

**The Making of a Good Woman: Analysing  
children's narratives on female gender identity  
and role in pre-school Saudi Arabia.**

**By**

**Mona Shanan Al Zahrani**

**Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the  
Award Doctor of Philosophy in Education and  
Early Childhood**

**Awarded by Oxford Brookes University**

**April - 2019**

## Acknowledgements

I would like to extend my sincerest thanks to my esteemed supervisors, Dr Elise Alexander and Professor Mary Wild for their valued support and encouragement by constantly challenging and guiding me to improve my work; to think critically and analytically to produce a better research. They helped me gain knowledge and a wider, unbiased perspective on female gender identity and role in Saudi Arabia. I am also grateful to Dr Annie Haight for her kindness and for always sharing valuable advice whenever I needed it most. I would also like to express my gratitude to the Human and Social Science Department and School of Education for being proficient, helpful and accommodating by supplying resources when writing this thesis. Most importantly, I wish to thank my government The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia for supporting me academically, financially and for facilitating the whole process of my study until my aspirations were achieved.

Finally, I dedicate this work to my wonderful family, without whom I would not be able to complete this work. My wonderful, supportive husband who sacrificed his time to financially and emotionally support me throughout my studies. My soul and heart I give to my children, Faisal, Raghad, Rayan, Wsam and my little boy Rawad (born during my PhD studies). To my mother for her unwavering and continued support and for her valuable words of wisdom, lots of childcare and prayers for my success. Every day I thank her greatly. I thank God for blessing me with this journey, my mother, my family and my supervisors – each one of them was an important part of this achievement.

## **Abstract**

In this research, I explored young girls' (4 – 6 years) perceptions of female identity and role in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA). Exploring the ways in which their gender identities were interpreted and manifested in narratives and stories to identify and analyse the influences, apparent ideologies and discourses that affect female gender construction in pre-school children in the KSA. The data was gathered through a multi-method approach using observations, story-telling, picture prompt cards, group interviews, drawings and annotations thus giving children 'multiple modes of expression'. My research took place in a particular cultural context and I created a book that relates to the prohibition of females to ride a bicycle in public in the KSA. I analysed the data and interesting results emerged that included aspects such as normative gender roles, children's criteria of permissible and non-permissible behaviour and attitudes. The results of my research and analysis highlighted the fact that female gender is often constructed through fear and restrictions. It also emerged that young girls in the KSA are required to navigate between two worlds to maintain a female gender identity role that is accepted. One world, where they are expected to show all the attributes of femininity and beauty and the other world, where they are required to develop a strong sense of 'self-control' to be 'a good girl' who complies with the societal confinements and restrictions on their female body and mobility. In the KSA, young girls' identity and role as a female are constructed by society through a rigid gender framework controlled through moral heteronomy and male power.

## Glossary

### 1- Transliterations and meanings

Arabic transliteration	English meaning
Aadi	Normal
Abaya	Long black overcoat for females
Ahadith	Prophet Mohammed narrations (PBUH)
Ahil Al Kitab	People of the Papal (Judaism and Christianity)
Allah	God
Ameerat-Quraysh	Princess of the tribe Quraysh
Astagherlah	Forgive me God
Athim	Norm transgressors
Ayb	Taboo
Bint	Girls
Bas	Nothing else
Bedouins	Nomadic
Caliph	a spiritual leader of Islam
Eid	Festival
Fitrah	Innate
Ghatrah	Head-cloth
Habibity	Beloved
Hadar	A branch of tribal classification in the KSA
Hajj	Pilgrims
Haram	Unlawful, Forbidden, Sinful
Harami	Thief
Hijab	Religious covering
Hijra	The name given to the migration of the Prophet from Makkah to Medina

Hurma	Women
Jahiliyyah	Pre- Islamic
Kaslana	Weak
Katatib	Wooden board which is written on with ink.
Lazim	Must
Mattamireen	Pilgrims
Madinah	City in west of the KSA
Mahram	Male relative
Makkah	Holy city in KSA
Mufti	Grand
Nikab	Veil
Rajjal	Man
Sayida	Respectable lady
Shaghalla	Maid
Shahawa	Temptation (woman of beauty); Craving
Sharaf	Dignity
Sharia	Islamic law
Sianat Al-Fitra and Al Tafal	The innate nature of the child
Surah/ Surat	Chapter
Surat an-Nisa	Chapter of Women
Surat Al-Talaaq	Chapter of divorce
Sunnah	Recording of the teachings and sayings of the prophet Muhammad (PBUH)
Tafshan	Bored
Tarha	Headscarf
Thoub	Male garment
Uhud	Name of the great battle
Ulama	Religious scholars

Umma	Muslim community
Umraa	Pilgrims
Wallad	Boys
Wasakh	Dirty
Ya'emri	My eyes
Zakaat	Charity
Zawaj	Weddings

## 2- Acronyms

AH	After Hijra - Islamic calendar
DfE	Department for Education (UK)
KASP	King Abdullah Scholarship Programme
KSA	Kingdom of Saudi Arabia
MoE	Ministry of Education, Saudi Arabia
PBUH	Peace by Upon Him
RA(Radhiaallahu'anhu)	Allah is pleased with him/her
ToM	Theory of Mind
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNCRC	The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the child
UNICEF	The United Nations international children's Emergency Fund
WLS	West London School
CAQDAS	Computer assisted qualitative data analysis software
"(3913) Acquisition of knowledge"	Number prior ahadith represents the allocated sequence found in ahadith books.

**3- Honorific Entrants**

Aisha bint Abu Baker	Prophets Muhammad 's wife
Ali Bin Abu Taleb (RA)	The cousin and the son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and the first male to accept Islam.
Al-Shifa bint Abdullah	The first female market controller in Medina
Khadija Al-Kubra	Khadija 'the Greatest'
Khadija Bint Khuwaylid	Prophet Muhammad's first wife
King Salman	The King of Saudi Arabia and reported to be the 25th son of the King Abdulaziz (Founder of Saudi Arabia)
Samra' bint Nuhayk	The first female market controller in Makkah
Umar Ibn Khatab	He was a senior companion of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and was the second caliph of the Rashidun Caliphate.
Muhammad (PBUH)	The prophet of Islam
Nusaybah bint Ka'b (Umm' Ammarah)	She was one of companions of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)

# Table of Contents

Acknowledgements .....	I
Abstract .....	II
Glossary.....	III
1-Transliterations and meanings.....	III
2- Acronyms .....	V
3- Honorific Entrants .....	VI
Table of Contents.....	VII
List of Figures .....	X
List of Tables .....	XI
Chapter One: Introduction.....	1
1.1 Definitions of Terms.....	3
1.2 Exploring Gender in the KSA .....	4
1.3 Researcher Background.....	6
1.4 Background of Research and Gender Identity.....	6
1.5 Content and Structure of the Thesis .....	9
Chapter Two: Saudi Arabian Context.....	11
2.1 The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia .....	11
2.1.1 Location and boundaries.....	11
2.1.2 Religion .....	12
2.1.3 History and economics .....	13
2.1.4 Culture and customs .....	14
2.2 Education in the Kingdom.....	15
2.2.1 Females and education in Saudi Arabia .....	16
2.2.2 Stages of education.....	19
2.2.3 King Abdullah and women’s education .....	20
2.2.4 Pre-school education in Saudi Arabia .....	23
2.2.5 Ministries associated with pre-school education.....	27
2.3 Chapter Summary .....	29
Chapter Three: Exploring Theoretical Concepts Associated with the Development of Gender Identity and Role in Early Childhood.....	32
3.1 Defining Gender .....	33
3.2 The Beginnings of Gender Identity .....	35
3.3 Gender Identity and Theories .....	36
3.3.1 Sex-role (socialisation) theory.....	37
3.3.2 Bronfenbrenner’s ecological systems theory.....	38
3.3.3 Post-structuralist theory.....	41
3.4 Gender Construction in Childhood.....	45
3.4.1 The beginnings of cognitive perception of gender .....	46
3.4.2 Gender knowledge in early childhood.....	48



3.4.3 Gender divisions in society .....	50
3.4.4 Social learning theory .....	53
3.5 Child Development in Society.....	58
3.5.1 Children’s moral development .....	59
3.5.2 Social expectations – Power dynamics.....	63
3.5.3 Cultural influences on gender.....	65
3.5.4 School influences.....	67
3.5.5 Peer influences.....	71
3.5.6 Familial influences on gender development.....	74
3.5.7 Media influences .....	76
3.5.8 Narratives, storytelling and influences on gender .....	78
3.6 Chapter Summary .....	80
Chapter Four: Culture and Childhood in the KSA: Religion and Socialisation .....	84
4.1 The Power of Religion in Society .....	85
4.1.1 Islamic religious identity in Muslim life .....	88
4.1.2 Individual ideologies, religious leaders and religious identity.....	90
4.1.3 The influence of religiosity on female gender identity .....	93
4.1.4 Religious education in schools and identity formation .....	101
4.2 The Socialisation of the Child in KSA Society.....	102
4.2.1 Socialisation and citizenship .....	103
4.2.1.1 The power of tribal traditions.....	104
4.2.2 Girls and the role of parents .....	105
4.2.3 Girls and classroom culture.....	107
4.2.4 Girls in Saudi Arabian culture and society.....	109
4.2.5 Male and female language patterns in Saudi Arabia .....	114
4.2.6 Female roles in Islam.....	115
4.3 Chapter Summary .....	117
Chapter Five: Methodology.....	119
5.1 Selecting a Paradigm .....	122
5.1.1 Theoretical approach: Sex-role theory .....	124
5.1.2 Theoretical approach – Bronfenbrenner’s ecological systems theory.....	126
5.1.3 Theoretical approach – Post-structuralist theory .....	127
5.1.4 Female Status – The researcher’s perspective.....	133
5.1.6 Ethical considerations.....	135
5.2 Designing a Framework to Address the Paradigm .....	140
5.2.1 Feasibility study.....	141
5.2.2 Data collection methods for the main study .....	143
5.2.3 Participants .....	146
5.2.4 Storytelling .....	148
5.2.5 Drawing .....	151
5.2.6 Role-play .....	151
5.2.7 Prompt cards.....	152
5.2.8 Observations .....	153
5.2.9 Reflection .....	154

5.2.10 Reflexivity .....	155
5.2.11 Validity of data .....	156
5.2.12 Challenges associated with data collection .....	159
Chapter Six: Data Analysis and Discussion.....	161
6.1 Analysing the Data .....	162
6.2 Emergent Themes .....	165
6.3 Coding .....	166
6.4 Normative Gender Roles – Assumed Weaknesses and Strengths According to Gender .....	169
6.4.1 Gender roles in the public domain.....	172
6.4.2 Gender roles in the domestic domain .....	174
6.4.3 Hierarchy in female gender identity and role .....	182
6.4.4 Gender roles beyond the normative.....	185
6.5 Children's Criteria of Permissible and non-Permissible Activities According to Gender Identity and Role .....	190
6.5.1 Dress and colour according to gender .....	191
6.5.2 Acceptability of play according to gender.....	195
6.5.3 Acceptability of mobility according to gender .....	200
6.5.4 Gender segregation and polarisation .....	206
6.5.5 Criteria beyond the normative and the consequences .....	214
6.6 Behaviour and Attitudes - Gender Roles Constructed and Restricted .....	220
6.6.1 Behaviour reinforcement through reward .....	222
6.6.2 Behaviour restriction through punishment .....	222
6.6.3 Maintaining female chastity through fear.....	228
6.6.4 Maintaining femininity through biological difference .....	230
6.6.5 Behaviour and attitudes beyond the norm .....	232
6.7 Extended Focus Analysis of Data Involving Twin Sisters .....	234
6.8 Chapter Summary .....	237
Chapter Seven: Conclusion and Implications for Further Research .....	242
7.1 Major Themes for Young Girls in the Study.....	250
7.1.1 Can young girls in the KSA successfully navigate two worlds to maintain female gender identity? .....	250
7.1.1.1 ‘Two Worlds’ Model.....	252
7.1.2 ‘Young girls in the KSA and the sense of ‘self-control’ and being ‘a good girl’	255
7.1.3 Young girls’ identity and role in the KSA are constructed by society through a moral heteronymic framework.....	260
7.2 My Position as a Saudi Researcher in the Context of Post-structuralist Research..	264
7.3 Impact of the Research on the Researcher .....	266
7.4 Limitations and Possible Future Research .....	269
Bibliography .....	272
Appendices .....	I

## List of Figures

Figure 1: The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (downloaded from Google Images).....	11
Figure 2: Adapted from Bronfenbrenner’s Ecological Systems Theory .....	40
Figure 3: Summary of social learning theory .....	54
Figure 4: Summary of cognitive developmental theory .....	56
Figure 5: Personality traits regarded as stereotypically masculine and feminine (Berk, 2000).....	66
Figure 6: The number of girls in the KSA study who responded within or beyond the norm to prompt card, stories or reflection on Public, Domestic and Hierarchy domains. All girls were between 4 and 6 years old (n = 25) (Al Zahrani, 2017).....	190
Figure 7: Girl’s colouring in – it’s a girl’s hand. (Al Zahrani, 2015).....	192
Figure 8: I like the colour pink (Al Zahrani, 2015) .....	193
Figure 9: Only males can drive (Al Zahrani, 2015) .....	202
Figure 10: Decisions and dilemma (Al Zahrani, 2015).....	203
Figure 11: No bikes for girls, only dolls (Al Zahrani, 2015) .....	210
Figure 12: Girls can play only with girls (Al Zahrani, 2015).....	212
Figure 13: Imagine this is my Mum driving (Al Zahrani, 2015).....	215
Figure 14: The number of girls in the KSA study who responded within or beyond the norm on Dress and colour, Play, Mobility and Segregation factors. All girls were between 4 and 6 years old (n = 25) (Al Zahrani, 2017).....	219
Figure 15: The number of girls in the KSA study who responded within or beyond the norm on reward, punishment, maintaining chastity and maintaining femininity. All girls were between 4 and 6 years old (n = 25) (Al Zahrani, 2017).....	234
Figure 16: The main authorities that influence girls’ gender identity (Al Zahrani, 2016).....	238
Figure 17: The making of a ‘good woman’ (Al Zahrani, 2016).....	245
Figure 18: The KSA gender identity and roles for females (Al Zahrani, 2016) .....	246
Figure 19: Pictorial graph of the female child in the KSA context, adapted from Bronfenbrenner’s ecological systems theory (Al Zahrani, 2017) .....	248
Figure 20: The arenas through which young girls are shifting (Al Zahrani, 2017).....	253

## List of Tables

Table 1: Education provision in KSA .....	28
Table 2: Summary of the data collection methods .....	144
Table 3: Summary of the data-gathering phases in the main study.....	146
Table 4: The coding for each category .....	167
Table 5: The data were then defined in quotes and coded according to the context.....	168
Table 6: Coding of speech quotes for analysis .....	168

## Chapter One: Introduction

*'One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman'*

(Simone de Beauvoir, 2011)

De Beauvoir's (2011) statement supports the notion that developing a gender identity is a process. Femininity – the quality and nature of the female gender – is accomplished and refined by a long-term active process, shaped by interactions with others in a social context (West and Zimmerman, 1987). This process evokes terms such as 'blossoming' and 'transpiring' as well as images of the 'feminine', relevant to some (but not all) social contexts. In the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA), female children grow up into a specific type of womanhood, having to negotiate and navigate their gender identity in a way that many females in the world will never experience or understand.

The objective of my research is to explore how four- to six- year-old girls perceive female gender identity and roles, with the aim of understanding the influences on female gender construction in the KSA. Gender identity means each individual's subjective sense of their identity and role (Crooks and Baur, 2017). Burke and Tully (1977) studied the relationship between self-concept and behaviour (composed in part of identity and role). They found that individuals plan and execute activities that reinforce, support, and confirm their identities, giving the person agency. They are nevertheless constrained in their choices, because of expectations and the need to be accepted and belong. Others judge our actions as appropriate or inappropriate for the identity we have constructed and these actions are often roles we assume according to our gender (Burke and Reitzes, 1981). According to Duveen (1996), not all identities are identical, and gender identity and role are constructed through social notions of male and female. Female identity and role thus seem to relate to the notion of an 'ideal' female identity and role, which depends upon what a society considers appropriate.

In the KSA, male and female are polarised. There is therefore little room for deviating from or integrating these identities. It is my understanding that this research is the first study of its kind to examine pre-school female gender identity in the KSA.

The first aim of my research is to ascertain the influences on female gender construction in pre-school children in the KSA. This was achieved by listening to children in order to explore their perspectives and views on what influences their gender identity and role. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological system theory was drawn on to explore the influential layers in a child's life that contribute to their 'discursive community'.

The second aim was to explore the source of these perceptions of female gender identity and role and what influences the construction of female gender identity and role in these young females in the KSA. This was achieved by exploring the world of the child based on the influences in her social system. Thereafter, I looked at the processes and influences of wider society on female gender identity and role in light of the criteria for success in the KSA and expected outcomes for a KSA female (see Chapter Four).

The third aim was to identify the ways in which gender identities manifested in the young girls' narratives and stories in the KSA. Storytelling was used to do this: gender roles and attitudes were expressed and then contrasted with KSA cultural norms of female gender role and identity – for this I drew on my personal knowledge. Two of the narratives were from published books; I wrote the other.

These concepts were explored together with societal expectations of young girls in terms of their gender identity and role as females in their own context, as well as the ways in which gender identities were manifested and constructed through ideologies and dominant discourses prevalent in the KSA. The KSA is an Islamic country. Many of its discourses and ideologies stem from interpretations of the Holy Qur'an and the '*Ahadith*' (prophetic

traditions). My research explored whether these ‘traditional’ views of gender were present in the selected pre-school setting and what the main influences were on the construction of female gender identity and role.

## 1.1 Definitions of Terms

**Gender:** Social classification of individuals into masculine and feminine characteristics.

**Gender role:** Gender-related attitudes and behaviours considered appropriate for a specific culture (Crooks and Baur, 2017). In the KSA context, gender and its definition draw on social and religious factors, which are used to construct a model of femininity and gender norms that permeate the country’s social and religious discourse (Le Renard, 2014). The aim is to regulate and delineate boundaries between men and woman. An entire chapter in the Qur’an, Surah An-Nisa (The Women), relates to the protection and obligations of females in any society (see Chapter Four). My definition of gender, as a KSA female, draws on the post-structuralist view that gender is produced and reproduced according to power relations and refers to the socially and religiously constructed differences in identity and role between males and females (Le Renard, 2014).

**Identity:** Identity in all countries is linked to nationality and citizenship. **Gender identity:** A person’s sense of self as female or male. Lloyd and Duveen (1992) suggest that it is necessary to construct an identity and develop our gender identities as we grow. This identity, with the development of our gender role, is important for our social actions. In the KSA, religion and customs are largely intertwined – perhaps more so than in most other countries. How these are interlinked to form Saudi female identity is discussed in Chapter Four.

**Role:** Behaviour learned by a person as appropriate to their *gender* and prevailing cultural norms that maintain traditional *gender roles*. I would define the role of a female in the KSA

as based on religious and social factors, which are in turn used to construct gender roles. Traditionally, a female's primary role is the nurturing mother and housewife (Sabbagh, 1996). In the KSA, power and control are not the primary considerations – morality of society is.

## **1.2 Exploring Gender in the KSA**

Gender issues attract research in most countries. In the KSA, female gender and its cultural setting is concealed through social restrictions and remains largely unexplored, particularly when those issues relate to the construction of female gender identity and role in the early years. One interesting feature of Saudi pre-schools is that boys and girls attend together. This is significant, as it is the only time in children's education in the KSA where gender is mixed. This does not mean that those young children are viewed as genderless. On the contrary, gender construction is occurring during these formative years. In the KSA, cultural and religious perspectives on gender segregation are interconnected with all aspects of society. To understand why it is permissible for gender to be mixed in the early years, we must understand why KSA society feels that it needs to be segregated later. As mentioned above, the moral order of society is foremost in this culture. Young children, under seven years old, are not thought to pose a risk to this, as they are viewed as innocent and without major sin (see Chapter Four). Pre-school settings are therefore ideal for examining the differences associated with gender and how attitudes towards gender develop (see Chapter Two). Whether those attitudes persist into adult life is beyond the scope of this research (although I believe that these attitudes are already in place by the time the children leave pre-school<sup>1</sup>). My research also explores the influences of the pre-school setting, looking at the practice and the environment and how it could shape and

---

<sup>1</sup> As children will have limited cross-gender interaction in the future, these pre-school attitudes will probably not change significantly.



construct female identity in young girls. These young girls were articulate and candid about their perceptions and interpretations of gender in their society. Throughout the study, I refer to the participant children and other matters relating to childhood or children in the feminine, using 'she' and 'her', as the research is, predominantly, about females and all the children who participated were females.

Gender is highly important to most children. In early childhood, it is one of the first social categories of which children become aware (Halim and Lindner, 2013). To think of gender as constructed draws in three main perspectives about the factors that influence gender development: biology, cognition and socialisation. The focus here is on cognitive and socialisation perspectives, which emphasise a child's own role in shaping her gender identity while taking into account the many social processes that a child encounters in daily life. Children as young as two years are beginning to define themselves as girls or boys, and many children have rigid definitions and stereotypes of gender by the age of five years (Martin and Ruble, 2004). The research explores the sources of these definitions and stereotypes and the social structures that define the gender identity and roles of young girls in a distinct social context.

I am a female who grew up and was educated to undergraduate level in the KSA, then educated for a further ten years by postgraduate studies in the United Kingdom. My life experiences provoked in me an interest to understand how very young girls can develop attitudes towards gender in general and how they construct their own individual female gender identity and role as a result. To develop my understanding, I set out to do my doctoral research on this topic. It is important to say that, while I do not identify myself as a feminist, I am on the side of women in that I will support other females and defend their rights. Feminist theory is involved with looking at situations beyond the male perspective,

with an emphasis on women and gender inequality. From this perspective, you could call me a feminist as: according to Freedman (2001:2), although feminism is difficult to define, ‘feminists concern themselves with women’s inferior position in society and with discrimination encountered by women because of their sex’.

### **1.3 Researcher Background**

I am a Saudi female who has been living, working and studying in the United Kingdom for more than ten years. Prior to coming to the UK, I attended primary, secondary and higher education in the KSA. My Bachelor degree was in pre-school education and I subsequently taught at pre-schools for several years. I have also completed a UK Master’s degree in Anthropology and Education, for which I studied Muslim children’s identity and cultural positioning whilst being employed as a part-time teacher in a Saudi Arabian school in the UK: it should be recognised that the KSA is accepting and encouraging of women being educated to post-graduate level. I further discuss my reflexivity and subjectivity in Chapter Five.

### **1.4 Background of Research and Gender Identity**

Discourse surrounds us daily, encouraging us to assume a stance on any given situation. Today, I am optimistic about the status of females in the KSA: I recognise that there have been significant changes, with new opportunities for females. There are now women-only manufacturing companies and shopping malls (Doumato, 2010), while the hospitality industry and government commissions increasingly recognise the value of their female graduates and the skills females have and are employing them to meet the female needs of society. Tertiary education in subjects such as engineering and law, previously accessible only to males, are now available to females and there is great hope that employment in these fields will be available to females in the future (Doumato, 2010). Alsuwaida (2016)

discusses the employment status and opportunities for females in the KSA and suggests that these are still very limited. Living in a society with major gender restrictions can have a serious impact on education and employment for all, not only for females. Baki (2004) argues that this is very much the case in the KSA. I realise there is far to go in changing the KSA social ideals of gender identity and the social expectations of the female gender role. There is currently little in KSA culture that can be considered gender-neutral and gender remains a dominant factor in the everyday lives of KSA citizens.

According to Lemsine (1993:31, cited in AlMunajjed, 1997), we can only understand present-day KSA by 'questioning and probing the problems of its women'. This research has aimed to do this, albeit indirectly, by looking at the woman as a young girl and exploring whether the social and subjective experiences of traditional KSA society are, in fact, the social reality of young children. If one also considers that, legally and socially, women in the KSA never really become fully-fledged adults (Doumato, 2010), the focus here seems even better suited. Even I, a fully-grown woman, married with children, am still considered a 'legal minor' under the care and control of my '*mahram*' (closest male relative). Females are still subject to legal restrictions on their mobility and personal behaviour in the KSA (Doumato, 2010). Paradoxically, as an actual minor (under the age of seven years), I was afforded more liberty and social mobility than as an adult. There have been important developments, allowing for fewer restrictions (see Chapters Four and Seven). The KSA is ruled principally by legislative law, but also by a very strong social culture. According to both, a female must always obey her '*mahram*' and her husband, and this principle is reinforced in the national and religious curricula of education (Doumato, 2010). The KSA culture is male-driven. Men hold positions of authority, both politically and in educational leadership, and lead in the workplace (Doumato, 2010). Women are expected to obey and listen to the authoritative male figures in their lives, such as fathers and husbands (Al-

Rasheed, 2013). In the KSA, girls are considered guests in their homes until marriage, are groomed to be good housekeepers, and are expected to behave appropriately (Bashiruddin, 2007). This may be changing, as women's rights progress (Doumato, 2010). However, up to the present time, the KSA remains male-dominated.

An important question emerging from my research is how the early childhood education arena should respond to the nascent knowledge this study explores? Blaise (2009: 459) asks: 'What kind of gendered and sexual lives do we want for all children right now?' This question is relevant to all cultural contexts. As discussed, gender role and identity are about motivation, acceptance and compliance with cultural norms. This is not only relevant in the KSA: most of us want to fit in, to be accepted and to belong. Is this only about conformity? How many of a woman's apparent attitudes are simply external? Do KSA females have internal approaches to gender, which they feel unable to express? Some may assert that a female's self-efficacy – her own confidence to believe that she can successfully perform a task or behaviour – is compromised or thwarted in the KSA society, as her internal culturally constructed restrainer will only allow her to play roles acceptable in her society. A Saudi female's strength and self-control are still about conforming, at least superficially, to what her society imparts as necessary.

Does this knowledge affect female gender expectations? According to Weiner, Arnot and David (1997: 620), even in the Western world not much has been achieved to challenge these expectations. Others argue that, over recent decades, the definition of femininity has expanded (Ewing Lee and Troop-Gordon, 2011: 200), implying that today's generation of females are encouraged to engage in tasks and behaviours once considered unacceptable for women (Freeman, 2007). Applying this expansion of female role and identity in the KSA is exciting for me but it is accompanied by apprehension about social change and cultural fraction. Culturally and socially, in most locations in the KSA, gender segregation is

practiced, and female identity and role are ensconced in a rigid gender framework.

## 1.5 Content and Structure of the Thesis

Gender development in terms of identity and role has been widely studied in many cultures, but there are few relevant studies on gender and women in the KSA (Ghanim, 2009; 2015; Le Renard, 2014). Recently, Rajab and Wright (2018) highlighted the conundrum many Saudi local kindergartens experience when trying to implement the principles of Western early childhood education in local centres, as many Western principles contradict the fundamental Islamic tenants of KSA culture and society. Most theories supporting my understanding of children in the early years are Western in origin. This was not problematic, however, as the focus of the research is childhood development, gender and how it is constructed in any society.

Following the introduction in **Chapter One**, this thesis includes a chapter on the Saudi context, presenting the history of and religious expectations in the KSA (**Chapter Two**). It also looks briefly at education, focusing on pre-school education and some of the ideologies and theories that underpin and affect the concept of early years and the provision of care. The literature review comprises two chapters. **Chapter Three** explores theoretical concepts associated with the development of gender identity and role in early childhood. It highlights the theoretical and conceptual framework and summarises the main theories related to the research topic. **Chapter Four** discusses culture and childhood in the KSA, exploring religion and socialisation. This discourse is presented in two sections: the power of religion and the socialisation of the child in KSA society. The research was conducted in the KSA. It is important to describe this society, particularly the attitudes towards women and girls that dominate. In the Methodology chapter, **Chapter Five**, I have written about (a) selecting a paradigm and (b) designing studies to address the paradigm and the methods used to gather data, such as observations, stories and group discussions (more details in

chapter Five). In the Data Analysis and Discussion in **Chapter Six**, the following emergent themes from the data were used to explore the perspectives gathered from the young girls:

- Normative gender roles – assumed weaknesses and strengths according to gender
- Children's criteria for permissible and non-permissible activities according to gender identity and role
- Behaviour and attitudes – gender roles constructed and restricted

To delve more deeply into these themes, sub-categories were established, to organize the data into sections that could be analysed while drawing on the literature as a guide. In each of these sections, I present the evidence gathered and discuss its relevance to the research questions. I also note the limitations and suggest further work that could be undertaken. Additionally, I included an extended analysis of the data collected in my study by focusing on twin sisters, allowing me better to understand what influences children's gender identity and role, even when they share a common environment. Finally, the Conclusion in **Chapter Seven** presents the importance of what I have learnt and recognised about the situation for females in my country, its education system and myself. This chapter also presents the three theoretical themes and practical positionings for young girls in the KSA, realised from my study, including the two-world model, according to which young girls in the KSA are living in complex social paradoxes.

## Chapter Two: Saudi Arabian Context

The focus of my research is gender identity and role in pre-school-aged females in the KSA, which is presently undergoing significant changes in its government, culture and society. Change is often problematic, but I believe the country's rulers are attempting to facilitate this carefully and intelligently. The primary purpose of this chapter is to supply some background: on pre-school education in the country, on Saudi society as a whole and on female gender identity and roles in the KSA. The geographical context of this study is the capital city, Riyadh. While some of the discussion relates to the country in its entirety, much focuses on statistics and information specific to the capital.

### 2.1 The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia



*Figure 1: The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (downloaded from Google Images)*

#### 2.1.1 Location and boundaries

Saudi Arabia, a country in Western Asia, is the largest country in the Arabian Peninsula. It was established in 1932 by King Abdul Aziz Ibn Abdul Rahman Al Saud, whose legacy has been passed down to his sons, the descendants of the Saud household (Alsuwaida,

2016; Bowen, 2008). The founder of the country ensured that the religion of Islam and the culture and customs of the Bedouin and tribes living there were deeply rooted in the new country (House, 2012). The General Authority for Statistics estimate that the gender population for Saudis and non-Saudis in the capital city Riyadh comprises 4,735,009 males and 3,267,091 females. However, the gender population for KSA as whole is 18,233,964 males and 13,5083,44 females, making the total population in the country's approximately 830,000 square miles 31,742,308 (General Authority for Statistics, 2016). Geographically, the KSA constitutes a distinct entity in the region, as it comprises approximately four-fifths of the Arabian Peninsula, bordered on the north by Jordan, Iraq, and Kuwait; on the east by the Gulf, Bahrain, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates; on the south by the Sultanate of Oman and Yemen; and on the west by the Red Sea (Al-Ameel, 2002).

The capital, Riyadh, is the location of government ministries. Its importance in the governmental, financial, business and manufacturing sectors has made it the most densely populated. Riyadh, like many other cities in the KSA, has changed dramatically in recent years. Rapid development has seen modern buildings replace the old infrastructure (Hussain, 2016). The largest sea port is Jeddah; this is not only the base for international shipping to and from the KSA, it also receives millions of '*mattamireen*' (pilgrims) annually on their way to Makkah to make the '*Hajj*' or '*Umraa*' (pilgrimage). Recently, the KSA welcomed 2,352,122 (General Authority for Statistics, 2017) Muslims completing their pilgrimage to Makkah. Situated in the Eastern Province of the Kingdom, and home to the largest oil reserves, is Dhahran, another major KSA city.

### **2.1.2 Religion**

Islam is the official religion of the KSA. Its rise in the region also resulted in the spread of Arabic as the main language (Wynbrandt, 2010:16). Islam originated in Makkah, KSA. 1400 years ago, the Qur'an was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). On his



death, four ‘*caliphs*’ were chosen by his loyal companions. Islam then spread from Arabia to other countries, as they were conquered, with Makkah, Medina, Damascus and Baghdad all becoming centres for the different ‘*caliphate*’ dynasties. In the conquered lands, the populations were not immediately converted; over time, though, most people adopted the Islamic religion (Smart and Denny, 2007). Today, it is the second major religion in the world, with 1.6 billion followers (nearly one quarter of the world’s population) (Pew Research Center, 2017). Arabic, the language of the Holy Qur’an, which is regarded as the word of God for Muslims, is also the ‘official language in Saudi Arabia’ (International Business Publications, 2009). As a Muslim country, Shariah law is the guiding principle for the KSA government. The country contains two holy mosques that hold a high status in Islam: *Al Masjid Al Haraam* (The Holy Mosque) in Makkah and ‘*Al Masjid Al Nabawi*’ The Prophet Muhammad’s (PBUH) Mosque in Al Madinah (Achoui, 2006:437). These mosques are important during the rituals of the ‘*Umraa*’ and especially the ‘*Hajj*’ (pilgrimage), one of the five pillars of Islam.

### **2.1.3 History and economics**

Over the last 100 years, Saudi Arabia has undergone major social transformation. The discovery of oil in the 1930s was the major catalyst for most of the developments and improvements seen in the country today (Doumato, 2010; House, 2012). During a short period of time, oil - and the wealth generated by exploiting its reserves - impacted significantly on the KSA. Oil exploration began in the 1920s (Bowen, 2008:104). By the 1970s, oil revenue had allowed the government to introduce major changes to the Saudi Arabian infrastructure, including improvements to education for both boys and girls (Hamdan, 2005). The economic boom brought initiatives to improve education and allowed students the opportunity to study abroad through scholarships and other substantial sources of funding. This brought about changes in lifestyle and opened new horizons for many

KSA families. These changes significantly affected the whole structure of KSA society (Yamani, 1996:265).

#### **2.1.4 Culture and customs**

The discovery of oil transformed a country previously consisting of a diverse conglomeration of desert tribes into a booming assemblage of modern cities (Champion, 2003). Notwithstanding, Saudi Arabian society remains divided into tribes. The nomadic tribal group is still important to national culture and identity (Maisel, 2015). According to Maisel (2015), tribes in the KSA are reaffirming their position in society and government, causing the government to revise its social contract with its tribal population, which is exerting a greater influence in the public domain. Tribal identity is analogous to social class and can be a factor in someone's success; affiliation with a particular tribe affects one's standing in the social hierarchy (Rahaman, 2017). Tribes are categorised into settled (the '*hadar*') and nomadic (the '*bedouins*'; House, 2012). Status is determined by how closely they are related to the royal family (Stenslie, 2012). Ultimately, the KSA has a unitary culture, which operates under the authority of Islam (Bowen, 2008).

The traditional culture of the country is linked with the nomads through exchanges and symbolic trading. The culture is also based on Islamic values, grounded in 'Shariah law', unsurprising given that the KSA is the birthplace of Islam. Today, owing to the pervasiveness of these tribal and religious principles, the KSA is still considered a 'closed and conserved' society (Maisel and Shoup, 2009:289). For example, Saudi Arabian nationals, and more often the '*Bedouins*' and tribes, have many unwritten laws of hospitality. These state that guests should be treated in the utmost welcoming manner and be provided with the best of what a person may have, whether this is entertainment or food. The traveller is often offered coffee, a meal and a place to rest for the night if needed. Even if the guest were to offer payment, this would be refused. If the guest is poor and the host

is of higher class, the host may even bestow a gift as a gesture of kindness (Dickson, 1949). In public, clothing for women reflects both Islamic and cultural traditions. It is modest, loose and covers the body. In general, it includes an '*abaya*' (loose over-garment), '*tarha*' (headscarf) and '*niqaab*' (veil) (Zuhur, 2011). In female-only settings and in the presence of '*mahram*' (close male relatives), women have no conditions attached to, or restrictions upon their clothing. Men traditionally wear a '*thoub*' (ankle-length garment) and '*ghatrah*' (head-cloth) in public and private. There is no distinct clothing for children. Parents generally prefer girls to wear something loose and long, however, to differentiate them from boys (Zuhur, 2011).

## 2.2 Education in the Kingdom

Education in the KSA is based on the Qur'an, as Islam strongly promotes the acquisition of knowledge. The first verse God revealed to the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) was a command to 'read':

In the name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful  
Proclaim (Read) in the Name of thy Lord and Cherisher Who  
Created, Created man, out of a Leech-like Clot Proclaim  
(Read) And thy Lord is Most Bountiful, He who taught (the use  
of) the Pen – Taught Man that which he knew not. (The Holy  
Qur'an, Surat Al-Alaq, 1984, 96:1-5)

This was addressed not only to the Prophet, but also to all Muslims, and illustrates the importance Islam attaches to education (Naseef, 1999). Nevertheless, the KSA was late in implementing a national education system. Only in the 1930s and 40s was some semblance of schooling provided. In 1954, the KSA mandated elementary schooling for boys; in 1960, the mandate was expanded to include education for girls (Bowen, 2008). Education in the KSA has made great strides since then, with significant improvements for both men and women, in the last fifty years especially (Doumato, 2010). The quality of female education

is not, however, on a par with that provided to men. The rationale for this disparity is that the purpose of female education is principally to develop good women into good wives (Doumato, 2010). Education includes kindergarten, primary, intermediate, secondary (high school) and tertiary (university) levels. At one time, on concluding their first year of secondary school, boys – and only boys – could choose between pursuing scientific or literary studies (Janin and Besheer, 2004). Chapter One discusses some of the changes pending in this area.

