذه المواد بصيغة المذكر يؤدي إلى عدم الوضوح.
	☐5	☐4	☐3	☐2	☐1	13.4	كتابة هذه المواد بصيغة المذكر يؤثر على حقوق المرأة في العمل.
	☐5	☐4	☐3	☐2	☐1	13.5	يجب تحديث هذه المواد المسنة في 2005 حسب التغيير الذي تشهده المرأة في الأعوام السابقة.

	غير موافقة بشدة	غير موافقة	محايدة	موافقة نوعا ما	موافقة بشدة	14	- إلى أي مدى تتفقين مع العبارات التالية في ضوء المادة 149 من قانون العمل و التي تنص على أن "تعمل المرأة في كل المجالات التي تتفق مع طبيعتها، و يحظر تشغيلها في الأعمال الخطرة" "و الأعمال التي تضر بالصحة"؟ (الرجاء وضع علامة (√) عند الإجابة المختارة لكل من العبارات التالية)
	☐5	☐4	☐3	☐2	☐1	14.1-	يمكن لعبارة "الأعمال الخطرة" أن تفسر بأشكال مختلفة.
	☐5	☐4	☐3	☐2	☐1	14.2-	يمكن لعبارة "الأعمال التي تضر بالصحة" أن تفسر بأشكال مختلفة.

	غير موافقة بشدة	غير موافقة	محايدة	موافقة نوعا ما	موافقة بشدة	15	- هل تعتقدين أنه ينبغي فتح باب قبول المرأة في التخصصات التالية؟ (الرجاء وضع علامة (√) عند الإجابة المختارة لكل من الفقرات التالية)
	☐5	☐4	☐3	☐2	☐1	15.1-	الهندسة بمجالاتها المختلفة
	☐5	☐4	☐3	☐2	☐1	15.2-	علوم البحار
	☐5	☐4	☐3	☐2	☐1	15.3-	الأرصاد و البيئة و زراعة المناطق الجافة
	☐5	☐4	☐3	☐2	☐1	15.4-	تصاميم البيئة
	☐5	☐4	☐3	☐2	☐1	15.5-	علوم الأرض
	☐5	☐4	☐3	☐2	☐1	15.6-	البترول و المعادن
	☐5	☐4	☐3	☐2	☐1	15.7-	العلوم السياسية
						15.8-	أي تعليقات بخصوص هذا الموضوع؟
							....

غير موافقة بشدة	غير موافقة	محايدة	موافقة نوعا ما	موافقة بشدة	16 - إلى أي مدى تعتقدين أن العوامل التالية تساهم في تضييق مشاركة المرأة في التنمية الاقتصادية للمجتمع السعودي؟
					(الرجاء وضع علامة (√) عند الإجابة المختارة لكل من العبارات التالية)
□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	16.1· اعتبارات دينية
□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	16.2· عادات و تقاليد المجتمع
□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	16.3· رؤية المجتمع للمجالات التي تناسب طبيعة المرأة
□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	16.4· مجالات العمل المحدودة للمرأة
□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	16.5· مجالات الدراسة المحدودة للمرأة
□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	16.6· أخرى – "الرجاء التحديد" (........................)

غير موافقة بشدة	غير موافقة	محايدة	موافقة نوعا ما	موافقة بشدة	17 إلى أي مدى تتفقين مع العبارات التالية من خلال قراءتك لقرار التصويت بمجلس البلديات الذي ينص بأن "الناخبون يدلون بأصواتهم ويختارون مرشحيهم وفق الإجراءات المعتمدة وفي مراكز الانتخاب التي تم قيدهم فيها"، ؟
					(الرجاء وضع علامة (√) عند الإجابة المختارة لكل من العبارات التالية)
□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	17.1 استخدام صيغة المذكر في قرار التصويت بالمجالس البلدية يعني مشاركة المرأة.
□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	17.2 استخدام صيغة المذكر في مثل هذه القرارات يؤثر على حق المرأة.
□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	17.3 استخدام صيغة المذكر في مثل هذه القرارات يؤدي إلى عدم الوضوح.

غير موافقة بشدة	غير موافقة	محايدة	موافقة نوعا ما	موافقة بشدة	18 لماذا تعتقدين أن المرأة لم تعط الحق في التصويت في انتخاب أعضاء المجالس البلدية؟
					(الرجاء وضع علامة (√) عند الإجابة المختارة لكل من العبارات التالية)
□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	18.1 اعتبارات دينية
□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	18.2 عادات و تقاليد المجتمع
□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	18.3 نظرة بعض أفراد المجتمع تجاه دور المرأة في التنمية
□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	18.4 رغبة البعض في الحد من مشاركة المرأة في المجتمع
□5	□4	□3	□2	□1	18.5 أخرى "الرجاء التحديد" (...)

الرقم التسلسلي: .... * *(لاستخدام الباحثة فقط)*

19 –	إلى أي حد تعتقدين أن المسميات الوظيفية (التي تحتها خط) تعبر عن التحيز اللغوي ضد المرأة؟ (الرجاء وضع علامة (√) عند الإجابة المختارة لكل من العبارات التالية)	

19.1–	الجوهرة العنقري عضو مجلس الخبراء بمجلس الشورى	
☐ لا يوجد به تحيز	☐ محايدة	☐ يوجد به تحيز

19.2–	سناء فلمبان رئيس مجلس إدارة جمعية الإيدز	
☐ لا يوجد به تحيز	☐ محايدة	☐ يوجد به تحيز

19.3–	الأميرة الجوهرة آل سعود وكيل وزارة التربية و التعليم	
☐ لا يوجد به تحيز	☐ محايدة	☐ يوجد به تحيز

19.4–	د. نورة الفايز نائب وزير التربية و التعليم لشؤون البنات	
☐ لا يوجد به تحيز	☐ محايدة	☐ يوجد به تحيز

19.5–	ألفت قباني رئيس اللجنة العليا لاتحاد المستثمرات العرب	
☐ لا يوجد به تحيز	☐ محايدة	☐ يوجد به تحيز

19.6–	د. ناهد طاهر مدير عام لبنك الجولف للاستثمار	
☐ لا يوجد به تحيز	☐ محايدة	☐ يوجد به تحيز

19.7–	لبنى العليان الرئيس التنفيذي لشركة العليان للتمويل	
☐ لا يوجد به تحيز	☐ محايدة	☐ يوجد به تحيز

19.8–	د. سامية العمودي عضو هيئة التدريس بجامعة الملك عبد العزيز بجدة	
☐ لا يوجد به تحيز	☐ محايدة	☐ يوجد به تحيز

19.9–	د. سلوى النقلي أستاذ مساعد بجامعة الملك سعود بالرياض	
☐ لا يوجد به تحيز	☐ محايدة	☐ يوجد به تحيز

19.10–	أحلام القويضي أستاذ مشارك في كلية البنات بجدة	
☐ لا يوجد به تحيز	☐ محايدة	☐ يوجد به تحيز

19.11–	د. أروى الأعمى مساعد لأمين جدة لشؤون المعلومات بالأمانة	
☐ لا يوجد به تحيز	☐ محايدة	☐ يوجد به تحيز

19.12–	أي تعليق بخصوص هذا الموضوع؟

....

....

غير موافقة بشدة	غير موافقة	محايدة	موافقة نوعا ما	موافقة بشدة	**20 – إلى أي مدى تتفقين مع العبارات التالية؟** *(الرجاء وضع علامة (√) عند الإجابة المختارة لكل من العبارات التالية)*	
☐5	☐4	☐3	☐2	☐1	الإشارة للمرأة باسمها هو حق مكتسب للإنسان بشكل عام.	**20.1–**
☐5	☐4	☐3	☐2	☐1	يجب تأنيث المسميات الوظيفية.	**20.2–**
☐5	☐4	☐3	☐2	☐1	يجب الإشارة للمرأة في نظام العمل بدلا من الاستخدام العام لصيغة المذكر.	**20.3–**
☐5	☐4	☐3	☐2	☐1	يجب الإشارة للمرأة في قرار التصويت بالمجالس البلدية بدلا من الاستخدام العام لصيغة المذكر.	**20.4–**

أشكر لك تعاونك،،

الباحثة: ميرامار دمنهوري

Appendix 3: Demographic Information

Gender	Count	%
Male	168	46
Female	197	54
Total	365	100

Table A3.1 Gender distribution

Respondent's gender	Marital Status								Total	
	Single		Married		Divorced		Widowed		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Male	85	50.6	79	47	3	1.8	1	.6	168	100
Female	73	37.1	106	53.8	15	7.6	3	1.5	197	100

Table A3.2 Gender in relation to marital status

Respondent's gender	Age Groups										Total	
	18-24		25-34		35-44		45-55		Over 55		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Male	81	48.2	25	14.9	41	24.4	19	11.3	2	1.2	168	100
Female	55	27.9	48	24.4	61	31	29	14.7	4	2	197	100