In Islam, education in both Islamic and other non-religious fields is considered a crucial aspect of developing one's sense of self. Education in the KSA traditionally involves the use of the '*katatib*' –a wooden board written on with chalk – to learn the Qur'an and its exegesis, and to develop writing skills. Its purpose is to help both men and women expand their religious knowledge, as they would use it to memorise portions of the Qur'an, study the Arabic in which it is written and learn *A'hadith*' (the Prophet's narrations).

The standard of female education has recently been improved to match that for boys, but still falls under Islamic rules: as Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) said, '(3913) *Acquisition of knowledge is binding on all Muslims (both men and women without any discrimination)*' (Al-Albani, 1988:727). Before state-funded girls' schools were opened in the KSA, there were already numerous private schools for more privileged families, offering primary-, middle- and secondary-level education. The curriculum included religious studies, humanities, home economics and the sciences. Today, in public and private schools alike, the two genders study the same curriculum and take the same annual examinations (albeit in separate schools).

### **2.2.1 Females and education in Saudi Arabia**

The Ministries concerning the education of both males and females have traditionally been

separated. This was considered necessary to ensure that women did not diverge from the ultimate educational aims for females: acquiring the tools to become good mothers and wives (Al-ghamdi and Abdul-aljawad, 2010). Beyond that, education was intended to make them ready for careers in teaching and nursing; thought to be the only really appropriate fields in which women might work. In fact, the previous General Minister for girls' education worked under the supervision of religiously conservative scholars. The curriculum differed significantly from that detailed by the Ministry of Education for boys. Female students studied only an Islamic-based curriculum. Only recently have women been able to study subjects other than religion in schools and universities (Sedgwick, 2001). Until 2002, female education was under the authority of the Department of Religious Guidance, heavily influenced by religious conservative scholars. The education of boys was overseen by the Ministry of Education. This was to ensure that female education sufficiently prepared females for their sole purpose in the KSA society: 'to make women good wives and mothers, and to prepare them for 'acceptable' jobs such as teaching and nursing that were believed to suit their nature' (Hamdan, 2005: 44). This approach contrasts with the UK government's EYFS syllabus, which details the responsibility of schools and teachers concerning children's positive attitudes towards others, whether male or female. These directives are underpinned by the Equality Act 2010 and schools (DfE, 2014), which deliver a legal framework to early years' settings and schools to ensure they deliver a non-discriminatory syllabus, protecting the rights of individuals and advancing equality and opportunity for all, regardless of gender. The rights of the child are also expressed in KSA government papers. Currently, coeducation will soon be introduced in all schools, including children from pre-school to Year 2 (MOE, 2018).

In many ways, these changes demonstrate the shift in gender perception and in gender power in the KSA. This could be due to internal pressures on gender equality or at least

gender mobility, or to external pressures or a shift in how people understand gender in the KSA. It could reflect a shift in terms of employment or economic needs. Educational institutions arguably have an agenda. According to Foucault (1980:93), ‘in any society, there are manifold relations of power which permeate, characterise and constitute the social body’. In England, for example, there is centralised leadership of education from the government through structures such as Ofsted, local education authorities and other trusted organisations, such as the National College (Gunter, 2012). The UK National College was established in 2000 with a remit to ‘lead knowledge production and training’ (Gunter, 2012:5), and to implicitly define what constitutes knowledge and functions as expertise in the field of education (Shulman, 2005:54). Schooling is also centralised in the KSA. When the country was established in 1932, education was only available to a privileged few. In recent years however, education for females has made great strides. In 2003, Saudi Arabian female literacy was estimated at 50%; male literacy, 72% (UNDP, 2003). More recent statistics put female literacy at 90.5% of the value for males (UNICEF, 2013), with literacy rates among Saudi Arabian youth (15 to 24 years) reported as 97% for females and 99% for males (UNICEF, 2013).

At the time of writing, the KSA has 27 private and ten public universities, as well as 41 private colleges and institutes (Ministry of Education, 2017<sup>c</sup>). This began in 1930 in the primary sector. In 1945, King Abdulaziz bin Abdelrahman Al Saud initiated a programme to increase the number of schools all over the Kingdom. By 1951, six years later, the country had built 226 schools with 29,887 students (boys). Today, there are 621,272 children in primary education, 271,899 in middle schools and 234,192 in secondary schools, in Riyadh alone (Ministry of Education, 2017<sup>d</sup>). In 1959, King Saud considered women’s education in the KSA, and consulted religious scholars as to whether he should create schools for girls (Alamri, 2011; Alsuwaida, 2016). It was decided that this was

indeed desirable, and the first government-funded girls school was built in 1964. By the end of 1990, girls schools had been built all over the Kingdom (Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia).

### **2.2.2 Stages of education**

In the KSA, education is segregated by sex and has three distinct groupings: education for females, general education for males, and traditional Islamic education (for males only). The sector of general education for males is under the supervision of the Ministry of Education (founded in 1952), with education for girls previously falling under an organisation known as the General Presidency for Girls' Education, but now also included in the Ministry of Education.

The first state primary school for girls was opened in Riyadh in 1960. Prior to this, teaching for most females was informal and the main aim was to teach religion. The main curriculum in these schools consisted of studying the Qur'an, the '*ahadith*' (prophet narrations), the '*Sunna*' (the Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) customary behaviour and opinions on various issues drawn from the '*ahadith*'), and learning how to be a good practising Muslim woman and to perform one's duties. Much of this was taught through 'rote' memorisation of the Qur'an. Girls neither learned to write nor acquired knowledge of subjects such as mathematics and the sciences. Consequently, knowledge of the Qur'an for many women (and also men) represented the highpoint of their education (Hamdan, 2005). As soon as the first public school for girls opened in 1960, however, many young girls were enrolled. The overall increase in enrolment in the KSA between 1960 and 1987 (from 41% to 45%) was primarily the result of the attendance of girls (Ministry of Education, 2015). Unfortunately, although a large number of schools for girls were established, the quality of education in these schools was nowhere near that available to boys, who had a much broader selection of schools with far greater resources.

Females wanted to study and were not deterred. The dropout rate in primary and secondary girls' schools was much lower than that in boys schools (King and Hill, 1997). Today, many women attend and graduate from university, specialising in a wide range of disciplines (Doumato, 2003). This has increased the country's wealth, as there is far less reliance on foreign labour. Good-quality education for women in the KSA, like in other Arab countries, can be seen as the basis for reduced mortality rates (more doctors and nurses are trained), increased female participation in the labour force and general developments in health and nutrition for the population (Roudi-Fahimi and Moghadam, 2003).

There was an early economic boom in the KSA (Al-Rasheed, 2013:2). Some females benefited from this, including by obtaining an education abroad. At this early stage in the country's development, though, 'their voices failed to reach a mass audience'. This situation has changed. According to Al-Rasheed (2013), there are now a multitude of female voices investigating and improving the issue of female status and their roles in the country. Women are challenging inequalities in Saudi society through critical voices and narratives, adding their viewpoints and voices to the national agenda (Al-Rasheed, 2013). This results from changes in education provision and increased opportunities for females offered by the KSA government (AlMunajjed, 2009).

### **2.2.3 King Abdullah and women's education**

During his lifetime, King Abdullah sought social progress and achievements for the KSA, one being the extent to which he empowered women and gave them the opportunity to be educated and pursue a career in the KSA workforce. He did this before and after he became King. There remains some debate as to the full extent of his achievements. Onsmann (2011), is among those who view his achievements positively, 'King Abdullah has a strategy: He's trying to empower women as much as he can'. He ended the restrictive attitude of the KSA



society towards women, and championed change. After his death, Christine Lagarde of the International Monetary Fund praised the King as a strong advocate of women. Among his achievements was the appointment of 30 women to the *Majlis Al-Shura* (council), the research university he built where women study beside men (in co-ed classrooms) and the scholarship programme he established that has sent thousands of students abroad (Holtz, 2015). He has left a great legacy; he did largely live up to his speech in 1999 before he became King, in which he promised to give women the chance to achieve an education, changing their future. During his speech, he stated his political and cultural ideals:

We will not allow any person to undermine the role of Saudi women or marginalize the active role they take for their religion or country... Saudi women have presented their ability to handle responsibilities with great success, whether through their principal duties as mothers or professionals. We look forward to women playing a major role in a way that will promote the interest of the nation on the basis of 'Shariah' (Islamic law). (Saudi Press Agency, 12 September 2003) (Ramady 2010:388)

At the beginning of his reign, he established many rights for women, including the right to vote and to run in municipal elections. Women in the KSA were able to vote as of August 2015. Until recently, the entire *Shura* Council was made up of men (Coleman and Abdelgadir, 2015). This has now changed. With women holding 20% of the seats, they use their position to negotiate and provide perspectives from a female perspective, and to advise the ruling King.

King Abdullah also established many more educational opportunities for women, with the result that there are thousands of female graduates annually. There are now more female Saudi graduates than male. Women represent more than 58% of the total number of Saudi university students (AlMunajjed, 2009). In fact, there have been many changes in Saudi Arabia. The King Abdullah Scholarship Programme is one. This programme sends many

young Saudi Arabian women abroad to study. (United Kingdom: Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2014). Moreover, the King appointed Norah al-Faizas, Saudi Arabia's first female member of the Council of Ministers, as a Deputy Minister representing the interests of women's education (Borger, 2009). The Ministry has stated that 17% of researchers in the KSA are female, a higher number than in Korea (11%) and Germany (12%) (Ministry of Higher Education, 2009). On the international sporting stage, in the 2012 London Olympics, two Saudi women competed in the Games, for the first time in history (Borger, 2009).

During his sovereignty, King Abdullah established and developed many universities (Alsuwaida, 2016). In 2008, he announced the establishment of the Princess Nourah University, which opened in Riyadh in 2010. This is an all-female institution where women gain a tertiary education in a wide range of faculties, whilst learning Islamic principles. It is the world's largest female-only university, accommodating 60,000 female students studying a broad range of subjects, including medicine, pharmacology and management (Princess Nourah, 2016).

King Abdullah was also concerned with higher qualifications, including Masters' and PhD degrees, which led him to establish and fund the King Abdullah Scholarship Programme (KASP) in 2005 (Saudi Cultural Bureau Canada, 2018). This programme provides PhD and Master's students with monthly stipends for them, their spouses and their children, full academic tuition, medical and dental coverage, annual round-trip tickets for the students and their families, and academic supervision. The number of students with the scholarship is increasing. As a result, many Saudi nationals – including women – have returned to the country with excellent qualifications secured abroad and passed their knowledge and skills to others in the KSA. This programme was open to both male and female students, emphasising King Abdullah's aim of allowing women to succeed educationally.

### **2.2.4 Pre-school education in Saudi Arabia**

It is He who created you from dust, then from a sperm-drop, then from a clinging clot; then He brings you out as a child; then [He develops you] that you reach your [time of] maturity, then [further] that you become elders (The Holy Qur'an, Surat Ghafir 1984, 40:67).

This verse is the Ministry's introduction to its philosophy of what pre-school education means to the KSA and the cycle of the life journey of each of its nationals. This verse illustrates the importance of early childhood and the development of the human in stages and exemplifies how pre-school education is considered an investment for the child. Education is valued and provided for its society throughout childhood. Its benefits will continue into adult and elderly life (Ministry of Education, 2017<sup>f</sup>). The main aim of the Ministry of Education in the KSA is to provide an educational pre-school system that meets 'children's developmental needs', physically, cognitively and psychologically to raise them to be 'able persons' in the future (Ministry of Education, 2017<sup>f</sup>). According to Nyland and Alfayez, 2012: 396), the purpose of formal education in the KSA is: 'to prepare children through a righteous upbringing [and for them] to be resilient in the face of life's diverse experiences'. Early childhood in the KSA is recognised as an important period in a child's life, when their personality is constructed and when talents are developed (Abdul-aljawad, 2010). When considering children's rights in early childhood, UNESCO defines 'childhood' as including all children below the age of eight. Children's rights commence at birth and continue throughout infancy, during the pre-school years, as well as during the transition to school (UNESCO, 2010). I have used the framework of this definition when discussing childhood in the context of this study (UNCRC, 2006). The rights of the child were first established in the KSA in 1958 (Abdul-aljawad, 2010). Previously, pre-school education in the KSA was viewed as outside the scope of education (Abdul-aljawad, 2010). This might have been relevant even as recently as 2010. Since 2015, though, the situation for early

childhood has improved and it is now seen as an important stage in a child's education. Those who have not attended pre-school may find it difficult to enrol in primary education, possibly not receiving a place in their school of choice (Ministry of Education, 2015).

Until recently, Saudi Arabians have depended to a large extent on kin and tribal solidarity for their national consolidation and for the education of their children (U.S. Library of Congress, 1992). The Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labour, Marital and Social Affairs want to develop pre-school provision. The pre-school stage of a child's education is currently of considerable interest to educators and decision makers in the KSA, particularly those pursuing research studies at home and abroad. It is now generally accepted that attending pre-school has a positive effect on a child's physical, cognitive and psychological development, possibly increasing their chance of success at later stages of schooling (UNESCO, 2010). This is particularly the case if the pre-school provision includes a stimulating environment that supports learning and offers a safe and healthy place that meets a child's needs and cares for their developmental characteristics. The Saudi Ministry of Education has written that early childcare and education programmes help children achieve their dynamic roles in their family, society and country (Ministry of Education, 2017<sup>b</sup>).

Pre-school provision is now recognised as important, mainly because it is thought to provide an environment conducive to the development of the child in the 'right' way, and with an Islamic ethos (Abdul-aljawad, 2010:121). Proponents for the education of young girls often argue that it is in the interest of Saudi men to have educated wives, who are good role models and mothers who can educate their children in piety and respect for Islamic tradition (Al-Rasheed, 2013). Internationally, the importance of pre-school education has been emphasised and the KSA government has largely accepted this. Early childhood is a period during which children learn who they are, what they can do and create, and who

they might become (UNESCO, 2010). It is a unique time in a person's life and is characterised by key developmental stages in several dimensions: physical, cognitive, social, emotional and behavioural (Rathus, 2006). Children are the 'treasure' of society, the decision makers of the future (Abdul-aljawad, 2010). They need the right environment in which to flourish and the right people to educate and nurture them in such a way as to help them develop in all aspects: physically, psychologically and socially. The KSA government views its policies on education as concerned primarily with the enlightenment of its citizens by developing sophisticated educational systems and regulations that adhere to the rules of Islam. It is a challenge, but one must conclude that the country has made significant advances in education in response to the rapid development of its population, while bearing in mind individual civic demands (Al Shaer, 2007).

In KSA pre-schools, both genders are taught together up to the age of six, at which point they are segregated and taught in different settings (Al-Rasheed, 2010). There are, however, different uniforms for girls and boys, clearly distinguishing the children. The changes in pre-school education mirror the major political and social changes over the past 60 years in the Middle Eastern region, specifically in the KSA. These political and social changes have had a major impact on pre-school education. Many pre-school nurseries in the KSA developed from the women's centres founded in the early 1970s. King Faisal's wife, Princess Iffat, established the first in 1963 in Riyadh. She considered such centres a necessity for working women (Zuhur, 2011).

Pre-school education in the KSA is relatively new. Until recently, it was not part of general education (UNESCO, 2010:11). It was often informal, and day-care centres, nurseries, and pre-school centres are invariably not included in the general education statistics (Gahwaji, 2013). Over the past seven years, pre-school provision in the KSA has become well established. A recent study reported that 67,966 children were provided pre-school

education in Riyadh (Ministry of Education, 2017<sup>b</sup>). Pre-school education is now recognised as part of general education. The Ministry of Education has announced that they have opened 15 new pre-schools and their aim is to open another 51 by 2018 (Ministry of Education, 2017<sup>e</sup>). The private sector remains the major provider of pre-school education. In 1965 (1385 AH<sup>2</sup>), the private sector was granted permission to establish pre-schools in Riyadh, although supervised by the Ministry of Education (2017<sup>a</sup>). The first private pre-school was established in Dammam in 1966 (1386 AH). In 1975 (1395 AH), the number of pre-schools supervised by the Ministry of Education was 92 (Abdul-aljawad, 2010:114). In 2002 (1423 AH), the number of pre-schools had risen to 293, providing care and education for 45,299 children. The structure of the supervision for pre-school education in the KSA is complex. For example, the Ministry of Defence and Aviation oversees eight pre-schools for the children of their employees only. The National Guard also has 12 pre-schools for their employees' children. These are in addition to state and private pre-schools open to wider groups of children. Research shows that pre-school education in the KSA faces many challenges, the most significant of which is to maintain '*Sianat Al-Fitra*' and '*Al Tafal*' – the innate nature of the child (Abdul-aljawad, 2010; Gahwaji, 2013).

Gahwaji (2013) writes that there is a distinct lack of accurate information on the different components of pre-school provision in Saudi Arabia and that, although it has been relatively straightforward to access statistics on educational developments for youth and adult education, it has not been easy to locate statistics on early childhood education and its development in the KSA. This is due at least partially to the fact that establishing pre-schools in Saudi Arabia depends upon decisions made by three different Ministries – the Ministry of Labour, Marital and Social Affairs, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry

---

<sup>1</sup> (AH) Islamic calendar, which marks the '*Hijra*' in 622 CE when the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) moved from Makkah to Madinah.

of Foreign Affairs.

### **2.2.5 Ministries associated with pre-school education**

The Ministry of Labour, Marital and Social Affairs was established in 1960 (1380 AH). The Ministry supervises early years' provision in Saudi Arabia through social interventions involving pre-school children. Part of their remit was to establish seven centres in urban areas and 15 in rural areas. Each centre was to have a social, cultural, health and agricultural unit. The cultural unit provides multiple services to KSA citizens, including strategic plans to establish pre-schools and childcare centres. Additionally, they create literacy classes for adults who lack literacy.

This Ministry also oversees charities related to maternity, childcare and establishing pre-schools. It cooperates with the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs to oversee early years' care and provision for children of Ministry employees. According to 2002 statistics, there are 211 childcare facilities affiliated with the Ministry of Labour, Marital and Social Affairs. There are 1258 classes, 23,488 children in total, and 1785 teachers and administrators are employed. Although the General Presidency for Girl's Education still faces obstacles, the Presidency continues efforts in this area and has undertaken to do so until 1,392 pre-schools are established. Table (1) illustrates the progress and expansion in early years' provision (for both girls and boys) from 1999 to 2009.

The KSA is undergoing rapid urbanisation. There is an increasing demand from the urban population for education, particularly in early years' provision. In addition to facilities, men and women who can work with and supervise children are needed. This is particularly important for early years' education, which requires specific skills and training (Abdul-jawad, 2010:120). According to Abdul-aljawad (2010:118), in the near future, early childhood provision in the KSA will be widespread, even in rural areas. This because many

mothers now need to work in order to increase household income. The number of pre-schools has increased significantly in recent years. In the academic year 1989/1990 (1410/1411 AH), 511 pre-school establishments provided care and education for approximately 69,000 children. In 2001/2002 (1421/1422 AH), this rose to between 1000 and 1057 pre-schools providing pre-school care and education for 94,000 children. In 2003/2004 (1424/1425 AH), 1320 pre-schools offered early years' provision to more than 100,000 children (Abdul-aljawad, 2010:119).

Year (AH)	Number of Pre-schools	Children (boys and girls)	Number of Teachers	Number of Classes	Number of Administrative Staff
1420/1421 1999/2000	991	94148	8940	5158	923
1421/1422 2000/2001	1028	93509	9427	5243	935
1422/1423 2001/2002	1074	92826	9642	5212	995
1423/1424 2002/2003	1244	94290	9185	2377	1012
1424/1425 2003/2004	1320	96073	9744	5704	1074
1425/1426 2004/2005	1449	97137	10150	5556	1325
1426/1427 2005/2006	1512	104999	10655	6061	1523
1427/1428 2006/2007	1376	100714	9249	5654	1374
1428/1429 2007/2008	1472	103127	9960	6569	1631
1429/1430 2008/2009	1392	103145	9818	5727	1799

*Table 1: Education provision in KSA*

Translated from Al-ghamdi, H.A. and Abdul- aljawad, N.M. (2010) تطوّر نظام التعليم في المملكة العربية السعودية [Development of the educational system in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia]. 3rd edn. Riyadh: Alrrushd Press.



Despite improvements to pre-school provision in the KSA in recent years, pre-school education remains a largely separate entity, with early years' education still not appearing as a distinct stage in the educational arena. Comparison of the data from 2012/2013 (1434/1435 AH) with those for 2011/2012 (1433/1434 AH) shows that there has been an 8.6% increase in pre-schools (220), a 24.3% (44,421) increase in children attending, a 13.1% (2,429) increase in class teachers and a 13.1% (1,572) increase in classrooms. The sector is thus increasing in size and importance (Ministry of Education, 2015). The KSA government has formed a higher committee for the provision of childcare and education. Those appointed are responsible for planning and supervising the entire childcare programme. Pre-school education still needs to be extended to all cities, villages and rural areas. Abdul-aljawad (2010) writes that pre-school provision into all areas must be extended as a matter of urgency. Saudi Arabian women are now expected to work in key roles, as teachers, nurses and doctors, for example, to benefit society. Over the past seven years, not only have views on pre-school education changed, so have those on the rights and roles of females. These continue to dominate the debate regarding social progress in the KSA (Hamdan, 2005:42). By co-educating boys and girls so that they might meet their full potential, pre-school education remains an important force for improving Saudi society.

### **2.3 Chapter Summary**

Traditionally, education in the KSA was grounded in the notion that girls were permitted to study a limited number of subjects, based on the 'perceived' capabilities or limitations of their gender. Although this belief persists, perceptions are changing. Opportunities for females have increased and there are fewer limitations. Today, education in the KSA is open to females for all subjects. Females can complete their higher education abroad through scholarships and other sources of funding. This has created changes to daily

lifestyles and improved the prospects of women in the KSA. These changes have affected the structure of KSA society. The government is supporting these students in their bringing new knowledge and change to the country. Since coming into power in June 2017 as the Crown Prince of the KSA, Prince Muhammed bin Salman has become the driving force behind such change: his decreed reforms are achieving unprecedented change in the daily lives of many KSA females (Sly, 2018).

The role of religion in the KSA cannot be over-emphasised. The KSA is a strict Muslim country that adheres to the laws and guidance of the Qur'an, and follows the principles and examples of the Prophet Muhammed (PBUH) on how to live life as a pious Muslim in rigid framework guided by tribal and cultural expectations. KSA society remains divided into tribes, with the nomadic tribal group continuing to play a role in national culture and identity (Maisel, 2015). Islam is the official religion of the KSA. Paradoxically, its role in the region has increased, despite the changes in society. It is relevant to the modern age, guiding KSA citizens as to what is '*halal*' (right) and what is '*haram*' (forbidden). The culture is also based on Islamic morals upheld by 'Shariah law'. The KSA is the custodian of the two holiest sites and cities in Islam – the Kaaba in Makkah and the Prophet's Mosque in Medina. Today, owing to the generality of these tribal roles and religious principles, the KSA is still considered a 'closed and conserved' society (Maisel and Shoup, 2009:289).

To what extent do young KSA girls accept the status quo of the religion and culture? To implement change, one must understand the power structure of the country and which factors influence these children in their attitudes towards gender identity and role. Different methods can be used to do this, based upon different theories of gender development. In the current study, Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems approach was used to define the social influencing layers to which young girls might be exposed daily. I then employed a post-structuralist approach, which allowed me to think critically 'outside the box' about

what I was seeing and hearing. I used multiple methods when interacting with the young girls, so that my perspectives would not depend exclusively on their language skills. The details of these theories and approaches are discussed in the following chapters.

## **Chapter Three: Exploring Theoretical Concepts Associated with the Development of Gender Identity and Role in Early Childhood**

In the early years of children's lives, they are continuously creating a picture of 'who they are' and 'where they fit' in their world (MacNaughton, 2000). This is an extremely complex process, with many influences. Historians and theorists in the field have demonstrated that the notion of childhood not only varies in the social and cultural contexts in which a child operates, but also across the historical moments that shape those settings (Brooker, 2005). The role of gender in the lives of young children has gained much attention, as early gender-related concepts, self-perceptions, preferences and behaviour have the potential to affect choices, aspirations, social groupings and future life-paths (Halim and Lindner, 2013). Gender is very important for young children (Reese *et al.*, 2010). It is an important aspect of 'who I am and where I fit'. It often characterises identity and constitutes a significant feature of peoples' existence, both in the present and the future. Moore (1994) asks whether gender identity might be considered the core of a person's personal identity. This may be questionable or rejected in some societies (Cooke, 2001). In the KSA, however, where all social and private worlds are gender defined and polarised, a person's gender identity is the essence of their personal and social identity.

The focus of my research is early childhood. A number of mainly Western theorists on children's social and cognitive development proved useful. Kohlberg's (1966<sup>a</sup>, 1966<sup>b</sup>, 1969, 1984) cognitive development theory was valuable in building an understanding of the cognitive processes and stages of gender identity formation in children. Erikson's psychosocial theory (1963) provided a framework for the impact of external factors - such as parents and society - on personality development in childhood and the stages of conflict

the child may be experiencing. These theories were instrumental in understanding gender and how it is constructed in childhood. They are, however, somewhat superficial. Other ideas were needed to understand how gender is constructed in society and which factors influencing it most. Three theories were pivotal here: sex-role theory (Hesselbart, 1981), Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (1979) and post-structuralist theory (Davies 1989b; Foucault, 1979<sup>a</sup>). Before exploring these theories and their historical significance and how this shaped my notions of gender identity and role, it is important first to define gender.

### **3.1 Defining Gender**

Historically, gender has been considered a scientific phenomenon (Browne, 2004), encapsulated by the fact that males have XY and females XX chromosomes. Gender is typically identified by the presence or absence of certain biological parts (Crook and Baus, 2017). Some have argued that it is convenient to accept gender as a biologically determined factor (Fine, 2010<sup>a</sup>) rather than to scrutinize the cultural practices that lead to the rules and norms of a society. According to Fine (2010<sup>a</sup>), the construct of gender does not begin and end with having either a 'male' or a 'female' brain. Rather, to mutative minds constantly influenced by cultural assumptions about gender.

Butler (1990) argues that 'gender' is not a noun but a verb – a process through which variant human cultures understand their sense of identity and behave accordingly. This certainly highlights that gender, rather than having only a physical or biological identity, also relates to actions, behaviour and characteristics, creating and strengthening the concept that gender is about identity and role. The term 'gender role' was first coined by John Money in 1955 (cited in Zucker, 2001; Money, 2002). It is widely defined as a set of social norms that dictate the types of behaviour and characteristics generally considered acceptable, appropriate or desirable for a person, based upon their gender (Chafetz, 1990; Stockard,

2006). There are, of course, exceptions, but these tend to relate to divergent notions of masculinity and femininity (Kandiyoti, 1991; Duval, 1998; Cooke, 2001). The specifics of gender norms and expectations of roles and identity vary significantly among cultures. Some biological and behavioural characteristics are common to a range of cultures, though (Segal, 2003). Importantly (and optimistically, as it allows for reparation and redress), these gender differences, whether social or physiological in origin, are not inevitable – they can be changed (Kohlberg, 1966<sup>a</sup>). Duveen (1996) defines identity as the psychological process whereby meanings and experiences are organised, allowing people to position themselves as social actors and locate the individual in their collective world. These influences contribute to the definition of self as well as to gendered experiences and ‘gender identity’: the personal view of oneself and others as either male or female. Gender identity is a dominant feature in a young child’s life (Nutbrown, 2011:61).

For the purposes of my research, gender should be distinguished from the term ‘sex’: the latter refers to the biological differences between males and females; the former is a matter of culture, a social classification of individuals into masculine and feminine characteristics (Oakley, 1993:16). For this study, gender will also be defined as a person’s sense of their self as a female or male (Zucker and Bradley, 1995). This implies that gender identity is also a social identity. Rather than defining gender identity as an inherent characteristic of a person, here, it is considered a multiple, dynamic, socially constructed phenomenon, embedded in a social and cultural context (Ahn 2011; Smith and Sparkes 2008). This definition sees young children’s gender identity as dynamic, influenced by the social community and culture in which they live. The relationship between immediate influences on children (e.g., parents) and society is important. For example, parents may guide their children into certain gender roles and restricted gender identities. This could also be due to social expectations and gender restrictions experienced by parents themselves. In the KSA,

the rigid gender framework places enormous pressure on parents to ensure that a daughter is viewed as a 'good girl' who is on the right track to becoming 'a good woman'. This expectation is explored further in this chapter, using Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory, and using sex-role and post-structuralist theory and in Chapter Seven.

### **3.2 The Beginnings of Gender Identity**

The early years of a child's life are important for identity formation (Ahn 2011; Reese et al., 2010). Many factors are involved in children's learning and, including in developing a gender identity. Gender construction is systematic. It begins at birth and is part of a continuous socialisation process that starts prior to that (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2013). The gendering of a child is shaped and reshaped throughout life and occurs in the mundane, routine occurrences that constitute everyday life (Yelland and Grieshaber, 1998). Social class, ethnicity, religion, age and culture shape a young child's concept of gender (Kustatscher, 2016). It is a dynamic process (Blaise, 2005<sup>a</sup>), comprised of continuous stages of adapting to reality, actively constructing knowledge by creating and maintaining theories of one's environment and culture (Flavell, Flavell and Millar, 1993; Piaget, 1972). This echoes Vygotsky's (1961<sup>a</sup>) cultural and ecological view of cognitive development: he recognised the importance of a child's social and cultural interactions with their environment in helping them learn, develop and understand who they are and how to fit into their world.

According to these views, identity construction is interactional. From birth, many children experience gender polarization: they evaluate their emotions, thinking and responses with reference to their gender. Many parents find out their child's sex during the pregnancy and begin constructing gendered realities about them (Grieshaber, 1998; Zosuls *et al.*, 2011). Do adults alone construct gender? Children also construct their realities according to their gender (Bem, 1989), but not their understanding of gender roles. If we consider that, with

‘differential treatment, boys and girls learn to be different’ (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2013:17), then adults must bear most, if not all, of the responsibility for learned notions of gender. Brewer (2001) gives the example of children in the UK, where girls are commonly dressed in pink and boys in blue. He asks us to explore this observation, which appears trivial but provokes powerfully different responses from adults in how they speak to and handle the child (Brewer, 2001). In the KSA, girls as young as four to five years experience social gender mobility restrictions. For instance, female children as young as four years are not permitted to sit in male designated areas. Their female gender identity and role are constructed through cultural expectations of modest dress and movement: not ‘showing femininity’ and not making suggestive ‘body movements’ (Blaise, 2005<sup>b</sup>) that could be construed as sexual, implicitly or explicitly (Fielder and King, 2004).

### **3.3 Gender Identity and Theories**

In this study, gender development with an emphasis on pre-school female gender identity and role is explored. In this chapter, the prominent discourses and theories on gender identity development are presented. Development of the ‘gendered’ self and gender-typed differentiation has been the focus of research for decades (Martin, Ruble and Szkrybalo, 2002). The complexities of a child’s development are difficult to explain. Many theories should be considered, as ‘*different theories emphasize different aspects of development*’ (Shaffer and Kipp, 2014:XVII). The key theories informing my conceptual understanding here were ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), sex-role theory (Hesselbart, 1981), social learning theory (Bandura, 1977 and Vygotsky, 1978), gender schema theory (Bem, 1981) and cognitive development theory (Kohlberg, 1984 and Piaget, 1932). A multitude of other worthwhile theories are referenced.



### 3.3.1 Sex-role (socialisation) theory

Sex-role theory provides a solid foundation for this study. It is black or white, stereotypical notions of gender, which could be used to explore how different sex roles can create new, and/or perpetuate old, gender traditions in women and men (Hesselbart, 1981; Stockard, 2006). It confirms much of what I was raised to believe is the norm as the socialisation processes attached to this theory are clear in the KSA. The scenarios are consistent with social norms in the KSA, where the society adopts polarised male and female gender roles and identities and adheres to collective stereotypes, according to which males dominate and females nurture and cooperate (Hesselbart, 1981; Stockard, 2006).

Gender schema theory, developed by Bem (1981, 1989), facilitates exploration of traditional gender roles, schemas, polarisation and stereotypes. According to Bem (1989), children need to be taught about 'biological knowledge' to liberate themselves and escape gender stereotypes or 'gender traditionalism'. The statement, 'It is my body, not my behaviour' (Bem, 1989:661) that builds gender identity, contradicts prevailing gender stereotypes in the KSA, where social norms and religious beliefs restrict how an individual's gender (body and behaviour) can meet acceptable norms. In the local communities in towns and cities, social expectations vary more and are possibly less rigid. The influence and authority of the extended family and tribe are, however, far-reaching and powerful, perpetuating gender stereotypes and defining gender identity in the KSA. Gender is viewed in sex role theory as a relatively static attribute: male and female roles complement each other and serve 'the greater purpose of social cohesion' (Stockard, 2006:107). KSA society polarises gender by using terms that not only denote the biological essence of gender males '*rajjal*' (man) and females '*hurma*' (woman) but also determine the behaviour, role, mobility, access, activities and opportunities of a person. Males enjoy fewer restrictions and thus have better outcomes. These gender terms are not merely nouns. They are also verbs and adjectives that connote

the gender character accepted by social norms. For example, '*hurma*' translated into English means: 'sacredness, sanctity, holy and inviolable' (Cowan, 1979). KSA society is deemed successful when 'male-centred culture' dominates, when relationships are built on male dominance and control and females are obedient and submissive (Ghanim 2009:165).

The work of Davies (1989<sup>b</sup>) was particularly useful in studying stereotypes. Davies (1989<sup>b</sup>) argues that defining children according to sex roles is simplistic, and that wider interpretations of gender are needed. This encouraged me to look beyond traditional gender roles and stereotypes in the KSA, exploring what influences gender polarisation and perpetuates gender stereotypes. To this end, it was necessary to examine other relevant theories to strengthen my knowledge both of childhood, gender and its influences.

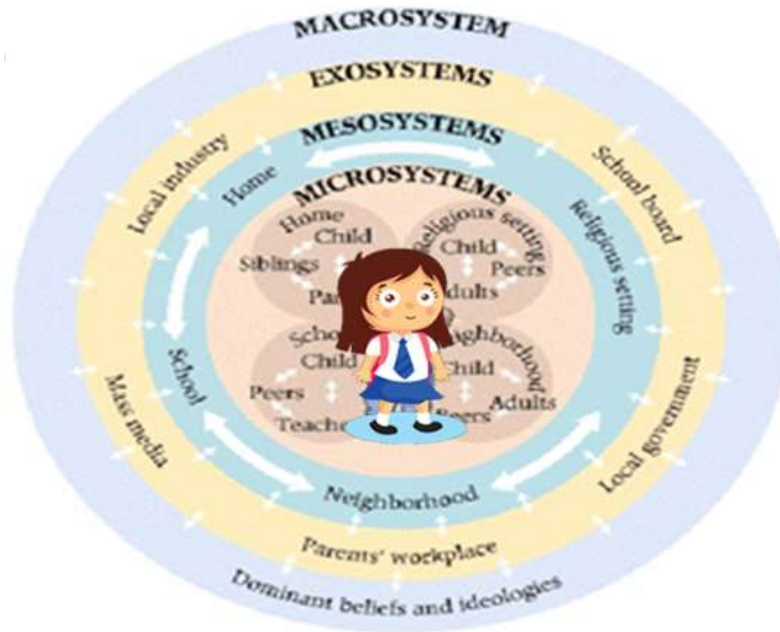
### **3.3.2 Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory**

Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (1979) was paramount in defining the significant layers in the life of the child. It informs my understanding of the influences that impact identity development inherent in each layer. It includes cultural and social context and thus highly suited to the current study. He highlights some of the important influences affecting a child's development, dividing these into sociological layers or concentric circles. The *microsystem* is the closest and most influential layer to the child and includes family, daycare, peers and caregivers. The *mesosystem* consists of the connections and interrelationships among various components of a person's *microsystem*. The *exosystem* refers to contexts in which children may not be active participants but that nevertheless affect them. The *macrosystem* is the cultural, sub-cultural and social class environment in which a child lives and in which all other systems are embedded (Shaffer and Kipp, 2014:535-536). As one moves from the centre outwards, the impact on the child becomes more diffuse (see Figure 2). In earlier work, Bronfenbrenner (1962) identified some of the social factors that may affect a child's moral development, and identified gender, religion

and culture as most important. This, coupled with my knowledge of his later work (1979), helped me identify, explore and analyse the most important influential factors on a child in their direct environment (the microsystem and mesosystem), allowing me to scrutinise influences in KSA society and identify the public and domestic hierarchies related to female identity, which affect the identity and role of these young girls (see Chapter Six, Figure 6). The public domain includes peers, teachers and the media: dominant features that directly influence pre-school KSA girls in their microsystem. The media exerts a powerful effect on the developing child, in the KSA no less than in other countries. I do reference media in this thesis, as it is a consistent feature in many households. However, I have not formally included it in my research, for many reasons. At this point in time, I do not believe it is the overarching reason why gender identity and role is constructed as it is for young girls in the KSA. Furthermore, this would have been beyond the scope of my studies.

In the KSA, there are domestic norms not widely observed in other countries. According to Bronfenbrenner's model (Figure 2), these would alter the view of the KSA child. For example, many households employ a maid who resides full-time in the home and who very often assume the primary care of the children and organises their day-to-day routines. The extended family and neighbourhood society are included in Bronfenbrenner's *exosystem* (see Chapter Three, Figure 4). However, in the KSA, both these influences are much more dominant and are more accurately situated in a child's *microsystem*. Three *exosystem* factors are important in affecting how the child develops, by influencing family processes: parents' workplace, parents' social networks and community influences on family functioning (Bronfenbrenner, 1986:727-728). I had always considered parent's workplace an abstract influence on a child. However, adults, too, are socialised in their environment, affected by stress and economic considerations, which influence their home life. Figure 2 illustrates some of the influences on a child's developing identity, including gender, and shows the

complexities and interrelatedness of concentric factors surrounding a child's life:



*Figure 2: Adapted from Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory*

Bronfenbrenner (1986) defines many influences on young children but considers the relationship between family and school of utmost importance. He cites research by Epstein (1983<sup>a</sup>, 1983<sup>b</sup>), according to which family processes were considerably more powerful in producing change than were classroom procedures. On the other hand, Epstein (1983<sup>a</sup>, 1983<sup>b</sup>) did find that school influences children effectively, particularly when there is communication or participation in the home. Family and school in concert exert the greatest influence (Epstein, 1983<sup>a</sup>, 1983<sup>b</sup>). Bronfenbrenner (1979) proposed that the developing child be viewed as immersed in a complex environment, and that it is impossible to study children separately from their daily environment (Greene, 2003). Further, their development is affected not only by their immediate environment but also by their wider social context (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). This theory does, however, have its limitations. It was developed almost 40 years ago and with reference to a specific society. Religious institutions and communities, for example, are more or less influential in various societies. In the KSA,

religious influences are pronounced and are interwoven within all layers of a child's social structure. Moreover, although media was mentioned, it was not emphasised by Bronfenbrenner. In 2018, though, media pervade most people's lives. In the KSA today, young girls watch television, play computer games and access the Internet via computers, laptops and mobile telephones (albeit mediated by their parents). The impact of this media is important and not well understood (Rideout, 2013).

### **3.3.3 Post-structuralist theory**

While Bronfenbrenner describes the world of the child, post-structuralist theory looks beyond and within, raising questions. What makes us think the way we do? What makes us feel that this is right or this is wrong? Why is this acceptable and that, not? From where do these influencing factors stem? Post-structuralist theory is instrumental to deep exploration and analysis, especially in terms of the society, its structures and needs, and power hierarchies in the KSA. There is a wealth of literature on this theory (Foucault, 1980; Bové, 1990; Davies, 1989<sup>b</sup>; Blaise, 2005<sup>b</sup> and 2012; Mac Naughton, 2005; Jones *et al*, 2010). Foucault (1979<sup>a</sup>; 1980) expands knowledge and broadens understanding, providing a conceptual view of post-structuralism and power in a society. Other authors have influenced this emerging understanding of how individual knowledge is acquired, adopted and practised as well as how systems of knowledge can affect an individual, both historically and culturally. Foucault (1979<sup>a</sup>; 1980) facilitated the understanding of the macro world. MacNaughton (2000, 2005) translated Foucault's theory to early childhood settings, facilitating an understanding of the micro world of the child and allowing a critical look at early years' settings and teachers, in order to challenge the stereotypes often applied to gender in terms of identity and role.

Post-structuralist theorists of gender identity and role have had great influence. Authors such as Davies (1989<sup>b</sup>), Blaise (2005<sup>b</sup>, 2012), MacNaughton (2005), Jones (2010) and Jones *et*

al (2010) are particularly relevant to understanding how gender is constructed and influenced at school, illustrating the power hierarchy and structure in the KSA. Theories advanced by Davies (1989<sup>b</sup>) and MacNaughton (2005) are instrumental in understanding how post-structuralist research can be used to explore the notion of gender in young girls. MacNaughton (2000: 54-55) discusses how early childhood educators often do not question norms and advocates a post-structuralist questioning and looking beyond – and not accepting that certain expressions and behaviours are incidental but rather are ‘institutionalised’ and ‘constitutive’ of society. This approach allows gender to be contextualised as a social category, particularly in education and in relation to the impact that schools and teachers have on gender identity and roles. Exploring the theory and applying it to ways of thinking provides that ‘*slant*’ to perspectives and viewpoints, making us aware of the social deference to power, and how, through ideologies and discourse, language can be constructed and manipulated to generate power. These ideas are of major importance for interpreting research data, to understand who and what dominates the power structure in the KSA, and who or what profoundly effects gender identity and role in the country.

Post-structuralist theory facilitates an analytical approach to female gender construction (the discursive practices and accepted norms) and an awareness of how the use of language, words, phrases and images might affect a young girl’s developing sense of gender identity and role. It strengthened my conceptual understanding and developed my ability to question individual intention. For example, what are the expectations attached to certain words? Who benefits from the social structures in place? What are the obstacles KSA females encounter every day and what are the consequences of these obstacles? How do they affect the society, particularly females? This analytical positioning requires a level of subjectivity. Post-structuralist theory asserts that ‘subjectivity’ is ‘not fixed but continuously in process’

(Davies and Banks, 1992:2) or shifting (Simpson, 1997). This is certainly my experience of my own subjectivity, which feels like an upward spiral. I can still draw on my subjectivity as a KSA female, raised, educated and constructed in the KSA with all its social and cultural gender strictures and expectations. However, I feel my position now is further up that spiral, looking down on myself as a woman, and looking even further to how I was constructed as a female in the KSA. This newfound knowledge allowed me to explore how the participant girls see themselves as females. By applying this theory in my analysis shows me how the KSA cultural and historical influences of society have affected children's subjectivities. Post-structuralist theory also allows the exploration and analysis of how pre-school girls are constructed as female subjects 'within gender discourses and discursive regimes' (Waller, 2010:529), looking beyond the participants at the social frameworks affecting a child's notion of gender identity and role far beyond school and home. Who or what constructs the society in which we live? Do pre-school girls in the KSA negotiate and interpret the multiple, gender-related discourses and narratives, to determine which gender discourses to adopt as their own, and if so, how? Parsons (2004:141) argues that persons are 'positioned within competing discourses as we constantly reform our subjectivities'. My conceptualisation of the young girls' gender, with regards to their role and identity, led me to realise that subjectivity for children is always shifting, and that central to the construction of one's own sense of self is 'agency' – having the ability to act with intent and awareness (Robinson, 2013:4). It must be stated, however, that societal restrictions in the strict gender framework of the KSA make it is very difficult for young girls to demonstrate or even voice any shifts. Applying post-structuralist theory to the analysis allows us to contemplate and analyse these shifts and assertions of 'agency', to study notions of gender and consider the 'ideologies' of young KSA girls, to ascertain which meanings are 'produced, challenged, reproduced then transformed' (Barrett, 1980:97). Post-structuralist research provides the

means to explore whether there might be other representations of female gender identity and role in the KSA and whether there is nonconformity of female existence in the KSA.

Post-structuralist theory is a good way to understand, pinpoint and even suggest alterations of some social and cultural conditions. Expectations of female gender are a construct, a set of social discourses on ways of seeing and evaluating the social norms and status of females in any given society. Some might suggest that post-structuralist research is rendered impotent or lacks meaningful resonance in a society such as the KSA, which is male dominated, hegemonic and strictly state controlled. This study is qualitative in nature. It is naturalistic, with an emphasis on the subjective experience of individuals. Qualitative data analysis is employed. Post-structuralist theory was best suited to understand the power structure of KSA society, especially in terms of gender. It gave me the means to identify and analyse the discursive practices young Saudi females encounter in their everyday lives. It afforded me the platform, grounded in a post-structuralist stance, from which to identify and critique the power structures, scrutinising my own concepts and understanding. Feminism is linked strictly to the concept of two sexes, to what is biologically, culturally, legally, and socially determined to be a woman or a man (Fineman, 2009). Feminists do not typically consider sexuality and differences in sexual orientation important, concerned rather with the pursuit of equality of men and women. Young children often accept stereotypes and labels as fact (Bennett and Sani, 2004). The queer theory (Piantato *et al*, 2016) was useful for understanding the refusal of labels and rejection of stereotypes as it aims to deconstruct defined categories, structures and ideologies previously used to define gender, sex and sexual identity. While differences between and within genders and differences in sexualities exist in all societies, there is little scope in the KSA for these differences to be demonstrated. Thus, concepts such as homosexuality, transgenderism, queer theory and even feminism (Piantato *et al*, 2016) cannot really play a part, at this time,



in the development of sexuality in Saudi preschoolers. In the following sections, the construction of gender in childhood, including innate (cognitive) influences and external (social) influences on gender identity and role, are explored.

### **3.4 Gender Construction in Childhood**

Many social scientists have considered the view that sex, gender and sexuality are social historical constructs (Smith, Cowie and Blades, 2011). Young children's understanding of gender identity and their adopted gender roles are continuously adapted and refined, depending on the context of their life. The construction of 'who we are' is an intricate process that occurs internally and externally but is always social (MacNaughton, 2000:24). Piaget (1947) also believed that the social environment and social interactions surrounding a child are necessary for the development of intelligence, morality and personality: children gather information, characteristics and traits from key sources as their parents, local communities and peer groups, as well as early years professionals and the media. The result is a slew of messages about how to be 'normal' in relation to one's gender, race, class and ability (MacNaughton, 2000:21).

Puroila and Estola (2013) concur with this précis but focus their attention on educational and care settings, calling for early years' educators critically to reflect on how a child's sense of self is supported and nurtured by the pedagogical practices in their pre-school settings. Erikson (1963) proposed that the environment and social surroundings influence cultural demands on children (Bee and Boyd, 2007) and that what one generation learns will differ to the next. Macro life events, including immigration, industrialisation and urbanisation, affect present and subsequent generations (Smith, Cowie and Blades, 2011).

A sense of self-identity provides children with the ability to relate to others, to interact and establish roles, and to play a part in their society (Stockard, 2006). During this process,

children develop beliefs about the roles associated with each gender (male or female). According to sex-role theory, a person should assume a particular role according to their gender, adhering to collective stereotypes held by a society, whereby males are depicted as dominant and aggressive and females as kind, nurturing and compliant (Hesselbart, 1981).

### **3.4.1 The beginnings of cognitive perception of gender**

Kolberg (1966<sup>b</sup>), one of the first psychologists to suggest that gender is learned via cognitive processes, argues that children need to have reached a certain level of cognitive development before they can comprehend a concept. He suggests that children's cognitive understanding of gender affects their behaviour, that it is primarily determined during maturation (Kohlberg, 1966<sup>a</sup>) and that it is not until the first stage of 'gender maturation', at 24 months, that children can label themselves as female or male. By the age of four, the child enters a gender stability stage, during which they construct a definition of gender, creating set criteria that separate maleness and femaleness by replicating the behaviours or stereotypes they have observed (Kohlberg 1966<sup>a</sup>). This implies that the stages of development of gender concepts parallel cognitive development and brain maturation. Other theorists (Martin, Ruble and Szkrybalo, 2002) have questioned Kohlberg's theory, arguing that it underestimates children's abilities in terms of gender and gender consistency (Maccoby, 1990; Martin and Little, 1990; Ruble and Martin, 1998). Maccoby (1990) supports Kohlberg's theory on the motivational importance of a firm gender identity for promoting gender differentiation, even if this identity develops prior to when Kohlberg assumed—that is, prior to full gender constancy. The central cognitive achievement in Kohlberg's theory is children's recognition of the categorical significance of gender, and it is this that motivates them to comply with gender norms at a specific period during development. Martin, Ruble and Szkrybalo (2002) suggest that Kohlberg may have had the right idea but the wrong signifier, and that critical periods of cognitive occur from three to five and five

to seven years of age and are related to gender stability rather than consistency. Furthermore, Kohlberg's theory on how gender conceptions influence behaviour should not be refuted simply because he thought gender consistency signified the critical developmental achievement in this process. Kohlberg's and Piaget's theories (in Duska and Whelan, 1975) were crucial not only to my understanding the inner processes of gender construction but also to the child's heteronomous and autonomous moral development. Further explanations of both these themes are discussed in further sections of this chapter.

Gender knowledge influences children's behaviour, as well as their interests, motivation and memory for information (Martin and Dinella, 2001). This knowledge can be garnered from a multitude of sources, through gender labelling and gender stereotypes (Martin, Ruble and Szkrybalo, 2002). These gender stereotypes play a major role in 'defining gender identity' (Bem, 1981:363). Bem (1989) concurs with Kohlberg's cognitive assumptions of gender construction, but acknowledges that, 'the concept of gender constancy would seem necessarily to require that a child understand that each individual has an underlying biological 'essence' of maleness or femaleness that remains invariant across surface transformations' (Bem, 1989:651). Bem (1989) conducted an experiment in which pictures of toddlers in nude or semi-nude states were shown to children between the ages of three and five years. Children's identification decisions were closely related to their knowledge of genital differences between the sexes. However, those children who had no understanding of the biological differences between women and men were still able to categorise young people into two categories: girls and boys. Bem terms this '*gender traditionalism*' and reasons that children need to be taught about 'biological knowledge' to liberate themselves and escape gender stereotypes. Martin and Ruble (2004) expand this by explaining that children have, by the age of five years, already developed an impressive collection of gender stereotypes (of which many are amusing and inaccurate), which they apply to themselves

and others, using these stereotypes to form impressions of others. This in turn supports them in organising their memories, directing their attention and guiding their behaviour (Martin and Ruble, 2004). Piaget (1947) explains the ‘active nature’ of a child’s brain, developing through ordered sequences based on genetically determined stages (cited in Arthur, Powell and Hsing-Chiung, 2014). Through these stages, children progressively learn cognitively to construct and structure their thoughts and actions (Arthur, Powell and Hsing-Chiung, 2014; Piaget, 1947). These stages combined are known as the ‘Theory of Mind’ (ToM), the ability to identify and attribute mental states such as thoughts, perceptions and feelings to themselves and others. It is also significant that a child during this stage may believe that gender is subject to change by ‘behaviour or external features’ (Kohlberg, 1966<sup>a</sup>:97).

### **3.4.2 Gender knowledge in early childhood**

Gender knowledge is ‘one of the earliest conceptual systems to develop in children’s understanding of the world’ (Lloyd, 2013:162). Many social theories suggest that children are ‘gender detectives’, intrinsically motivated to seek information about gender (Martin and Ruble, 2004), and that ‘social structure, media and peers offer no shortage of information to children about masculinity and femininity’ (Fine, 2010<sup>b</sup>:216). Rogoff (2003), influenced by Vygotsky (1978), wrote about how cultural beliefs and experiences contribute to children’s notions of identity and uses Vygotsky’s zone of proximal development (ZPD) theory to demonstrate how a society influences a child’s development of knowledge through interactions with more experienced peers, teachers, parents and others.

Vygotsky’s (1978) theory extends our concept of how children learn and develop by contributing ‘culture’; the higher mental functioning that emerges from social processes and ‘language’. According to him, these human social and psychological processes are fundamentally shaped by cultural tools, whereby ‘learning presupposes a specific social nature and a process by which children grow into the intellectual life of those around them’

(Vygotsky, 1978:88). He includes the adult or significant other in the process and highlights how a child will learn from ‘others’ (adults or children) around them. Davies (1989<sup>b</sup>) tells us how important it is that a child adopts the linguistic practices of the adults around them, not only to the benefit of the child, ‘but as a way of confirming the rightness of the world’ according to the adult's understanding (Davies, 1989<sup>b</sup>:1).

Some have suggested that children are ‘absorbent sponges’ (Montessori, 1949) influenced by social constructs (Essa, 2014). However, many believe that children are more than just an empty vessel to be filled – they also have an innate ‘need and a capacity to selectively construct meanings’ (MacNaughton, 2000:20). Connolly (2004) also argues that children are more than just sponges that soak up the gender models provided to them by various agents of socialisation; the agency of boys and girls is an important factor in their development of their masculine or feminine identities. There are many forms of masculinity and femininity, which continuously change as ‘boys and girls renegotiate their identities within specific social contexts’ (Waller: 2010). Davies (1988 and 1989<sup>a</sup>) argues that the social sponge model of gender identity formation is too simplistic, the result of a lack of understanding about the intricate relationships between individuals and their social world. If we believe that children are not merely passively absorbing social norms and behaviours, and are making choices during this process (MacNaughton, 2000), we must accept that there is also a cognitive element in gender construction. Cognition is a factor in most human interchange. When children observe a way of acting, they often come to accept this as the norm. The construction implies a more active engagement and not simply observation and internalisation. I believe that they absorb from experiences around them but that they also make cognitive choices and adopt what they feel is the norm.

Tarullo (1994) suggests that girls and boys speak with ‘different voices’ about their experiences of the world. Few argue that all girls or all boys have the same interests and

behave in the same way – or indeed that they necessarily engage in similar conversation, or ‘talk’. More importantly, some suggest that children are in fact active participants in the development of their own gender identities (MacNaughton, 2000). When we contemplate the development of an individual's identity and gender, it is very difficult to say with certainty what its influences were. Goldner (1991) also discusses how problematic is the construct of an 'identity'. She suggests that identity is implausible, a 'necessary fiction', culturally mandated to benefit family and culture. Family is the first socialisation agent of the child, and the process of gender identity involves comparing oneself with the ideals and norms of one's family, community and culture (Ashcraft and Belgrave, 2005).

### **3.4.3 Gender divisions in society**

Cognition, then, is involved in the formation of gender identity. Gender is, however, constructed both socially and internally (through choices motivated by external factors). Both these notions of gender construction will be expanded in specific ways in this chapter. The work of Piaget (1972) and Vygotsky (1978) are both relevant to the construction of gender and contribute to the ‘constructivist theory’. However, they approached it from differing areas of influence. Piaget focused on the internal cognitive process and theorised on ‘adaptation theory’ (also known as the Constructivist Theory). Vygotsky focused on the social factors that influence a child's cognitive and social development.

Gender is not only an identity; it is also about division – specifically in the context of this study, the KSA. An important factor in divisions between genders is that of ‘essentialism’ as it relates to the biological/anatomical differences between male and females and is a component of some stereotypical behaviours (Gelman, 2004), providing a link to sex-role theory (Stockard, 2006). Essentialism is based on the word ‘essence’ (essence means deep non-obvious properties) and is a theory that has been used to explain stereotypical behaviours (Bastian and Haslam, 2006). Accompanying beliefs or generalisations of

essentialism are not a result of detailed knowledge but rather are implanted into children's brains by their parents (Skinner, 1953). Gelman (2005) refers to this as 'social interplay'. Linking this theory with Bronfenbrenner (1979) helps visualise the social interplay and influencing factors in a child's ecological system. Rhodes, Leslie and Tworek (2012) argue that every cultural context studied to date suggests that rudimentary social essentialist beliefs emerge early in development and result from an interplay between those beliefs in a child's environment. The lens of a post-structuralist researcher helps to look beyond these essentialist beliefs and restrictions to discover why they are in place. It helps analyse the familiar and new and the dynamic that exists between the two, to deconstruct how people interpret their daily lives. This allows a researcher to discover how it might be possible to break established habits.

Psychological essentialism challenges cognitive theories, arguing that, 'certain categories have an underlying reality that cannot be observed' (Gelman, 2004:404). This does not mean that they are clear about the permanence of the differences. Psychological essentialism facilitates the generalisation of category-based inductions from one individual to the next (Markman and Jaswal, 2003). In its simplest terms, if one boy is bad at drawing, then all boys are likely to be bad at drawing. Social essentialism is the belief that we can fundamentally mark distinct social categories and groupings of people, including those based on gender. These generalisations of social categories can have negative consequences, supporting social stereotyping and contributing to prejudice (Rhodes, Leslie and Tworek, 2012).

Gelman researched inductive inferences in children with multiple sources of information. Three- to four-year old children used verbal predicates to make their inferences, even when predicates conflicted with visual information provided (Heyman and Gelman, 2000). Gelman asserts that human categorisation is extraordinarily varied and diverse, because

'humans can use a wide array of different kinds of concepts that vary in structure, content, linguistics, expression, durations and origins' to make inferences (Gelman and Medin, 1993:165). Hence, language can be depicted as a powerful inference in essentialism, influencing the children's ability to categorise and make inferences and suggests that nouns are relatively more stable and consistent over time than adjectives or verb phrases (Gelman, 2005). Vygotsky's social constructivist theory differs from Gelman's in that he believes every function in a child's cultural development 'appears twice - first, on the social level, and later on the individual level' (Vygotsky, 1978:186). According to this, children first learn by their social encounters, which are then internalized, forming their characters and knowledge of 'who they are'. Young children are immersed in an environment that inundates them with images and messages about the status and roles of males and females (Rudman and Glick, 2008). Vygotsky's theory of constructivism and social learning helps us consider how the physical and social environment plays a crucial role in shaping children's gender perceptions:

From the very first days of the child's development her activities acquire a meaning of their own in a system of social behaviour and, being directed towards a definite purpose, are refracted through the prism of the child's environment. The path from object to child and from child to object passes through another person. This complex human structure is the product of a developmental process deeply rooted in the links between individual and social history. (Vygotsky, 1978:30). Vygotsky's theory is not specific to gender in pre-school children. He did, however, consider that imitation and instruction are critical to the development of children, and adults promote the learning of gender stereotypes, but gender is just one factor to be considered (Vygotsky, 1961<sup>b</sup>). Duveen (1996) discovered that the same set of social practices (gender marking in a pre-school classroom) resulted in differentiated gender identities in boys and girls and that a young child's interpersonal



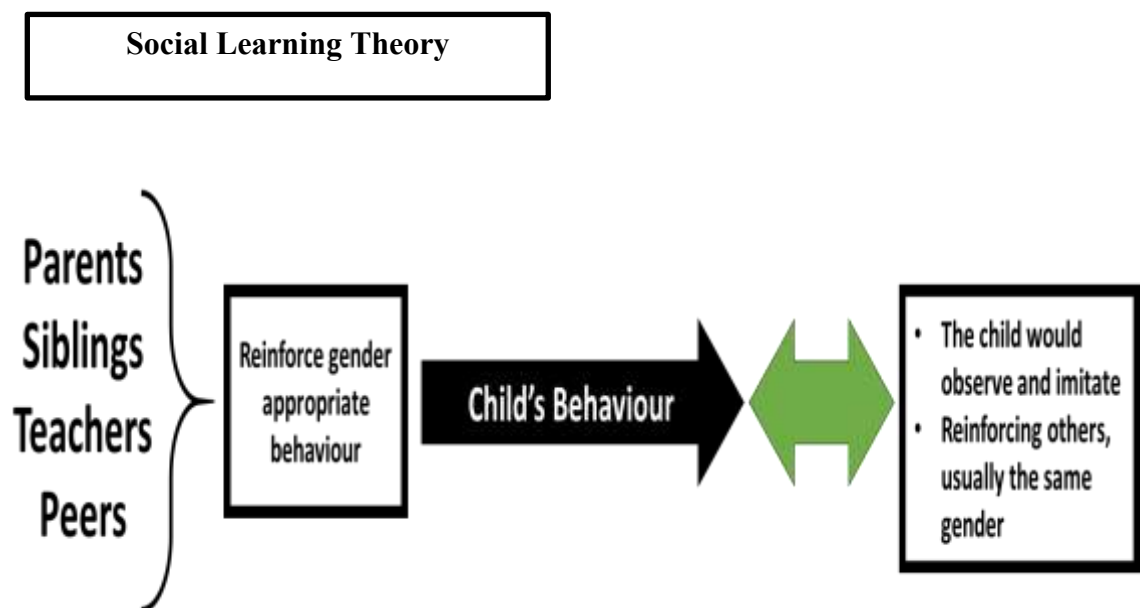
behaviour was increasingly controlled by socially represented gender identities (Duveen, 1996:258). West and Zimmerman (1987:126) call this 'doing gender' and explain that it is complex and entails 'socially guided perceptual, interactional and micropolitical activities' that arbitrate certain pursuits as expressions of either femininity or masculinity. Duveen's (1996) argument is that, as we develop, we must all assume a gender identity if we are to become competent social actors in our society. The imperative is to construct an identity, however ill defined, in order to be accepted and be able to interact within our social world (Duveen, 1996). Cognitive and social clearly both contribute to how children understand gender. In this research, external and internal factors influencing the child's understanding of gender role and identity are explored. In the following sections, some of these influences in a child's social context are discussed.

#### **3.4.4 Social learning theory**

To investigate how children learn about gender, I needed to understand how children learn. According to social learning theory, a child learns from her social surroundings. In one of the first theories of social learning, Skinner (1953) proposed that parents and caregivers reinforce children's behaviours, to keep them within their gendered behavioural limits. Parents push children towards 'gender-appropriate' toys and behaviours (Hinitz and Hewes, 2011:25-26). Therefore, children learn mainly from their parents to behave in the most gender-appropriate way, via reward and punishment. This is consistent with Skinner's (1938) behaviourism theory and Bandura's social learning theory. When people surrounding a child respond to their behaviour with a reward, it reinforces the behaviour and the child continues to act in the same way. Skinner's (1938) believed the major influence on human behaviour reinforcement: that behaviours that are rewarded will persist while those that are punished will eventually cease.

Bandura contributed significantly to social learning theory, by emphasising the importance

of ‘modelling’ in a child’s learning (Bandura, 1969). Children imitate and model the behaviour and attitudes of trusted older adults and peers with whom they interact. This involves internal and external factors. This social marking of people - in particular, the grouping of people ‘into two gender groups’ (1996:258) - provides the scaffolding that enables children to sustain an organised gender identity (Duveen, 1996:257). Many psychologists (Alsop, Fitzsimons and Lennon, 2002; Bem, 1981; Diamond and Butterworth, 2008; Jackson, 2007; Rogoff, 2003) reiterate Bandura’s theory (1977) by identifying that the environment impacts on the children’s perception of gender. According to social learning, behaviour is learned from the environment. Children observe and imitate behaviour, gender-appropriate or otherwise. Many factors regulate this behaviour (Bandura, 1977). The child imitates models they perceive to be like themselves (that is, the same sex). The following model illustrates social learning theory:



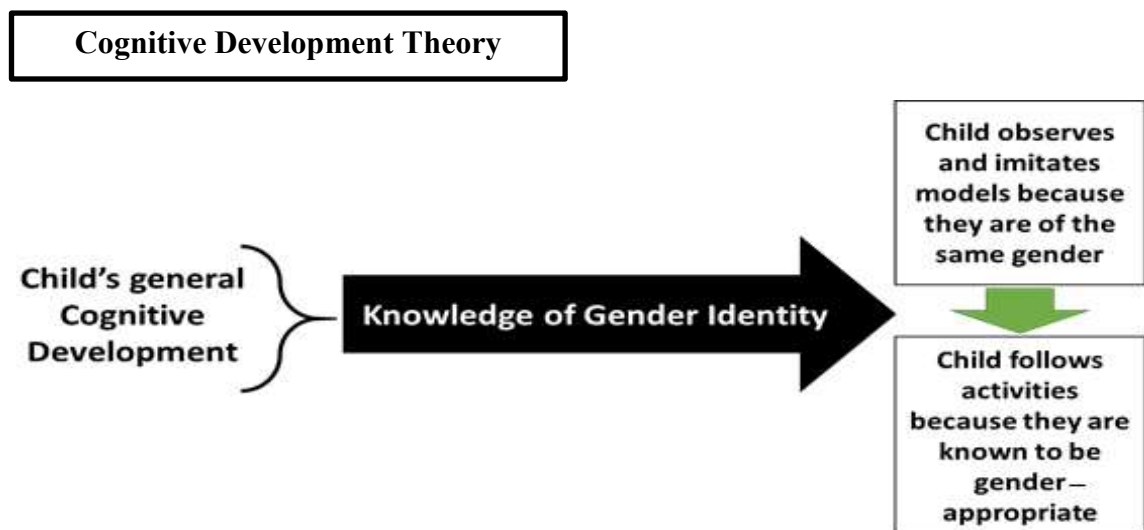
*Figure 3: Summary of social learning theory*  
(Author’s own model adapted from Smith, Cowie and Blades, 2011: 222)

Vygotsky (1978) identified the ZPD, in which adults and peers influence children. If we consider this in tandem with the more subtle social interplay and interactions a child

encounters, the above model shows us how the child can learn behaviour socially from others, including gender-related actions. It is important here to consider Erikson's theory (1963) and stages of development as he emphasises the role of society and culture on the development of personality. He suggests that personality develops through eight stages of psychosocial development. The first three stages are most relevant to this study: stage 1 (trust vs. mistrust), stage 2 (autonomy vs. shame) and stage 3 (initiation vs. guilt) (Erikson, 1963:222-226). Erikson's psychosocial theory emphasises environmental factors, social interactions and the common 'age-related' cultural demands on children (Bee and Boyd, 2007). The positive points about his theory are that, even though there are eight stages of development for everyone, different cultures have their own distinct way of influencing individual behaviour at each stage. These three stages of psychosocial development will be explored within the research to ascertain whether and how they modify and control females in the KSA. For example, parents and significant adults might use mistrust to deter children from going outside, from trusting other adults and those who could provide an influence overriding parental authority in what their child can or cannot do. This study will explore whether shame is used to counteract autonomy for females in particular and to thwart initiation. Exploring these influences on individuals should help highlight clear factors responsible for change in the social behaviours of different generations (Smith, Cowie and Blades, 2011).

There are, however, key differences. Mischel (reviewed by Kohlberg, 1966<sup>a</sup>:89), a social learning theorist, argues that 'sex appropriate behaviour and attitudes are acquired through social rewards that follow sex-appropriate behaviour'. An excerpt from his study reads, 'I want rewards, I am rewarded for doing boy things, therefore I want to be a boy' (Kohlberg, 1966<sup>a</sup>:89). However, we also need to consider a child's innate contributions to developing her gender – as gender is also learned through a cognitive concept (Kohlberg, 1966<sup>a</sup>). This,

in part, could emanate from gender schemas developed through the innate tendency of humans to classify and organize information, especially around salient dimensions (Martin and Halverson, 1981; Bem, 1981). Children are selective and have an innate sense of their gender identity, which allows them to choose what and who to observe and imitate (Smith, Cowie and Blades, 2011). This can be seen in Figure 3, which illustrates cognitive development theory:



*Figure 4: Summary of cognitive developmental theory*  
(Author's own model adapted from Smith, Cowie and Blades 2011: 222).

Gender identity develops, at least in part, through an individual's observation of social classifications of masculinity and femininity, evident in human autonomy, social roles and characteristics (Bem, 1989). This correlates with the 'cognitive developmental theory' in that gender schemas are viewed as 'cognitive structures that organize gender knowledge into a set of expectations about what is important to observe, and what is appropriate to imitate' (Smith Cowie and Blades, 2011:222). If we think of 'cognitive' processes, we realise that this aspect of gender development is internal. However, children can also be influenced externally, and 'behaviourism' is another important way that children develop their gender identity. This is an important concept if we consider that, in many societies (such as the

KSA), males are portrayed as dominant, stoical and aggressive whilst females are perceived as kind, nurturing, sensitive and compliant (Hesselbart, 1981). Moreover, these gender roles are viewed as fixed characteristics of a person rather than fluid (Hesselbart, 1981). In many cases, this may be true. However, this might also be an outward manifestation: the child is portraying a characteristic or mode of behaviour she thinks an adult expects or desires. According to Kohlberg (1966<sup>a</sup>), gender differences can change.

Kohlberg's (1966<sup>a</sup>) theory of gender development by increments is that children need to have reached a certain level of cognitive development before they can understand a concept and that children's cognitive understanding of gender will affect their behaviour (Kohlberg, 1966<sup>a</sup>). Therefore, social learning theory applies until Kohlberg's first stage has been reached (at approximately two years of age). Thereafter, the cognitive development theory model is possibly more applicable, as the child reaches cognitive maturation. Browne's (2004:63) research contradicts Kohlberg's theory (that gender constancy is not reached until seven years). All the children (three- to seven-years old) in her study were clear about their gender, understood that it was fixed and that they had no choice in it. She challenged the contention that females are more cooperative. This is often based on the observation that girls prefer to work under adult supervision more than boys. Although this helps them learn, one interesting point to note is that 'girls receive more reward for dependency than boys' (Mischel, 1966:77).

Various factors that influence a child's gender identity and role developments in the early stages of life have been discussed here. It is clear that socialisation does play a major role in shaping gender identity and in allowing children the opportunity to connect and relate to their world. In the KSA, expectations associated with a child's gender identity and behaviour constitute a 'social contract' (Ghanim, 2009), meted out by the surrounding society, whose gatekeepers and transactional lords are under patriarchal control within the tribal community

and the close family members of all females. The contract is clear and unambiguous – protection and security in exchange for chastity and obedience. This may be reinforced by reward and punishment. In the following section, theories relating to social development, in the context of society, are explored.

### **3.5 Child Development in Society**

From birth, children are susceptible to the understandings of gender relations and expectations of behaviours and roles related to gender of those around them. The child is born into a world already structured by social representations, which constitute the realities of the human world into which the child is born (Duveen, 1996). If gender is categorised from conception, and constructed from birth, it is also maintained through the routines of everyday social life (Yelland and Grieshaber, 1998). Social values and powers are drawn from the existing structure of social institutions, such as family, school and media (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Grieshaber, 1998). It is important to place the child in the centre of the phenomenon. Young girls are not viewed as young girls, but rather as the woman she will become. This concept of children either ‘being’ or ‘becoming’, and the temporary nature of childhood, have been previously highlighted (Qvortrup, 1994; Uprichard, 2008). Uprichard (2008), however, cautions that a narrow perspective of the ‘*becoming*’ child is problematic, and that there are ethical considerations as the ‘*being*’ child is someone who should be valued in their own right, in the present. She draws attention to the fact that, for the child, their immediate world is ‘being and becoming’ within a wider world – itself one that is continually ‘being and becoming’. This is particularly apparent in the KSA, a country formed just over a hundred years ago (see Chapter Two), and one experiencing change (Bowen, 2008).

### **3.5.1 Children's moral development**

The ideologies, moral and cultural values of the prevailing society are extremely important influences on a child's emergent identity (Greene, 2003). In this section, the focus is on the moral development of the child, as the values and moral code of the KSA are based upon the religious standards of Islam. The emphasis on moral development relies, in the KSA, on social interactions in the early stages of development as the principle determiner of an individual moral code concerning specific gender identity and role. Bronfenbrenner's (1962) spheres of influence are useful in expanding the notion of moral development by drawing on stages and the child's behaviour associated with each stage. For example, the first stage, moral realism, is the point at which a girl unquestioningly accepts all prescribed rules. If she does not obey, she is punished and fear of punishment is the main reason for obedience. This is in contrast to later stages, where respect is more of an issue, and modification and negotiation are possible. Transgressions may not be punished, as long as moral principles are followed. Bronfenbrenner's (1962) views on the transition between these stages, and the age at which this transition occurs for a girl, are of note. In a conservative society like the KSA, moral transitions may be slower, but more steadfast, as moral values are integral to a person's notion of 'good citizenship' and social acceptance (Inglehart, 2017). Inglehart (2017) suggests that transitions and accepting moral change depends upon a person's age: the younger the person, the more accepting of changes to the moral norms in their society.

Bronfenbrenner (1979; 1962) discusses how issues such as sex, ordinal position, social status, ethnicity and religion can influence the movement of young girls through these stages. The KSA believes it is beneficial for their children to be socialised into a religious framework (Tanner, 2007). Particularly relevant to my research are Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ideas on how religion is taught in families and how it affects morality. Moral

teachings associated with religion are delivered to young females through stories, lessons and/or songs. These are from many sources, including media, but the family remains the main source of moral religious messages (Oswalt, 2010<sup>c</sup>). These constructs help young KSA females structure their gender identity through the moral and social conventions and systems of gender polarisation apparent in society. Schooling is an important source of moral religiosity, particularly in the KSA, where all schools are mandated to teach the Islamic faith. According to the post-structuralist, MacNaughton (2000:54), moral systems are not some ‘*accidental and arbitrary occurrence*’ or the product of an individual’s expression; rather, they exist because ‘particular ways of speaking have been institutionalised’ (Davies and Harre, 1991:31). These conventions and systems could limit young females in developing their ‘personal moral domain’ as the environmental and social factors are based mainly on heteronymic compliance and adherence to cultural norms and – more importantly – to avoid punishment.