Table A3.3 Gender in relation to age groups

Respondent's gender	Occupation								Total	
	Government employee		Self or Private employee		Unemployed		Student		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Male	76	45.2	12	7.1	4	2.4	76	45.2	168	100
Female	84	42.6	53	26.9	10	5.1	50	25.4	197	100

Table A3.4 Gender in relation to occupation

Respondent's gender	Educational Qualifications										Total	
	High school certificate		Diploma certificate		Bachelor's degree		Master's degree		Doctorate		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Male	40	23.8	10	6.0	112	66.7	5	3.0	1	.6	168	100
Female	27	13.7	5	2.5	128	65	18	9.1	19	9.6	197	100

Table A3.5 Gender in relation to education

Respondent's Gender	Location of Respondents' Residence						Total	
	Jeddah		Makkah		Taif		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	
Male	93	55.4	29	17.3	46	27.4	168	100
Female	140	71.1	41	20.8	16	8.1	197	100

Table A3.6 Gender in relation to location of respondents' residence

Appendix 4: The relation between age group of respondents and colloquial terms of address and reference for women

Age group	Male*age					Female*age				
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable
18-24	35.8%	30.9%	14.8%	12.3%	6.2%	3.8%	18.9%	15.1%	22.6%	39.6%
25-34	41.7%	25.0%	12.5%	12.5%	8.3%	2.2%	6.5%	13.0%	30.4%	47.8%
35-44	17.1%	22.0%	19.5%	22.0%	19.5%	1.7%	8.5%	10.2%	28.8%	50.8%
45-55	22.2%	22.2%	22.2%	16.7%	16.7%	.0%	3.7%	7.4%	7.4%	81.5%
over 55	.0%	50.0%	.0%	50.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	25.0%	75.0%

Table A4.1 Males' and females' perceptions of the term/Hurma/ in terms of age

Age group	Male*age					Female*age				
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable
18-24	37.0%	33.3%	17.3%	8.6%	3.7%	3.8%	24.5%	15.1%	18.9%	37.7%
25-34	33.3%	29.2%	16.7%	12.5%	8.3%	2.2%	13.0%	17.4%	26.1%	41.3%
35-44	17.1%	17.1%	34.1%	19.5%	12.2%	5.2%	12.1%	8.6%	27.6%	46.6%
45-55	11.1%	16.7%	50.0%	16.7%	5.6%	.0%	3.7%	7.4%	11.1%	77.8%
over 55	.0%	50.0%	50.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%

Table A4.2 Males' and females' perceptions of the term /Hari:m/ in terms of age

Age group	Male*age					Female*age				
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable
18-24	16.0%	35.8%	19.8%	14.8%	13.6%	3.9%	11.8%	9.8%	29.4%	45.1%
25-34	25.0%	25.0%	25.0%	8.3%	16.7%	2.2%	2.2%	8.7%	30.4%	56.5%
35-44	19.5%	14.6%	26.8%	22.0%	17.1%	5.1%	1.7%	8.5%	18.6%	66.1%
45-55	11.1%	5.6%	44.4%	16.7%	22.2%	.0%	.0%	7.4%	7.4%	85.2%
over 55	.0%	.0%	50.0%	.0%	50.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%

Table A4.3 Males' and females' perceptions of the term /mara/ in terms of age

Age group	Male*age					Female*age				
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable
18-24	28.4%	28.4%	18.5%	11.1%	13.6%	13.2%	20.8%	7.5%	17.0%	41.5%
25-34	16.7%	29.2%	16.7%	25.0%	12.5%	4.3%	8.7%	6.5%	10.9%	69.6%
35-44	19.5%	17.1%	34.1%	14.6%	14.6%	5.1%	8.5%	11.9%	11.9%	62.7%
45-55	5.6%	22.2%	22.2%	22.2%	27.8%	.0%	.0%	3.7%	7.4%	88.9%
over 55	.0%	.0%	50.0%	.0%	50.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%

Table A4.4 Males' and females' perceptions of the term /bint/ in terms of age

Age group	Male*age					Female*age				
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable
18-24	14.8%	37.0%	25.9%	13.6%	8.6%	5.7%	18.9%	18.9%	26.4%	30.2%
25-34	20.8%	12.5%	41.7%	12.5%	12.5%	2.2%	6.5%	21.7%	21.7%	47.8%
35-44	22.0%	17.1%	26.8%	22.0%	12.2%	.0%	6.8%	15.3%	30.5%	47.5%
45-55	5.6%	11.1%	38.9%	22.2%	22.2%	7.4%	.0%	7.4%	29.6%	55.6%
over 55	.0%	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	50.0%	50.0%

Table A4.5 Males' and females' perceptions of the term /niswa:n/ in terms of age

Appendix 5: The relation between level of education of respondents and colloquial terms of address and reference for women

Education	Male					Female				
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable
high school	37.5%	17.5%	15.0%	15.0%	15.0%	4.2%	20.8%	20.8%	25.0%	29.2%
diploma certificate	30.0%	10.0%	20.0%	20.0%	20.0%	.0%	20.0%	40.0%	20.0%	20.0%
bachelor's degree	28.2%	32.7%	15.5%	15.5%	8.2%	2.4%	10.5%	10.5%	21.0%	55.6%
master's degree	20.0%	.0%	40.0%	20.0%	20.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	44.4%	55.6%
Doctorate	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	11.1%	27.8%	61.1%

Table A5.1 Males' and females' perceptions of the term /Hurma/ in terms of education

Education	Male					Female				
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable
high school	35.0%	12.5%	30.0%	12.5%	10.0%	4.2%	29.2%	20.8%	25.0%	20.8%
diploma certificate	10.0%	20.0%	40.0%	20.0%	10.0%	.0%	20.0%	40.0%	20.0%	20.0%
bachelor's degree	28.2%	33.6%	22.7%	10.9%	4.5%	4.0%	15.3%	9.7%	19.4%	51.6%
master's degree	20.0%	.0%	20.0%	40.0%	20.0%	.0%	.0%	17.6%	23.5%	58.8%
doctorate	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	5.6%	33.3%	61.1%

Table A5.2 Males' and females' perceptions of the term /Hari:m/ in terms of education

Education	Male					Female				
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable
high school	32.5%	25.0%	30.0%	.0%	12.5%	4.2%	8.3%	12.5%	37.5%	37.5%
diploma certificate	10.0%	20.0%	30.0%	20.0%	20.0%	.0%	20.0%	20.0%	20.0%	40.0%
bachelor's degree	12.7%	27.3%	21.8%	20.9%	17.3%	4.1%	4.1%	9.0%	21.3%	61.5%
master's degree	20.0%	.0%	40.0%	20.0%	20.0%	.0%	.0%	5.6%	11.1%	83.3%
doctorate	.0%	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	22.2%	77.8%

Table A5.3 Males' and females' perceptions of the term /mara/ in terms of education

Education	Male					Female				
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable
high school	22.5%	27.5%	25.0%	12.5%	12.5%	12.5%	33.3%	16.7%	12.5%	25.0%
diploma certificate	20.0%	10.0%	30.0%	20.0%	20.0%	.0%	.0%	40.0%	.0%	60.0%
bachelor's degree	22.7%	26.4%	19.1%	15.5%	16.4%	7.3%	8.1%	5.6%	14.5%	64.5%
master's degree	.0%	.0%	60.0%	20.0%	20.0%	.0%	11.1%	5.6%	.0%	83.3%
doctorate	.0%	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	5.6%	11.1%	83.3%

Table A5.4 Males' and females' perceptions of the term /bint/ in terms of education

Education	Male					Female				
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable
high school	30.0%	17.5%	35.0%	10.0%	7.5%	12.5%	12.5%	25.0%	37.5%	12.5%
diploma certificate	10.0%	20.0%	30.0%	20.0%	20.0%	.0%	.0%	40.0%	40.0%	20.0%
bachelor's degree	12.7%	27.3%	30.0%	18.2%	11.8%	2.4%	10.5%	14.5%	25.0%	47.6%
master's degree	.0%	40.0%	20.0%	20.0%	20.0%	.0%	.0%	27.8%	22.2%	50.0%
doctorate	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	5.6%	.0%	33.3%	61.1%

Table A5.5 Males' and females' perceptions of the term /niswa:n/ in terms of education

Appendix 6: The relation between locations of residence of respondents and colloquial terms of address and reference for women

Location of residence	Male					Female				
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable
Jeddah	30.4%	29.3%	15.2%	12.0%	13.0%	2.2%	10.4%	10.4%	23.7%	53.3%
Makkah	28.6%	21.4%	21.4%	21.4%	7.1%	.0%	7.7%	12.8%	28.2%	51.3%
Taif	30.4%	26.1%	15.2%	19.6%	8.7%	6.7%	13.3%	20.0%	20.0%	40.0%

Table A6.1 Males' and females' perceptions of the term /Hurma/ in terms of locations of residence