Kohlberg and Piaget explored moral development and moral education (Duska and Whelan, 1975). Piaget discussed religious influences on moral development, exploring the child’s respect for moral rules and how they would invariably see them as ‘sacred and untouchable’, their practice ‘egocentric’, an imitation of what is being observed, and utter acceptance of the rules (Duska and Whelan, 1975:15). This clarified my view of the child. What before was perceived as an acceptance of the rules is now seen as a developmental stage, a point in time of a dynamic process. Kohlberg’s (1984) idea that the child is making moral decisions for ‘selfish reasons’, in that they are considering the physical consequences of actions and trying to avoid punishment and attain praise for themselves from peers and adults (Oswalt, 2010<sup>b</sup>), infers that moral cognitive function becomes internalised - ‘internal heteronomy’ (Kavathatzopoulos, 1991:50). The child therefore still makes choices: development is an active process in which the child is an agent, albeit influenced. Importantly, internal and



external influences are related. Vygotsky's (1978) ZPD theory posits that a society influences a child's acquisition of knowledge and this occurs via the child's interactions with more experienced parents, siblings and teachers. Taking this theory into account raises the question: Who does a young girl in the KSA encounter and with whom does she interact?

Children reason through gender stereotypes and influences on their gender identity and role (Killen and Smetana, 2014). Piaget (1932), Bronfenbrenner (1962) and Kohlberg (1984) have all discussed the moral development of children (Oswalt, 2010<sup>a</sup>). Piaget (1932) suggests two stages of morality: *heteronomous* morality, based on unilateral respect for and unquestionable obedience to authority and rules, and *autonomous* morality, based on mutual respect, reciprocity and equality among peers (Arthur, Powell and Hsing-Chiung, 2014:108-109). Young children view their world through the lens of a 'heteronomous' (other-directed) morality, whereby rules are handed down by authority figures (parents, teachers and others) (Piaget, 1932). By interacting with their environment, children accomplish the complex and indispensable tools of cognition (Piaget 1947). According to Kohlberg (1984), it is not cognitive content that is created, but cognitive structure, which is dynamic. This is consistent with Simpson (1997:203), who argued that 'femininity and masculinity are constantly in process, and subjectivity, which most discourses seek to fix, is constantly shifting'.

Piaget (1932) and Kohlberg (1984) theorise that morality develops in stages, focusing primarily on internal factors (individual understandings and cognitive abilities) that shape and modify children's moral decision-making. Kohlberg (1984) defined three levels (consisting in six stages) for the development of morality: pre-conventional, conventional and post-conventional. During moral development in middle childhood (five to ten years of age), children typically display pre-conventional moral *reasoning*; they internalise fundamental, culturally derived rules of right and wrong behaviour and live in accordance with these rules. In Stage 1, Punishment Orientation, rules are followed to avoid

punishment. In Stage 2, Instrumental Orientation, rules are followed for personal gain (Duska and Whelan, 1975). Pre-conventional level moral reasoning consists in two stages. Kohlberg (1984) believed this applied to children up to the age of nine years, who see authority as external and think mainly in terms of the physical consequences of actions. Kohlberg (1984) argues that this is primarily for selfish reasons, as a way of avoiding punishment and obtaining praise for themselves as they realise that morally good behaviours attract praise and positive regard from peers and adults (Oswalt, 2010<sup>b</sup>). This implies that moral cognitive function later becomes internalised: ‘internal heteronomy’ (Kavathatzopoulos, 1991:50). Kohlberg's (1969) theory, related to stages, suggests that the moral development of a person is not only fixed but also innately predisposed (Warming-Rasmussen and Windsor, 2003:80). While Piaget was cautious to call the two types of morality ‘stages’ (Snarey and Samuelson, 2008), Kohlberg (1984) identified six moral reasoning stages: moral reasoning develops through a consistent sequence of stages that increasingly leads the child to an appropriate understanding of what is just or fair (Arthur, Powell and Hsing-Chiung, 2014). Kohlberg (cited in Kavathatzopoulos, 1991:48) claims that the ‘sequence of moral development is universal and independent of culture’.

Bronfenbrenner (1962), in contrast to both Kohlberg (1969) and Piaget (1932), focused on external factors that influence environmental factors, such as culture, family tradition, religious affiliation and socialisation, and how these affect a child’s moral development. These factors profoundly influence children's moral development and understanding of what is right and wrong, and emphasises the role families play in instilling in their offspring certain moral beliefs or ideas that are an integral part of a family’s heritage or history. His paper concludes by stating that changes in child development occur not just chronologically but through a matrix of social relationships. Similarly Arthur, Powell and Hsing-Chiung (2014) acknowledge that social knowledge is constructed. ‘Domain theorists’ (Nucci, 2001;

Turiel, 1983) describe this as occurring in three distinct domains: *moral*, which includes issues of justice, human welfare, reciprocity and individual rights; *social conventional*, involving rules, regulations and functions of social systems and social organisations; and *personal*, which relates not to matters that are right or wrong but more to issues of individual discretion, preference and personal choice (Arthur, Powell and Hsing-Chiung, 2014).

In Kohlberg's early stage of moral development (pre-conventional), young children are egocentric, which leads them to form 'a unilateral view of rules and power relations' (Arthur, Powell and Hsing-Chiung, 2014:109). All young children are predisposed easily to accept rules and obey them, and an egocentric child would simply fear the consequences of his actions rather than question the intentions of the actions. Harris and Kavanaugh (1993) challenge this concept and the links between egocentrism, children's moral development and their view of their social world (Arthur, Powell and Hsing-Chiung, 2014). This doubt has motivated studies looking on ToM in children (Arthur, Powell and Hsing-Chiung, 2014:109), which involves the 'interrelated' factors children adopt whenever they try to understand their own actions or the actions of those around them (Fodor, 1992; Leslie, 1992; Premack and Woodruff, 1978). Findings suggest that even three- to five-year old children understand the reason behind peoples' actions and feelings. There are therefore many theories about how young children develop their morality, which, it is clear, is often a consequence not only of their environment but also of their inherent nature and intellectual ability.

### **3.5.2 Social expectations – Power dynamics**

A child's gender identity and gender relations are enacted, defined and differentiated through the category of gender in wider social institutions (Grieshaber, 1998). Power relations in society operate in specific ways. Foucault (1979<sup>a</sup>) explores how power is constituted in the social relationships of gender within families, and locates relationships in broader social

structures. This is similar to Bronfenbrenner's (1979) defined environmental micro and macro systems discussed in this chapter. If we were to explore the sense of the 'self' - the self-disciplining gender self - does the constituted authority have power to decide what is right and what is wrong way in terms of gendered behaviour? Many, especially behaviourists, might argue that these gender-related constructions occur mainly through reward and punishment – where boys and girls behave in ways prescribed by gender roles, usually in the form of discourses. These discourses provide an understanding of what is regarded as 'normal' and, very often, constitute the authority on the 'right' way to think, feel and behave, according to gender (Gee, 1990). If a child behaves in the 'right', they are rewarded; if not, they are punished. This could involve subtle forms of social approval or disapproval, material rewards or physical punishment (Fulcher and Scott, 2011).

Concepts of 'masculinity' and 'femininity' are common in the social structures children see in their immediate family and in their community. They can also be found in wider social structures, such as the media and peers at school (Fine, 2010<sup>b</sup>:216). Assuming a post-structuralist perspective, Walkerdine (1990:87) argues, 'Young girls of primary school age are presented with, and inserted into, ideological and discursive positions by practices which locate them in meaning and in regimes of truth'. According to Bronfenbrenner (1979), such regimes can be derived from religion, culture or any other aspect of the lives of the individual child. An example of such a regime in the KSA is that girls riding bicycles may be damaged physically (the hymen may become damaged). This can result in a female being divorced and/or excluded and both the female and her family being publicly ridiculed and demoralised. Foucault (1979<sup>b</sup>) draws in another description to explain the power of normalisation and the formation of knowledge and truth in a society and terms this 'panopticism', whereby individuals become a self-policing subject, self-committed to a persistent self-surveillance of what is right or wrong for their society (Bartky, 1998),

becoming the principle of their own subjection. In terms of ‘subjectivity’, many of these regimes of truth, influences that have become so imbedded into discourses that they eventually become true, will allow young girls to form judgments, shaping their personal opinions and feelings, their ‘sense of self’ (Davies and Harre, 1990). Gender is not only constructed externally, though; it is a person’s personal sense and subjective experience of their own gender. This research will explore the ways in which children interpret parents’ and early years’ educators’ use of reward and punishment to construct gender identity for the young children in their care, and whether the children believe there is any flexibility or freedom in gender identity (Brewer, 2001).

The post-structuralist Davies reports that ‘[t]here is no reliable evidence that ‘male’ behaviour follows from having male genitals, hormones or genes, or that ‘female’ behaviour follows from having female genitals, hormones or genes’ (1989<sup>b</sup>:10). Other major factors contribute to typically male and female behaviours. Simpson (1997:203) writes that ‘femininity and masculinity are constantly in process, and subjectivity, which most discourses seek to fix, is constantly shifting’. The following sections will explore these influences and discourses in the spheres of family, peers and school, and wider social influences, such as media, and discuss the direct impact they may have on a child’s gender construction.

### **3.5.3 Cultural influences on gender**

The association between culture and gender has been studied. Reeves and Baden (2000) report that gender and development are linked in many countries: how women learn their expected roles, how they are treated in some places and how they can become empowered. Tuyizere (2007) examined how religion and culture affect attitudes towards gender, exploring the links between many different religions and cultures and the roles of women, particularly in patriarchal societies. Certain cultures impact on female gender socialisation

in unique ways (Ashcraft and Belgrave, 2005). Cultures differ in their attitude towards gender equality and play a large part in reinforcing male/female differences. How does a society with a defined culture teach young children about gender roles? The social environment has a significant impact on gender identity development in children (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Emilson, Folkesson and Lindberg, 2016). Berk (2000) describes characteristics that Western cultures apply to the different sexes:

Masculine Traits	Feminine Traits
Active	Considerate
Aggressive	Devotes self to others
Ambitious	Emotional
Competitive	Gentle
Dominant	Home-oriented
Feels superior	Kind
Independent	Likes children
Self-confident	Passive
Additions to include in the social context of the KSA	
Autonomy	Shame
Initiation	Guilt

*Figure 5: Personality traits regarded as stereotypically masculine and feminine (Berk, 2000)*

These stereotypes may also be found in other cultures, to a greater or lesser degree. From a very young age, children participate in their cultures. The KSA offers a unique cultural background and influences on the construction of gender identity in children. Stereotypical masculine and feminine traits might no longer be relevant in Western societies. However, for the context of my study they are. Erikson's (1963) psychosocial theory of autonomy vs. shame and initiation vs. guilt is relevant and current, and are prevalent and institutionalised in the education system and in society (Ghanim, 2009). In Chapter Four, the culture and influences contributing towards these stereotypes in the KSA are discussed.

Gender schemas develop as individual children observe how their society classifies masculinity and femininity, and this can be linked to biology and culture (Bem, 1993). Biology plays a part, and culture is imbued in children by their families and schools. The stereotypes associated with gender as a social category persist throughout childhood (Davies, 1989<sup>b</sup>). Teachers reinforce the cultural stereotypes associated with gender (Emilson, Folkesson and Lindberg, 2016), even if they believe that pre-school is gender neutral. Although gender differences may not be promoted, gendered values are often implicit in school practice. One must therefore consider whether culture must change before school practice can. The KSA is traditional in many ways: in religious, family structure, tribal influences and gender identity and roles. Traditional gender roles are ‘part of the natural order of things’ and a product of our bio-evolutionary [life processes] history (Shaffer, 2009:263; Buss, 2000).

### **3.5.4 School influences**

Many poststructuralist authors have discussed gender in early childhood education (Lenz Taguchi 2005; MacNaughton 1997<sup>b</sup>; Greishaber 2007; Robinson and Jones-Diaz 2006). This work informs our understanding of gender and how it is situated in education. Robinson and Jones-Diaz (2006) suggest that feminist post-structuralist theory in early childhood education helps student teachers ‘negotiate and construct their own identities, to challenge normalising discourses that operate on micro and macro levels in their lives, and to demonstrate how individual subjects are instrumental in the perpetuation of social inequalities’ (2006:17). This should apply not only to student teachers but also all adult members of KSA society, as all are instrumental in constructing identities, perpetuating stereotypes and setting gender limits within a rigid gender framework. According to Khalifa (2001), education is a significant force for changing girls' status in the KSA, with family being one of the most influential factors (AlMunajjed, 1997:74). If parents influence a

child's perception of gender and expected gendered behaviours, then the post-structuralist question to ask is 'who or what is influencing and pushing the parents?' The social surroundings, in both a child's micro and macro world (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), continue to limit perception and performance of gender. According to Belsey (2002: 6) post-structuralist theory proposes a controversial account of 'our place in the world', and this account competes with all conventional explanations. In the context of the KSA, however, family decisions about acceptable gender roles and behaviour for females in the family and in society are controlled by several factors related to the social value of female modesty. The honour and social positioning of the family and its tribe are correlated both with the behaviour and attire of its female members and chapter two and the forthcoming chapter four discusses these in greater detail.

The study of the everyday practices of people can provide a rich insight into the social institutions and exercise of power in any society (Foucault, 1982). A child's school can have a marked influence on her gender development, as 'schools can transmit implicit information' (Dwyer, 1982:39) on the appropriateness of gender identity, behaviour and attitudes. MacNaughton reminds us that a teacher's pedagogic intercessions to gender issues are personally connected with 'how specific gendering discourses informed their understandings of the child' (MacNaughton, 2000:236), and, more importantly, what the teachers view the role of a female child to be. Gender stereotypes also influence children's developing gender identities and roles and many of these are relayed to children, particularly in school, in narratives, stories and traditional tales (Daitsman, 2010). Children use their understanding of gender and heterosexual discourses in order to construct and regulate the 'gendered social order of the classroom' (Blaise, 2005<sup>a</sup>:42). Differences have also been observed in the treatment of boys and girls in the classroom and the playground. For instance, Paechter (2006:129) discovered that girls in one primary school were 'deterred'



from playing football, with teachers and students tending to presume that they lacked the requisite skills. By contrast, boys were presumed to have the skills because they tended to simply pass the ball between themselves during game sessions. Research has also shown that girls receive less time with, and attention from, teachers than do boys, and tend not to dominate whole-class discussions, mixed-gender or small-group work as much as do boys (Sadler and Zittelman, 2009). Girls are viewed as positive, sensitive learners who are ‘calm’, ‘nicer’, ‘teachable’, and ‘more academic’ than are boys (Pardhan, 2011:933). Young girls desire the ‘teacher’s approving gaze’ and ‘work hard to achieve it’ (Davies *et al.*, 2001:172). Girls are also perceived as more passive and therefore in need of greater adult/teacher-directed learning (Pardhan, 2011).

The model ‘good pupil’ works hard, obeys rules, cooperates with others and is conscientious; teachers more commonly associate these traits with female students (Renold, 2006:441). Female pupils also have more positive interactions with teachers (Lindsey and Colwell, 2003) and their misbehaviours are viewed differently to those of boys. Teachers criticise girls more harshly for exhibiting challenging behaviours, whereas bad behaviour in boys is seen as ‘natural’ and to be expected (Liu, 2006:430). This perception clearly reinforces traditional gender characteristics. However, Simmons (2002) argues that aggression in girls is merely better concealed than the obvious physical fighting in which boys engage: because girls are discouraged from expressing anger, it can manifest indirectly and often detrimentally (Simmons 2002). Some educators transfer and endorse gender inequality and stereotypical assumptions, while ‘it is the teachers’ responsibility to challenge the narratives that confirm that gender means exclusion and to provide alternatives both in action and in story in our classrooms’ (Boldt, 2011:85). Teachers need to be aware of gender identity and the influences their beliefs might have on children (Aina and Cameron, 2011; Howarth, 2010). There are many ways in which these adults, and in fact

other children at school, can influence gender stereotypes. Children themselves, too, reinforce their assumed stereotypes in their play and social situations. Alsuwaida (2016:111) admonishes the lack of female status both in education and in employment, saying, ‘educational philosophy favours the gender binary, and society avoids change with a constant implementation of institutionalised norm’.

In some societies in Western countries, teachers have begun to challenge traditional gender categories via a feminist a counter-hegemonic movement (Arnot, 2002:191). Some consider the ‘gender revolution’ of today as a major feature of educational change (Klein *et al*, 2007). However, some of those teachers are still expected to instil what is considered valuable socialisation. Authors such as MacNaughton (2000:244) argue that teachers need to challenge the ‘social normalisation of early childhood teaching’ and eliminate their own ‘bad’ practices so that children can experience a ‘more equitable’ world (Blaise and Andrew, 2005:56). Saudi Arabia has a dominant culture; changing socialisation is therefore difficult. Almost half the teachers working in education in the KSA are female, so different role models may be absent (Ramady, 2010). Teachers might need to rethink their approach to gender equality in the classroom and be open to change (Jones, 2001, 2010; Jones *et al.*, 2010). They might forego boys’ playing with guns, allowing both girls and boys to participate in an activity with no guns (Jones, 2001). This is highly relevant to the KSA, where change, particularly when it involves gender, is much more difficult to accomplish. Connolly (2004:229-30) also argues for teachers to ‘deconstruct and reflect’ on social norms, introducing the concept of the Critical Gender Zone (CGZ): ‘the distance between what the child has already come to internalise in terms of their current experiences of gender relations and the degree to which they are able to reflect upon and deconstruct these with the help of others’. Similarly, conversations with children about their gender knowledge and gender decisions provide a means for adults to gain insight into the discourses to which

children are privy (MacNaughton, 2000). To which discourses are the significant adults in a child's life also privy? As shown by Bronfenbrenner (1979), the adults with whom children interact daily significantly influence how they develop their identity, including their gender.

In the KSA, children live in an arena that 'is highly controlled where some meanings are more powerful than others because they are more available; some meanings are more desirable, more pleasurable and more recognisable than others' (Hughes and Mac Naughton, 1998). According to Browne (2004:110) adults should not 'interfere in young children's play'. However, there is a social contract (Ghanim, 2009), including expectations of obedience; in the KSA, this includes gender identity and role. Rules for children are important in family and school, and children usually adhere to these socially imposed rules, which can be transferred, implicitly or explicitly (Le Poire, 2006). Socialisation and language are also likely impart gender rules. How teachers influence 'children's play' can mould children's perceptions of gender roles (Chapman, 2016:1282). Segregation by gender becomes a 'self-perpetuating cycle', encouraging children to develop behavioural patterns that 'the other sex' finds uninteresting. Children develop a positive self-identity largely on what they feel others will accept (Siraj-Blatchford and Clarke, 2000). They are highly perceptive and receptive, and many teachers are often unaware of how their beliefs and biases can be seen and adopted by children (Larrivee, 2000). MacNaughton (2000:235) defines a teacher's pedagogical gaze as where s/he 'knows how to gaze artfully through the lens of developmental psychology; the teacher's reading of the child; the teacher's strategies, including organisation of space and materials'.

### **3.5.5 Peer influences**

Gender identity is a multi-dimensional construct. Peers are an important socialisation influence on a child and are significant for developing and maintaining gender types (Ewing

Lee and Troop-Gordon, 2011). Grusec and Hastings (2007) conducted a review of studies on peer learning, including the theories advanced by Piaget and Vygotsky. Piaget (1951) thought cognitive development was more likely when peers engage in interactive discussions or are in conflict. Vygotsky (1978) believed less experienced children learn best from more experienced ones. Children can learn 'appropriate' gender behaviour and norms by guidance from an adult, with girls more likely to work in closer contact with adults (Grusec and Hasting, 2007). Learning involves adapting to reality, during which learners actively construct knowledge by creating and maintaining theories (Flavell, Flavell and Millar, 1993; Piaget, 1972). Irrespective of family's views, children become aware of gender stereotypes at school through peer interactions (Halim and Ruble, 2010). Research has found that even three-year old children have stereotypes about girl versus boy play (Ruble and Martin, 1998). Such preferences are not only negative, they '[can] be one way in which the child can create and begin to identify with their own gender' (Nutbrown, 2011:61). Children can create their own environment and contribute to gender role socialisation by selecting play friends and activities (Martin, Ruble and Szkrybalo, 2002). The most important influences in pre-school are the teachers, however, who may support or actively discourage traditional gender socialisation (Smith, Cowie and Blades, 2011). Teachers regularly use gender as a social category, gender marking activities, spaces and behavioural styles (Lloyd and Duveen, 1992). Children do choose and select their own friends; however, a chosen role model can also influence gendered behaviour (MacNaughton, 2000).

Play is often segregated, endorsing gender-marked skills and learning styles between children: 'differences in the qualities of boys' and girls' same sex peer interactions are so marked that they are often called separate subcultures' (Martin and Fabes, 2001:433). Friendship groups can powerfully affect gender development (Browne, 2004). Early gender formation is developed through schemas built around rudimentary 'in-group/out-group'

categorisations, and children affiliate with the characteristics and behavioural norms of their 'in-group' (Martin and Halverson 1981). Children typically understand gender identity by two years of age, demonstrating 'at least rudimentary gender cognitions' (Martin and Ruble, 2004:69). Segregated (gender-marked) play may be due to positive reinforcement by peers and teachers or maybe the choice of the child. 'Behaviour compatibility' (Martin *et al.*, 1999:752) is proposed as a reason for pre-school children's sex segregation; they expect their same-sex peers to have the same preferences (Martin and Fabes, 2001:442). High activity levels in girls elicit fewer positive reactions from peers and teachers than in boys. Children who choose traditional sex role behaviour receive more positive feedback (Fagot, 1984).

Other school routines influence gender (Browne, 2004). Mentors and teachers often indirectly encourage segregation. Their prolific use of terms like 'girls' and 'boys' provides messages concerning gender as a social marker. Martin and Fabes (2001) examined sex segregation and reported that the more girls and boys played with their same-sex partners, the more the sexes became differentiated. Polarisation can have permanent effects: 'starting as early as two, boys tend to engage in primarily masculine activities, while girls engage in primarily feminine activities' (Ewing-Lee and Troop-Gordon, 2011:198). Such preferences can become embedded, influencing a child's cognitive development and skill acquisition (Ewing-Lee and Troop-Gordon, 2011:443), leading to differences between genders. Martin and Fabes (2001) concur: 'Some of these sex differences appear to be a function of peer experiences that amplify and extend initial sex differences'. Same-sex play has been a subject of interest for many researchers (Ewing-Lee and Troop-Gordon, 2011; Fagot, 1984; Martin and Fabes, 2001). It could also be true that children tend to categorise things superficially, upon similar 'essence' (Gelman, 2004).

### 3.5.6 Familial influences on gender development

According to Vygotsky (1978 cited in Anning, Cullin and Flear, 2009), 'children are cultural beings, living in particular communities at particular times and living and constructing a particular history'. This places the child and their community at the centre of identity construction. From birth, 'polarisation' of gender organises a child's life (Bem, 1989). Even toddlers (from 13 months of age) modify gender behaviour, consistent with parental expectations (Duveen and Lloyd, 1990). Further, stereotypical definitions of 'girls' and 'boys' toys are observed in toddlers (Freeman, 2007:362). Freeman (2007) examined parental influences in terms of toys, and observed children experiencing their parents' approval of gender-specific toys. My research explores whether the children are conscious of their parents' choices and whether these choices are gender specific. Many parents raise 'boys and girls differently' (Endendijk *et al.*, 2013:578), guiding their children towards 'gender-appropriate' toys and behaviour (Hinitz and Hewes, 2011:25-26). Gender stereotyping is distinct from gender identity – they are separate constructs, both of which involve cognition (Halim and Ruble, 2010). Parents who apply non-stereotyped values have less gender-typed children (Bem, 1981:355).

Bronfenbrenner (1979) viewed the family as most influential in a child's developing identity. The family can therefore 'help the larger culture achieve the goal of socializing new members' (Bee and Boyd, 2007:363). Bronfenbrenner (1986) includes workplace and community influences on family function. In the context of my research in the KSA, I would suggest that the community has a major influence on family processes and functioning (Al Naim, 2005). Ghanim (2009: 179) discusses the Middle Eastern 'social contract', which he recognises as patriarchal, governs these societies and involves a specific social construction of reality and obedience. Females in these societies are offered protection and security from birth to death, in exchange for chastity and obedience (Ghanim, 2009). The influence of

general society and local community (with restrictions on female mobility and access) makes a female's closest relatives transactional lords with the power to provide security and protection, provided she does not challenge the social contract. A good example of differences between boys' and girls' toys is bicycles. Even in Victorian Britain, there were ideas about whether girls and women should ride bicycles (Maxwell, 2011). The hesitation then was that bicycle riding would facilitate more unsupervised contact between men and women, risking social controversy. One newspaper compared bicycle accidents to the collapse of civilisation (Maxwell, 2011). In Iran, the 'Iranian Women Love Cycling' group defies the fatwa claiming that bike riding threatens a woman's chastity' (Youngs, 2019:85). Today, not only strict Muslim societies question bike riding for girls; for example, this is also the case in Ghana and Kenya (Youngs, 2019) and in India (Arnold, 2013). Other gender-related toys include dolls and ball games, but bikes seem important to young Saudi girls.

Many other theorists propose that children are moulded into gender roles through the behaviour of adults, particularly their parents (Bandura, 1971; Mischel and Ebbeson, 1970). Maccoby (2002) calls this 'indirect socialisation', whereby parents or others reward and/or reinforce gender-appropriate behaviour in children. According to Bussey and Bandura (1999), young girls continually identify with their mothers and psychologically merge with them. Consequently, the self-concept of a daughter is characterised by relatedness and mutuality in interpersonal relationships. This may be why females engage in mothering, as they re-establish a sense of interpersonal connectedness, as with their mother. Children believe that approval of play is greater with same-sex than with other-sex peers (Martin *et al.*, 1999:751). It is, however, important to separate parents from peers. Parents transmit the principles of society and limits of social interactions; peer interactions develop understandings of interpersonal relationships (Youniss, 1980).

### **3.5.7 Media influences**

Today it is impossible to ignore the large impact the media has on young children and their perceptions of self, even if parents mediate their media consumption. Media and its influence on children's perceptions of gender are briefly included in the analysis. The reasons for not exploring, in depth, the media influences of gender in my study are twofold: one - data relevant to analysis was obtained by focusing on encounters in the pre-school setting and not the home environment of the child, where media influence is arguably strongest; and two - it is beyond the scope of the study: a separate study on media influences and traditional KSA influences is warranted. It is, however, important to include the media in the literature review, for conceptual understanding.

According to Bronfenbrenner (1979), micro and meso systems influence young children. Many young children today gain their narratives from the media. Contradicting the grading of influences proposed by Bronfenbrenner (1979), I have thus repositioned media as a close influence on a developing child. I have also placed it in the microsystem, which I believe works better in the KSA context. Media in 2018 is central in transmitting narratives that influence gender, as much if not more so than families and teachers (Guantlett, 2008). Children today are not limited to their ecological systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) for constructing their societal context; through media, they are privy to many other systems and cultures, and thus similarly to varied messages about gender (Maccoby, 2002; Martin and Fabes, 2001). These can influence children's gender stereotypes (Halim and Ruble, 2010). Children are exposed to sex-roles in the media, influencing their development of gender identity. Wood (1994) proposes that the media has two images of females, without shade or nuance: a 'good' woman versus a 'bad' one. This polarisation often leads to an overstatement of differences and a dramatisation of the consequences of good and bad. Early childhood is globally located in a commercialised and stylistic 'landscape' (Carrington,



2005). Television, movies and the Internet influence gender development (Daitsman, 2010). Here, it is important to discuss the media in the KSA in the context of a prevailing society with its cultural norms and traditions. Family, school and peers have roles to play in a child's developing gender identity. However, influences can also be found in the media (Fine 2010<sup>b</sup>:216). Whether these influences are diverse, open-minded or reinforce stereotypes, they ultimately perpetuate gender segregation (Freeman, 2007), contribute to present gender stereotypes and establish new ones (Saltmarsh, 2009).

Influences on children are, however, not restricted to television shows or cartoons; there is also access to foreign sources on the Internet. The influence of commerce and media encompasses much more than what is on the screen, extending to images, toys, dolls, and other gendered paraphernalia in fashion. These impact a child's demeanour, behaviour and character (Jones, 2002). Television programmes and films are now accompanied by video games, websites and other franchises including dolls, toys, collectibles, apparel, beauty products, food, school supplies and untold numbers of other everyday consumer goods. Research on the influence of media on children cautions that its effects on gender construction and perception should not be ignored (Rideout and Hamel, 2006). Entertainment media often more readily provides role models for many children than the real-life adults with whom they are in contact (Bee and Boyd, 2007). Bronfenbrenner (1979) includes media in one of his layers of influence, but not as a direct influence on the child. There is some evidence regarding how much time Saudi children watch television: 50% of the KSA parents in one study said their children spent more than two hours per day watching television, while 46% reported their children played for more than five hours per day (Darwish *et al.*, 2014). There is now increased access to television channels from all over the world. One anticipates this would influence the gender attitudes of children.

### **3.5.8 Narratives, storytelling and influences on gender**

A child's first exposure to literature is often the fairy-tale (Kuykendal and Sturm, 2007). Stories can both delight and instruct (Bearne, 2000). Davies and Banks (1992:5) emphasise the significant links between story narratives and culture: a story 'provides substantial and detailed manifestations of culture'; through a story, 'children can learn the patterns of desire appropriate for their gender'. Parsons (2004:135) highlights the importance of fairy-tales, arguing that while they are not solely responsible for the cultural education of children, they play a significant role in 'the complex layering of cultural stories and influences that affirm and perpetuate cultural norms'. Additionally, many traditional stories propagate a 'script' for female and male behaviour (Rice, 2000:215), and can significantly influence the construction of acceptable gendered behaviour (Parsons, 2004). Nofal (2014:18) extols the positive benefits of storytelling for developing a child's knowledge and understanding the family values of their society. He calls for educators to 'modernise the heritage' (Nofal, 2014:56) and that neglecting to do so will necessarily create a gap in a child's learning. This heritage may, however, require modernisation. Is this aspect of storytelling even possible in an era of technology and instant access to a globalised community? Beyond television, children have access to an array of digital media in their home that allows them to stream television programmes (Rideout, 2013), many of which highlight an assortment of social structures, including multiple variants on values, gender identity and roles (Wyness, 2012). Children today are living in a complex world and the panoramic view of social situations and cultures may mean they develop multiple identities. Children need to learn how to 'adjust to a high degree of complexity and diversity, as well as continuous changes' (Dahlberg, Moss and Pence, 2007:54).

Some argue that childhood has an advantage over adulthood in that children can access a world filled with fantasy and are able to create alternatives to the world in which we live

(Adams, 1986; Lee, 2005). However, Davies (1989<sup>b</sup>) cautions that, while on the surface this may appear true, in reality this division of the world into 'real' and 'fantasy' is key to the 'establishment and maintenance of the moral order' (Davies, 1989<sup>b</sup>:43). Children collude in the establishment of this social order in which they live and learn, and one way this is accomplished is through their own narratives. Narratives provide an ordered world and a place for children to recognise themselves and others (Favat, 1977). Stories provide children with metaphors, characters and plots, affording them the opportunity to locate their own gendered selves within 'positionings', helping them interpret their social world (Davies, 1989<sup>b</sup>:43-44). This is consistent with Billington's (2000) assertion that 'people attempt to make sense of their lives by narrativizing their experiences: people tell stories, both to others and to themselves, not merely through their words but also through their actions' (2000:37).

In any society, there are implicit and explicit expectations of how their members, including children, should behave (Bearne, 2000). Although stories are often told to engage and stimulate a child's imagination, they are often also didactic, showing a child how life should be lived (Bearne, 2000). Narratives can be spoken or written and are especially useful when the speaker is not literate, as, typically, are pre-schoolers. Certainly, there are cultural differences in how stories are used and what effects they have on male and female children. Children take different messages from stories that other children construct, principally because of the social conditioning they have received from a wide array of influences (Wang and Leichtman, 2000). A narrative can be an instrument for making meaning of the life that dominates a person's culture (Bruner, 1990). This leads us to consider the different socio-cognitive processes and shaping of perceptions in young children, and how these processes and perceptions can be observed in the children's own narratives, whether real or imaginary. Wang and Leichtman (2000) found that Chinese children understood the meaning of shame, while the majority of American children knew about guilt. They concluded that there are

many influences on pre-school children, not just narratives delivered by parents, and there can be many layers of influence (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). The intent and influence of storytelling in the KSA involve shame and guilt; narratives are used as a mechanism for learning about good behaviour and the consequences of bad behaviour (Nofal, 2014).

Some societies value the fostering of independence, personal uniqueness and self-sufficiency. While American mothers tended to provide messages about sense of self and autonomy through storytelling, Chinese mothers communicated the need to conform to social norms and cultural behavioural standards and to show concern for the moral code. Chinese culture thus emphasises interdependence, group solidarity, personal humility and social hierarchy (Bond, 1991; Wang, Leichtman and Davies, 2000). Traditional stories function with the 'centripetal forces' of conformity to the norms and standards of the society and culture in which the children live (Bearne, 2000:189).

### **3.6 Chapter Summary**

In this chapter, some of the major theories associated with child development and how gender identity and gender roles are constructed in childhood, were reviewed. Each theory discussed contributed to my knowledge, shaped my stance as a researcher doing research in the KSA and was significant to my conceptualisation of childhood development. Three main theories were identified as central to my research: sex-role theory, Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory and post-structuralist theory. My conceptualisation was almost like the child within her ecological system, except I was an adult surrounded by layers of theories that would only take me so far. For example, sex-role theory mirrored my own upbringing in relation to gender and gender categories in the KSA. To understand the child and influences on childhood, Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory was used. I considered both - the norms in the KSA in terms of gender and the life of the child and the influential layers in her world - through a critical lens that would ensure that gender identity

and role were explored in the context of their construction in preschool children, KSA. This critical lens was formed using post-structuralist theory, which provided the depth to look at the foundations underpinning everyday social existence and everyday discursive practices in the KSA (Davies, 1989<sup>a</sup>). This skill and knowledge to look beyond gave me the confidence to compare the theories and my own theoretical connections, keeping in mind the empirical evidence I might discover concerning the female experience in the KSA.

Cohen and Martin (1976) postulate that gender learning results predominantly from modelling and social reinforcement and that people learn gendered behaviour through both indirect and explicit teaching. The chapter has explored how social and environmental factors affecting gender identity include many that can impact upon children, such as parents, school, teachers, peers and society. One of the theories I found helpful in understanding gender development in children was Kohlberg's (1966<sup>a</sup>) gender development theory. However, this theory ignored such external factors as the notions of reward and punishment and their significance in a child's life, which Skinner (1938) and Hinitz and Hewes (2011) showed to be significance to gender identity and construction in children. Social and/or environmental forces are often built on hereditary and historical influences, as well as on stereotypes which promote the development of gender identity and roles (Smith, Cowie and Blades, 2011). However, the literature review presented here also revealed the agency of the child (James, Jenks and Prout, 1998), emphasising the development of gender identity as a process whereby a child actively constructs meaning by observing, imitating and interpreting experiences in their social world. Browne (2004:61) accepts this notion when she argues that, while the child may be socially constructed (or positioned), she retains a degree of control over how she constructs or positions herself. Theories concerning how the process of construction were explored: 'individuals negotiate cultural understandings about femininity and masculinity, in shaping and reshaping their

own sense of themselves' (Wearing, 1996).

Two very influential systems in a child's life are their school and their home. As representatives of socialisation, parents and teachers model, reinforce and encourage in a child the behaviours society deems appropriate. In the KSA, this involves children's gender identity and role, and application of this concept leads one to conclude that gender formation is simply: 'a cause and effect relationship between what adults want and do and what children become' (MacNaughton, 2000:14). Many of the sources influencing young girls emanate from socialisation factors involved in a child's life, including religion and culture. Islamic values and teachings are deeply rooted in the KSA society, its values and teachings being ritualistically practiced from birth. As the female child grows, boundaries based upon religious doctrine and culture can be used to restrict her persona, actions and demeanour – ultimately, her identity and role. This plays a powerful part in shaping the gender identity of young children in general, particularly of girls, in KSA. Erikson (1963) suggests eight interrelated stages over an entire life cycle and these were useful in understanding the conflict of choices. Stages relevant to the age of my participants were explored.

The discussion included why I chose to follow certain theories in my research. I aim to use these to explore the perceptions of the participant girls in my study, to ascertain their notions of female identity and role in the context of KSA society. This chapter also emphasised how sex-role theory applies in the social arena of the KSA and demonstrated how Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory can be used to identify the influential layers in a child's life in the KSA. By exploring my findings through a post-structuralist lens (Bové, 1990; Foucault, 1980; Davies, 1989<sup>b</sup>), I could conceptualise how a myriad factors influence young girls' gender development and behaviour in the KSA. I conclude that, in the KSA, early childhood gender identity is a social, political and dynamic construction. Chapter Four will explore some of the influences discussed here, with an emphasis on the sociological systems

that could affect a child's gender identity construction in the KSA.

This chapter has discussed some of the many studies on how gender develops in young children – exploring both the internal factors and the social influences that play a part in the construction of an identity (Emilson, Folkesson and Lindberg, 2016; Money and Ehrhardt, 1996). If we accept that gender is in part a social construct, then we also must accept that not all societies are the same or share the same values of gender roles and acceptable behaviours. Culture includes attitudes and behaviours that distinguish between males and females. In most societies, women have less personal autonomy, fewer resources and less say in decisions (e.g., family planning) than do men. Religion often reinforces these differences, which will be the subject of the next chapter.

## **Chapter Four: Culture and Childhood in the KSA: Religion and Socialisation**

In Chapter Three, theories of gender identity and role were discussed in general. In this chapter, the focus will be more specific: on the construction of gender identity in the KSA. Hall (1996) considers identity a vessel that encapsulates religion, morals, norms, values, customs and culture. These factors constitute and maintain human personality, making people citizens who conform to the rules of society. In the KSA, culture, society and national identity are inextricably linked with religion (Baki, 2004). To be fully accepted as a citizen, one must practice the Islamic faith. An important aspect of any personality is a sense of gender identity, shaped during the early years. A consistent thread running through most discursive practices is that we are all ‘fixed’ in certain ways, with one of these fixed – albeit not rigid – points being gender (Davies, 1989<sup>a</sup>). Daily discourses confer on individuals a sense of belonging to society. Each society teaches its citizens the norms and values it deems most important, and which a citizen should follow to become a member of that society and feel a corresponding sense of belonging. Society and culture reinforce various discourses and pedagogies of home, school and religion, socialising children in their own society. KSA society encourages children to uphold the principles of religion and cultural norms. In this chapter some of these expectations and the religious and cultural norms KSA females encounter daily, beginning at school, are explored. According to UNESCO (2010), the general goals of education in the KSA are:

To have students that understand Islam in a correct and comprehensive manner, to plant and spread the Islamic creed, to provide the students with the values, teachings and ideals of Islam, to equip them with the various skills and knowledge, to develop their conduct in constructive directions, to develop the society economically and culturally, and to prepare the individual to be a useful member in the building of her community (Ismail, 2016:21).

Prior to Islam, the nomadic tribes inhabiting the Arabian Peninsula fought frequently as



each tribe had their own customs concerning marriage, hospitality and law. The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) introduced a new religion into this chaotic Arab world, which demanded that believers obey God's will and laws (Constitutional Rights Foundation, 2018). Since then, education in the KSA has been based on Islamic religious doctrine, and the modern learning system is still founded on a religious framework, as learning and religion are inseparable (Al-Attas, 1979). The KSA is also considered the 'keeper of the Islamic religion' for the majority of Muslims in the world (Baki, 2004:2), conferring enormous responsibilities on those who reside in and govern the KSA, to preserve the Muslim religion with its present and historical traditions and interpretations (Baki, 2004). In the KSA, children are highly protected and are viewed as the necessary preservers of the values required to maintain KSA status, both nationally and internationally. Many share this responsibility, including families and schools. Religion plays a crucial role in KSA life, embedded in and embodied by all aspects of a person's daily life. The following provides a deep insight into KSA society, with an emphasis on how females are positioned in both religious and cultural contexts. How a child's personality is constructed by social norms, the home and religion and the ways in which these factors shape an individual's identity in an established society?

#### **4.1 The Power of Religion in Society**

A child is influenced by the immediate and external context of her society (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Understanding the KSA requires an understanding of the Islamic religion and its position in mainframe KSA society and culture. There is no universally agreed upon definition of religion, although many exist in sociology and anthropology. McIntosh (1995) compares religion to a lens through which we perceive and interpret reality from the world around us. Durkheim (1954: 47) defines religion as 'a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things...things set apart and forbidden...which unite in one single

community'. Religion frequently involves the belief in a supernatural entity. Durkheim argues, though, that religions are more than a simple matter of belief, that it should be defined in terms of distinctions between the sacred and the irreligious. He concedes that all religions involve regular ceremonial and ritual activities in which a group of believers congregate. Such rituals are arguably crucial to binding the members of a religion (Bellah, 2011). Some perceive religion as a force of order that structures society and promotes positive relationships and peaceful co-existence between human beings; others as a tool of control and oppression, which heavily influences individual identity (Oppong, 2013:12).

Islam confers legitimacy and validity on the KSA as a country (Buchele, 2008). The KSA is inconceivable without Islam: many refer to it as 'the home or cradle of Islam' (Buchele, 2008: 52). Religiosity is prescribed by the state. The state is the guardian of religion and requires that all human conduct uphold Islamic principles. The KSA applies '*Shariah*' (Islamic law) as the law of the land and this has a direct bearing on women's status in the KSA (Doumato, 2010). For centuries, the image of the Muslim woman has been orientalist and idealised by Western writers (Offenhauer, 2005; Zine, 2014). Her persona has often been characterised by elements of oppression and of submission to patriarchy. The concept of the 'Muslim woman' has arguably become 'essentially a semiotic subject that is produced and reproduced in orientalist, Islamist, feminist, and nationalistic discourses' (Zayzafoon, 2005:2). The '*fetishization*' of the Muslim female body and items of apparel (such as the veil), where her female identity is established and fixed, identifies her as one who is obedient and subordinate (Erin, 2014). However, this can also be seen as a choice, personal adherence to the expected social role and identity for the female gender in public. In private, females (and, indeed, males) may negotiate more flexible gender norms and power dynamics (Mackenzie, 2019). From a post-structuralist perspective, this is reminiscent of Foucault's ideas of power and the relationships between power, discipline and knowledge, and our

bodies. In his view, truth does not exist but is in fact a ‘truth game’ that expresses the politics of knowledge for what is relevant for that particular place and time (Foucault, 1997; MacNaughton, 2005).

People belong to social groups, which comprise ‘a collection of individuals who perceive themselves as members of the same social category’. These social groups will invariably shape the responses of their members regarding the circumstances to which they are exposed (Ysseldyk, Matheson and Anisman, 2010). Social interactions lead to the development of role expectations, with behavioural expectations fulfilled in the form of social roles (Weaver and Agle, 2002:80). Religions are *groups*; followers of a religion typically identify with their respective group by adhering to ‘its normative beliefs and practices’ (Hogg, Adelman and Blagg, 2010:73). Some argue that the KSA is controlled by an unyielding dominating culture, not a religion (Hamidaddin, 2013). Dominant male opinion on the gender roles and identity of KSA nationals has constructed gender norms and traditions here, where social hierarchies matter (Zuhur, 2011). Religious groups provide moral guidance for daily behavioural choices and derive meaningful existences from the sacred and divine. In fact, Silberman (2005:647) proposes that religion is one of the ‘few meaning systems’ offering meaning to every aspect of human life. For example, this perspective argues that religion affords significance to particular roles in society, such as parenting and marriage, material objects, time and space (locations). As is the case with other groups, religious groups expect ‘certain forms of role performance from their members’ (Silberman, 2005:81). Religious teachings can also profoundly influence an individual’s understanding of social behaviour (Schneider, 1993). Religious identity results from ‘internal subjective perceptions, self-reflection, and external characterizations’ (Peek, 2005:271) and it shapes who we are. It is not static, but rather dynamic, evolving in accordance with different stages of cognitive development, themselves affected by maturity and the social environment.

There are benefits to personal well-being from belonging to a positive social group, such as having a social identity ‘empowered’ by members that hold ‘strong convictions’, as is generally the case in communities that possess a distinct sense of religious identity (Ysseldyk, Matheson and Anisman, 2010:62). Religion empowers various groups in society and increases their resilience, particularly the oppressed. Religiosity contributes positive ‘cognitive and emotional value’ through the ‘distinctive sacred worldview and eternal group membership’ (Ysseldyk, Matheson and Anisman 2010:67) that religious identity provides. However, there may also be negative impacts where intergroup conflicts threaten religious identity. The behaviour, emotions and beliefs of individuals can be profoundly influenced by various aspects of religion, including those associated with negative psychological outcomes, such as prejudice (Maton *et al.*, 2005). Ironically, the origin of the term ‘prejudice’ is the ‘enlightenment liberalism’ of the eighteenth century (Dixon and Levine, 2012:8). The injunction of the Enlightenment was to live in the light of reason found in religion. The antithesis of this concept was prejudice, in which a person would live with ‘unreasoning faith’ based on scientific rationality (Billig, 1996). Thus, prejudice would not allow one a rational attitude towards life. In the early twentieth century, however, prejudice came to designate negative opinions about members of certain groups, races and nations (Dixon and Levine, 2012). Religion can therefore facilitate social institutions that cause harm, in the form of extremism, for example, requiring government intervention (Maton *et al.*, 2005:855).

#### **4.1.1 Islamic religious identity in Muslim life**

Religion is a very important part of Muslim life. Muslims believe that their purpose in life is to worship ‘*Allah*’ (God). This is specifically mentioned in the Holy Qur’an:

‘I have only created Jinns and men, that they may serve me’  
(Holy Qur’an, Surat Adh-Dharyat 1984, 51:56).

Parents usually first expose children to Islam, teaching them about its basic principles and fostering the development of their religious and spiritual identity, their ‘connection to the divine’ (Mahoney, 2005:697). This early schooling is often followed by lessons at a mosque during the early years of a child’s life (Chaudhury and Miller, 2008:390). Religion is used to resolve conflicts in a household between family members, equipping people with ‘values about appropriate goals’ in relation to family life and providing guidance on ‘how to reach them’ (Mahoney, 2005:690). Thus, the Islamic religion provides family members with a common set of values ‘rooted in a religious system of meaning’, which help them avoid conflict. Muslim parents rely on the Qur’an and the *Sunnah* teachings from the Prophet Muhammad’s (PBUH) narrations to help them raise their children in an Islamic manner. They also serve as tools to dissuade children from engaging in challenging behaviour. Therefore, parents will often recite Islamic sayings to their children to remind them of the important presence of ‘*Allah*’ (God) in their everyday lives. An example from Islamic teachings is provided by one of the Prophet’s companions, ‘(10977) the one who does not show respect to our elderly or mercy for our young is not from among us’ (Al-Bayhaqi, 2008:458; Al-Jazairi, 2001:219). The importance of respect for elders is core to Islam and is taught to children from a young age; likewise, it is stressed to parents (as in other faiths) that children are divine gifts from God and should be cherished and treated equally (Mahoney, 2005:697). Many other attitudes regarding children and childhood are expressed in Islam. A particular ‘*Ahadith*’ tradition of the Prophet Muhammad’s (PBUH) narrations states,

(7047) In the Paradise in the midst of the garden there was a very tall man and I could hardly see his head...around him there were children in such a large number as I have never seen, I said to my companion, who is this? and he said this is (Abraham) and the children around him are those children who die with ‘*Al fitrah*’ (all children before the puberty). (Al-Bukhari, 1997<sup>b</sup>:121-122).

Muslims believe that all children are born innocent and, if they die when young, they will go straight to heaven (Stearns, 2017). Islamic attitudes are deeply rooted in daily aspects of Muslim life. Islam teaches that every natural thing that exists in the world is the creation of God. Muslims are thus constantly reminded of God's presence. Every part of an individual's existence is intrinsically tied to '*Allah*' and one's life is therefore centred around the Oneness of God and one's accountability in the Hereafter (Naik, 2007: 11-36). However, it is important to distinguish between beliefs and practices that are religious and those that are cultural. It is also imperative to understand that culture and religion are inherently linked. Religion has even been described as 'a phenomenon on a cultural level' (Belzen, 2004:302), with humans becoming religious in accordance with that which is culturally 'available', precisely because religious practices are so deeply rooted in, and influenced by, cultural practices. Many anthropologists believe that it is not merely theological dogma that defines religion, and that culture, also, is a crucial aspect (Rasmussen, 2015:23).

#### **4.1.2 Individual ideologies, religious leaders and religious identity**

Religious ideologies differ across multiple cultures. Religiosity can be defined as the type and extent of an individual's religious orientation, and this may be interpreted differently depending on the religion concerned. It is also important to keep in mind that, at any one time, individuals can assume multiple self-identities and group memberships. For example, a person may simultaneously categorise or, in the case of a child - perceive - themselves as belonging to a certain faith, ethnicity or religion. However, the individual might identify with one of these more profoundly than with the others, one identity exerting the greatest influence on their sense of self (Ysseldyk, Matheson and Anisman, 2010: 66). Belonging to a faith usually also involves a leadership hierarchy, typically in the form of one individual exercising authority over other members of the group. This sometimes takes the form of a prophet or sacred guide, such as the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in the case of Islam, Jesus

Christ for Christians, and Buddha for Buddhists. However, these sacred individuals are not physically present and living in the modern world, so a secondary group of religious leaders assume the role of promoting religious traditions (e.g., Imam, Priests or Ministers). These leaders seek to 'operate within the relevant socio-political context' and to 'embed the activities that define the group' (Ysseldyk, Matheson and Anisman, 2010:66), usually in physical landmarks where members of the religious group can congregate (e.g., temples, synagogues, mosques and churches). The leaders provide guidance on religious doctrine and practices and offer counsel, judgement and/or opinions on religious matters. Comprehension of these leadership structures, the importance of landmarks and practices of a faith are crucial in understanding 'the strength and intensity often associated with religious identification' (Ysseldyk, Matheson and Anisman, 2010:66).

In Islam, religious scholars are referred to as '*ulama*'. They have unparalleled knowledge of Qur'an and religious doctrines, the '*Ahadith*' and are the figures of authority in the spheres of spiritual and social guidance (Black, 2001). Scholars have a wide range of opinions on women's issues and their degree of participation in Islamic public life and have given substantial thought to the role of women in society (Sidani, 2005:505). The guidance they offer is based on the principles of Islamic teachings; however, different schools of thought also invariably influence the personal opinions and individual interpretations of religious doctrine of scholars, as do the social and cultural contexts in which they operate. For this reason, people who follow the guidance of one scholar may hold more liberal views on certain subjects than the followers of another '*ulama*', although both sets of followers practice the same faith, Islam. It depends largely on the social context and the expectations of society at any one time. A respected Egyptian scholar, Muhammad Al-Ghazali (1989), argued for the mobility and development of women in Arab societies, stating that females have been crippled by false traditions that do not belong to Islam and that these practices

were created by people, rather than by God, ‘result[ing] in degradation in the whole ‘*Umma*’ (Muslim Community)’ (Sidani, 2005:504). This position, emphasising the fundamental Islamic principle of equality between the sexes, led him to condemn those in positions of religious authority for ‘keeping women in prisons of ignorance and psychological defeat’ (Sidani, 2005) and for restricting women to ‘domestic service and bodily instincts’ (Sidani, 2005). He also promoted the idea of women working in the public sector, where some contact with men is inevitable expected. In a different cultural context, the ‘*Mufti*’ (leading cleric) of the KSA, Abdel-Aziz BinBaz, argued that taking a woman out of her home (‘kingdom’) removes her from the ‘innate nature and character’ created for her by God. He has also emphasised the importance of having women work solely in segregated fields deemed suitable, such as education and nursing, because working in the domains historically associated with men contradicts the nature of women and ultimately leads to their misery and demise (Sidani, 2005:503). Nevertheless, many liberal men in communities and families in the KSA are not averse to the idea of allowing their daughters, wives or sisters to ‘pursue their education, careers, or travels’ (Pharaon, 2004:358). In fact, many families today insist that their daughters are properly educated. While women in Riyadh are seldom seen in mixed public areas, this does not necessarily mean that their activities are exclusively restricted to the domestic domain (Le Renard, 2008:612).

These examples illustrate the influence of Islamic religious leaders over religious practice and the behaviours of the devout, as well as the potentially vast differences between their positions. In Egypt, for example, there is a more pressing economic requirement for females to work (Kramarae and Spender, 2000). Religious discourses in Egypt therefore promote mobility and the right of females to work. At the time of Shaikh BinBaz’s statement, the KSA was economically robust and females were encouraged to stay home and be responsible only for domestic duties, which best suited KSA society at that time. The



majority of KSA society agree with the social agenda of the '*ulama*'; many do not perceive the social differences between men and women as examples of gender discrimination – rather, they view it as equivalence, 'a balance between the rights and duties of men and women as prescribed in Islam and necessary to uphold honour and family values' (Doumato, 2010:425). The following discussion will examine the integration of females into different aspects of KSA life as expected by their religion.

#### **4.1.3 The influence of religiosity on female gender identity**

Many societies undergoing periods of significant change make women the 'carriers of tradition' or the 'centre of family' (Sakr, 2008:387). The current position of the KSA is the result of both historical (tribal and Islam) and modern (oil and accompanying wealth) factors. Historically, mothers in the KSA have been responsible for their child's physical and spiritual well being and intellectual development (Naseef, 1999). Prior to Islam, in the era of '*Jahiliyyah*' (pre-Islamic paganism), men were held in high esteem and women considered much lower, with few human rights (Khaki cited in Naseef, 1999). It was the Islamic tenets that liberated females from this ignorance and oppression (Naseef, 1999) and it is in Islam that the basis of modern (KSA) gender roles and identity were endowed: these are based on the innate dispositions or '*fitrah*' of men and women to fulfil their pre-ordained roles in society; that is, to raise a family (Naseef, 1999).

In Islam, a man helping his wife with domestic work is considered of high moral standing. In the *Sunnah* (Prophetic traditions), the prophet Muhammad (PBUH) would help his wives wash, cook and clean at home (Aleem, 2007). '*Sayida*' (respectable lady) Aisha (RA) was asked about the manners of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in his home. She replied: '(4996) He washes his clothes, milks his ewe, and serves himself' (Al- Albani, 1988). She also said: '(4937) He sews his clothes and sews his shoes and does what men generally do in their homes' (Al-Albani, 1988:886; Al-Mubarakpuri, 2014:419). These words strongly

suggest that, during the Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) time and even after his death, it was the norm for men to help their wives with household duties. Historically, women in Islam have had many roles outside the stereotypical and traditional roles usually ascribed to women. This includes business roles, such as the case of 'Sayida' (respectable lady) Khadija 'Bint' Khuwaylid (RA), Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) wife, who is also commonly referred to as the 'Mother of the Believers' and regarded as one of the most important female figures in Islam (Qutb, 2008). Khadija was a successful merchant; her caravans alone equalled the caravans of all other traders of Quraysh (Qutb, 2008). She was commonly called 'Ameerat-Quraysh' (Princess of Quraysh tribe) and *Khadija Al-Kubra* (Khadija 'the Greatest') (Qutb, 2008). Similarly, Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) wife, Aisha 'bint' Abi Baker (Al-Nasa'i, 1997), played a great role in Islamic history: she is considered the first female scholar in Islam (Qutb, 2008). Sayida Aishah, mentioned above, is known for narrating 2210 'Ahadith', including various topics on the Prophet's private life and Islamic teachings (such as inheritance and pilgrimage) (Sayeed, 2013). Not many people recognise the name Nusaybah 'bint' Ka'b (also known as 'Umm 'Ammarah'), famous for her brave efforts in defending the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in the Battle of Uhud. Like many other women, Nusaybah was initially there to aid the soldiers during battle, but became the protector of the Prophet (usually a man's role) during battle, striking fatal blows to her opponents with her sword and shooting arrows at them in order to protect the Prophet (PBUH). The Prophet (PBUH) himself said, 'Wherever I turned, left or right, on the day of the battle of Uhud, I always saw her fighting in my defence.' (Qutb, 2008:200). She was also the first woman in Islam to demand women's rights and equality by questioning the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and by enquiring why most of the statements and religious references to regarding human conduct in the Qur'an relate to men and never to women. God replied, from Qur'anic verses:

Indeed, the Muslim men and Muslim women, the believing men and believing women, the obedient men and obedient women, the truthful men and truthful women, the patient men and patient women, the humble men and humble women, the charitable men and charitable women, the fasting men and fasting women, the men who guard their private parts and the women who do so, and the men who remember Allah often and the women who do so – for them Allah has prepared forgiveness and a great reward' (The Holy Qur'an, Surat Al-Ahzab, 1984, 33:35).

Many would argue that the role of women changed after the death of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Even during subsequent '*Caliphate*' times, many women had respectable jobs and roles outside their homes. Among the most prominent of these was Al-Shifa '*bint*' Abdullah, appointed the market controller in '*AlMadinah*' (city in the west of the KSA) by Umar Ibn Khatab (RA) during his '*Caliphate*'. Her duties were to ensure that business practices were consistent with the teachings of Islam. She would patrol the market, making sure no cheating or trickery occurred and that the buyers and sellers conformed to Islamic values. So successful was this appointment that Umar made another woman, Samra '*bint*' Nuhayk, market controller in '*Makkah*' (holy city) (Al-Asqalani, 1970). The giving of these important roles to women demonstrates that, in Islamic history, women did not have only the traditional domestic roles stereotypically associated with them. They were also highly accepted at that time in their societies. During these times, women did not have to fit the cultural '*norm*' they do now. Religious authority represents the apex of the social hierarchy in the KSA (Bin Sunaytan, 2004), in both male and female domains, but the role of women may not be as rigid as sometimes stated.

Some consider religious adherence a choice but this is not true of all societies. For many women, the decision to leave their religion 'would mean leaving their social community as well' (Graybill, 2002:69). This emphasises the social roles and group identity religion affords women. Threats of ostracism for a child can come from both the classroom and social settings, regulated and instigated by both children and adults (Xu, 2017). Religion

has also been used to constrain women. Monotheistic religions often view the female body as seductive and inviting sin (Wagner *et al.*, 2012:530). Women are ‘marked as gendered beings’ (Mac an Ghail and Haywood, 2007:29). Regulating female bodies represents ‘control’ over female sexuality, demonstrating the male attitude towards public power. This position holds that women can be led to represent social gender stereotypes through their choices and personal involvement with religion, even if they are trying to challenge these stereotypes ‘from the inside’ (Traversa, 2012:40). The influence of religion on constructing female gender in Islamic, Catholic and other faiths has led to their roles as ‘purity-orientated’, supposedly in order to maintain the sacred nature of religion (Traversa, 2012:55). Negative religious experiences associated with women are highlighted; positive experiences are more commonly assumed to be male and patriarchal. This may be because men scrutinise the roles and responsibilities of women in religion more closely than women do the roles of men. Culture and social location often influence women’s experiences, and feminist writers note that social location affects the degree of oppression women experience (Barcinski and Kalia, 2005:104). In terms of religion, greater focus is typically placed on the sense of female guilt and responsibility, with religious guilt exerting a potentially significant negative effect on the well-being of female individuals (Belzen, 2004).

Despite the traditional feminist argument that women have suffered under organised religion, many women continue to view their faith as an unwavering source of strength (Bullock, 2002). Studies have shown that religion can exert a powerful positive influence on women, with affiliation providing them with a sense of purpose and empowerment. Franks (2001) conducted a study of women from Islamic and Christian revivalist faith communities in the UK, in an attempt to discover whether women suffered oppression and subordination in these faith groups. Rather than being victims, she found that many of the

women chose to join the communities and affiliate with them willingly, based on personal, educated choices. This suggests that these women perceived advantages in belonging to religious movements that denote defined gender roles for men and women. Franks (2001) argues that not all women can be considered victims of oppression in religion, particularly when they have made free choices in democratic environments. Since 2015, females have been afforded the right to vote in democratic municipal elections in the KSA. Questions remain as to whether there are power dynamics at play: do men use religion as a means of oppression? Is it really 'free choice' or do females 'submit' to these religious communities and their gender frameworks because they are conditioned to make the choice parents and society deem appropriate? We observe the external manifestations of power, but what drives and creates those manifestations? Is it only women who are gender constrained by and within power relations and expectations of religiosity? Perhaps a man is also forced to maintain and adopt the stance and responsibility expected of him.

Women can choose to express their religious identity in a wide variety of ways. One of the most evident is dress. In Islam, women may adopt various forms of dress, from a headscarf to a full body veil. Although many of these are culturally influenced (Golden *et al.*, 2010), the concept of the veil is explicitly mentioned in the Qur'an as a religious rather than a cultural requirement. Religion and culture are closely enmeshed in the KSA, although there are clear differences between the two. The Islamic religious stipulation about female modesty can be seen in the following verse from Surat An-Nur:

And tell the believing women that they should lower their gaze and guard Their modesty; that they should not display their Beauty and Adornments Except what (ordinarily) appear thereof; that they should draw their veils Over their bosoms and not display their beauty except to their husband's Fathers, their sons, their husband's sons, their brothers and their brother's sons' (The Holy Qur'an, Surat An-Nur, 1984: 24:31).

It should be noted that the requirement in Islam to lower the gaze is not restricted to women: verse 30 of the same '*Surah*' (chapter) also specifically instructs men to practice modesty and avoid temptation by lowering their gaze and not staring at women (Amer, 2012). The veil can be considered a symbol of 'ideological deceit' as Muslim women are often viewed as victims of 'false consciousness' and domination (Bracke, 2003:337). Other views oppose this position. For example, the religious covering or '*hijab*' can be considered a means through which the purity of the body is preserved, since what the body does largely affects the salvation of the soul (Popenoe, 2004). In the KSA, women can be considered social and religious objects, symbols of piety, honour and religious adherence (Arebi, 1994). The veil is a physical representation of this. These symbols and notions of piety, in terms of embodiment and performance, leads us back to Chapter Three: theories concerning a child's social learning and the effects of social conditioning on their developing sense of identity and moral development. In the KSA, something that may be perceived as an imposition of modesty or curtailment of femininity – the '*abaya*' (long black overgarment) – is now the symbol of all that is good and accepted for a female in a pious KSA society, a sign of national identity for women (Le Renard, 2008).

A study of the attitudes of women towards the veil in Indonesia and India found that, culturally, these women viewed the veil as part of their duty to conceal their bodies and be chaste, as men are considered as the 'victims' of seduction (Wagner *et al.*, 2012:530). In Islam, the beauty of a Muslim woman is to be cherished and protected; it is special and not to be displayed freely to everyone. Indeed, the Holy Qur'an mentions women's dress in order to protect them from harassment (Golden *et al.*, 2010:48). The veil is not considered to oppress her sexuality, but instead prevents her body from being publicly scrutinised by the male gaze, enabling a woman to regulate the audience to whom her femininity will be displayed (Bullock, 2002:199). This garment can also act as a reminder to the woman herself

to behave modestly, and as reassurance that one's private space 'is safe from intrusion' (Bullock, 2002:207). Many young Muslim women now choose to wear the veil as a symbol of 'empowerment', believing it allows them to be judged by their intellect rather than by superficial standards, such as their physical appearance (Golden *et al.*, 2010:48). Not only Muslim women alter their dress to negotiate public spaces; non-Muslim women also modify their attire to avoid drawing attention to themselves (Golden *et al.*, 2010:197). It links back to the notion of attire as embodiment, taking on a process and drive that produces identities grounded in agency (Nyman, 2017). Foucault (1991:25) argues that 'the body is also directly involved in a political field; power relations have an immediate hold upon it; they invest it, mark it, train it, torture it, force it to carry out tasks, to perform ceremonies, to emit signs'. In Foucauldian terms, the body is socially matriculated, ensconced in culture and discursively constructed (Rees, 2017).

In the institution of marriage, female gender identity is affected by religious and cultural influences. In Saudi culture, girls are brought up to be good wives, thus marriage is central to constructing the identity of a girl and needs to be included in any discussion of male/female relationships. In the major religions, marriage is traditionally viewed as a sacred union between a man and woman, ordained by God, for spiritual growth, companionship and procreation. In Islam, marriage is considered a fulfilment of half of a believer's faith (Naseef, 1999). Men and women have distinct responsibilities in marriage and family life, collaborating to raise children in the Islamic faith, in an environment in which the 'diverse meanings' of womanhood and manhood are 'mutually constructed and maintained' in a 'gendered inter-relationship' (Mac an Ghail and Haywood, 2007: 45). Islam grants men more power in the affairs of marriage than women, because children born in marriage follow the lineage of their fathers. Because children are expected to follow their father's faith, Islam permits men to marry women from '*Ahil Al Kitab*' (the People of the

Book, meaning the monotheistic religions of Judaism and Christianity). By contrast, Muslim women are not permitted to take non-Muslim husbands, ensuring that her children are 'kept within the faith' (Husni and Newman, 2007:61).

Islamic society views men as having the ability and moral responsibility to construct and unify an Islamic nation and state, securing the continuation of a Muslim population by ensuring that children are raised on an Islamic path. Females are responsible for rearing the future generation, as mothers are regarded as the 'first school' for children in Islam (Naseef, 1999; Sikand, 2006). A contentious issue for some people is the fact that women are not allowed to practice polyandry in Islam, whereas the Qur'an explicitly permits men to practice polygyny, by marrying up to four wives. This is illustrated in the following verse (Surah An-Nisa), which states:

If ye fear that ye shall not be able to deal justly with the orphans (girls), marry women of your choice, two or three or four. But if ye fear that ye shall not be able to deal justly (with them), then only one or that which your right hand possess [i.e., slaves]. That will be more suitable to prevent you from doing injustice. (The Holy Qur'an, Surat An-Nisa 1984, 4:3)

This verse was initially revealed to the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in the aftermath of the great battle of Uhud, in which numerous Muslim men were slain and many women were widowed (Engineer, 2004), and polygyny effectively created a solution to the problem of care provision for disadvantaged widows and orphans left without family protection (Profanter and Cate, 2009). Polygamy is mentioned in other Abrahamic religious scriptures (Judaism and Christianity) (Profanter and Cate, 2009:326). However, some Muslim men have interpreted the statements in the Qur'an as permission to marry any woman they wish, freely and without restriction. However, the verse cannot be read in isolation, as it includes the difficulties in ensuring justice and equality amongst wives. The Qur'an, in fact, cautions



men to take only one wife as it is ‘necessary’ for a man to treat all his spouses equally (Engineer, 2004:120). Greater emphasis is placed on the importance of a husband treating his wife fairly and justly than on permission to take numerous wives. Nevertheless, some suggest the patriarchal Muslim society of Saudi Arabia has adopted polygyny for ‘selfish ends’ (Profanter and Cate, 2009:326), citing it as a ‘right or privilege’. In fact, the decision to marry several wives without treating them equally voids the conditions of polygyny in the Islamic verse (Profanter and Cate, 2009:121). In addition, some oppressive men have used polygyny to control women. During interviews with male ‘*Bedouins*’ on polygyny, men linked unjust treatment of their multiple wives mainly to negative socio-economic factors (Profanter and Cate, 2009). They were also unable to love their spouses equally; for example, one man expressed greater affection for his second wife than for his first (Profanter and Cate, 2009).

#### **4.1.4 Religious education in schools and identity formation**

Primary and secondary socialisation groups, such as family, schools and the workplace, play an essential role in forming identity (Oppong, 2013:13). Studies on the role religious education plays in society have identified profound impacts on social structure, behaviour and tolerance of diversity. Religion and the church influenced the ‘pillarized societal system’ of Dutch society prior to the 1960s, in which ‘complete correspondence’ between church, family, primary and secondary schools was maintained, preventing students from establishing dialogues with ‘students from other pillars’ (Miedema, 2014:362-363). Traditional attitudes persist in the KSA, possibly even in self-funded schools with Western administration. In the KSA, schools play a fundamental role in religious education and gender identity. Until 2002, the official curriculum goal of education for females was to ‘make female students into good, pious, virtuous wives and mothers, protected from interactions with men’ (Le Renard, 2014:29). KSA schools help to consolidate gender

identity, by separating girls from boys from a young age, to maintain norms and social values via a 'framework of Islamic values and social practices' (Hatem, 1999:80).

Education transmits religious values and beliefs to students (Smyth, Lyons and Darmody, 2013). School life instils beliefs in young people via festivals, formal religious instruction, rules about behaviour and dress-codes and the networks from which or in which students may be excluded or included. Faith schools themselves reinforce religious belief by tailoring their curricula to match the values of a specific faith. For example, Catholic beliefs and values are centrally in the curriculum of Catholic schools (Crawford and Rossiter, 2006:382). A balanced religious education can, however, teach diversity and tolerance. Byrne (2014:245) reported that most students at a Catholic school learned about religion at school rather than at home. This highlights the importance of the school setting in nurturing religious beliefs. The children claimed that all types of people, regardless of their background, were welcome at their school. Diversity may therefore be welcome at some schools. In the same study, however, more than half of the children were reluctant to play with Buddhists or atheists, labelled them non-believers. These findings suggest that schools strongly influence diversity and exclusion.

#### **4.2 The Socialisation of the Child in KSA Society**

The complex process of socialisation involves a wide range of factors, with numerous 'agencies of socialisation' such as family, school and peer groups (Wyness, 2012:91) playing influential roles in the way children assimilate social norms and values. The gender framework of the KSA society relies on a male attitude to gender roles and identity in KSA nationals, and this has informed KSA gender norms and traditions (Hamidaddin, 2013). Following is an examination of how females in the KSA are socialised from a young age to conform to the traditions and norms of Saudi culture and religion.

### **4.2.1 Socialisation and citizenship**

Socialisation is ‘the process through which a person becomes an individual, respecting his or her environment's laws, norms and customs’ (Vuorinen and Tuunala, 1997:45 cited in Crespi, 2003:4). Socialisation begins at birth, with children being taught how to integrate into the society in which they are born and learning clear rules of ‘ideal’ behaviour. Society is self-perpetuating in that there is an underlying belief that ‘its young must clearly understand its values and attitudes and must develop the skills and knowledge required to live in it’ (Weible and Dromsky, 2002:156). Thus, education is important in ensuring the health of a society and the behaviour of its citizenship, ‘equal membership of a political community from which enforceable rights and obligations, benefits and resources, participatory practices and a sense of identity flow’ (Kostakopoulou, 2008:1). Citizenship and nationality are typically interchangeable, at least in legal and administrative terms (Sindic, 2011). Citizenship is more than a legal or administrative concept, however: it denotes the political and psychological dimensions embedded in notions of nationality; having citizenship thus depends wholly on the existence of a sense of national identity (Sindic, 2011:202).

In the KSA, children are socialised from birth to integrate into the strict Islamic norms and customs of their society (Baki, 2004). While research into national identities shows that many people in the UK avoid social constructions of nationality (Wilson and Stapleton, 2006), social constructions of ‘citizenship’ in the KSA strongly involve the status quo. The result is that people do not deviate from the expected norm and the ideals of pluralism or diversity are excluded. Saudis have a clearly delineated sense of national identity; for example, there is a one-day holiday annually, Saudi National Day. When considering citizenship in the KSA, an important conflict is whether citizenship can be described as ‘horizontal’ or ‘vertical’. Citizenship or national identity in many countries is conceived as

deep, horizontal camaraderie; however, it also involves hierarchical (vertical) aspects (Anderson, 1991). Vertical citizenship is evident in the social status and professional position an individual enjoys. Both horizontal and vertical citizenship constructs are related to gender differences: male are always at the higher end of vertical positioning (Condor, 2011).

To understand citizenship we must understand 'equality'. Equality, especially gender equality under political, religious or ideological law, is ambivalent. In Saudi Arabia, debates and narratives concerning sexual equality and the role of females in society occurs in a framework of 'Arab-Islamic heritage' (Pharaon, 2004:352). In the KSA, all citizens are viewed as 'social actors', each with a defined role and position, in strict accordance with their gender. There are opportunities in education to liberate and raise the status of females (e.g., female universities) though some might suggest that even making this statement ignores the reality of KSA society, which has not, historically, been liberal (Bakhurji, 2003). The social and political landscape in the KSA are changing and many issues deemed restrictive to female liberation are now becoming more flexible. However, socially, particularly for those who live in strong tribal communities, gender-related issues prevail and social gender practices remain strict. Some of these issues are explored during the following discussion, along with the impact of tribal traditions on Saudi individuals and society.

#### **4.2.1.1 The power of tribal traditions**

Tribal traditions are an important source of KSA values and have influenced the Saudi state at different stages throughout its development (Kostiner, 1990). Tribal traditions and hierarchy represent a centralised authority, but are only deemed acceptable today if they are consistent with the main teachings of Islam. The Islamic religion began in a tribal society (Lapidus, 1990). There have been a multitude changes since then, however, many

involving the social status of females (Le Renard, 2014). The relative importance of tribalism in Muslim societies is still much debated (Dininio *et al.*, 2010). However, in the KSA, the power of the tribe is unquestionably a strong feature of society. Even today, each person takes the name of the tribe as their last name, usually with the prefix 'Al' which means 'dynasty' or 'house of'; a female takes her tribal name at birth from her father and this name will remain with her throughout her life, even after marriage (Janin and Besheer, 2004:93).

Historically, the KSA society consisted of many tribes that, up until 50 years ago, practised slavery (Vlieger, 2011), which was only abolished in 1962 by King Faisal (Nehme, 1964). Many of these tribes existed in what might be called pastoral societies (Usher, 2013). Today, even for citizens living in the main cities of the KSA, the tribes are still important. Usher (2013) describes gender roles in pastoral societies, including the role of men as holders of power. In the KSA, particularly in the public arena, men dominate and protect, and hold religious roles of power. By contrast, women are responsible for preparing food, taking care of children and domestic duties and not to be involved in making decisions. Bronfenbrenner (1979) does refer to these influences in his ecological systems theory. Although tribal influence is not identified, extended family and family history are analogous. Moreover, these are not demarcated according to gender. In many pastoral societies, gender roles are strongly marked. Language, especially Arabic, is gender marked, separated and accentuated according to gender. Each word carries a thousand years of tribal memory and, in the KSA, 1,400 years of religious memory (DeFrancisco and Palczewski, 2007).