Location of residence	Male					Female				
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable
Jeddah	26.1%	31.5%	22.8%	10.9%	8.7%	3.0%	13.4%	11.9%	22.4%	49.3%
Makkah	28.6%	25.0%	17.9%	21.4%	7.1%	2.6%	10.3%	12.8%	23.1%	51.3%
Taif	32.6%	19.6%	34.8%	10.9%	2.2%	6.7%	33.3%	13.3%	13.3%	33.3%

Table A6.2 Males' and females' perceptions of the term /Hari:m/ in terms of locations of residence

Location of residence	Male					Female				
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable
Jeddah	17.4%	23.9%	27.2%	12.0%	19.6%	3.8%	4.5%	9.8%	20.3%	61.7%
Makkah	25.0%	10.7%	21.4%	25.0%	17.9%	2.6%	2.6%	5.1%	30.8%	59.0%
Taif	13.0%	37.0%	23.9%	17.4%	8.7%	.0%	6.7%	6.7%	20.0%	66.7%

Table A6.3 Males' and females' perceptions of the term /mara/ in terms of locations of residence

Location of residence	Male					Female				
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable
Jeddah	20.7%	16.3%	26.1%	18.5%	18.5%	7.4%	8.9%	8.1%	14.1%	61.5%
Makkah	10.7%	46.4%	21.4%	10.7%	10.7%	2.6%	7.7%	7.7%	10.3%	71.8%
Taif	30.4%	28.3%	17.4%	10.9%	13.0%	6.7%	33.3%	6.7%	.0%	53.3%

Table A6.4 Males' and females' perceptions of the term /bint/ in terms of locations of residence

Location of residence	Male					Female				
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable
Jeddah	18.5%	22.8%	32.6%	14.1%	12.0%	3.7%	6.7%	19.3%	25.2%	45.2%
Makkah	14.3%	21.4%	25.0%	21.4%	17.9%	2.6%	12.8%	7.7%	35.9%	41.0%
Taif	13.0%	32.6%	30.4%	17.4%	6.5%	.0%	20.0%	13.3%	26.7%	40.0%

Table A6.5 Males' and females' perceptions of the term /niswa:n/ in terms of locations of residence

Appendix 7: The relation between age group of respondents and colloquial terms of reference for women

Age group	Male*age					Female*age				
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable
18-24	25.9%	17.3%	22.2%	18.5%	16.0%	3.8%	9.4%	17.0%	20.8%	49.1%
25-34	16.7%	20.8%	37.5%	16.7%	8.3%	4.3%	8.7%	17.4%	19.6%	50.0%
35-44	22.0%	22.0%	24.4%	9.8%	22.0%	3.4%	10.3%	20.7%	20.7%	44.8%
45-55	16.7%	16.7%	38.9%	11.1%	16.7%	3.7%	3.7%	18.5%	22.2%	51.9%
over 55	.0%	50.0%	.0%	.0%	50.0%	.0%	25.0%	.0%	25.0%	50.0%

Table A7.1 Males' and females' perceptions of the term /?alciya:l/ (the children) in terms of age

Age group	Male*age					Female*age				
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable
18-24	17.3%	19.8%	27.2%	19.8%	16.0%	5.7%	7.5%	13.2%	18.9%	54.7%
25-34	33.3%	20.8%	20.8%	12.5%	12.5%	.0%	6.5%	15.2%	28.3%	50.0%
35-44	19.5%	9.8%	29.3%	29.3%	12.2%	.0%	8.5%	16.9%	30.5%	44.1%
45-55	11.1%	33.3%	44.4%	.0%	11.1%	7.4%	11.1%	29.6%	18.5%	33.3%
over 55	.0%	50.0%	.0%	.0%	50.0%	.0%	25.0%	.0%	25.0%	50.0%

Table A7.2 Males' and females' perceptions of the term /?al jama:ca/ (the group) in terms of age

Age group	Male*age					Female*age				
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable
18-24	54.3%	34.6%	6.2%	2.5%	2.5%	9.6%	38.5%	13.5%	9.6%	28.8%
25-34	41.7%	29.2%	25.0%	4.2%	.0%	15.2%	26.1%	17.4%	21.7%	19.6%
35-44	48.8%	12.2%	26.8%	7.3%	4.9%	15.3%	25.4%	16.9%	22.0%	20.3%
45-55	66.7%	16.7%	11.1%	.0%	5.6%	25.9%	22.2%	25.9%	3.7%	22.2%
over 55	50.0%	50.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	25.0%	.0%	25.0%	.0%	50.0%

Table A7.3 Males' and females' perceptions of the term /?al?ahil/ (the family) in terms of age

Age group	Male*age					Female*age				
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable
18-24	29.6%	37.0%	21.0%	4.9%	7.4%	13.2%	15.1%	18.9%	20.8%	32.1%
25-34	41.7%	20.8%	37.5%	.0%	.0%	13.0%	13.0%	23.9%	19.6%	30.4%
35-44	34.1%	22.0%	24.4%	12.2%	7.3%	8.5%	18.6%	18.6%	23.7%	30.5%
45-55	44.4%	27.8%	11.1%	11.1%	5.6%	18.5%	14.8%	14.8%	7.4%	44.4%
over 55	50.0%	50.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	25.0%	50.0%	.0%	25.0%

Table A7.4 Males' and females' perceptions of the term /?um ?alciya:l/ (mother of the children) in terms of age

Appendix 8: The relation between level of education of respondents and colloquial terms of reference for women

Education	Male					Female				
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable
high school	35.0%	22.5%	22.5%	10.0%	10.0%	8.3%	12.5%	29.2%	25.0%	25.0%
diploma certificate	20.0%	30.0%	20.0%	10.0%	20.0%	.0%	20.0%	20.0%	40.0%	20.0%
bachelor's degree	18.2%	18.2%	29.1%	17.3%	17.3%	2.4%	9.8%	17.1%	20.3%	50.4%
master's degree	20.0%	.0%	20.0%	20.0%	40.0%	11.1%	.0%	16.7%	11.1%	61.1%
Doctorate	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	.0%	5.6%	11.1%	22.2%	61.1%

Table A8.1 Males' and females' perceptions of the term /?alciya:l/ (the children) in terms of education

Education	Male					Female				
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable
high school	30.0%	22.5%	20.0%	17.5%	10.0%	8.3%	12.5%	20.8%	33.3%	25.0%
diploma certificate	20.0%	40.0%	10.0%	10.0%	20.0%	.0%	.0%	20.0%	40.0%	40.0%
bachelor's degree	15.5%	17.3%	32.7%	19.1%	15.5%	2.4%	6.5%	19.4%	22.6%	49.2%
master's degree	20.0%	.0%	40.0%	20.0%	20.0%	.0%	11.1%	5.6%	27.8%	55.6%
doctorate	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	16.7%	5.6%	22.2%	55.6%

Table A8.2 Males' and females' perceptions of the term /?al jama:ca/ (the group) in terms of education

Education	Male					Female				
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable
high school	60.0%	17.5%	17.5%	2.5%	2.5%	20.8%	45.8%	12.5%	16.7%	4.2%
diploma certificate	50.0%	30.0%	20.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	40.0%	60.0%	.0%	.0%
bachelor's degree	50.9%	30.9%	10.9%	4.5%	2.7%	13.8%	30.1%	16.3%	16.3%	23.6%
master's degree	20.0%	.0%	60.0%	.0%	20.0%	22.2%	.0%	27.8%	11.1%	38.9%
doctorate	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	16.7%	16.7%	11.1%	16.7%	38.9%

Table A8.3 Males' and females' perceptions of the term /?al?ahil/ (the family) in terms of education

Education	Male					Female				
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable
high school	52.5%	17.5%	15.0%	10.0%	5.0%	25.0%	16.7%	29.2%	12.5%	16.7%
diploma certificate	40.0%	20.0%	40.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	20.0%	40.0%	20.0%	20.0%
bachelor's degree	28.2%	35.5%	23.6%	6.4%	6.4%	11.3%	16.1%	18.5%	21.8%	32.3%
master's degree	20.0%	20.0%	40.0%	.0%	20.0%	11.1%	5.6%	16.7%	11.1%	55.6%
doctorate	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	5.6%	22.2%	16.7%	16.7%	38.9%

Table A8.4 Males' and females' perceptions of the term /?um ?alciya:l/ (mother of the children) in terms of education

Appendix 9: The relation between location of residence and colloquial terms of reference for women

Location of residence	Male					Female				
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable
Jeddah	23.9%	17.4%	29.3%	12.0%	17.4%	5.2%	7.5%	19.4%	17.2%	50.7%
Makkah	17.9%	10.7%	25.0%	21.4%	25.0%	.0%	12.8%	10.3%	33.3%	43.6%
Taif	21.7%	28.3%	21.7%	17.4%	10.9%	.0%	13.3%	26.7%	20.0%	40.0%

Table A9.1 Males' and females' perceptions of the term /?alciya:l/ (the children) in terms of location of residence

Location of residence	Male					Female				
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable
Jeddah	23.9%	15.2%	27.2%	18.5%	15.2%	3.0%	8.1%	16.3%	22.2%	50.4%
Makkah	10.7%	21.4%	32.1%	21.4%	14.3%	2.6%	10.3%	15.4%	38.5%	33.3%
Taif	15.2%	26.1%	28.3%	17.4%	13.0%	.0%	6.7%	26.7%	13.3%	53.3%

Table A9.2 Males' and females' perceptions of the term /?al jama:ca/ (the group) in terms of location of residence

Location of residence	Male					Female				
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable
Jeddah	54.3%	22.8%	16.3%	3.3%	3.3%	13.4%	26.1%	15.7%	17.2%	27.6%
Makkah	42.9%	25.0%	17.9%	7.1%	7.1%	20.5%	25.6%	25.6%	15.4%	12.8%
Taif	54.3%	34.8%	8.7%	2.2%	.0%	20.0%	53.3%	13.3%	.0%	13.3%

Table A9.3 Males' and females' perceptions of the term /?al?ahil/ (the family) in terms of location of residence

Location of residence	Male					Female				
	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable	Strongly acceptable	Acceptable	Neutral	Unacceptable	Strongly unacceptable
Jeddah	40.2%	23.9%	23.9%	5.4%	6.5%	11.9%	11.9%	20.0%	20.7%	35.6%
Makkah	25.0%	32.1%	21.4%	10.7%	10.7%	15.4%	17.9%	20.5%	17.9%	28.2%
Taif	28.3%	41.3%	21.7%	6.5%	2.2%	6.7%	46.7%	20.0%	6.7%	20.0%

Table A9.4 Males' and females' perceptions of the term /?um ?alciya:l/ (mother of the children) in terms of location of residence

Appendix 10: General attitude towards addressing women by her first name

Statement	Male					Female					Chi-square
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Sig.
Addressing a woman by her first name is a form of recognition.	48.2%	32.7%	13.1%	1.8%	4.2%	83.3%	10.9%	4.2%	1.0%	.5%	.000

Table A10.1 general attitude towards addressing women by her first name

Appendix 11: The Municipal Landmark elections[40]

The Concept of Municipal Elections

The Municipal elections provide a chance for **the citizen** *(sing. masculine form)* to participate in the decision making process through the election of highly qualified **citizens** *(pl. masculine form) to run municipal affairs from the place of residence.*

The concept of Elections

Generally the concept of elections is based on the voting of eligible citizens (pl. masculine form) to choose from among **contestants** *(pl. masculine form)* or **nominees** *(pl. masculine form)* in an organized manner according to internationally accepted balloting laws.

The Importance and purposes of elections

The Municipal Elections gains its importance from the fact that it allows general public to participate in the running of the affair of the municipal services. The public participation is important because it streamlines government decisions in such a way that it provides the greatest benefits to **the citizens** *(pl. masculine form)*. In addition to that, public participation puts **the citizens** *(pl. masculine form)* in the realm of responsibility together with the government which in effect will increase the awareness and initiative among **the citizens** *(pl. masculine form)* who are expected to shoulder their responsibility and do their duty towards their country through the effective and constructive participation the is based on the protection of the higher national interests. Elections have great influence in consolidating the principles of fairness and justice and ensuring loyalty and the spirit of belonging to the country.

In 18/8/1424 the Saudi Arabian Cabinet issued a decision No 224 to confirm and widen the participation of **the citizens** *(pl. masculine form)* in running the local affairs and decision making the decree reads. "**Citizens** *(pl. masculine form)* participation in running the local affairs shall be widened through elections; this shall be done by activating Municipal Councils according to Rural and Municipal laws and that half of **the members** *(pl. masculine form)* of each municipality shall be appointed".

The elections will be a means of forming municipal councils that represent an important axis in the local administration and consolidating the public participation in decision making and therefore raising the level of providing better services according to needs, wants and anticipations of **citizens** *(pl. masculine form).*

---

[40] http://www.mofa.gov.sa/sites/mofaen/aboutKingDom/SaudiGovernment/Pages/Elections50545.aspx

Stages of the election operation

a- registration of *the voters (pl. masculine form)*

This is the first stage of the election procedure. In this stage the eligible **voters** *(pl. masculine form)* will be registered in specially prepared registers named "the voters register list" where the eligible *voters (pl. masculine form)* will be registered in electoral colleges to be established in the municipality vicinity during a specific period of time. At the end of the registration period, tables containing the names of **the voters** *(pl. masculine form)* will be published for a certain period of time in such a way that all concerned shall be able to view.

Any objections will summarily be looked upon. The stage of registration is a good chance for eligible **voters** *(pl. masculine form)* to register and if anyone missed this chance he shall not be eligible to vote. It should be noted that registration is not compulsory for any one.

b- Registration of Candidates (pl. masculine gender)

Nominations will be allowed after the end of voter registration this is because for *any* **person** *(sing. masculine form)* to be nominated he (*sing. masculine form*) must have his name registered in **the voters** *(pl. masculine form)* list. Nominees registration is very important in the election operation because it regulates the nomination process and reduces the irresponsible nominations, so the nomination shall be for a specific period of time and according to certain procedures that precede the issuance of **the voters** *(pl. masculine form)* list and their publication in the electoral college so that they could be viewed by the parties concerned.

c- The election campaigns

After the final lists of **nominees** *(pl. masculine form)* have been published, **they** *(pl. masculine form)* shall be allowed to begin campaigning for the elections. During the campaign **candidates** *(pl. masculine form)* will be able to introduce themselves, their election programs, their anticipations, their ideas and future plans to the voters. **Candidates** *(pl. masculine form)* should begin their election campaigns after the publication of the final list of **the nominees** *(pl. masculine form).*

These campaigns are of great importance to both **candidates** *(pl. masculine form)* and **voters** *(pl. masculine form)* because they offer a chance to **the voters** *(pl. masculine gender)* to decide which **candidate** *(sing. masculine form)* is more suitable for the municipal council's membership than the others. On the other hand it also provides a chance for **the candidate** (*sing. masculine form*) to send a message to **the voters** *(pl. masculine form)* to explain to them why he is more eligible that the others in representing them.

d- Balloting

The axis of any election operation is the balloting because all the previous stages are only preparations for this stage. In the balloting day **voters** *(pl. masculine form)* would be able to select the persons they think are the most suitable for the membership of their municipality

council. This is of course done according to procedures and in the electoral constituencies where they were registered. Balloting shall be manual by balloting cards. This is the best system and the one mostly used in elections because it guarantees a safer and fairer election because it is also easier for **voters** *(pl. masculine form).* Balloting card system could also be easily monitored by observers and it could be recounted if that became necessary.

e- Vote counting

This is an organized procedure that enables officials to know who won the elections; this procedure is done at the end of voting. Here vote are of course counted carefully in the same election center by the election and counting committees.

f- Declaration of results

At the end of the counting of **the votes** *(pl. masculine form),* **the candidate** *(sing. masculine form)* with the most votes is then declared the winner of the election. Hence the elections are over and what remain will be the results of the objection if there are any and of course the procedure of naming **the members** *(pl. masculine form)* of the municipal council.

Publishing Date 5/31/2006

Appendix 12: Caricature
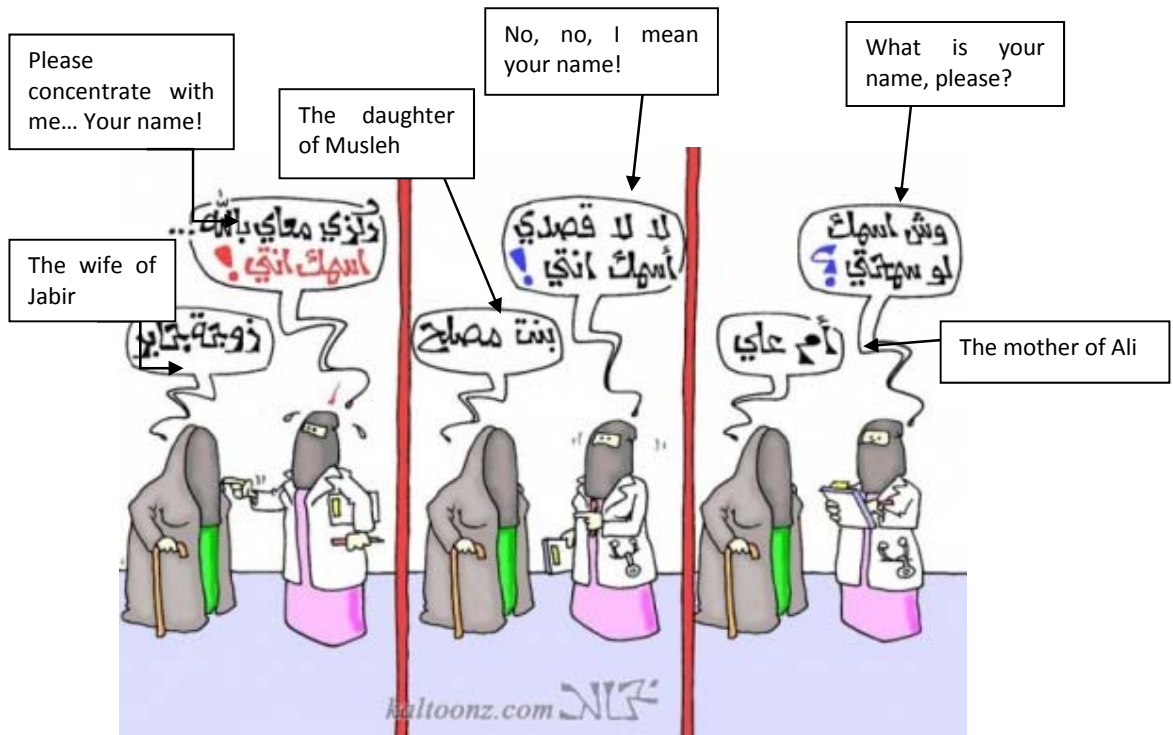
Appendix 13: Reading Conventions for Transcribed Arabic Forms[41]