#### **4.2.2 Girls and the role of parents**

A child is expected to respect, reconcile and apply the rules of the society in which they live and the rules they acquire at home, in order to be accepted culturally and socially (Al-Mammar, 2013). Children work extremely hard during the first five years of their life to

think, feel and act as ‘normal’ males and females in their particular society (MacNaughton, 1997<sup>a</sup>:63). Even at a very young age, children ‘have learned the social rules of their families and neighborhoods’ (Hanson and SooHoo, 2008:61). This educational process begins in the family sphere during infancy, since families influence the emotional and social development of children, acting as a backdrop for ‘other socialization behaviours’ (Baker, Fenning and Crnic, 2010:413). The pedagogic principles in the home can play a crucial role in shaping the early experiences and future of children. These pedagogies generally originate from the cultural belief systems of what parents consider to be a good outcome for their child (Brooker, 2002:21). As a result, when children enter school they already have different experiences based on their backgrounds and ‘each child experiences the classroom in the light of their particular structural position, identity and cultural background’ (Pollard and Filer, 1999:281). Parents are significant in the ‘gendering’ of their children (Kane, 2006:150) and are the ‘primary influence on gender role development in the early years of life’ (Crespi, 2003:8). Parents begin to gender their children even during pregnancy (Kane, 2006).

Parental attitudes towards gender roles, as well as their support of gender-typed behaviours, strongly influence the gender beliefs and behaviour of their children (Kennedy, Root and Denham, 2010:4). How parents treat boys and girls and what they expect of them differ from very early infancy and children subsequently differ according to gender (Paechter, 2006). Societal norms thus in part ‘dictate the masculinity or femininity of specific emotions’ (Paechter, 2006:4). Parents today may indeed ‘make efforts to stray from’ and ‘expand normative conceptions of gender’ (Kane (2006:150). They are more than simply socialisation agents of gender; they are ‘actors’, integral to the ‘complex process of accomplishing gender with and for their children’ (Kane, 2006:152). However, even if parents do their utmost to ensure that their son or daughter is raised without specific gender

treatment, the children themselves, by observing adults, will grow up aware of the biological and social differences between sexes, leading them to ‘notice how they are ‘supposed’ to act’ (Crespi, 2003:8).

In the KSA, parental authority is deeply embedded in Islamic principles as a result of the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), which stress the importance of gaining approval from one’s parents (Naseef, 1999). As a result, parents play a hugely influential role in the socialisation of children, instilling from birth Islamic principles and traditional gender identities. Children and young people in the KSA are thought to rely more on their parents than on religious leaders or friends for advice on almost all issues (Moaddel and Karabenik, 2013). Parents are the first educators and role models for girls in the KSA, instilling in them traditional values and behavioural expectations, even before they enter pre-school. Husbands and fathers hold the positions of authority, and predominantly make the decisions in the household (Pharaon, 2004). Like their mothers, girls are expected to follow the commands of their fathers in the home. In reality, they spend most of their time with their mother and other female relatives, who raise them to develop a strict gender identity and female gender role as expected by society. Kimmel (2004) corroborates the influential role of mothers, stating that they tend to spend far more time with their children than do fathers, particularly during infancy. Parental socialisation typically results in children being ingrained with the values of their parents, which in turn are deeply rooted in the culture and religious values of their society.

#### **4.2.3 Girls and classroom culture**

After the primary sphere of the home, the school plays a critical role in the socialisation of children. Teachers act as ‘emotion socialization agents’ for young children (Morris *et al.*, 2013:979), as well as educators and nurturers, in a school culture. School culture is a multi-faceted concept, imbued with culture (Schoen and Teddlie, 2008). The term ‘school culture’

can be described as the shared values and beliefs that keep a community together. It comprises the:

‘...unwritten rules and traditions, norms, and expectations that permeate everything: the way people act, how they dress, what they talk about, whether they seek out colleagues for help or don’t, and how teachers feel about their work and their students.’ (Deal and Peterson, 1999:2)

Once they begin schooling, children rapidly learn the school rules and culture. Rogoff (2003) cautions against simplistic interpretations of culture, defining it as a set of beliefs, traditions, activities and practices shared by the members of a community. School is a lens through which children view themselves and the world (Hargreaves, 1994). This could be misleading, as the school aspect of culture is elusive and intangible, rendering it difficult to define or directly observe (Halsall, 1998; Stoll and Fink, 1996). It is difficult to observe or define the lens through which one views the world (Hargreaves, 1994). Moreover, a classroom is not an island; it belongs to a school, which in turn belongs to a society. Classroom culture is a dynamic system, influenced by the school and the values and norms of the ‘wider culture’ of a society. School culture, even at pre-school, typically perpetuates the gender norms of the wider society, ‘hegemonic masculinity’ (Pardhan, 2011).

Attitudes to gender are deeply rooted in school culture, reflecting society (Liu, 2006; Renold, 2006). It is therefore extremely important to understand the role schools play in transmitting the cultural traditions associated with female identity (Schoen and Teddlie, 2008). For example, research has demonstrated how boys and girls ‘are differently positioned’ and ‘position themselves as pupils in the classroom’ (Renold, 2006:441). Paechter (2006:130) writes that ‘many school practices bring home to children that they are embodied, and embodied as sexed individuals’. For example, some primary schools in the UK do not allow girls to wear trousers as part of their school uniform and prescribe dress requirements for physical education sessions. A study on a group of pre-school children in



Australia revealed that boys and girls occupied different play areas: boys favoured spaces that allowed more action-orientated, adventurous play; girls preferred gentler, domestic forms of play (MacNaughton, 1997<sup>a</sup>:58). Boys were also louder and controlled their spaces physically, while girls exerted control through language. Teacher-pupil interactions also influence the behaviour of children. Ma and Woolley (2013) found that young children make decisions between conflicting statements depending upon the gender of the speaker (e.g., teacher). They are sensitive to the social, gender and occupation categories of their informants (Ma and Woolley, 2013). Furthermore, young children use gender to inform their decisions about who to ask when learning about new objects. Gender is therefore critical to how very young children understand the world.

There is still a gender gap in universal schooling in some parts of the world, such as Sub-Saharan Africa, where girls have less access to education than boys (Jones, 2015; Wyness, 2012:157). Fortunately, female access to education is no longer a pressing issue in the KSA. All education in the KSA is, as a result of the recommendations of Saudi scholars, gender-segregated, at all stages except pre-school (Al-ghamdi and Abdul-aljawad, 2010). Although gender segregation is to some extent practised in other areas (e.g., Africa and China), with boys and girls treated differently in the classroom (Liu, 2006), this is more customary in the KSA. This is due to the different societal expectations for men and women. Boys are taught about male activities and girls about their ‘nurturing roles as mothers and housewives’ (Baki, 2004:3). Even in KSA higher education, females can only question male lecturers via video conferencing (Baki, 2004).

#### **4.2.4 Girls in Saudi Arabian culture and society**

Saudi Arabia has ‘strong roots in religious and tribal histories’ (Baki, 2004:1). Historically, religion (Islam) is the single most influential factor of the country (Pharaon, 2004). Saudi society is gender segregated across all public and private domains owing to previous and

current interpretations of Islam. The only point at which boys and girls interact freely is during pre-school, from the ages of three to six years. Segregation is a cultural practice to ensure that traditional gender values are upheld, driven 'socially through cultural and religious discourses and politically through regulation and policy' (Alhazmi and Nyland, 2012:346). Saudi scholars claim that this gender segregation follows Islamic teaching, 'because Islam encourages chastity and virtue' (Alhazmi and Nyland, 2012:354). Saudi society therefore ensures that women are kept 'strictly' within defined 'limits', which make it extremely difficult for an individual woman to lose her 'virtue' (Alhazmi and Nyland, 2012:354). The reason for placing such restrictions and segregations upon women is ultimately a 'strong belief in family honour' and that 'pride' and the 'honour' of the family 'is directly related' to a woman's chastity (Baki, 2004:3).

In the Middle East, these cultural beliefs are manifested in virginity rites and forced marriages (Kramarae and Spender, 2000). Marriage is the essential element keeping society functioning in the KSA (Ghanim, 2009). To preserve society, discourses are constructed, and then societies use these to reinforce beliefs. In terms of gender, this can lead to oppression of females within a hierarchy under patriarchal control. Discourse guides us into an existence of one sort or another (Foucault, 1980), shaping our understanding of what it is possible to do and which activities or behaviours are desirable (Dahlberg, Moss and Pence, 2007). Wyness (2012:43) discusses the 'macro-processes' of social structure. He argues that there are two axes of influence permeating the power and authority of males: marital patriarchy (rule of husband over wife) and age patriarchy (rule of father over child). Still prevalent in the Middle East is the concept of '*Sharaf*' (dignity), which, when related to women means the moral principles of femininity. The proverbial term '*ayb*' (taboo) is applied to any woman who behaves outside of the social norm.

Gender limitations have a strong impact on education and employment opportunities for

women in the KSA (Baki, 2004). One example of this is the prohibition of women from driving or easily acquiring transport<sup>3</sup>. This limitation can adversely affect their education, making it difficult for them to access schools and universities without chauffeurs or male relatives to drive them to their destination, and ‘is one way in which education is being used as a societal control’ (Baki, 2004:3). Women, until fairly recently, were advised against studying in fields deemed inappropriate and more suited to men, such as engineering, journalism and architecture (Cordesman, 2003). Instead they were, and in some households still are, encouraged to take up studies leading to occupations that derive from their stereotypically domestic, caring qualities, such as clerical, nursing and teaching jobs (Baki, 2004:5; Sabbagh, 1996). The social organisation of gender in Saudi Arabia has served to maintain traditional values (Ismail, 2012:261). The typical norm in Arab societies is an association of men in the public sphere and women in the private domain of the home (Ismail, 2012:262). Men are traditionally the breadwinners (Achoui, 2006:439), whereas the primary roles of women in Saudi society and culture are classically those of mother and housewife (Sabbagh, 1996). This is largely the case for women in Saudi Arabia; however, they are not forbidden to work outside the home provided they respect Islamic traditions, do not neglect their household duties and do not mix with men (Al-Saif, 1997). The Qur’an gives women the right to work, provided that their work does not negatively affect themselves or their families (AlMunajjed, 1997).

Nevertheless, KSA society is always fearful that the mixing of the sexes in the public sphere will threaten chastity and lead to immoral relations between men and women, as per the Qur’an’s warning that mixing can lead to temptation (AlMunajjed, 1997). Women are therefore required to be chaperoned by a (male relative) ‘*mahram*’ at all times when

---

<sup>3</sup> In 2017, the KSA government decreed that women are allowed to drive (with the permission of their male guardians). The consequences of this are yet to be seen. More details are discussed in the Conclusion Chapter.

venturing outside the home (Engineer, 2004). This rule complies with the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), which state that: '(222-1) A woman must not travel for three days except with a *'Mahram'*' (Bin Adawi, 1987:9). Sharia laws interpreted this teaching by seriously constraining any interactions between unrelated men and women in public (Del Castillo, 2003). Recently, the Saudi ruler, His Excellency King Salma<sup>4n</sup> issued an order, which will allow women to receive services (such as banking) without the consent of a *'mahram'*. This order was not extended to females travelling outside the KSA, as the rule in this latter situation is clearly stated in Sharia law (Al-Arabiya English, 2017).

Girls in the Kingdom are mainly raised with traditional gender values, instilled in them from a young age by parents, schools and society. They are expected to grow family-oriented and are discouraged from pursuing hobbies deemed inappropriate for them, such as sports or other 'physical activity', even in schools (Dagkas, Benn and Knez, 2014:201). This mirrors the observation by Clark and Paechter (2007:262) that Muslim women and girls in the KSA have traditionally been excluded from sports owing to 'perceptions of their inherent weakness and fragility'. The perception of women being 'weak' has persuaded some researchers to state that in Arab society women are depicted as 'victims' (Ghanim, 2009; Kelly, Buron and Regan, 1996). Indeed, their public acceptance in physical activities is very recent (Clark and Paechter, 2007). Moreover, 'women in the Middle East have always been depicted as powerless victims' (Ghanim, 2009:115). According to MacLeod (1992:535), Middle Eastern culture is particularly oppressive; women are often pitied as victims who are downtrodden and constrained. However, these attitudes capture only part of the truth. Denying female agency in the Saudi gender structure is a misleading approach. Everyday life shows that women assert effective strategies, which assuage their roles and the power

---

<sup>4</sup> In 2017, the KSA government announced that women are allowed to receive services without the consent of a *'mahram'* (more details are discussed in the Conclusion Chapter).

they hold in their marriage, not to mention the influential position they hold in society (Afshar, 1993).

Although Saudi girls today are required by law to attend school until the age of 18, the parents and families of girls from some villages and small cities believe schooling is not compulsory, and that, even when provided, facilities are much more limited for females (Qubain, 2016). This perspective is rooted in the traditional view that the priority task for girls is to look after the house (Park *et al.*, 2013). These inequalities for females compared to males in public and private spheres in the Kingdom correlate with a global pattern of the oppression and subordination of females by men (Connell, 1987). The Saudi culture is a male-dominated one, with men in positions of authority and leadership in the workplace, and women are expected to be obedient and to heed authoritative male figures, such as their fathers and husbands (Al-Rasheed, 2013).

The reality is different from the professed rhetoric and idealistic practices proposed by the supposed social framework. Many believe gender identities are now not so distinct, and roles are much more flexible in modern-day KSA; in the private arena, female agency and autonomy are certainly much more apparent. Arebi (1994) explored the perspectives of young girls on whether the KSA is still largely male-dominated, with religiously and socially ascribed boundaries for women. He reports that 'in the 1980s... with the emergence of ideological revivalism, the need for these women to fulfil ideological roles expanded' (1994:5). This means that even greater religious and social constraints were placed on women than previously. Polarised assumptions and identities of gender therefore persist in the public arena and in social traditions, mostly established through historical and patriarchal control. The interpretation of the Qur'an has been used to legitimise legal and social restrictions, where women are regarded as weak, emotional and dependent (Al-Hibri, 1997). According to Sabbagh (1996), limiting female access to many sectors in education

and the workforce perpetuates the cultural and religious appropriateness of female 'qualities' and helps maintain gender segregation.

Saudi culture effectively stipulates that girls live as guests in their father's house until they are married. This view of girls is not confined to Saudi Arabia. Although a generalisation, when writing about Pakistan, Bashiruddin (2007) indicated that daughters are considered a burden, living as guests in their birth home until they marry, at which point their marital home becomes their 'rightful' home. Girls are groomed in the 'art of good housekeeping', as well as to be able to act appropriately in society (Bashiruddin, 2007:44). As in Saudi Arabia, girls in Pakistan are raised to assume the 'subordinate roles of caregiving and domesticity to ensure suitable conduct in marital homes' (Pardhan, 2011:933). A similar view is observed in some African countries, where it is assumed that the primary role and ambition of girls is to be wives and mothers (Liu, 2006).

#### **4.2.5 Male and female language patterns in Saudi Arabia**

A person's native dialect is their mother tongue and so 'defines his or her ethnic identity and social status within the community' (Ismail, 2012:262). As a fundamental tool that enables our 'survival' in the social world (Davies, 1989<sup>b</sup>:1), language is necessarily an inherent part of the socialisation process, defining both limitations and possibilities (Black, Coward and Spender, 1981). Language need not be linked to religion, but religion does play a part in the language of a family or culture. However, language defines our 'limitations and possibilities' and constitutes our 'subjectivities' (Davies, 1989<sup>b</sup>; Lees, 1986). This is important when we consider that language is the first tool with which children learn to express themselves, verbally and non-verbally (Kaye, 1982). Full participation and integration in a society cannot occur without language; it provides the 'tools and materials with which the social structure is created and maintained' (Davies, 1989<sup>b</sup>:1). Becoming a full citizen of a given society, then, first requires that one master the language. Arabic is

the native language in the KSA and of the Qur'an. Therefore, Arabic is required for integrating into KSA society, whether in the workplace, in public, at home or for instruction in schools. According to Weatherall (2002:5), 'language not only reflects and perpetuates gender, but language constitutes gender and produces sexism as a social reality'. Arabic is a gender-inflected and marked language; it has male and female grammatical forms, which ensures that it is always clear in Arabic whether the individual is male or female. For example, verb endings take on a feminine form when addressing a girl in Arabic. This is not the case in English, where verb forms and nouns are sometimes not gender-marked, unless a generic noun is specifically modified for gender, for example, turning 'doctor' (often assumed to be masculine) into 'lady doctor' (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2013:70).

In addition to pure linguistic differences, girls in the KSA are taught from a young age to speak quietly, whereas boys are permitted to be vocal in public. Young women also often utilise dialectal features of Arabic, which reflects their 'closer involvement in the private sphere', constructing self-images of 'informality and femininity' (Ismail, 2012:274). By contrast, young men tend to use language that is closer to standard Arabic, influenced by global markets and the public sphere in which they operate (Ismail, 2012). Thus, both men and women make use of 'linguistic resources' to 'construct a gendered personae' that effectively reinforce the traditional roles they occupy in the overall gender hierarchy of Saudi Arabia. These linguistic differences are reinforced by the gender-segregated nature of Saudi society, as men and women rarely interact beyond the private domain of the home (Ismail, 2012).

#### **4.2.6 Female roles in Islam**

Before the institution of Islam and the Qur'an, there are historical records that show that, in the KSA, women lacked rights and status and lived in: 'subjugation and degradation' (AlMunajjed, 1997). They were considered heavy burdens to society, with girls born in pre-

Islamic Arabian society sometimes murdered by being buried alive (Naseef, 1999). The Qur'an changed this, prohibiting these barbaric practices and affording women equal rights on political, personal, social and civil matters, although the rights differ in each case. The Qur'an prescribes equal amounts of duties for both genders, and does not discourage women either from participating in public life or from seeking knowledge (Naseef, 1999). Women are permitted to work in Islam and, although their biological differences are thought to prompt them to function in different spheres, they are considered equal to men in the eyes of God (Pharaon, 2004). Islam explicitly stipulates that daughters are to be treated with kindness. The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) said, '(213-6) Whoever has a daughter born to him and he does not bury her alive, nor humiliate her, nor prefer his sons over her, then he will enter Paradise because of her' (Ibn Al-Jawzi, 1996:148). This was reinforced by another statement by the Prophet (PBUH): '(5995) Whoever is in charge of two daughters and treats them generously, then they will act as a shield for him from the (Hell) Fire' (Al-Bukhari, 1997<sup>a</sup>:30; Ibn Al-Jawzi, 1996:146). Indeed, girls are viewed as a mercy upon their parents. The role of the mother in Islam is also highly respected and prestigious. The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) accorded mothers three times the significance of fathers, stating that 'heaven' lay at the feet of their mothers and commanded children to obey their mother's wishes and gain her approval. This is clearly stated in the following '*ahadith*':

(5971;2007) A man asked, 'Who is more entitled to be treated with the best companionship be me?' The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) said 'your mother.' The man said 'who is next.' the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) said, 'your mother' The man said 'who is next.' The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) said, 'your mother' (Al-Bukhari, 1997<sup>a</sup>:17; Al-jaz,iry, 2001:3).

In fact, the Prophet (PBUH) states that '(5975) Allah has forbidden for you disobedience to mothers, withholding the right for others when one has the ability to fulfil them, and burying daughters alive' (Al-Bukhari, 1997<sup>a</sup>:21; Al-jaz,iry, 2001:182). Islam stresses the equality



and rights of women. Indeed, every verse in the Qur'an that mentions male believers also mentions female believers, affording them 'equal status' (Pharaon, 2004:353). The Holy Qur'an (1984) dedicates an entire chapter 'Surah' to the topic of 'Surat An-Nisa' (chapter of Women), detailing the rights of all women, including those of girls, wives, mothers, divorcees and widows. Another chapter specifically relates to issues of 'Surat Al-Talaaq' (chapter of divorce) and to the importance of treating women kindly and fairly. In this way, women are afforded respect and status, independent of men. However, it should be noted that a single verse exists in 'Surat An-Nisa' (The Holy Qur'an, 1984:34) that provides two situations in which men have governance over women: in the matter of physical strength and in terms of the supervision of money (in the sense that men are responsible for providing financially for their female relatives). This verse implies that the welfare of a young girl is the responsibility of her father and male relatives who must care for her.

### **4.3 Chapter Summary**

In this chapter, the role of religion in the lives of individuals and in societies has been discussed, and how a religion such as Islam influences gender for both male and female. As discussed, children are influenced by parents and schools, from infancy to young adulthood. Gender identification is a major aspect of this development. Culture and religion directly influence social practices and cultural beliefs (Rasmussen, 2015). The KSA is a society in which male interpretations and discourses direct a young female's subjective sense of self in her family, society, and country. The traditional ideology of gender roles in the KSA places men in the public sphere and in positions of authority, limiting females to specific domains. However, this is not unique to Islam, in which the genders are assigned specific roles and are equal in the eyes of God. Islam elevates the status of the female, supporting her rights. For some, this may be ambiguous. Others suggest women in the KSA may wield more power in society than outsiders perceive. For example, while there is very clear

patriarchal power and control, entry to heaven, 'their religious goal', depends upon the honour and respect being given to the mother (a female). This power of the female in ideological and social traditions may be the means to provide women with the opportunity to shape the future of their children, particularly as they are the first pedagogy children experience. The influence of women in the domestic domain affords them a crucial role in constructing the future identity of her daughters. The above demonstrates the all-encompassing nature of Islam and the influences of its religious leaders on KSA society, with a focus on how ideologies influence the structure of society and its social interactions. What is the alternative? Individuals are obligated to construct a social identity, to be aware of its nature and to consider how it compares to the one socially constructed by a child's society. New social identities can be constructed, or existing ones adapted. In this 'international world', in which other societies are so easily observed via the media, Internet and other sources, children are exposed to a wide variety of social groups, including those in which members share different values and visions of acceptable behaviour.

## Chapter Five: Methodology

The objective of this study is to analyse how female children perceive gender identity and roles in pre-school Saudi Arabia. The aim was threefold: to explore the methods used to identify influences on girls' gender construction, to identify and analyse how the girls interpret themselves with respect to gender, and to examine how their perceptions relate to one another's. To achieve these aims, the following questions were posed. Question One: What are the influences on female gender construction in pre-school children in the KSA? Question Two: How do they shape and construct female gender identity and role in the KSA? Question Three: In which ways are gender identities manifested in narratives and stories and through ideologies and discourses in the KSA?

This chapter is presented in two sections. In Section One, we seek to understand the phenomena being studied: '*how we claim to know what we know*' (Altheide and Johnson, 1994:496). Research is not only an action; it is also an understanding. In this section, the theories and concepts that structured my understanding are briefly described. The key theories that framed my theoretical perspective and aided the exploration of my research were Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (1979), sex-role theory (Davies, 1989<sup>b</sup>; Hesselbart, 1981) and post-structuralist theory (Bové 1990; Davies, 1989<sup>b</sup>; Walkerdine, 1997). Research is a practical matter and needs to be adapted to the particular circumstances in which it is conducted (Clark *et al.*, 2014:5). There is a risk, however, of one's approach becoming too simplistic. Research is also a philosophical matter, particularly qualitative research, which is broadly interpretivist (Thomas, 2009). Qualitative research can reveal how the social world is experienced, interpreted and understood, using flexible methods that are sensitive to the social context in which data is produced. In this study, methodology and methods are different, albeit related, processes (Silverman, 2000). Methodology was the

name given to the *process* of studying my chosen phenomenon and methods were the *ways* in which I used tools to gather research data (Thomas, 2009). In this chapter, the theories used to examine and analyse the data and their relevance to the KSA context, are explored. The methodology employed in this research was context-sensitive, facilitating an understanding of the narratives and observations that are explored in depth in the data analysis. It also locates the researcher in the context, shedding light on my perspective and stance with regard to my country, my religion and my identity and role as a female in the KSA. The specific aims of the research were outlined in the first chapter and touched upon in the introduction to this chapter. A person's identity is much more than their gender: 'identity is composed of a variety of "selves"' (Browne, 2004). However, a child's perception of gender impacts how they position themselves and how others position them in their world (Browne, 2004).

In Section Two, the data collection methods are identified. According to Thomas (2009), many researchers rely too heavily on methods rather than on research processes. He states that a method is not an end to the research, just a means. I found his explanation liberating: it made me realise that my method should not be restrictive, but adaptable, flexible and fit-for-purpose. It also facilitates research that has integrity, coherence and meaning (Thomas, 2009). This is broadly ethnographic qualitative research in terms of the methods employed to gather and analyse the data. Ethnography is the study of social interactions, behaviours and perceptions in groups in a community (Reeves, Kupe and Hodges, 2008). Such methods were adopted because of their sensitivity, flexibility and adaptability in social research (Eberle and Maeder, 2016; Lincoln and Guba, 1985). We should all be '*criticalists*' – aware of social inequalities and seeking change (Carspecken, 1996). There are power issues in all social research and unequal power can distort truths. It should be the aim of the researcher to minimise power issues wherever possible, for the sake of authenticity, especially where

the subjects are children. Ethnographic accounts can provide an excellent sense of individual perceptions. What are the children's 'lived anatomies' and understandings of bodies, gender identities and sexual differences, shown through daily tasks or social relationships (Moore, 1994)?

Ethnography involves the researcher living life with the participants and understanding the phenomena from within (Thomas, 2009). While I did not live with the children in their home, I am definitely from 'within' – I share the same identity and understand the phenomenon as an insider. According to Wolcott (1999: 137), '[i]t is not unthinkable today for an ethnographer to be an insider'. In fact, Wolcott (1999) believes this is an advantage. In my research, I found that being an insider was an advantage. I am a KSA female, I studied education and worked as an early years teacher in the KSA. However, I was not only an 'insider'; I was also an 'outsider' as a researcher, looking beyond to observe. Many details, conceptual structures and meanings can be presented by commentary and interpretations by the ethnographer in order to study a culture. Being an insider helped provide the narrative of the culture 'thick description'; which is necessary to interpret culture and to set down the meanings, for the social actors, of particular social actions (Geertz, 1975, 2017). Outsider status is not a membership, but an orientation (Wolcott, 1999:137), where we look to see 'what turns the twitch into a wink' (Thomas, 2009:119) in order to 'see outside of yourself' with a post-structuralist approach, which recognises that children see and learn from interactions in their everyday world and the multiple positionings and discourses available to them (Davies, 1989b). Looking from the vantage point of both, I argue that there are multiple ways of seeing and each way is just another view. No one way is '*the way*' (Wolcott, 1999). From both perspectives, one conveys how the situation looks for those inside (Wolcott, 1999).

The research involved fieldwork in which I strove to understand the phenomenon from

within, seeing what they (the participants) see. Ethnographic research usually necessitates direct engagement with and involvement in the world the researchers are studying (Reeves, Kuper and Hodges, 2008). However, some say that ethnographers need to forget the meanings the phenomena have for them (Thomas, 2009), making the familiar strange. However, being an 'insider' benefitted me and the study as an outsider might not have been able accurately to interpret the many nuances and social distinctions of language and practice in this context. This is why I chose an ethnographic approach, as it allows insiders to study the culture in which they live and to which they belong (Thomas, 2009). There are also limitations to being an 'insider', particularly in relation to my religion, faith and subjectivity. My argument is that my subject knowledge of the religion, the *Qu'ran* and prophetic *ahadith* is sufficient to identify what is from religion and what is from culture. However, I will allow that the process of the research, particularly in the data analysis stage, stirred and brought to life feelings I had about the phenomenon. On the other hand, during the fieldwork I endeavoured to forget the meaning that 'I', as a female adult, make of female gender and focused on the significance I held for the young female girls who participated by being honest and transparent in the research about my own potential bias and as far as possible refrained from making predictions.

## **5.1 Selecting a Paradigm**

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000:157) a research paradigm is the 'basic set of beliefs that guide action' and reveals the researcher's principles and worldview (Groenewald, 2004). This section explains my sense of self as a researcher and a female from the KSA and includes a discussion of some of the theory and understandings that led me to choose my paradigm. Fine and Fincham (2013) use 'the traditional view' to describe theories as socially constructed clarifications that explain why certain phenomena occur as they do. I needed to determine which approach would clarify the phenomenon under study. It is also

debatable whether a single method can capture a complex phenomenon like gender and its construction.

My research involved exploring children's narratives elicited by stories. In the narrative paradigm, the world is conceptualized as a series of stories through which we create and re-create our lives (Fisher, 1984). Although this research does not adhere completely to a 'narrative paradigm', it employs a narrative approach as a method to collect data. Storytelling allows people to make sense of their lives (Clough, 2002; MacIntyre, 1985). Particularly in the field of education, many researchers have employed narrative inquiry as a method for gathering data (Barone, 2001; Estola and Elbaz-Luwisch, 2000). One of the main advantages of narration as a technique is that it allows a researcher to collect information that children might reveal in a multitude of situations. Narration is also useful in giving an inside view of a culture and how an individual can become socialised into a cultural setting. When very young children understand their identities, even just to a degree, this can be demonstrated by asking them to produce small stories (Puroila and Estola, 2013; Puroila, Estola and Syrjälä, 2012). These researchers believe that there is a great deal of scientific and pedagogical potential concerning young children, which could be explored using a narrative approach. Narratives are used to elicit children's perspectives on scenarios. Narratives are socially constructed stories, and a popular tool in modern social research (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber, 1998). Narration is not simply a retelling of information, but rather an interpretation by the narrator of what has happened, where value judgments and emotions are involved through narratives that enable a child to construct and reconstruct their social identity.

My paradigm, my stance or the way I approach this research is multi-faceted, just as I am multi-layered as a human being, a female from the KSA, an academic with a tertiary education from the UK, and so on. My research and view of the phenomenon is thus also

multi-layered and informed by several theories and principles. I have chosen the Mosaic Approach (Clark, 2004) to foreground the child as a participant in the research and when collecting data. The interpretation of that approach is in the name ‘mosaic’, using multiple methods to gather information from children. Appreciating this introduced a mosaic of theory, processes and understandings that led to my paradigm as I view both children and the phenomenon as multi-faceted, with many parts.

### **5.1.1 Theoretical approach: Sex-role theory**

Sex-role theory provided the lens for my research (Hesselbart, 1981; Stockard, 2006). It encompasses ideological notions of gender role and identity. This theory was used to examine the extent to which socialisation agents influence young pre-school girls in the KSA in acquiring traditional gender views, and to analyse how the young girls are socialised into gendered beings (Davies, 1989<sup>b</sup>). The KSA epitomizes sex-role theory, typifying clearly defined gendered identities and roles according to a person’s biological sex and complementing these with ideological concepts of gender roles. This theory relates to the segregated social structure and gender hierarchy in the KSA, where men and women are expected to fulfil traditional gender roles, and where their biological make-up dictates their social identities as well as the spheres in which they can access, operate and work (Baki, 2004:5, Sabbagh, 1996). Biological sex and gender are fundamentally linked in KSA society. Men are ‘*rajjal*’ (man) and females *mar’aa* (woman). Although these are only names, bearing one or the other affects mobility, access, activities and opportunities – with males experiencing more favourable outcomes.

In the KSA male centred KSA culture, relationships are based on male dominance and control, while females are obedient and servile (Ghanim, 2009:165). The term ‘hegemonic masculinity’ describes ‘the dominant or culturally accepted form of masculinity within a



society' (Browne, 2007:61; Connell, 2000). The 'dominant discourses of masculinity are used to position men more powerfully than women and girls' (Grieshaber, 1998:16). Men are typically privileged over women, and many people assent to this 'status quo' and accept gender differences and inequalities without questioning or examining the basis on which they were founded.

Sex-role theory postulates that the social identities of men and women are inherent and to a significant extent derived from, as well as linked to, their biological sex (Davies, 1988, 1989<sup>a</sup>). MacNaughton, however, argues that, '[s]exist gender differences in our society are created and maintained because children and adults automatically absorb sexist messages from other children, from adults and from the media' (1998:155). Sex-role theory proposes that children are not agents in constructing their masculinity or femininity, that they assimilate the gender modelling of various socialisation agents, such as family, teachers and peers (Connolly, 2004), and are gender-socialised by these agents according to their biological sex. Such social biases are transmitted intergenerationally. Davies (1989<sup>b</sup>:111) explored the 'subject positioning' children adopt in play. He argues against categorising children by gender, advocating a world in which identity is not built on sex. Thirty years since this research, however, social structures are still based on gender, at least in the KSA. Foucault (1982) believed that the categories laid down by social institutions leads to 'truths' – such as this is male, this is female. This is how a female needs to act and behave and this is what a female can do. These 'truths' also frame and set the criteria of how we should think, act and feel towards others and ourselves; ensuring that these institutions not only survive but thrive. This was an important revelation for me, as I was initially unaware of the overall aims and influences of social institutions, and I subsequently became informed of their impact when observing the children and evaluating their setting.

### **5.1.2 Theoretical approach – Bronfenbrenner’s ecological systems theory**

From the outset, this research was largely influenced by Bronfenbrenner’s theories (1979). These theories are pivotal to my understanding of the research topic and its participants. Bronfenbrenner’s (1962, 1979, 1986) socio-ecological system provides a vision of the child and her social world and placed the child in the centre of their world. Bronfenbrenner’s theory also documents the many layers apparent in all lives and proposes that this influences who we are. His theory identifies the significant influences in a child’s life and helps visualise the impact and mode of access on a child’s developing sense of self. This knowledge, coupled with the rigour of post-structuralist research, helped me explore these influences and the impact on the developing child in the KSA context. Multiple constructs affect a child's gender identity (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Bronfenbrenner’s theory helped focus my analysis by locating the discursive interactions in female children’s ‘discursive community’ and the effects each layer has on the others (Talbot, 2001). This was necessary to explore the language used to define social relations – specifically, power relations – through the words or phrases the young girl participants used (Thomas, 2009). Encapsulating all these ‘*positionings*’ and ‘*understandings*’ in my approach was necessary to layer the lens through which the research was processed. It also helped me develop an understanding of both the phenomenon and context of the research, both for me as the researcher and for readers. This helped refine its use in the context of my research by drawing on a framework similar to Fairclough’s (1995:97) ecological systems theory, whereby ‘a piece of discourse is embedded with sociocultural practice at a number of levels; in the immediate situation, in the wider institution or organization, and at a societal level’. Discourse does not occur in a social vacuum. As social actors, we are constantly interpreting and representing what seems right or natural for that particular context (Gill, 2000). The rationale for using this understanding to select my paradigm was to gain insight into the construction of gender identity and explore the subtle interactive features of the participants

within the research through discourse analysis. This, together with the other theories that informed my understanding, is discussed further in the following sections.

### **5.1.3 Theoretical approach – Post-structuralist theory**

Another significant theory I used was post-structuralist theory (Davies, 1989<sup>b</sup>; Walkerdine, 1997), which identifies, explores and analyses the linguistic and social function of discourses, how they are ‘produced and regulated’, and their ‘social effects’ (Bové, 1990:54). The research was framed in a post-structuralist epistemological paradigm, in order to explore how we come to know our multiple realities and what counts as ‘acceptable ways of knowing’ (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011: 33). Having this frame helped focus the research on my subjectivity, and knowledge of power and language in the KSA, in order to explore normative views and expectations of female gender identity and roles in this context. The framework also allowed me to consider the validity and scope of these normative views and make distinctions between social processes and institutions to identify influential categories. I reported on social norms in my own voice. Through this framework, I categorised my society into the processes and authorities that construct female gender identity in the KSA: some cultural, others religious. I questioned these practices through a post-structuralist lens, examined their source and asked who would benefit from them.

Feminist post-structuralists, such as Davies (1989<sup>b</sup>; 1993), argue that children construct their gender by positioning themselves inside the discourses of masculinity and femininity they observe in society. The aim of post-structuralist research ‘is to describe the surface linkages between power, knowledge, institutions, intellectuals, the control of populations, and the modern state as these intersect in the functions of systems of thought’ (Bové, 1990:54-55). This theory has been applied to examine the power structure in society in the KSA, in which gender identities are reinforced and shaped by the discourses and pedagogies of the home

and school. However, the focus of my research was not only about exploring female gender identity but also about understanding how it is constructed and how children were affected by the variety of discourses in their everyday lives. Post-structuralist theory emphasises individual agency, that people are not shaped passively by others but ‘actively take up’ discourses through which they are shaped, as their own: they are ‘interpellated’ into society, rather than simply socialised into it (Davies and Banks, 1992:3). The concept of interpellation was introduced by Althusser (1971), describing it as a process whereby the individual mistakenly takes herself to be the author of her ideological discourses: she comes to see as her own rather than as something that should be challenged. This was often brought to mind during the fieldwork and data-gathering stages, particularly when discussing identity and role in households, interplay between actors and structure in the reproduction of meaning and power related to gender (Arnot, 2002). According to Althusser (1971), ideology is delivered to a subject and exerts political and ideological effects, diminishing the agency of the individual. Ideology can come from a repressive state government or through education and the media. Social forces and individual experiences are therefore linked. Ideology determines the structure of a society and the actions of the individual actors. However, there is always the possibility that individuals can become aware of how they are being manipulated and look for change. Those who are able to change are those who have been trained, perhaps by education, to behave differently from the rest of society. This applies to all aspects of life, including gender. According to Nash (1990), Bourdieu ascribes to socially differentiated educational attainment: that is many factors influence the outcome of a child’s education, including structure, agency, habitus, the cultural autonomy of a school and school cultures, among others. He dwells on habitus as generating practice and attainment for children: their ‘socialisation’. Habitus refers to how children learn culture, and the habits, skills and dispositions they acquire in so doing. Dumais (2002) writes on

how cultural capital habitus plays a role in educational success, and this is gender linked (girls acquire more cultural capital and perform better academically). Thus the interplay between a society, educational experience and individual child needs consistently to be considered and sometimes challenged. The extent to which a child is free to develop within a society, religion and culture is a complicated matter. The KSA has a strict ideology, laid down by the state and mediated via state-funded institutions (Almalki and Ganong, 2018). How the agency of an individual girl can develop, alongside - or despite - these social and institutional forces, is of interest to me and is important to investigate.

It is also important to determine whether the participants experience these social norms as fixed. Members of a society, rather than being 'fixed-end' products of social construction, are 'constituted and reconstituted through the various discursive practices in which they participate' (Davies, 1989<sup>a</sup>:229). Davies (1989<sup>a</sup>:229) also describes this as the 'stories' we use to make sense of our lives, embedded within the many different discourses and leads to the production of our selves. Davies explains that we 'take on the discursive practices and story-lines as they were our own and make sense of them in terms of our own particular experiences' (1989<sup>a</sup>:230). Post-structuralist theory offers a powerful theoretical position that provides a platform upon which to explore and understand children's gender identity, their 'stories' and behaviour, something that may facilitate reform (Davies, 1988). Another important reason why I chose a post-structuralist approach was because it breaks with the realist view of language as a mere epiphenomenon (as something secondary to or running parallel with the main phenomenon). From a post-structuralist stance, language is a practice in its own right (Bové, 1990:175).

Post-structuralist research insists that all discourses or 'grand narratives' (Francis and Skelton, 2005:31) need to be deconstructed to understand who or what is the authority. These areas of authority are categorised for discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1995:97).

Schooling is an important category of authority (MacNaughton, 2000). This is consistent with pre-conceived purposes for females and the role and identity society needs her to fulfil. Discourse is a significant aspect of post-structuralist research, according to which discourses are important in everyday life and elucidate the relationship between language, subjectivity, social organisation and power (Richardson and St. Pierre, 2008:476). It also refers to the 'emotional, social and institutional frameworks and practices through which we make meaning in our lives' (MacNaughton, 2000:50). This approach only confirmed the significance of language – 'all discourse is organized to make itself persuasive' (Gill, 2000:176). The social institutions in the KSA are under strict control and certainly the males dominate the public arena (Doumato, 2010). A post-structuralist lens 'provides an awareness of how power relations within society operate in particular ways' (Grieshaber, 1998:16). This theory was central in the research, assisting the exploration of the rhetoric and traditions used to control and shape young girls into the ideological notions of the women they are expected to portray as adults.

According to Thomas (2009: 205), 'there is not one method to discourse analysis'. It can be psychological (units of language and the intonation) or sociological (interpersonal relationships, particularly the balance of power therein). It is, however, a method for exploring samples of language (Thomas, 2009:205). The analyst's explanation of the relationship between discursive and social processes is important (Fairclough, 1995: 97, cited in Thomas, 2009: 205). An individual's own as well as others' discursive practices, and where they position themselves within those practices, constantly influence the way they make sense of their lives. As Jackson (2007:64) states, discursive strategies within a post-structuralist paradigm, 'view text as constructing versions of reality'. I realised that these versions of reality are largely constructed by the male powers of authority in the KSA. Using post-structuralist theory, I could scrutinise these discourses to analyse what the

children were saying to understand the existing power relationships in this context and to identify areas that required further exploration (Shefer, Boonzaier and Kiguwa, 2006). However, although I have been critical of some of the interpretations of religious texts that shape the dominant discourses of the KSA, I am averse to criticising the origins of my religion, the Holy Qur'an and the Sunnah. Rather, I identify with 'Islamic feminist work' (Cooke, 2001) and focus 'within the systems that are trying to marginalize them', in order to challenge inequalities (Bouachrine, 2014: 51). In the following section, 'subjectivity' in the context of the KSA is discussed, drawing on post-structuralist theory.

### **5.1.3.1 Subjectivity in post-structuralist theory**

Subjectivity can be described as the social and symbolic process a person undergoes to 'become into being' (Shefer, Boonzaier and Kiguwa, 2006). Is subjectivity the process or in fact, the product of such processes – an individual's reaction to all the interactions and social influences they encounter? In post-structuralist theory, one's sense of subjectivity is conveyed through discourses. Therefore, subjectivity can be described as how one views the world and this can be affected by how one locates oneself in specific discourses. Howarth (2013:246) argues that it is not 'simply a certain position within a discourse', but rather a *radical space* in the social order. Whatever the positioning, subjectivity is valid and constituted through discourse, deployed through social interactions (Davies and Banks, 1992). Essentially, I would consider this '*radical space*' as the place I am now: privy to different discourses that are widening my understanding and affecting my social interactions. My subjectivity is 'not fixed but continuously in process' (Davies and Banks, 1992:2): shifting (Simpson, 1997). Subjectivity for children is 'formulated through discourses, given substance and pattern through storyline and is deployed in social interaction' (Davies and Banks 1992:3). Children's subjectivity should also then be shifting,

and central to the construction of your own sense of self is ‘agency’ – having the ability to act with intent and awareness (Robinson, 2013:4).

In this study, post-structuralist theory illuminated the influences and discourses in which a child’s identity is constructed in a society (Connell, 1987). Post-structuralist theory relates to these notions but goes further, stating that, rather than a person being merely socialised into a social position or ideal, they are in fact given, and negotiate, an identity through ideologies and discourses. The construction of the self or subjectivity is not fixed, but fluid and influenced by various discourses and practices: a ‘multiplicity of selves’ is possible (Jackson, 2007:64). Gender segregation and ideological and social notions of gender role and identity can affect a person’s perspective and subjectivity (sense of self) (Davies and Harre, 1990). As humans, we are constituted by multiple identities and gender is ‘one of the multiplicity of identities around which subjectivity is constructed’ (Grieshaber, 1998:18). We are subjects of the discourses in three ways: first, being an individual within a discourse; second, being limited by the discourses imposed on us; and third, understanding ‘normal’ and ‘deviant’ behaviours in a context specific to the culture, family or society to which we belong. Self ‘subjectivity’ is established through the discourses available to the person and is invariably a relational process involving the negotiation of power (Robinson, 2013; Robinson and Jones-Diaz, 2006). This is elaborated in Chapters Six and Seven.

MacNaughton (1998:158) describes discourses as ‘the historically and culturally specific categories through which we give meaning to our lives, practise our lives...and constitute our social structures’. Gender, although created through interactions, is not the property of individuals; rather it is how the individual negotiates their identity and is produced through the collective performance of a group of people (Connell, 1987; Sallee, 2011). My research explored female ‘gender role’ in young girls in the KSA, including their behaviour and understanding of what society deems acceptable and the discourses that generated these



notions (Wood, 2013:305) in terms of ideologies and traditions. In the following section, the final research design decisions are discussed.

#### **5.1.4 Female Status – The researcher’s perspective**

According to Altheide and Johnson (1994:489), ‘the social world is an interpreted world’. This research was conducted by a Saudi Arabian female, a teacher in pre-school education. I steered the research and so my own understandings and values formed the basis of my choices and interpretations (Mac Naughton and Hughes, 2008). An ethnographic researcher, albeit broadly, is central to the research process and should not attempt to be ‘‘objective’ as your knowledge of the society, its people and structure will help you to ‘see outside yourself’ (Thomas, 2009:119). I found this idea useful, as I did indeed have prior knowledge. I also had subjectivity, by virtue of the fact that I am a female who grew up in the KSA. I found having this prior knowledge helpful: it encouraged me to look anew at the situation in my society, as the society I knew then was not the same one I know now. By taking this step back and allowing the participants to lead me, rather than me to lead them, my research was more independent. I was able to look at the situations and scenarios as they played out in the moment, without relying on my prior knowledge of what I thought the evolving situation was about.

As a qualitative researcher, I recognise that people know themselves best and can describe, interpret and discuss their own environment better than anyone else (Arsenault and Anderson, 1998). The participants in my research were young female children. Although they could eloquently describe their environment and perspectives, some may question the degree to which they could or would interpret their situation. However, I would argue that my results have shown that they successfully interpreted many of the situations and scenarios presented and were able to interpret outcomes within their own context. My research was concerned with understanding individuals who are central to the topic under

exploration; this relates to my subjectivity as a Saudi female, and my understanding of the Saudi social context. This rendered me an aware and accurate researcher, observing the participants. However, owing to my agency in the culture and society, being an 'insider' engaged and involved me to a significant degree and provided invaluable insights (Thomas, 2009).

Thomas (2009:75) states that, 'we have to immerse ourselves in the research contexts in which we are interested'. I spoke to the research participants in their natural environment and respected their views. My familiarity with the KSA context and environment helped in gathering sensitive data and conducting data analysis. Throughout the process, I remained mindful of these young girls' perspectives, and the methods were designed to allow the children to share their views and experiences in a relaxed and engaging manner. On the other hand, my involvement in the research changed through its process. For example, at the outset, I took an open-minded stance, taking care not to generalise or make assumptions. The data at first seemed fragmented and it was not until the coding of the data analysis that I was able to interpret the data within a moral, cultural and social framework. It was then that I began to navigate between the young girls' perspectives and my own. In this way, I made links with the cultural framework of Saudi society.

When I think of my own identity and role as a female in the KSA, I am aware that my gender limits me from certain areas or experiences in both public and domestic arenas. However, gender segregation is practiced in many cultures, to varying degrees. It may be surprising, but in many ways, the status of females in the KSA, regardless of their apparent lack of authority, is high. I am valued, and my society, family and government support me, within the bounds of a defined religious and cultural framework. What some may view as authoritative, others might consider protective. What some may view as restrictive; others, preventative. It was important for me to be open-minded and to accept that each person is

entitled to their own 'subjectivity' or 'sense of self', allowing both the researcher and/or the researched to speak for themselves. Davies (1998) remarks upon the difficulties in her research. The female child sometimes seemed oppressed and, at others, powerful and dominating. This brought to my attention the fact that power can shift and that we need to recognise the 'sometimes fleeting nature of it' (Davies 1998:132).

Throughout this study, I have questioned how much of my previous perspective was related to discourses concerning what is acceptable or proscribed for a female. According to West and Zimmerman (1987), when gender is viewed as an accomplishment, an achievement of situated conduct, it is then that our attention shifts from matters internal to individual, then to a focus on interactional and, eventually, institutional arenas, such as schools and government bodies. The remit of my research was not to question, challenge or criticise Islam or my society. Rather, it was to explore some of the interpretations, myths and ideologies surrounding Saudi female identity and role, voiced by the young girls involved in the research. My analysis identified from where these notions of female identity and role are derived. Often, in the KSA, religion is used to justify faults or questionable practices. However, Arebi (1991:104) writes that many Muslim women resent 'the West's identification of the 'problem' of Muslim women as a religious (one)'.

### **5.1.6 Ethical considerations**

This research explores how feminine identities and roles in the KSA are constructed in pre-school girls, with an emphasis on the influences on its development (Freeman, 2007). According to Silin (1995:92), 'difficult philosophical and social issues' are often avoided when children are included as participants in research. To develop a research design sensitive to how female children in the KSA construct their gender identity and role, I followed the 'principles' that value children as valid participants in any research project (Christensen and James, 2008). Coady (2010:74) cautions that the 'researcher's interests

may obscure the interests of the child'. This may well be true in some research, but it should not deter children from participating, as they are participating members of society and have the right to be included in research that affects them (Roberts-Holmes, 2011).

Human research is only ethically acceptable if participants give informed consent (Mac Naughton and Hughes, 2008). From the outset of the study, I was aware of informed consent (Appendix, A.6) together with confidentiality and the right of participants to withdraw from the research at any time. This research involved young children and therefore informed consent (Appendix, B.2) encompassed two dimensions. One was the consent of the parents for their child to participate; the second was the 'assent' or acceptance of the child to be a participant and this was sought throughout the data-gathering period by the use of a leaflet I designed, describing data-gathering aspect of my research (Appendix, B.1-B.2). It is written in both English and Arabic, although I spoke mostly in Arabic with the children. Each part of the process is shown with pictures to make it easy to understand and the children are also reminded of their right to withdraw or refuse to include the data from that session in the research. Ethics relates to conduct of practice as a researcher: how you think about your inquiry and your research project, and how you respect others (Thomas, 2009). I have attempted to identify some of the challenges that may arise in this research and acknowledge my obligations and the rights of the participants. An important principle of qualitative research is *primum non nocere* – or, 'do no harm to the participants' (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011:542). The ethical dimensions of the study were considered prior to the fieldwork, and throughout the study (Mukherji and Albon, 2010). Before embarking on the actual study, I conducted a feasibility study, which raised two important implications:

- Cultural suspicions regarding a researcher having an insight into their daughters' and, most importantly, family life
- Parental suspicions regarding confidentiality, as they could be suspicious that this information could harm them in some way

These were fairly significant, impacting negatively upon the number of parents who allowed their child to participate. Myself and the study became the subject of much gossip and many charged discussions between parents and teachers. However, I responded to these implications during my fieldwork phase, ensuring I made the remit of my research clear and explaining to the parents how rigorous the methodologies and guidelines are in the field of research. I also assured them that the data would be relevant to the research topic only, containing very little personal information. I emphasised that anonymity and confidentiality of parents and participants are extremely important in the University guidelines, and that my research and its methods had been approved by the Faculty Research Ethics Officer (UREC Code of Practice, Appendix, A.2). Explaining these points to parents and teachers, with supporting documentation, allayed their fears and suspicions. I also explained that I am bound by the UREC Code of Practice of my university and that any differences or uncertainties would be handled sensitively and appropriately throughout all stages of the research.

Power and inequalities between the participant children and the researcher (an adult) also had to be considered. 'The biggest ethical challenge for researchers working with children is the disparities in power and status between adults and children' (Morrow and Richards, 1996:98). To alleviate this, interviews with the children were initially conducted in a group situation, to shift the dynamics of power (Roberts-Holmes, 2011), and in a familiar environment (the setting) (Clark, 2010). To further assuage any disparities basing my practice on Davies (1998), I acquainted myself with the children before the interviews, worked with them for one week prior, and conducted small-group scenarios involving two or three participant children at a time. I also considered the language that I was using and thought of variations that the children would understand and with which they would be familiar (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011). I thought of ways of introducing the topic or

prompts, ways to make it fun and the words I would use to make the experience relaxing, such as '*habibity*' (beloved) or '*ya'emri*' (my eyes), terms of endearment with which the children are familiar. I pinned on the board illustrations from the books to be read: *Not All Princesses Dress in Pink*, *Jane's Car*, and *Nahila's Bike*. The feasibility study was invaluable for this purpose (see Section 5.2.1).

To obtain parental consent, parents were given an 'introductory' letter to the research (Appendix, A.5), together with details on their children's rights to participate (ethics statement) and a separate form to provide their consent (Appendix, B.1). The children whose parents did not return the consent form were not included in the research. Teachers were also given a letter (Appendix, A.3), similar to that given to parents, providing them with information about the research to be undertaken in their classroom. All of the parents involved were from the KSA; many were bi-lingual but spoke predominantly Arabic. The original documents (introductory letters, informed consent, and prompt cards) were composed in English and in Arabic, to ensure that all parents clearly understood the research, its process and to what they were consenting. The 'Office for Certified Translations' authenticated these documents in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia and another translation office in England (Appendices, E.1-E.2).

To obtain the children's assent, I produced a child-friendly booklet (Appendix, B.2) outlining the research and its expectations from the participant child. This was read to them in Arabic, with annotations in English if required (Alderson, 1994). Furthermore, assent from young children needs to be an on-going process; therefore, I continuously negotiated with the children whenever further data were required (Roberts-Holmes, 2011). This was done during the 'conference period' at the end of each month. I would go over the data already gathered and ask the children their views on what they had said. I would also ask them at each stage or prior to collecting the data either through interviews, observations or

storytelling sessions, if they agreed that I could record these data. I would also read the 'children's leaflet' with them, regarding their consent. I also used drawings and paintings to illustrate ethical considerations; my plan was to include photographs of these drawings and photographs of the children in either the appendices or in the text of the thesis. To ensure this was done ethically, I sought to ensure that the children's faces were not clearly defined in the photographs. My intention was that these photographs would be filed for a limited period only, then destroyed on completing the data collection and analysis.

To ensure confidentiality, I coded participant names to maintain anonymity. Although the research was conducted in the KSA, the guidelines that were taken into account throughout the research process were from the UK and included the 'Ethics Committee' at Oxford Brookes University and the British Educational Research Association (BERA, 2018). Parents of participant children and the children themselves were told (in both the informed consent and the introduction letter) that, due to child protection issues, there are limits concerning anonymity and confidentiality and that the researcher would adhere to her duty to make a disclosure in the interest of the child if necessary (Shaw, Brady and Davey, 2011:33). Cohen and Hill (2007:51) state, '[a] major ethical dilemma is that which requires researchers to strike a balance between the demands placed on them as professional scientists in pursuit of truth, and their subjects' rights and values potentially threatened by the research.' All social facts, even ways of thinking and observing, are subjective and socially constructed rather than objective and universally true (Nisbrett, 2005). I have endeavoured to give a true and accurate account of the research topic within the social context of the study. This research is broadly ethnographic and qualitative. Its aim is to explore children's narratives, behaviour and perspectives on female gender identity in pre-school KSA, in order to determine the main influences on gender identity in the early years. The first section of the methodology chapter related to the research paradigm: how I view

the research, its focus and my approach. The second section includes a discussion of the practicalities of the research and children as participants, the feasibility study, the data collection methods and the research process.

## **5.2 Designing a Framework to Address the Paradigm**

Underpinning my approach was the fundamental belief that children should be active participants in matters relating to them. Children are an essential source of knowledge about their experiences and their world (Fraser, Flewitt and Hammersley, 2013), regarded by many as the ‘best sources of information’ concerning themselves (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011; Docherty and Sandelowski, 1999:177). The ‘mosaic approach’ is helpful when involving children in research (Clark and Moss, 2001, 2005; Kellett, 2005), particularly if one considers that an approach is a way of looking at or researching phenomena, a way of working and applying a set of principles (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011). It brings together different pieces of evidence in order to understand the children’s world (Clark, Kjørholt and Moss, 2005). I realised that the most appropriate method for the data-gathering phase of my research was the ‘mosaic approach’ (Clark, 2004; Waller, 2010) as it offers a multi-method approach, and helps piece together different pictures of the children’s life in order to explore how gender is constructed. This multi-dimensional approach helped form deep understandings of the concepts, drawings, observations and consultation discussions. An important element of my paradigm is that all children have a valid voice. The mosaic approach provided a context for listening to children and gathering their voices in a variety of ways that ensured that the methods reflected the children’s strengths (Clark and Moss, 2001). Children and adults co-construct meaning, and listening entails far more than only the ‘spoken word’ (Clark and Moss, 2001:1). The mosaic approach offers a framework for listening to children’s voices that is not invalidated by the power differences that exist inherently between adults and children (Pearce and Bailey,



2011). This was accomplished on my part by realising the power differences between adult and child; the ‘mosaic approach’ helps researchers overcome these (Clark and Moss, 2001). Certainly, in this research, the application of the ‘mosaic approach’ pertains to my principles and views about how important children’s voices are and how methods of data collection need to respect and ‘listen to’ the children.

### **5.2.1 Feasibility study**

In order to determine the practicality of my chosen methods and areas of focus, I decided that, before proceeding further and taking my research to a school in the KSA, I would conduct a feasibility study in WLS, a KSA school in London, over a period of three weeks. The choice of school was deliberate. It is sponsored and managed by the KSA, and most of the students and some staff are from the KSA. It teaches the UK curriculum while maintaining an Islamic ethos. Much of the ideology stems from KSA educational objectives. However, there were differences in both structure and approach. This school is co-educational (gender mixed) in primary and early years. Some staff and students are from non-KSA countries and some teachers are male, though most are female.

This study involved four children and used the mosaic approach. The main aim was to test the practicality of involving children in the study and to practice my techniques in engaging children within the research. Although this data was not included in the final analysis, my reflections on this pilot did inform the data collection and analysis. My subjectivity and experience from the feasibility study also led me to identify some ‘issues’ that I felt should be considered ahead of conducting the main study. According to Stake (1995:17), ‘issues are not simple and clean, but intricately wired to political, social, historical and especially personal contexts’ – all of which are appropriate contexts for post-structuralist research. I realised from the feasibility study that any research that encourages young children to participate in the process requires methods that will engage the children and be meaningful

to them (Veale, 2005). Children express their perceptions and experiences in a multitude of creative ways. I included observations of children in their free play and in drawing their thoughts after a storytelling session. The feasibility study yielded much insight into my chosen approach. Where relevant, its findings are referenced in the following discussion.

### **5.2.1.1 Cultural expectations of female gender identity and role**

This research focuses on female girls' attitudes and expectations of their gender. Exploring these was best done via observation and listening. In these circumstances, I felt it important to consider scenarios and to pre-plan some of my methods to overcome any difficulties or obstacles owing to cultural sensitivities (some of these are explored in Chapter Four). This links to the ethical considerations outlined in the first section of this chapter. This realisation also prompted me to write and illustrate my own book on a social, cultural gender issue – that is, females riding a bicycle (Appendix, D.1).

### **5.2.1.2 Religious views of female gender identity**

I addressed this issue in the main research by deciding not to make my study contentious in terms of religion. I accept that religion is integral to the KSA society. However, I did not wish this to serve as a prompt or be the focus when designing the methods and in the eventual gathering of the data. Although I included conversations and perspectives of religion from the children, I did not begin the interaction from a religious point of view.

### **5.2.1.3 Suspicion or resistance to change**

On the prompt cards and during the storytelling sessions, I showed the children an alternative option to that with which they may have been familiar. However, I never tried to persuade them what was right or wrong. I remained impartial and allowed the children to express their own perspectives and divulge what was familiar to them. Fetterman (1998:46)

argues that, methodologically, ‘the most effective strategy is, paradoxically, no strategy’ which means that the incidents must be allowed to unfold naturally.

### **5.2.2 Data collection methods for the main study**

Data collection was achieved by observing the girls in their pre-school environment: listening to what they said about their gender identity, observing with what and with whom they played and gathering their many narratives on what they perceived a female role and identity to be. I anticipated that gathering data from the children might be difficult as I was a stranger to the setting. However, I spent one week attending sessions with the children as a volunteer, so that they might become acquainted with me before data collection. To encourage the young girl participants to reveal rich and relevant data that answer the aims of the research, child- and culture-appropriate data collection methods were incorporated into the research design (described in Table 2). I decided that the stimulus for discussion in my research would be the reading of three children’s stories, in the form of traditional and non-traditional stories/fairy-tales to gather attitudes and perceptions both from the content (i.e. the story) and from the illustrations. Many fairy-tales contain outdated views of gender and correspond with KSA gender ‘norms’, fostering an old fashioned worldview (Prošić-Santovac, 2013). My research sought to examine the impact these norms and values have had on the gender identity formation of young girls in the KSA. In Table 2, the questions and areas of focus are presented and the data collection methods summarised:

*Table 2: Summary of the data collection methods*

<b>Question</b>	<b>What are the influences on female gender construction in pre-school children in the KSA?</b>
Focus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Listening to children, gathering their views</li> <li>• Use Bronfenbrenner's theory to look at the ecological systems in a child's life</li> <li>• Gather data to ascertain the 'discursive community' to which the child is privy</li> </ul>
Data collection methods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Small-group discussions using prompt cards: Eliciting their interpretation of picture prompt cards: Tell me what you see. Is this scenario normal? Do you see it like this in your world?</li> <li>• Using 'gender' prompt cards – ask children about what they see, what they think</li> <li>• Imaginative role-play – observations of children's imaginative play, recording their narratives</li> <li>• Asking children to draw a picture of how they perceive a situation prompted from a story or discussion and annotating with a child's voice</li> </ul>
<b>Question</b>	<b>How do they shape and construct female gender identity and role in the KSA?</b>
Focus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Children's friendship patterns – who do they play with, and why?</li> <li>• Children's play patterns – what do they play with, and why?</li> <li>• What actions do they do that identifies them as female?</li> <li>• What practices of imitation do they show in their roles and behaviour?</li> </ul>
Data collection methods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Small-group interviews with children</li> <li>• Observations of children's play</li> <li>• Observations during role-play/home-corner</li> <li>• Asking children to draw a picture of themselves with a friend, then ask them to annotate or discuss (annotating by me) what is happening in the picture</li> <li>• Tracking observations on children's interactions within the setting</li> </ul>
<b>Question</b>	<b>In which ways do their gender identities manifest in narratives and stories in the KSA?</b>
Focus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Listening to children, gathering their views during story time</li> <li>• Picture prompt cards</li> <li>• Children's drawings, how they depict themselves (or other females) in their creative narratives and explanations</li> <li>• What are their expectations of accepted female gender identity and behaviour?</li> </ul>

Data collection methods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Group: Reading a book and stimulating discussions on the female identity and roles in the story. A list of the books read is in (Appendix, D)</li> <li>• Small-group discussions using prompt cards: Eliciting their interpretation of picture prompt cards: Tell me what you see? Is this scenario normal? Do you see it like this in your world?</li> <li>• Using ‘gender’ prompt cards – ask children about what they see, what they think</li> <li>• Imaginative role-play – observations of children’s imaginative play, recording their narratives</li> <li>• Asking children to draw a picture of how they perceive a situation prompted from a story or discussion and annotating with a child’s voice</li> </ul>
-------------------------	--

I understood that listening to young children should not be a rushed experience. As shown in Table 2, I did not rely on a single method of data collection for the children. I wished to talk to the children and an important aspect of the ‘mosaic approach’ (Section 5.2) is child conferencing, which often involves a more active child-focused process such as role-play or drawing (Clark and Moss, 2001). I planned to read or discuss an issue, and then provide the children with a choice of whether to draw or role-play their response. This is summarised in Table 3:

*Table 3: Summary of the data-gathering phases in the main study*

Month One	Volunteering as teacher for a one-week period in the school to become familiar to the children. Tracking observations of where children play and who they play with using tracking sheet, following 25 children Story sessions and child conference discussions with ‘action’, i.e. drawing or role-play (in groups of approximately 12 children) Reflective sessions with children on the data gathered during sessions
Month Two	Continuing of above observations Story sessions and child conference discussions with ‘action’, i.e. drawing or role-play, prompt-cards and groups discussions Tracking observations of where children play and who they play with using tracking sheet Reflective session with children on the data gathered during sessions
Month Three	Continuation of the above; observations notes, tracking sheets, story sessions and child conference discussions with ‘action’, i.e. drawing or role-play, and prompt-cards/group discussions. Reflective session with children on the data gathered during previous sessions

What follows is additional clarification of the study methods. The method ‘storytelling’ receives a more in-depth discussion than the other methods chosen, since much of my research was explored through children’s narratives that were elicited via reading a story, and these discussions contributed the majority of the data gathered.

### **5.2.3 Participants**

The school where the data were collected was a state school, funded by the Ministry of Education in the KSA. The location was the capital city of the KSA, Riyadh. Most parents were employed in a professional capacity, with either one or both parents in employment. All of the families who attend the school belong to the Islamic faith. Hycner (1999:156) states that, ‘the phenomenon dictates the method (not vice-versa) including even the type of participants’. In many ways, the phenomenon studied here has dictated the methods. The research method was qualitative the participants female, and the methods involved the

children as valued participants in the research. However, there were factors that impacted the methods and implications of each choice. For example, there were time limits to my fieldwork stage to gather the data. This stage was in the KSA and the Ministry of Education recommended the schools. The Ministry provided me with an authorisation letter, which I could take to each school. Before undertaking fieldwork, I was required to obtain government documents, such as strategies for pre-school provision in the KSA, recent Ministry of Education statistics and documents from the Ministry regarding the purpose of pre-school education.

The first school on the list was a private pre-school. When I visited this school, I did not feel welcome. This highlighted an ethical dimension of the research, as the head teacher had not given informed consent personally. The Ministry of Education had done so by providing a list of schools for participation. However, although the head teacher did not officially withhold her informed consent, I quickly realised that her reluctance to comply with any arrangements I tried to make in fact reflected her refusal. Therefore, I felt it only ethically correct that I should withdraw from the situation under the Brookes Code of Practice and seek a setting elsewhere. I contacted another school on the list, a state-funded pre-school, where, from the outset, my communications and intended plans were welcomed. Additionally, when I informed both the head teacher and the teachers about my research, its scope, process and the methods planned to gather the data, their consent was forthcoming and they were highly cooperative. This pre-school setting is a kindergarten, which educates male and female children between the ages of four and six years. The setting holds six classes and each class cares for 25 children, with two teachers in each as supervisors. Rather than choosing a class for me to attend, the head teacher offered me the opportunity to attend any of those six classes, converse with the teachers and the children, and make my own decision as to which class I would like to focus my research.

The size of the sample of participants was determined by the purpose of my research and what I, the researcher, could do within the resources available. The sampling method chosen was ‘purposive sampling’ (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011) and included all the girls in two classes between the ages of four and six years. I gathered data from 25 girls in this school. My primary focus was observing and talking with the children in their pre-school environment and analysing the data gathered from them in order to explore their gender attitudes and perceptions. Participant children from both classes were from different economic, social and regional tribal backgrounds, although none of these are the focus of the research.

#### **5.2.4 Storytelling**

This aspect of the research involved reading a selection of three stories (Appendix, D) to the children to explore how gender is constructed through narratives, and how young girls position themselves and construct meaning from the stories provided. An implication from the feasibility study showed that this was successful, although many of the questions I used when reading the story to stimulate discussion from the children had to be altered, rephrased, and translated orally into Arabic to draw out the children’s perceptions. The story is important, but also important is the way it is told (Cotterall, 2008). Narrative research involves working with whole and complex individuals who seek ‘to tell stories in all their complexity, imprecisions and idiosyncrasy’ (Cotterall, 2008:127). I kept this in mind and was mindful of not passing on my own constructs of gender positionings or any connotations I may apply to spoken words or presented scenarios. I remained passive and neutral – not reacting to the children’s viewpoints, nor indeed contradicting or affirming a particular perspective shown. I used terms such as ‘tell me more’ or ‘tell me how’. Some of the data relay the body language or facial expression the child used when giving their perspective. These are evident in the excerpts presented in the data analysis section, but I do not make



any attempt to interpret these or to explain the child's emotion (Curtin and Hall, 2013).

Below is a summary of the stories with my thoughts in brief:

*Not All Princesses Dress in Pink* (Yolen and Stemple, 2010) – This book challenges gender stereotypes in terms of the gender norms of dress and activities for females. I was inspired by Davies (1989<sup>b</sup>), who in her research read feminist stories to pre-school children, such as *The Paper Bag Princess* (Munsch, 1980). The children to whom she read the story were unable to view the princess as a real hero and instead saw her as a princess who did things differently, reinforcing their learned gender roles and stereotypes. If these children had never seen or met a 'real princess', how could they have known how she should or should not act?

*Jane's Car* (Randell and Ruth, 1994) – This book also challenged gender norms and gender restrictions in the KSA. It is about a girl who likes her car. She cleans and drives it. When it breaks down, she takes it to a garage with both male and female mechanics (Appendix, D.3).

The stories read to the children in the feasibility study might not have been culturally relevant for KSA children, as the study took place in the UK. I therefore created and published a culturally relevant story:

*Nahila's Bike* (Al Zahrani, 2015) – This depicts gender in the children's cultural context. It was to be used to elicit data in Saudi Arabia and a list of approximately six questions based on the key issues of the story was devised. I expected that there would be gaps in some of the data collected in that some of the stories were not culturally relevant to the participant children and I hoped to use these questions to fill in any gaps (Appendix, D.1).

I also tried to relate some of the scenarios to experiences the children may have had, such as a princess wearing a crown on a bicycle and a female working as a mechanic. The children

found both scenarios difficult to accept. The stories were not ‘normative’ in terms of gender culture and setting, but my telling them was perfectly naturalistic, as they considered me a teacher. The hope was that reading non-traditional gender stories would allow these young girls the opportunity to explore their gender identities beyond the boundaries of the traditional norms and domestic domains of their society. These books challenged gender stereotypes in the KSA. The purpose of the storytelling was to stimulate discussion of their perspectives on gender identity and role. This corresponds with the Mosaic approach (Clark and Moss, 2001; Davies 1989<sup>b</sup>): bringing together different pieces of the jigsaw in order to understand. These resources were checked and approved by the Ministry of Education. Additionally, the resources were displayed during the Introduction to the Research meeting organised for parents and teachers.

When narrating the above stories, the children rejected the scenarios from the beginning. I did not agree or disagree with their viewpoint; rather, I prompted them to provide me with more information. I would also ask another child their viewpoint, asking, ‘tell me more’ or ‘what do you think?’ During group discussions, I would ask the children to listen to a particular child’s perspective and then ask the other children to add to this. Storytelling is as old as human civilization and applies today, to modern social research. According to Clandinin and Connelly (2000: XVII), narratives provide a ‘multilayered and many-stranded’ form of qualitative research that can expand and unfold in the midst of a plethora of social phenomena (Conle, 1997). In the study of childhood and children, narratives are important. Children can relate to the characters in the story and reflect upon the actions undertaken of a speaker or those in the environment. These need not be factual, and often express more about the narrator than the activities described. Jackson points out the significance of illustrations, in that, ‘children attend to the pictures in their books, frequently using them as a means of working out what the story is about’ (Jackson, 2007:63).

### **5.2.5 Drawing**

Drawing is another key data collection tool used here. Art is an important form of self-expression for children. Malchiodi (1998:1) states that it is ‘one of the most important ways that children express themselves’, linked ‘to the expression of personality and emotions’, reflecting their ‘inner-worlds’. A child’s drawing can incorporate both conscious and unconscious meanings, allowing them to express themselves in ‘ways language cannot’ (Malchiodi, 1998). This method would help me see all the expressions of the participant children and proved invaluable in providing insight into these young girls’ worlds and how they viewed their gender identity and role. I introduced a topic, and then invited the children to draw. I noticed that I had to adopt certain techniques and behaviours. For example, if I interrupted them while drawing, they would usually stop or even change what they were doing. I found it best to merge into the background or create my own drawing at the table, sitting a distance away from the children as they drew. They were left free to draw and then I would ask them about their drawing and annotate when they were finished. Altogether, 20 drawings were collected from the children, although not all of these were included in the final analysis. It was often the case that, while the topic or theme would be discussed or prompted by a story, the children would draw something more relevant to them and I was unable to link their drawing with my research. I also sought the children’s consent for the drawings to be included in my research. On three occasions, the child refused (they wanted to take their drawings home). Through negotiation, I sought their consent to use the drawing by photographing the drawing and afterwards realised that some of the quality of the narration or of the drawing was lost. In total, seven drawings were used in the analysis and can be viewed in the data analysis discussion.

### **5.2.6 Role-play**

Role-play was selected as play allows children to express their understanding of the world

around them; it is 'vital' in assisting children to 'process their experiences and build their understanding of the world' (Featherstone and Cummings, 2009:4). It lets them 'interpret' and 'experiment' with the everyday situations or images they encounter, directly or through media and other narratives, such as stories, providing 'unique insight' into the way in which children learn and think, and what they know and understand (Featherstone and Cummings, 2009:4). As with the drawing, I did not dictate the topic of their role-play. Rather, I left them to choose the direction or content of their play. I would sit on a chair to the side and use the time to observe the children involved in the role-play, noting their narratives using these in play. Data were gathered through indoor and outdoor role-play, where children's choices of characters, props, roles, costumes, language and behaviours were observed in both classes (Appendix, C). Observing young girls in the roles and narratives they choose to enact offered me invaluable insight into the ways in which they position themselves as girls in their society and how they view gender roles.

### **5.2.7 Prompt cards**

The illustrations on the prompt cards were chosen to elicit information from the young girls regarding gender roles. They depicted different gender roles, so that I could obtain their perspectives on the situations in the pictures. These prompt cards were extracted from a book (Kubler, 1999). The illustrations were built into my interviews with the children and were numbered (for ease of analysis). I recorded the children's perspective on the scenarios by note-taking, photographs and recording their voices.

The feasibility study demonstrated that the prompt cards were ineffective in eliciting the children's views when used in groups, as the children tended to repeat each other's views. Consequently, the children's views were elicited in small groups. However, to limit any concerns regarding power dynamics, I continued to organise the participants into groups of two or three children. An implication from the feasibility study led me to anticipate that

these small-group interviews with the children using the prompt cards might prove awkward for some children. To avoid this, I left this part of the study until the middle of the fieldwork period, to ensure the children were familiar with me and comfortable with the process (Thomas, 2009).