I- Consonants:

/b/	A voiced bilabial plosive, e.g., /bayt/ (a house)
/t/	A voiceless denti-alveolar plosive, non-emphatic, e.g., /ti:n/ (fig)
/T/	A voiceless denti-alveolar plosive, emphatic, e.g., /Ta:lib/ (a male student)
/d/	A voiced denti-alveolar plosive, non-emphatic, e.g., /dars/ (a lesson)
/D/	A voiced denti-alveolar plosive, emphatic, e.g., /Dacf/ (weakness)
/k/	A voiceless velar plosive, e.g., /kalimah/ (a word)
/q/	A voiced uvular plosive, e.g., /qali:l/ (a little)
/?/	A voiceless laryngeal plosive, e.g., /?alam/ (pain)
/f/	A voiceless labio-dental fricative, e.g., /faqr/ (poverty)
/Ɵ/	A voiceless dental fricative, e.g., / Ɵawb/ (a dress)
/ð/	A voiced dental fricative, non-emphatic, e.g., /ðahaba/ (went)
/ð/	A voiced dental fricative, emphatic, e.g., /ðill/ (a shadow)
/s/	A voiceless alveolar fricative, non-emphatic, e.g., /sala:m/ (peace)
/S/	A voiceless alveolar fricative, emphatic, e.g., /Su:rah/ (a picture)
/z/	A voiced alveolar fricative, e.g., /zayt/ (oil)
/š/	A voiceless palatal fricative, e.g., /?a- š š ams/ (the sun)
/j/	A voiced palatal fricative, e.g., /jabal/ (a mountain)
/J/	A voiced alveopalatal affricate, as in the Qur'an /?alJannah/ (the Garden)
/x/	A voiceless uvular fricative, e.g., /xalf/ (behind)
/G/	A voiced uvular fricative, e.g., /Ga:Dib/
/H/	A voiceless pharyngeal fricative , e.g., /Hall/ (a solution)
/c/	A voiced pharyngeal fricative, e.g., /cayn/ (an eye)
/h/	A voiceless glottal fricative, e.g., /ha: ða:/ (this)
/r/	A voiced alveolar apical thrill, e.g., /rajul/ (a man)

---

[41] Asad, M., 2003. The message of the Qur'an: Translated and explained. England: The Book Foundation, page i and ii.

/l/	A voiced alveolar lateral, e.g., /laylah/ (a night)
/m/	A voiced bilabial nasal, e.g., /miqcad/ (a seat)
/n/	A voiced alveolar nasal, e.g., /naSr/ (victory)
/w/	A voiced labial semi-vowel, e.g., /wa:lid/ (a parent)
/y/	A voiced palatal semi-vowel, e.g., /yawm/ (a day)

II- Vowels:

/i/	Half-closed front spread vowel, close when long or final, e.g., /kita:b/ (a book)
/a/	Front open vowel, short and long, e.g., /katabab/ (he wrote/
/u/	Half-closed back to central rounded vowel, closed rounded when long or final, e.g., /rubc/ (a quarter)

III- Diphthongs:

/ay/	A short front open vowel followed by a palatal semi-vowel, e.g., /?ayna/ (where)
/aw/	A short front open vowel followed by a labial semi-vowel, e.g., /nawc/ (a kind)

Notes:

1. Geminated consonants are indicated by doubling the consonant letter.
2. /:/ indicates a long vowel.

Appendix 14: Focus Group 1 (English version)

Participants: DA, MB, BG, NA, FG
Age: 25-35
Occupation: educational institution (university)
Marital Status: Married

Moderator: To what extent does the caricature reflect women's status in the society? (Participants were provided with a copy of the caricature)

MB: It reflects the importance of the presence of men in women's life in our society. Not only men who feel embarrassed of mentioning women's name in public, but also women especially the old ones get used not to mention their names in public. They would rather address themselves by using kinship titles because they feel that it is not appropriate to use their personal names. However, among the younger educated and open-minded generations, their general view towards this phenomenon has started to change in a positive way.

NA: When talking about the society in general, the existence of this phenomenon is well-rooted to the extent that if a man mentioned his wife's name in public, it is considered unusual.

BG: It has become unusual to mention women's name in public because it is against the customs and tradition of Saudi society.

MB: When I had obtained my master's degree, my husband made an announcement in the newspaper by stating my full name first, followed by the kinship title as (the wife of his name). Imagine that his colleagues at work instead of congratulating him, they started to pick on him because they knew his wife's name.

BG: This means even if the man is open minded, the society would impose such restrictions on him in order to follow the social norms known by the Saudi society.

DA: My male cousins are still in the elementary school which is considered a young generation; however, they and their friends would pick on each other when knowing the name of the mother of any of them which indicates that it is a phenomenon among large segments of the society.

Moderator: What made the society embrace such beliefs although Prophet Mohammad used to refer to his wives by their names without any reservations, and even King Abdulaziz used to be proud of his sister Noura?

BG: It is all about customs and traditions based on misinterpretation of Islamic teaching and by not understanding what lessons can be learnt through interpretation of any religious text as some interpreters bring the text down to their level when they extract meanings that suit their individual perceptions as far as women is concerned.

MB: Yes, it is about customs and traditions, and social practices.

Moderator: **What are the most common alternative terms used when addressing women or referring to them?**

DA: /?um fula:n/ is the most common term used by men and even by women which is a positive one as it implies respect; however, this does not mean that my name should be hidden. I was in a gathering with my neighbors where they started to introduce themselves, each one as /?um fula:n/ using their son's names. Then when I introduced myself as /?um fula:n/ mentioning my daughter's name, they said why not using your son's name as this is the norm in the society. I said no because my daughter is older than my son. Why would I underestimate her?

BG: I don't like using this term /?um fula:n/ as it lacks personalization and they reflect a male dominated society. I like to introduce myself with my personal name and I like to know the other's names. To me all of the kinship terms express the dependency of women on men. Women in general especially when financially independent by having professions, they should be addressed with a title that implies their social status not their husband's.

MB: /?um fula:n/ or /Haram fula:n/ draw a distance between a woman and a man. They are used mainly when dealing with a male stranger for example in the market or workplaces. This distance is important because once this distance is missed, respect will be missed too. However, women can use titles that show their social status or even marital status that imply respect and personalization.

FG: Women in Saudi society are considered as unknown entity, and women themselves should fight such customs and traditions.

NA: Kinship terms in general reflect the importance of men in women's life; however, it is all about the environment in which people live and how they are brought up. For example, when I travel with my husband, he tells me to wait for him until he finishes checking in, but when I used to travel with my father, he used to teach me how to check in, so I can depend on myself in case I travel alone. Lack of knowledge of travelling procedure, issuing visas, issuing a passport….., makes women totally dependent on men.

BG: When I am with my brother in the market, he does not like any of his friends to see me. This indicates that women are not only invisible in the use of language, but also they are invisible in life.

FG: The problem that even if the woman does not have a son, she would refer to herself as /?um Muhammad/.

NA: When I travel with my husband, he does not mind when I talk with men of foreigner nationalities but when it comes to Saudi men, his attitude would change. He said that is because Saudi men's attitude toward women is influenced by Saudi society.

MB: When I travel with my husband, he allows me to uncover my face, but not in Saudi. He says that it is not related to religion, but to follow the norms of the society, and I understand his point of view.

Moderator: Let's go back to terms of address and reference. How do you perceive them?

DA: I would like to talk about the difference between how we refer to men and women. the use of the word /rijj:al/ (man) in the colloquial Arabic which is derived from /rajul/ (man) has maintained the positive attributes of a man (power, physical strength, dominance) with the use of the stress on the letter /j/. On the other hand, the use of word /mara/ in the colloquial Arabic which is derived from the word /ʔimraʔah/ (woman) has developed a negative connotation with the reduction of the letters; meaning the reduction of letters has led to devalue from women's status. The use of word /Hurma/ is very offensive especially when it is used with a high intonation.

MB: The word /niswan/ is a mockery word because this word is usually used as /Haki niswa:n/ (women's words) to imply lack of commitment.

FG: /Hurma/ is not acceptable to me even if it is used to make fun of it.

DA: /alahil/ does not imply negative meanings, but I don't accept it as it lacks

personalization.

NA, DA and FG agreed that /alahil/ and /ʔaljamaca/ are not acceptable although they reflect some respect to women.

MB: /bint/ and /ʔalciyal/ imply childishness, a women that has no brain and not stable. I don't accept them because they devalue from women's status.

Moderator: Why are female schools named by using numbers rather than using female historical and Islamic figures, as in males' schools?

DA: female names are not only invisibly in naming public schools, but also in history as I don't remember that I have studied anything about the role of women in history.

NA: My father's major is in education and he conducted a workshop for male schools' head teachers 6 years ago. They expressed their dissatisfaction with females' curriculum as it is written on the books the name of the female author of the book. They thought females' names should not be written on students' books even if they were for females.

FG: I think this is related to the general presidency for girl's education when they used to administer girls' education.

Moderator: Do you think the society's awareness has been raised with the increasing number of educated women?

BG: Yes, women have become stronger than before. Their names and even photos are now published in newspapers. Women also appear on TV to express their opinions about various issues and to talk about their achievements. I mean her voice has started to be heard and recognized by people who believe in women's rights.

DA: Women started to aim at working in senior positions and in occupations with high status. She started to impose her opinions in her society through expressing herself especially in newspapers and on internet forums.

MB: Financial independence empowers women in one way or another. In the past women could not live on their own because they could not support themselves especially financially, but still women need men due to the guardianship concept adopted in Saudi Arabia.

NA: However, this depends on women's circumstances. Women from open minded families, which constitute a limited segment of the society, could impose themselves in the society, but when we talk about large segments of the society, it is a different issue. For example, I have students in my class who cannot do their homework because their fathers would not permit internet connections in the house.

Moderator: Is the generic use of the masculine form applied to both men and women equally? (Participants were provided with a copy of the related articles in the labour law)

DA: No because working conditions for women are different from those for men. It is vague and not clear. There should be a way to make it more precise because it affects women's rights in a society where women's rights and men's rights are not equal.

FG: Some of the general terms could be interpreted differently, for example, non-segregated work places can be risky.

Moderator: Do you think females should be admitted to new areas of study like Marine Science Petroleum?

DA: I strongly agree with offering new areas of study for females. However, women can participate in planning in fields that do not suit her physical nature. New fields should be offered and we leave the choice to females.

MB: Females have different preferences as males have different preferences. It is not fair to restrict women to limited fields of study. But new fields of study should suit women's physical nature.

BG: Women have not found in political positions for a long time because political science as a field of study is not available for them. Other fields of study that need physical efforts, I do not think Saudi women are ready for them.

FG: I agree that women's engagement in some of the fields should be in planning only.

Moderator: **What are the obstacles affecting women's full participation in the economic development of society?**

NA: Customs and traditions in addition to limited job opportunities available to women. Even if women found for themselves private business opportunities, they would be faced with rejection from men whom she should deal with.

BG: Women who work in business should have strong personalities to impose themselves in their career. However, sometimes society's resistance may lead to close down some opportunities for women, for example, when the labour law started to train females to be cashiers and receptionists.

DA: Only a very limited segment of the society has benefited from the changes that have been taken place. Women who found the support from their families, they had the chance to pursuit their careers.

FG: Sometimes men are considered obstacles if they do not support women.

Moderator: **Are municipal councils' resolutions clear in terms of women's participation in voting and nomination?**

DA: Women's inclusion in the resolutions is not clear which resulted in the exclusion of women in the first round to marginalize the role of women in the society. It is considered as an obstruction to the capabilities of half of the society. The municipal councils were established to solve the problems of the society, and that includes men and women. Women also have issues that have to be solved.

NA: May be because it is a new experience and should be applied first on men.

BG: Because women are not decision makers in Saudi society in any field. For example, women were for a long time in the (shura council) as consultants. They attend but they are not decision makers may be now when they became full members, they might make a difference.

DA: If a limited number of women participated, the number would increase gradually because municipal councils are responsible to solve problems of both men and women.

MB: Women should ask for her rights.

FG: Women's acceptance of this opportunity reflects their intelligence because it is only a first step for more demands.

Moderator: **Why job titles with high status are used generically?**

BG: They refer to men and women because job titles are used to refer to the position and not to the person.

DA: May be because the number of women is very limited in these positions, and no one has asked for the linguistic change.

Moderator: Do you accept the use of the masculine form in job titles of traditional positions like teacher of Arabic language?

BG: Of course, not.

NA: I do not accept it.

DA: Not acceptable of course.

MB: Personally, I like the feminine form to be used.

BG: Probably, because women's participation in high position is recent.

NA: I don't see linguistics sexism in the positions in the academic circles as educational institutions are segregated and using the masculine gender generically would not cause cognitive confusion. The generic use of the masculine form is used in other languages too.

DA: The generic use of the masculine form is not acceptable in foreign languages in addition to the fact that in Qur'an, there is the use of the feminine form and the masculine form. I think these titles should be feminized when referring to women to raise the awareness of the society of the presence of women in these positions.

NA: I don't think changing the language would change the attitude. Changing the language should be accompanied by raising awareness of the role of women in Islamic history and the role that women can play in the development of Saudi economy.

DA: Women have a role in the change because they are responsible for raising up the kids.

NA: Boys and girls in my family were raised equally; even boys are responsible for making their beds and preparing their sandwiches; however, once my grandmother saw my brother making his sandwich, she was annoyed from us (the girls) because she thinks that this is a female duty. So yes women have an important role in raising her kids equally without showing preference to the boys. And the concept of cooperation between men and women are not acceptable in Saudi society, specifically among old and uneducated people.

Moderator: In terms of equality, do you think women should participate in the expenses of the house?

DA: In Islam, men are responsible for financial obligations of the family, so why would I give up my rights!

NA: I can help in the extra expenses of the house, but not the essentials.

BG: With the increase in the life expenses, women can help in the extra expenses because this will improve the social status of the family.

FG: The man is responsible for providing the basic essentials for the family as part of his guardianship. Men should not depend on their wives on the basic expenses of the house.

Moderator: To sum up, do you think women should be addressed by her first name?

All participants agreed.

Moderator: Do you think women should be referred to explicitly in the labour law?

NA: There should be a separate section for women in the labour law to preserve women's rights.

BG: Labour law and any resolution related to Saudi citizens should address men and women equally so they would know their rights and obligations.

MB: I agree.

FG: I agree.

DA: I strongly agree.

Moderator: Do you think job titles should be feminized?

NA: Yes, if the language absorbs feminization.

BG: Yes, because this would increase women's visibility in the mind of the speaker and the listener.

MG: Yes, because this reflects society's acceptance of women in these professions.

FG: Yes, because it is women's right.

DA: Yes, I support the change because it is in favour of women.

Appendix 15: Focus Group 1 (Arabic version)

المشاركات: د أ، م ب، ب ق، ن أ، ف ق

الفئة العمرية: 25- 35

المهنة: قطاع التعليم

الحالة الاجتماعية: متزوجات

المحاورة: الى أي مدى يعبر الكاريكاتير عن وضع المرأة في المجتمع السعودي؟ (تم تزويد المشاركات بنسخة من الكاريكاتير)

م ب: يعبر عن أهمية الرجل و وجوده في حياة المرأة في مجتمعنا ليس فقط الرجال يخجلوا من ذكر اسم المرأة عند الآخرين و لكن حتى المرأة و خاصة كبار السن تعودوا علي عدم ذكر اسمهم. فهم يفضلون أن يعرفوا عن أنفسهم بأن تقول أنا زوجة فلان أو ابنة فلان. و لكن أعتقد ان النظرة الآن تغيرت و خاصة بين الأجيال الجديدة.

ن أ: عند التحدث عن المجتمع ككل فذكر اسم المرأة محظور اجتماعيا لدرجة انه صار موضوع طبيعي و متقبل من قبل مختلف فئات المجتمع. ذكر اسم المرأة أصبح هو الغريب.

ب ق: صار الغريب هو ان الرجل أصلا يذكر اسم المرأة لأنه هكذا يخالف الأعراف و التقاليد التي تربى عليها.

م ب: عندما ناقشت رسالة الماجستير و نجحت، قام زوجي بنشر تهنئة لي في الجريدة. ذكر اسمي كاملا ثم زوجة المهندس و اسمه طبعا. تخيلوا أن أصحابه و هم في منتصف العمر بدلا من تهنئته، قالوا له أخيرا عرفنا اسم زوجتك.

ب ق: حتى لو الموضوع كان عادي بالنسبة للرجل، فالمجتمع بطريقة أو بأخرى يفرض عليه العادات و التقاليد السائدة في المجتمع.

د أ: لدي تعليق، أبناء عمتي في المدرسة عندما يتعرفوا على اسم صاحبهم مثلا، يبدؤوا يضايقوه و هم يعتبروا من جيل صغير في المرحلة الابتدائية. و هذا يدل على أن هذه الظاهرة منتشرة حتى بين الأجيال الصغيرة.

المحاورة: ما سبب اعتناق مثل هذه المعتقدات بالرغم من أن الرسول عليه الصلاة و السلام كان يذكر أسماء زوجاته دون تحفظات، و حتى الملك عبد العزيز كان يفخر بأنه أخو نورة؟

ب ق: هي عادات و تقاليد مبنية على الفهم الخاطئ لتعاليم الدين و عدم الحرص على الاستفادة من الدروس المستوحاة من أي نص ديني. ما يحدث هو ان بعض المفسرين للنصوص الدينية يقوموا بتفسيرها حسب نظرتهم الشخصية للمرأة و موقفهم منها.

د أ: المجتمع العربي القديم (قريش) كانوا يشيرون للمرأة بمصطلحات مختلفة مثل القوارير، والنعجة. في القرآن جاء لفظ النعجة ليس انتقاصا من شأن المرأة و لكن لأن القرآن يخاطبهم بطريقتهم و يخاطب بالأحرى عقولهم.

المحاورة: ما هي المصطلحات المتعارف عليها في المجتمع السعودي عند الإشارة للمرأة؟

د أ: (أم فلان) من أكثر المصطلحات المتعارف عليها من قبل الرجال و النساء و هو يحمل صفات إيجابية و يعبر عن إظهار الإحترام للمرأة. و لكن هذا لا يعني أن نتجاهل ذكر إسم المرأة و اعتباره من المحرمات. في يوم كنت معزومة عند الجيران و بدؤوا يعرفون عن أنفسهم، كل واحدة على أنها أم فلان نسبة لأسماء أبنائهم الذكور. عندما عرفت عن نفسي استخدمت نفس طريقتهم على أني (أم فلان) و لكني استخدمت اسم ابنتي. عندها انتقدوني و قالوا لماذا لا تعرفي عن نفسك بإستخدام اسم ولدك بناء على ما تعارف عليه المجتمع. فقلت لهم لماذا أفعل ذلك و ابنتي هي الكبرى. لماذا أقلل من شأنها؟

ب ق: لا أفضل أن أنادى بأم فلان لأن ذلك يلغي ذاتي و يعكس المجتمع الذكوري بشدة. أحب أن أعرف عن نفسي بذكر اسمي و أحب أن أعرف أسماء الأخريات. بالنسبة لي تعريف المرأة عن نفسها بإستخدام إسم زوجها أو إسم الرجل بصفة عامة، فإن ذلك يعبر عن إعتماد المرأة على الرجل. في حالة المرأة العاملة، يجب عليها التعريف عن نفسها بإستخدام مسماها الوظيفي و ليس نسبة لزوجها.

م ب: (أم فلان) و (حرم فلان) يبني حاجزا بين المرأة و الرجل و هي مستخدمة عند التعامل مع رجل أجنبي في السوق على سبيل المثال أو في مجال العمل. و هذه المسافة مهمة جدا لأنها تعبر عن الاحترام. و لكن المرأة بإمكانها إستخدام لقب يسبق إسمها لبناء هذا الحاجز.

ف ق: المرأة في المجتمع السعودي تعتبر كائنا مجهولا و لكن المرأة نفسها يجب أن تحارب هذه العادات و التقاليد.

ن أ: إستخدام إسم الرجل لتعريف المرأة عن نفسها يعبر عن أهمية الرجل في حياة المرأة، و لكن طبعا التربية و البيئة التي ينشأ فيها الانسان تؤثر على نظرة الرجل للمرأة. فمثلا عندما كنت أسافر مع والدي كان يحرص على أن أكون معه عند عمل إجراءات السفر كي أتعلم، أما زوجي فهو يقول لي اجلسي حتى أنتهي من إجراءات السفر. و هذا يجعل المرأة معتمدة كليا على الرجل فهي لا تعرف أي شي عن إجراءات السفر أو عمل تأشيرة أو تجديد جوازها. فجميع أمورها بيد الرجل.

ب ق: عندما أكون مع أخي في السوق مثلا يحرص على ألا يراني أحد من أصحابه. و هذا يدل على أن إلغاء المرأة ليس فقط في اللغة و لكن أيضا في الحياة.

ف ق: المشكلة أن المرأة حتى لو لم يكن لديها ولد تسمي نفسها (أم محمد) أو باسم ولد مجهول.

ن أ: عندما أسافر مع زوجي لا يتضايق اذا تحدثت مع رجال من جنسيات أجنبية و لكن موقفه يتغير عندما أتحدث مع رجل سعودي. فعندما سألته لماذا هذا التفكير، قال لأن الرجل السعودي نظرته للمرأة متأثرة بالمجتمع الذي يعيش فيه.

م ب: في السفر يسمح لي زوجي بكشف وجهي أما هنا فلا يسمح. يقول لي الموضوع لا يتعلق بالدين و لكن تقيدا بتقاليد المجتمع و أنا أتفقهم وجهة نظره.

المحاورة: نعود لموضوع المصطلحات المستخدمة للاشارة للمرأة، ما رأيكم فيها؟

د أ: أنا أريد التحدث عن الفرق بين الإشارة للمرأة و الرجل. في اللغة العامية كلمة (رجال) احتفظت بالصفات الإيجابية مثل القوة و الصلابة و ذلك بوضع الشدة على حرف الجيم و كأنه تأكيدا لهذه الصفات الإيجابية. أما كلمة (مره) المشتقة من كلمة (إمرأة) حملت صفات سلبية مع النقص في الحروف و كأن نقص الحروف يعبر عن الإنتقاص من شأن المرأة. أما كلمة (حرمة) فهي غير مقبولة و خاصة بالطريقة التي يقال بها هذا المصطلح.

م ب: كلمة (نسوان) تعني بالنسبة لي كأنها كلمة استهزاء بالمرأة لأن الكلمة مقترنة دائما (بحكي النسوان) أي أنهم لا يتحلون بالإلتزام أي أنه (كلام فاضي).

ف ق: (حرمة) حتى لو بالمزح غير مقبولة بالنسبة لي.

د أ: (الأهل) غير مقبولة لأنها عامة و بصفة الجمع رغم أنها لا تحمل معاني سلبية.

ن أ، د أ، ف ق: اتفقوا علي أن (الأهل) و (الجماعة) غير متقبلة رغم أنها تعبر عن شيئا من الاحترام.

م ب: كلمة (بنت) و كلمة (العيال) لا أتقبلها لأنها تعبر عن بنت عقلها صغير و تصرفاتها غير متزنة و فيها تصغير من شأن المرأة.

المحاورة: لماذا تسمى المدارس الحكومية للبنات بأرقاما و ليس بأسماء نسائية عرفها التاريخ؟

د أ: إسم المرأة ليس مغيبا في تسمية المدارس الحكومية فقط، و لكن حتى في مادة التاريخ في المدرسة لم أذكر أني درست عن أي شخصية نسائية. تذكر المرأة بشكل عابر.

ن أ: والدي تخصصه في التربية و قد قام منذ ست ستوات بإلقاء محاضرة لمدراء المدارس و الذين بدورهم إعترضوا على كتب الطالبات و ذلك لأن إسم المؤلفة مكتوب على الكتاب و هم يفضلون عدم ذكر إسم مؤلفة الكتاب على الكتب.

ف ق: أعتقد أن ذلك له علاقة بالرئاسة العامة عندما كانت تدير المدارس.

المحاورة: هل تعتقدون أن وعي المجتمع بدأ يتغير مع تزايد عدد المتعلمات؟

ب ق: نعم المرأة أصبحت أقوى مما كانت عليه. بدأت تظهر صور المرأة في الجرايد و في التلفزيون لتعبر عن رأيها في مختلف الموضوعات و للتحدث عن إنجازاتها. أعني أن صوت المرأة أصبح يصل للمجتمع.

د أ: أصبحت المرأة تطمح أن تشغل مناصب عليا و أن يكون لها شأنا في المجتمع. و بدأت تفرض رأيها على المجتمع و على بيئتها بشكل خاص و ذلك عن طريق التعبير عن رأيها في الصحف و في المنتديات على الإنترنت.

م ب: الإستقلال المادي يزيد من قوة المرأة بطريقة أو بأخرى. لم يكن المرأة بمقدورها الإستغناء عن الرجل لأنها لم تكن مستقلة ماديا. و لكن ما زالت المرأة تحتاج لرجل لضرورة وجود محرما لها في المجتمع السعودي.

ن أ: في الوقت الحاضر، إنجازات المرأة متعلقة بظروفها. فعندما تجد المرأة الدعم من محيطها، تكون إنجازاتها أكثر و العكس صحيح. بعض الطالبات لدي لا يستطيعوا حل الواجب لعدم توفر إنترنت لديهم و ذلك لأن والدهم لا يسمح بذلك.

المحاورة: هل إستخدام صيغة المذكر في قانون العمل و العمال يعبر عن الرجل و المرأة؟ (تم تزويد المشاركات بأمثلة من قانون العمل و العمال)

د أ: لا أعتقد لأن شروط العمل للمرأة تختلف عن الرجل. فذلك يعتبر غير واضحا. لا بد من إستخدام لغة تعبر عن المرأة حتى لا تتضرر المرأة في مجتمع تختلف فيه حقوق المرأة عن حقوق الرجل.

ف ق: حتى بعض المصطلحات الغير محددة يمكن ن تفسر بأشكال مختلفة لأنه بالنسبة للبعض الاختلاط يعتبر خطرا.

المحاورة: هل تعتقدون أنه لا بد أن تفتح مجالات جديدة للمرأة على سبيل المثال في كلية علوم البحار، البترول و المعادن، الزراعة؟

د أ: أؤيد بشدة و لكن بعض المجالات يمكن للمرأة أن تشارك في التخطيط فقط لأنها لا تتناسب مع طبيعة المرأة. يجب توفير مجالات جديدة للمرأة و لها أن تختار ما يناسبها.

م ب: الأولاد لديهم ميولا مختلفة و البنات كذلك لديهم ميولا مختلفة. ليس من العدل أن نقيد المرأة بمجلات محدودة. و لكن يجب أن نراعي عند فتح مجالات جديدة للمرأة أت تكون مناسبة لطبيعتها.

ب ق: المرأة لم تشارك في المجال السياسي لأن العلوم السياسية كمجال دراسة غير متاح للمرأة. أما المجالات الأخرى التي فيها مشقة فلا أعتقد أن المرأة السعودية مستعدة لذلك.

ف ق: أنا أتفق مع أ في موضوع أنه بعض المجالات يمكن أن تدخلها المرأة من ناحية التخطيط فقط.

المحاورة: ما هي العقبات الي تقف أمام مشاركة المرأة في التنمية الاقتصادية في المجتمع السعودي؟

ن أ: العادات و التقاليد و قلة فرص العمل. حتى لو وجدت للمرأة فرص عمل في مجال الأعمال (كسيدة أعمال) على سبيل
المثال، فتجد صعوبة في تقبل الرجال الذين تتعامل معهم لها.

ب ق: يجب أن تكون المرأة قوية اذا أرادت تحقيق أهدافها لأنها ستواجه العديد من العقبات. عدم تقبل المجتمع لبعض المهن
قد يؤدي إلى إلغاء الفرص كما حصل مع الكاشيرات و موظفات الإستقبال.

د أ: التغيير الذي حصل في المجتمع لم تستفد منه إلا القليلات و بالأخص اللاتي حصلن على الدعم من محيطهم العائلي.

ف ق: الرجل في حد ذاته يعتبر عقبة في طريق المرأة إذا لم يساندها.

المحاورة: لماذا لم تشارك المرأة في المجالس البلدية في دورته الأولى مع أن القرار صدر ليخاطب المواطن؟

د أ: القرار لم يكن صريحا بما يخص المرأة مما نتج عنه إستبعاد المرأة في الدورة الأولى فلم يكن لها الحق في التصويت
أو الترشيح للعضوية، و في ذلك تعطيل لنصف إمكانيات المجتمع. المجالس البلدية مسئولة عن حل مشاكل المرأة و
الرجل. و كما للرجل بعض المواضيع التي يريد إثارتها، كذلك المرأة لديها موضوعات تريد إثارتها.

ن أ: ربما لأنها تجربة جديدة للمجتمع السعودي، و طبيعي أن تطبق على الرجل أولا لأن ذلك ما تعودنا عليه في المجتمع
السعودي.

ب ق: حتى لو فتحوا المجال للسيدات، لا أتوقع أن المرأة ستشارك لأن المرأة لم تتعود على صناعة و إتخاذ القرار. حتى
في مجلس الشورى تحضر السيدات و لكن رأيهم غير مأخوذ به في الحسبان. يمكن أن لوضع المرأة أن يتغير و
خاصة بعد أن حصلت على العضوية الكاملة في مجلس الشورى.

د أ: حتى لو فئة قليلة شاركت ستزيد هده النسبة مع السنين لأن المجالس البلدية أنشئت لحل مشاكل المجتمع بما فيه من
رجال و نساء.

م ب: يجب على المرأة أن تطالب بكل ما تراه حقا لها.

ف ق: قبول المرأة للفرصة يدل على ذكائها لأنها تعتبر الخطوة الأولى.

المحاورة: لماذا المسميات الوظيفية و خاصة في المراتب العليا تكون بصيغة المذكر؟

ب ق: لأن المسمى للمنصب و ليس للشخص.

د أ: ربما لأن عدد السيدات في هذه الوظائف قليل و لم يتم طلب تغيير المسميات الوظيفية.

المحاورة: و ماذا عن الوظائف التقليدية، هل تقبلين أن تكون بصيغة المذكر (مدرس لغة عربية على سبيل المثال)؟

ب ق: لا طبعا

ن أ: لا أقبل ذلك

د أ: غير مقبول طبعا

م ب: أنا شخصيا أريد أن أكون مديرة/ رئيسة.

ب ق: ربما لأن المرأة لم تشغل هذه المناصب الا في خلال السنوات القليلة الماضية.

ن أ: لا أرى تحيزا لغويا في مسميات الوظائف الأكاديمية لأن المنشئات الأكاديمية مخصصة للبنات فقط و لن يؤدي استخدام صيغة المذكر الى إلتباس الحقائق. حتى في اللغات الاجنبية تستخدم صيغة المذكر في المسميات الوظيفية.

د أ: اللغات الاجنبية تحارب إستخدام صيغة المذكر في المسميات الوظيفية. و في القرآن جاء لفظ المؤمنون و المؤمنات واضح لأن المرأة لها كيان منفصل عن الرجل. يجب تأنيث المسميات الوظيفية لأن ذلك سيغير نظرة المجتمع للمرأة.

ن أ: لا أعتقد أن التغيير اللغوي يؤدي الى تغيير نظرة المجتمع للمرأة. بل يجب أن يصحب التغيير اللغوي نشر الوعي بالدور الذي ستلعبه المرأة في التنمية الاقتصادية في المجتمع و الدور الذي لعبته المرأة عبر التاريخ.

د أ: المرأة مسئولة عن تنشئة الأجيال فيجب عليها أن يكون لها دور فعال في تربية أولادها بطريقة سليمة.

ن أ: أنا نشأت في منزل لا يفرق بين الولد و البنت. و لكن جدتي ذات مرة شاهدت أخي يحضرساندوتشات لنفسه، فاستنكرت الموضوع و قالت ليش ما تساعدوا أخوكم و أنتم خمسة بنات. فالمرأة نعم لها دور كبير فيجب تنشئة البنت و الولد بطريقة متساوية من غير إظهار التفضيل للولد بصفة خاصة. فمبدأ التعاون بين الرجل و المرأة غير مقبول في المجتمع السعودي و خاصة بين الأجيال القديمة و التي لا تتمتع بمستوى عال من التعليم.

المحاورة: من باب المساواة، هل المرأة العاملة مستعدة لمشاركة زوجها في مصاريف المنزل؟

د أ: الإسلام ألزم الرجل بالنفقة فلماذا أتخلى عن حقوقي!

ن أ: ممكن أساعده في المصاريف الإضافية و ليست الأساسية.

ب ق: نعم مع تزايد و غلاء المعيشة يمكن للمرأة مساعدة الرجل في المصاريف الإضافية لأن ذلك سيحسن من وضع الأسرة الإجتماعي.

ف ق: مفهوم القوامة قائم على مبدأ تحمل مسئوليات الأسرة المادية فلابد أن الرجل لا يعتمد على المرأة في المصاريف الأساسية للمنزل.

المحاورة: في النهاية، هل يجب أن يشار للمرأة باسمها؟

جميع المشاركات وافقن.

المحاورة: و ماذا عن نظام العمل و العمال؟ هل يستحسن الإشارة للمرأة بطريقة صريحة؟

ن أ: لا بد أن يكون هناك قسم خاص للمرأة في نظام العمل و العمال حتي يضمن لها حقوقها.

ب ق: يجب أن يشار للمرأة بطريقة و اضحة و ذلك بإستخدام صيغة المؤنث بالإضافة الى صيغة المذكر.

م ب: أوافق

ف ق: أوافق

د أ: نعم أوافق و بشدة.

المحاورة: هل يجب تأنيث المسميات الوظيفية؟

ن أ: نعم طالما اللغة تستوعب التأنيث.

ب ق: نعم لأن ذلك يزيد من ظهور المرأة في ذهن المتحدث و المستمع للغة.

م ب: نعم لأن ذلك يدل على تقبل المجتمع للمرأة في هذه المجالات.

ف ق: نعم لأن ذلك حق للمرأة.

د أ: نعم أؤيد التغيير لأنه في صالح المرأة.

د أ: نعم أؤيد التغيير لأنه في صالح المرأة.