### **5.2.8 Observations**

I focused on the participant female children's experiences, by observing them in their classroom environment for a period of approximately three months in the middle of their school year. According to Alderson (1994), research involving children needs to be conducted with insight, equality and respect. These values are paramount in my research and influenced my interactions with the children. I achieved this by conducting the feasibility study and by reading about child development, to understand the child. In all my interactions, interpretations and reports, I endeavor to view the child as an equal and with respect, by conferencing them regarding the research and seeking their consent to participate, as well as to share their narratives and drawings for the data. I intended to record their actions and words verbatim, but not their feelings, or to interpret their expressions into other words.

The environment for two classes (Appendices, C.2-C.3) was also assessed as to what it indicated about gender roles and expectations (e.g., which books were available, which pictures were presented and the areas or resources presented that indicate a specific gender). There were 'structured observations', during which my sole purpose was to observe and record what the children said and did, using observation notes (Appendix, C.1) to provide an insight into the children's behaviours related to gender identity and roles. Thomas (2009) compares this to viewing the social world in separate bits – similar to a prism, in which the observer can record important facets of a particular behaviour (in this research, gender). These observations were made with the children in their 'child-led' small-group activities,

together with their teachers or when separated into gender groups. Many observations were taken, and they were recorded in the Arabic language the children used. Also, when appropriate, I recorded the child's body language or facial expression (Gullov and Skreland, 2016). They have been used to provide data to determine how the children relate to each other and interact with others according to gender identity. Another form of observation was a tracking sheet, which allowed me to record the entire class and monitor all the children's locations and with whom they interacted during observations (Appendix, C.1). Additionally, 'unstructured observations' were taken, during which I made notes on some of the children's expressions, when immersing myself in the social situation (Thomas, 2009).

### **5.2.9 Reflection**

Being reflective is central to the 'mosaic approach', the emphasis of which is listening as an active process, 'interpreting, constructing meaning and responding' (Clark and Moss, 2001:7). Reflection is an important part of this research. It was achieved by arranging sessions during which female children can reflect on the data gathered, for instance, through their comments and drawings and observations made (Appendix, C.1). The data collection period was for a period of three months. At the end of each month, I produced a presentation to value the children's contributions by displaying captions of their perspectives, photographs of the children in their play, photocopies of their drawings and narratives – anything derived from the children. This also provided an opportunity for them to reflect and provide a deeper insight on their perspectives. It also provided the researcher with the prospect to reflect on the research, the methods and the data, and to evaluate whether the data was consistent with the research aims. In the following section, I discuss my own reflexivity in the research.

### **5.2.10 Reflexivity**

Personal reflexivity suggests that it is impossible to exclude the effect of the researcher in a study. It is, in fact ‘impossible, as researchers are part of the world that they are investigating’ and should instead ‘hold themselves up to the light’ (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007:171). I am aware that my collection methods and interpretation of the data have impacted the direction and even the outcome of my research. My intention was to acknowledge this and disclose myself in the research. Through this process, I realised my role and influence on the study. By upholding ‘the looking glass self’, I could admit my subjectivity and realize the illusion of objective reality (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007:171). I recognise that I am part of the social world being researched – a world already interpreted. No research can be neutral, free of the influence of the researcher. Disciplinary reflexivity refers to the fact that research is not only limited to a personal interpretation of data but is also a ‘social and political account’ (Scott and Morrison, 2007:202). This component of my own reflexivity will be applied to the study as it will allow me to analyse and consider ‘the way research accounts are embedded in certain ways of conceiving knowledge’ within KSA society (Scott and Morrison, 2007:202).

In being reflexive, I am conscious that, as a female teacher from the KSA, I would be cautious about giving my opinion to someone I do not know. I have tried to counteract this by building strategies to assuage any concerns of the participants or their families, by taking the time to become familiar with and build rapport with them. To this aim, an introductory meeting with parents and pre-school staff was organised to discuss the research, data collection methods and children’s. During data collection, three phases of reflection were organized for the children and myself to reflect on the data, to listen to their perspectives on the data and thus to validate it, as well as to obtain their ongoing consent. As already stated, the children were told they would be free to withdraw from any activity at any time.

### **5.2.11 Validity of data**

This research was based in a pre-school setting in the KSA, with its own unique context (Wallen and Fraenkel, 2001). In any qualitative study, regardless of context, it is imperative to take extensive measures to ensure the validity of the research. Qualitative research is ‘concerned with the phenomenon or situation in question, and not generalizability’ (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011:181). Although the findings of my research are not generalisable, they nevertheless highlight a sample reality concerning gender perception and construction in pre-school young girls in a KSA setting. Applying validity to quantitative research is relatively straightforward; in qualitative research, this is more difficult, owing ‘to data being rarely consistent even if it is the same topic’ (Mac Naughton and Hughes, 2008:125).

Validity in this research was sought through ‘descriptive validity – the factual accuracy of what actually happens’ and ‘respondent validity – confirmation by participants that the data is accurate’ (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011:181). This was achieved by providing child participants with a visual copy of their contributions (from discussions, drawings and observations); once a month, they were invited to reflect upon their contributions to validate the data (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). I displayed their photographs, drawings and words in A3 speech bubbles on a board, and asked them if they remembered these. I asked if it was a true account of what they wanted to say. I would then ask them if they wanted to elaborate further or how we could look at this again in the next phase. It was also then that I would read with them the leaflet designed for the children and inform them of their right to withdraw, reiterating their ‘informed consent’ (Appendix, B.2). Another factor when ensuring validity is that any narratives are listened to and interpreted by another. Even if we try to remain objective, subjectivity still remains, particularly when analysing what children are saying. Is a researcher substituting ideas and meanings for those intended by the narrator



(Gubrium and Holstein, 2012)? Researchers should apply ‘displacement’, not ‘replacement’, of meaning, by interpreting narratives according to the contexts of a narrator’s life (Gubrium and Holstein, 2012).

I adopted the criteria of Lincoln and Guba (1985), ensuring validity throughout the research process: guaranteeing the credibility of my findings, which will be achieved by ensuring that conclusions relate to the research setting; ensuring dependability by recognising my effects-as-researcher on my study; and confirmability, which will examine ‘whether inferences based on the data are logical and of high utility’ (Lincoln and Guba, 1985:323). Narrative researchers view human experiences as personally and socially shaped phenomena (Craig, 2009). In narrative research, the researcher is in a relationship with other people, places and things (Craig and Huber, 2007). When using the narrative inquiry method, researchers transmit that ‘experience is our concern’ and as such avoidance strategies and techniques that other theoretical orientation approaches may have to consider. However, I do not believe this to be case. Research is rigorous. In particular, the multi-faceted approach of post-structuralist research ensures that all angles of any discussion or inquiry have been examined. An important component of post-structuralist research is language; the importance and mutability of language in narratives and discourses are relearned (Peters and Burbules, 2004). This study looked at language both in Arabic and English. By applying post-structuralist theory, the research could consider the complexity and multi-positioning of the person in terms of contradictions in language (Alloway and Gilbert, 1997). Fisher (1985) argues that ‘narrative fidelity’ involves the ‘truth qualities’ of the story, the degree to which it accords with the logic of good reasons, the soundness of its reasoning, and the value of its values (1985:349). I have endeavoured to achieve this by being transparent, confirming that I am ‘in the world and of the world’ (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007) in the social context of my research, and that I bring a professional and

personal background to the study, as well as my own positioning within the native knowledge of the culture and context being studied.

Equality was achieved by ensuring that the children's voices were considered fairly, using multiple methods to gather data and also during the conference stage of each data-gathering phase. Educative authenticity was sought by informing my participants of the full aims and methods of the research (Guba and Lincoln, 1989; Scott and Morrison, 2007). I achieved this by producing a leaflet for parents and for children in both Arabic and English (Appendices B.1; B.2). Bogdan and Biklen (1992) and Lincoln and Guba (1985) also identify numerous principles of validity, the majority of which are relevant to and have been factored into my research methods: 1) I recognise my data have been obtained predominantly in the natural setting in which I have undertaken my research; 2) the data, consistent with the principles of qualitative research, are descriptive in nature; 3) I have viewed the reality being studied from the perspective of the participants (end of each stage); 4) I adopted a holistic approach to the research, and I recognise that the data I collected are situated in a certain social context (KSA) and are therefore 'socially and culturally saturated' (Cohen, Manion, and Morrison, 2011:180). The latter also relates to the significance of what Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2011:194) define as cultural validity: where research is 'shaped' in a manner 'appropriate to the culture of the researched'. Morgan (2005) stresses that cultural validity applies throughout the entire research process, influencing its 'planning, implementation and dissemination' (Cohen, Manion, and Morrison, 2011:194). Given the sensitive nature of my study, I have maintained cultural validity by being aware of and using my knowledge of KSA's social and cultural context, reviewing suitable literature in the native language of Arabic and also providing materials in Arabic for participants, allowing them to express themselves independent of any language barriers. Being a native Arabic speaker allowed me to verify the translations of the data, therefore

seeking credibility of my research findings with the intention that no meanings or interpretations would be lost in translation. The introductory meeting held for parents, teachers and children ensured that I fully understood the attitudes, values and concerns of my participants (Morgan, 2005:1). I selected research tools that were explained to all participants, and ensured that they were acceptable and not intrusive.

### **5.2.12 Challenges associated with data collection**

As with all research studies, this study saw both anticipated and unanticipated challenges. The same day I arrived in Riyadh (the capital city of the KSA), I went to the Ministry of Education to finalise the documents and obtain final approval for accessing the schools. The staff were helpful and well informed about my study and gave me a list of schools and recommendation letters. The first school I approached, the private school, I immediately I felt unwelcome – I am not sure why this was so. I did experience some difficulties regarding the return of the consent form and setting up a meeting with the parents. The head teacher said this was due to costs and effects on the timetable. There are difficulties in a female having access to the families as a male driver typically brings most of the children to school. There are obstacles to men and women approaching each other in a public setting. There is a security officer who can be used as an intermediary; however, I found this too complicated and also problematic in that my actions would be viewed as ‘suspicious’. The other school I contacted was a state-funded school and they were much more accommodating. The head teacher suggested I should send the consent forms to the parents via their children and told me that the teachers would contact the parents via Whatsapp to explain the request, and to remind them to return the consent forms. This help saw all the consent forms returned within one week, and I was able to start collecting data.

The methods mentioned in this chapter were varied in order to achieve a multifaceted view of the phenomenon under research. The methods incorporated the children’s perspectives

through discussions, free play, observations and drawings, providing deeper insight into the children's viewpoints on gender and how it relates to their lives and social context. I wanted the methodology to reflect my learning throughout the study, not only to capture the child in context but also the researcher and how I interpreted my world both as a researcher and a female from the KSA. In the following chapter, the data collected and the analysis in the framework of the literature review are presented.

## Chapter Six: Data Analysis and Discussion

This research is qualitative and broadly ethnographic, exploring the attitudes and actions of pre-school girls with regard to their gender identity. The overarching analysis applied was post-structuralist discourse, as this permits analysis of data gathered from participants, and the construction of their gendered identities within a complex web of power relations (Baxter, 2003). My approach was, however, informed by two additional theories – Bronfenbrenner’s theory (1979) and sex-role theory (Hesselbart, 1981; Stockard, 2006) – both particularly relevant to this research. The overall aim was to explore children’s narratives, behaviour and perspectives on female gender identity and role in pre-school KSA, to determine the main influences on gender identity in the early years. This chapter presents the data analysis and enquiry process by which the research questions, the driving force of the research, are explored (Yin, 2003):

- Question One: What are the influences on female gender construction in pre-school children in the KSA?
- Question Two: How do they shape and construct female gender identity and role in the KSA?
- Question Three: In which ways are gender identities manifested in narratives and stories and through ideologies and discourses in the KSA?

Framing the data analysis using post-structuralist theory provided an antithetical viewpoint to the normative structures and functions of KSA society (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011). KSA society and culture are firmly embedded in Islam and the culture and customs of its tribes (House, 2012). Religious authority is the peak of the social hierarchy in the KSA (Bin Sunaytan, 2004). Criticising or challenging social customs and traditions is tantamount to challenging the religion itself. Internal or external criticism provokes strong defensive practices, which ultimately perpetuate restrictive gender roles and identities (Zuhur, 2011). Data were collected over a period of three months, from two groups of children in a pre-school setting in the KSA. Analysis involved interpreting and making sense of the data

gathered by 'fitting the evidence and information' within a framework (Goodson and Sikes, 2001:34). Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory was the basis for this framework. It provided insight into the multi-layered constructs affecting a child's gender identity, focusing the analysis by containing discursive interactions in the child's 'discursive community' (Talbot, 2001). Gender (role and identity) is arguably maintained through the routines of everyday social life (Yelland and Grieshaber, 1998). In this study, these routines are captured in the children's perceptions and retelling of the everyday discourses they experience. Data analysis revealed three main themes:

- Normative gender roles – assumed weaknesses and strengths according to gender
- Children's criteria of permissible and non-permissible activities according to gender role
- Behaviour and attitudes – gender roles constructed and restricted

Within these, various sub-themes also emerged and these were used to organise exploration of the data by linking children's comments to the literature. Also important was my own subjectivity, an important component of 'post-structuralist' research (Richardson and St. Pierre, 2008). The following three sections discuss the process of preparing the data for analysis and the development of the raw data into the eventual emergent themes. Thereafter, these themes are explored. Each theme is discussed with reference to the literature and pertinent issues. Children's opinions on gender role and identity are synthesised with ideas from the literature, in order to identify some of the rhetorical influences (discourses) used to construct notions of female gender identity and roles in the KSA.

## **6.1 Analysing the Data**

I found that data analysis was most effective when using sex-role theory in combination with post-structuralist discourse analysis. There are many parallels between the two theories. For some, sex-role theory is seen as the foundational analytical category central to liberation from oppressive gender restrictions and patriarchal expectations (McLeod, 2001).

Sex-role theory provided a concept that enabled and helped me critique the social norms in the KSA and ingrained cultural habits related to gender role and identity (McLeod, 2001). If a fundamental phenomenon affecting every facet of a person's daily life is human differentiation based on gender, then sex-role theory is useful as it facilitates an examination of which gender and social norms are shaping young girls' gender identities in the KSA. Sex-role theorists, such as Segal (1990), argue that, 'the biological basis of male and female becomes attributed to social norms and expectations that are circulating through masculinity and femininity' (1990:65). Using this theory allowed me to analyse notions of masculinity and femininity in the KSA and which of these are evident in the perspectives of the young girls. Post-structuralist theory is not only a theory; it is also a discourse, which can be used to provide the conceptual tools with which to analyse data and make sense of the constructive processes we use to position ourselves according to gender (Davies, 1989<sup>a</sup>).

This research is underpinned by post-structuralist theory, according to which discourse is integral to everyday life and can be used to explore the relationships among language, subjectivity, social organisation and power (Richardson and St. Pierre, 2008:476). Discourse refers primarily to the meaning-making resources that constitute social reality, forms of knowledge and identity in specific social contexts and power relations (Hall, 1997: 220). Texts are multifaceted in their social context, shaping knowledge and identity (Chouliaraki, 2008). Meaning is individual and relate to each person's reflexivity (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011). The way we understand phenomena is subject to multiple and ever-changing realities: how we 'see' depends upon the position from which we are viewing (Mukherji and Albon, 2010). Richardson and St. Pierre (2008) call this 'crystallisation', believing there is no single truth, only a deepened, complex, partial understanding of the topic.

Discourse analysis facilitates a dynamic, historically and culturally sensitive mode of

inquiry: broadly, post-structuralism (Chouliaraki, 2008). Foucault's 'discursive community', is instituted through common meanings fortified by discursive interactions (Talbot, 2001). Discursive interactions include teaching discourses and working together to create and maintain 'certain truths about how we should think about gender and children in primary schooling' (Bhana, 2016). These discourses generate a sense of 'belonging' to a particular community (Erikson and Kovalainen 2008). In the *early years of a child's life* – and throughout life – relationships are crucial to a *sense of belonging* (Garvis and Manning, 2017). Our identity is constituted by our sense of self, which is influenced by the dominant social value and our social skills, shaped by the social practices we encounter. As children, these messages are experienced from others and form our perspectives and perceptions of gender and identity, shaping our self-image and, in turn, our relationships with others, to foster a sense of belonging and connection to others, family, peers and teachers (Gordon and Browne, 2014).

Discourse analysis helps researchers to explore everyday, idiomatic conversation, to examine how these are organised and the social actions implicit in them (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011), through social interactions (Davies and Banks, 1992). Gender discourse might have differed from everyday conversations in this research setting. The home life, play and social actors concepts were familiar, although the scenarios differed in order to challenge and stimulate perceptions. Using discourse analysis to explore the narratives underlying the stories and the children's perspectives helped me analyse how pre-school girls in the KSA create their subjectivities through discursive practices. I explored how they positioned and located themselves and others within gender discourses/narratives, for it is where an individual locates themselves in these discursive practices that influences how they view the world (Jackson, 2007:64). Additionally, 'discourse analysis' helps us look not only at phenomena but also at how they are constructed, made factual and justified in



talk (Silverman, 2006:223). It treats language as action rather than exclusively as representing the inner cognitive world (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011).

According to Thomas (2009:205), 'there is no one method to discourse analysis'. My 'subjectivity' is therefore valid and all data gathered were the voices and perspectives of the children gathered through their speech, including their gestures and gazes (Gee, 2014), drawings and interpretations of social practices. Text *per se* was not explored in this study. However, the voices of the children were captured and narrated in textual form when transcribed. This allowed the 'children's voices' in text form to be contrasted, compared and matched to similar sayings by other participant girls, and the re-examining of the data to discover intentions and speech-act functions of the discourse. Each of the extracts containing the children's voices was given a code (see Section 6.3). This is displayed at the beginning of each speech quote.

## **6.2 Emergent Themes**

This study is interpretative: themes were developed, not deductively, as is the case with positivist research (Crowther and Lancaster, 2008), but rather inductively. I was aware that it was important to choose data analysis methods that allowed themes to emerge. Categorising, re-examining and connecting the data to the emergent themes and issues focused the data analysis, linking the data to the literature. From this, themes and issues emerged regarding gender construction in a KSA pre-school setting. Peer and teacher influences, as well as cultural and religious issues affecting female gender identity, emerged. The process involved intensive reading of the transcripts on my part to identify implicit and emergent meanings (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The literature review had already revealed emergent issues regarding gender construction in addition to the influences of pre-school education – for instance, peer, teacher, cultural and religious influences on female gender identity. I used these categories as a basis for organising the preliminary data into three main

themes: normative gender roles, children's criteria of permissible and non-permissible activities, and behaviour and attitudes.

The emergent themes were not 'clear cut', but 'inductive reasoning' and experiencing the phenomenon led to the researcher's 'knowing' (Thomas, 2009; Bryman, 2004). When embarking on research involving 'discourse analysis' the analysis is on the narrative itself. From this, the participant's view of reality and the themes emerge (Bryman, 2004). The semi-structured 'child conference discussions' exposed the young girl's opinions on a wide array of social norms and traditions. However, this seemed to provide such an eclectic mix of topics and influences on the children's developing gender identity that it proved difficult to group these together as themes (Robson, 2002).

### **6.3 Coding**

Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory informed my theoretical framework. His theory is consistent with discourses surrounding both sex-role and post-structuralist theory. I planned to integrate the qualitative data into Bronfenbrenner's system. From this framework, themes would emerge which could then be coded (Roberts-Holmes, 2011). This is often referred to as post-coding (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011). NVivo, a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis CAQDAS program, was selected for analysing the qualitative data (Gibbs, 2007). This package is favoured by my university and I was familiar with it. Ultimately, though, I found it was more beneficial to analyse the data manually. The software package was no substitute for my research when using qualitative data. For example, it was not able to 'assign meaning', 'identify similarities and differences' and 'establish relations' between data (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011: 554-555). Moreover, owing to the cultural context and the language the children used, my skills, understandings and knowledge of this context were invaluable in making inferences from the text when translated and transcribed. However, I did find the software useful for

purposes of organisation, in the coding of the data, and when making links and recalls (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011). Gibbs (2007) cautions that the use of software is only as good as the codes that have been selected, which is why only *a priori* codes were applied to the initial qualitative data. The practicalities of using CAQDAS or other programmes may distract researchers from the hermeneutic understandings of the data (Flick, 2009). Further, all sense making should arguably be located within cultural and historical perspectives (Gadamer, 1975). This proved true here: as a Saudi female, I am culturally sensitive to my research findings and was able to analyse them within a cultural context.

First, the data needed to be organised in a way that would allow it to be explored and synthesised. Using Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory, a list of 'categories' was created for sorting the data and exploring the interconnections between the data and the layers of each child's life in order to look for emerging themes. Seven categories that surround the family were chosen, deemed most influential in shaping a child's sense of identity and related to 'the theoretical framework' chosen for analysis. They are presented in Table 4, together with the coding for each category:

*Table 4: The coding for each category*

<b>Code</b>	<b>Category</b>
S	Society
C	Culture (including customs and traditions)
M	Media (including TV, Internet, advertising, publications)
A	Activities
P	Gender physicality
R	Reward and punishment
G	Religion

*Table 5: The data were then defined in quotes and coded according to the context*

<b>Code</b>	<b>Context</b>
BP	Book – <i>Not all Princesses Dress in Pink</i>
BJ	Book – <i>Jane’s Car</i>
BN	Book – <i>Nahila’s Bike</i>
P1-P12	Method – Conference sessions with prompt cards
O	Method - Observation
D	Method – Children’s drawings

Coding the data in this way allowed me to separate the data into the categories and to code each speech quote within the analysis by placing it in its category, context and linked to the relevant participant. The following shows an example of this:

*Table 6: Coding of speech quotes for analysis*

<b>Category</b>	<b>Context</b>	<b>Participant</b>
S = Society	BP = Book Princesses	RF = Child’s initials

This showed the data in a new light and facilitated the interpretative and inductive nature of the research. What at first seemed one-dimensional became three-dimensional, interconnected and interactive. Exploring the raw data like this emphasised that many of the children shared similar experiences and views, and that some confirmed points that previous children had made. When the children’s views were synthesised, subtle differences and inferences emerged from the data and the discussion and analysis surrounding these commence as follows:

## **6.4 Normative Gender Roles – Assumed Weaknesses and Strengths According to Gender**

Culture is always a factor in human beliefs, and ‘the child and the social world are mutually involved’ (Rogoff, 1990:28). Children are not born with a sense of a particular culture, nor indeed a ‘cultural identity’: they learn it as they develop and do not passively reproduce the material offered by their culture, but rather creatively interpret such material (Rogoff, 1990). Martin and Ruble (2004) argue that children are ‘gender detectives’ who actively seek gender information. Often, this information is obtained through the ‘social structure, media, and peers’ (Fine, 2010<sup>b</sup>:216). Hermans (2001:325) refers to the ‘matrix of internal and external positions’ and suggests that, from our ‘person-world interactions’, two positions arise – our internal position that relate to our social positions and role and our external position (Hermans, 2001:330). The KSA applies ‘*sharia*’ (Islamic law). This means that both these factors have a distinct bearing on what is construed ‘a traditional role’, particularly in relation to gender norms in the KSA (Hamidaddin, 2013). It is the person’s constant interaction with both these positions through internal dialogues that develops their ‘traditional role’ and sense of self – the ‘I-position’ (Hermans, 2001). What follows is data from observations, narratives, prompt cards and drawings, revealing different aspects of culture related to gender in Saudi pre-school girls.

During afternoon activity time, I sat with a group of three girls in the library section. First, I read a story (their choice) and then began to show some prompt cards, including the scenario of a man ironing, about which one girl commented:

*PP6/S.M: ‘No Miss, he is a man, a man can’t iron the clothes’.*

Culture has a tremendous impact on what children accept as right or wrong and family history influences the kinds of activities children perceive as normal at home and in society (e.g., Anning and Ring, 2004). The dominant discourses of a society provide children and

adults with an understanding, or moral framework, of what is regarded as 'normal' behaviour for a particular gender. Very often, these discourses constitute the authority on the 'right' way to think, feel and behave according to gender (Gee, 1990: XX). The following extract from one child shows that, even at four years of age, she is aware of gender restrictions on domestic roles: PP6/GH.H said:

*'but my Dad can't iron, he is a boy, my Mum is doing everything'.*

It could be inferred from this that the child's perception is that her 'Mum', the female, is the stronger of her parents. Many regard family as the strongest influence in developing a child's identity (Bandura, 1971; Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Mischel and Ebbeson, 1970). As such, family 'can help the larger culture achieve the goal of socializing new members' (Bee and Boyd, 2007:363). The following extracts show what the children think of males and females in terms of power and strength. Masculinity is equated with being strong or having power; femininity is with being weak and helpless:

*PP10/ R.A: 'he is big and he can do whatever he wants'.*

Whilst the next child seemed to feel that being a female equated to being weak:

*C.(BP)/R.F: 'she is weak, she cannot do anything'.*

The structure of social institutions, such as family, school and media, provide the template for society values and social powers (Grieshaber, 1998). My data suggest a superimposed strength for males and a superimposed fragility or helplessness for females. This degree of 'essentialism' can be perilous; especially when it protects male dominance and promotes the superiority of one gender over another, blocking access to what many would consider fundamental human rights, such as education, mobility and autonomy (Bullock, 2002). The degree of strength seems to shift when each gender is in the other's respected area of expertise or territory. The male is seen as the 'authority' of the public domain – this is his

territory and in this area he is strong, assertive, and superior; he is seen as the provider and his currency and transactional knowledge are accepted, culturally and socially (Lacey, 2009). Are females, then, the 'authority' in the domestic domain? If we accept Davies' (1989<sup>b</sup>) argument that the domestic space is the only context in which females, particularly children, are accorded legitimate power, then yes. Superficially, this seems true, especially if we view the domestic space as autonomous, self-contained or even isolated.

According to Ghanim (2009:90), the 'rules and customs' of the public domain (the male domain) influence the male's behaviour and these are reflected in their involvement in the domestic space; meaning that the woman's authority is not absolute. Moreover, the assertion that 'women' hold the authority in the domestic domain as a 'counterbalance' is an exaggeration, even a fallacy of compensation of power. Excluding women from the public domain excludes them from making decisions, rendering their supposed power in domestic affairs insufficient compensation (Ghanim, 2009). A different child explained her idea of the roles and duties:

*CP3/SH.A: 'Dad brings the food from the supermarket and Mum is responsible for cleaning and cooking'.*

This remark from the child reveals stereotypical assumptions about gender roles and responsibilities. Stereotypes are valuable tools, which can be used to analyse gender, as they provide important and revealing expressions of hidden beliefs and values. Gender representations that reinforce stereotypes are often portrayed in the media and these reinforce gender segregation (Freeman, 2007). However, in the KSA, stereotypical assumptions are not hidden – they exist in and are woven into the structure of society. In the KSA, there are areas, commercially and socially, where it is '*haram*' (unlawful) for women to enter or participate. Entry to many areas, both public and domestic, requires females to cover her femininity by dress – '*hijab*' and '*nikab*' (veil) – and by not accentuating her voice

or feminine attributes (Bradley, 2005). This ‘culture of inaccessibility’ leads to social paralysis for both men and women (Ghanim, 2009:194). Although barriers between men and women’s spaces in Saudi Arabia are becoming more concrete, female-exclusive spaces are growing, becoming more diverse and extending beyond private domains (Le Renard, 2008). Accessibility according to gender, or lack thereof, has a profoundly negative effect on individual and personal development (Ghanim, 2009) and these impositions based on gender can repress natural development and independent personalities (Reich, 1970).

#### **6.4.1 Gender roles in the public domain**

The previous discussion illustrates that some children have a very clear appreciation of the role of the female and her identity in the domestic domain; this was apparent, too, with male behaviours. All children applied broadly the same stereotypes, with some feeling that the father does contribute to the home:

*CP9/R.F: ‘The man does the shopping; he brings us food and clothes’.*

However, when shown the book ‘*Jane’s Car*’, 15 of the 25 children seemed alarmed that a female could be working as a mechanic. In this instance, a child applied the same rejection of role reversal applied for a woman to work outside her usual domain:

*C.(BJ)/R.D: ‘Dad only can work in the car workshop... Mum cannot work; she might prick her fingers with a sharp object and start bleeding’.*

This comment suggests that the female is seen as weak outside her usual domain. Later, the same girl spoke of the fact that females cannot drive a car in Saudi Arabia.

*P.(BJ)/R.D: ‘The ‘hurma’ (woman) can’t fix the car’ ... [when asked why] ‘also the ‘hurma’ (woman) cannot drive’.*

When shown the scenario (illustration) of a woman working in a garage, the following child responded:



*S.(BP)/M.N: ‘Hurma’ and ‘rajjal’ (woman and man) both working in a car service, no it’s ‘haram’ (forbidden)’.*

Jackson (2007:72) reported a similar response in her study in New Zealand in that one of the children responded that the woman would get her fingers stuck if she tried to fix the tyres. She also found that the children credited male characters with greater abilities, skills and experience than female characters. Many, if not most, societies deem it imperative for the male to be physically superior to the female (Kramarae and Spender, 2000). Disconcertingly, many societies also promulgate the view that males are more intellectually competent than females (Kramarae and Spender, 2000). However, some data implied that, in the domestic domain, the male is viewed as weak, incapable or even helpless in the home and with domestic duties. This could be an attempt to excuse or even rationalise his lack of involvement in domestic duties. One of the children excused her father, saying:

*CP4/L.K: ‘He should sit and shouldn’t work [in the home], his job is to sit only’.*

Also, the children seemed to equate the male, particularly in the domestic environment, with a tyrant or king:

*RP6/GH.H: ‘The man can’t iron, because it is hot, he can’t touch anything hot, look at his face [pointing at the picture] he is angry and tired now’.*

Another child elaborated further:

*SP8/GH.H: ‘Dad is the father, and he shouldn’t clean, but mothers should clean and work in the kitchen’.*

It is perceived that many females have lower status in the gender structure. In many households, the males are often out of the family home (Ghanim, 2009). The following extract implies what the life of a male could be:

*SP7/GH.H: 'Dad has no job at home... is only going to work... he has to go to the party'.*

When prompted further and asked what a Dad's job would entail:

*SP6/A.M: 'The appropriate job for my Dad is wearing a police uniform and that is his job, that's it, that's the only job he can do 'bas' - nothing else [smacking her hands together]'.*

The fact that males are often out of the home creates a space in which mother and child can foster a special closeness, sometimes rendering the father a stranger and outsider to the family (Ghanim, 2009). The excerpts above and below illustrate this concept. Below, a child explains what she feels her father's job is at home:

*PP6/GH.H: 'The man's job is the LAPTOP and MOBILE like watching TV, looking at the iPad, and watching the film'.*

In this section, data gathered in the context of the public domain was analysed and demonstrated that much of the authority in the public arena is male-dominated. However, there also exists a hierarchy of authority in the domestic arena and this involves females.

#### **6.4.2 Gender roles in the domestic domain**

A child's natural and main social environment is her family; this constitutes the personal and private sphere (Wyness, 2012). The segregation of domestic and occupational roles by gender is typically enacted with sex-role influences that are very gender-stereotypical, conditional-regarding roles attributable to either gender (Diekman and Murnen, 2004; Eagly, Wood and Diekman 2000). Family practices profoundly affect a child's concept of gender differentiation, relationships and roles; the construction of gender identity begins at home (Morrow, 2006). A person organises her knowledge of the surrounding world by categorising and simplifying received information. Through this process, she creates cognitive schemes, including gender schemas (Bem, 1989) which are definite and, often,

typical representations of daily reality. However, it is too simplistic in today's technological world, in which many children's personal and private spheres extend to a wider virtual arena where they are creating their own 'social spaces' (Wyness, 2012:190), to contain the areas of influence on a developing schema. These schemas are responsible for defining the essence of a child's worldview – drawing on the underlying 'essence' of maleness or femaleness' (Bem, 1989: 651). This essence will also 'have a significant influence on social cognition – understanding, anticipation, situation and emotion control' (Wolska, 2011).

Early years professionals working at a pre-school will also influence the children attending, as they are an important part of the gendered ecology in which children live. Adults as well as children feel the effects of the gendered ecologies in which they live and participate (Farrell, 1998). From a 'post-structuralist' stance, children will position themselves according to the male or female discourses prevalent in their society (Blaise and Taylor, 2012; Davies, 2003; Mac Naughton, 1996). This was confirmed by some of the children in this study. The following child was of the opinion that both school and home were teaching children domestic roles and that many for women were associated with cleanliness and cleaning:

*SPI/S.M: 'the teachers in our school wanted us to maintain cleanliness in our school as well, Mum always reminds us to keep our house and school neat and clean'.*

The same child tells us what her Mum is teaching her:

*SPI/S.M: 'I do not like my home to be dirty; Mum teaches us how to keep our home clean'.*

For the following child, the mother had used the societal marker 'ayb' (taboo) to modify this child's behaviour with regard to housekeeping:

*SPI/M.K: 'My Mum said the home must be clean and if it is not then it*

*is 'ayb' (taboo) to leave our house 'wasakh' (dirty) – me, my Mum and my sisters will clean it'.*

During their progression and development, children – particularly young girls – identify with their mothers and even psychologically merge with them (Bussey and Bandura 1999). As a consequence, the self-concept of a young girl is shaped by her mother's sense of relatedness and positioning according to gender role and identity. My data showed that some of the children empathised with their mothers and many interpreted the prompt cards depicting males doing the household chores to be due to the mother being ill or tired. As children age, their ability to understand and interpret the thoughts and feelings of others develops a pro-social slant, which affects their behaviour (Kostelnik *et al.*, 2015). Social cognition links to pro-social behaviour requiring empathy, sympathy and perspective-taking – which then lead to pro-social acts that demonstrate social competence (Ensor and Hughes, 2010). The following comments from the children showed this developing empathy and sympathy with their mother and their social competence in obeying her:

*RP6/GH.H: 'The mother, she is very tired if she asks us to clean our home, we obey her'.*

Another child explained her interpretation of the scenario:

*PP3/Z.SH: 'Mum went shopping... she came back and she was tired, that's why she went to her room to sleep'.*

Or it is because the female is unable to clean due to ill health:

*RP6/D.S 'They are cleaning because their Mum is sick, that is why they decided to help her'.*

Even when a father (man) does do some housework, it is seen as 'helping out' rather than being his role. One of the children said:

*PP10/M.N: 'Dad is not cleaning in this picture, he is just helping'.*

The girl below demonstrates empathy and social competence not only by explicit statement, but by also positioning other children in the scenario and by the way in which she is sure about what she thinks with regard to her mother's life:

*PP6/A.M: 'Mum is so tired, and I am sure that she is laying down'  
[describing the picture prompt card] 'other one is younger, they are  
playing with the hoover'.*

The data also revealed that many children held rigid views on what a person should and could do according to their gender. Many of the children placed the female role in the domain of domesticity in the house:

*SP8/R.D: 'The mother always cleaning... 'Lazim' (must) because she is  
'hurma' (woman)'.*

*PP4/L.K: 'the Mum should clean, this job is for 'hurma' (woman)'.*

*PP5/D.A: 'Mum's priority is just to clean and wipe, do everything, my  
Dad doesn't do anything'.*

Children choosing traditional sex-role behaviour seem to be given more positive feedback or assurances from adults (Rogoff, 1990). Lowe (1998:214) terms this 'gender conformity' but the focus of her research (in a Western country) was on boys. In the KSA, conformity is female-centric. Specificity regarding gender competence in duties or chores relays to children the importance of gender as a social marker (Browne, 2004). However, conflict about these views was evident:

*SP2/SH.A: 'My Mum makes food [smiling] and she is working little bit  
in the kitchen... only my Mum can do this work'[frowns].*

According to Curtin and Hall (2013), our first experiences of learning are entirely social, with much achieved through imitation, and the ability to apply and read facial expressions that correspond with what we want to say occurs in early childhood. Young children, as well

as adults, use their bodies extensively to express their views and to explain their experiences (Gullov and Skreland, 2016).

*PP7/S.M: 'Hanging the clothes [biting her finger] ...it is a mother's job Miss'.*

It may be that this child felt uncomfortable identifying the domestic role as belonging to her mother: however, most of the data indicates that gender identity and roles (whether male or female) are clearly delineated for some of the children:

*TVP3/SH.A: 'Miss, my Mum is doing everything in the home, my Dad is sleeping and watching T.V. only'.*

Even when shown the prompt card, one child was unable to accept the man cleaning as a reality:

*PP4/SH.S: 'I see that they are cleaning the toilet but Mums clean the toilet and do the tidying up'.*

The female is seen as the 'authority' of the domestic domain – this is her territory where she is knowledgeable and skilled. This attitude confirms what sex role theory might say about Saudi society; that is, societal norms regarding gender polarisation have been adopted by the children (Hesselbart, 1981; Stockard, 2006). This is confirmed by another child when shown the prompt cards of males involved in domestic chores:

*PP8/M.N: 'Only women can do all these jobs and not the men, because women can do everything in the home and the men cannot'.*

When shown a prompt card of a man ironing clothes, the following child demonstrates that this surety or fixed perception of gender identity and role may not be so rigid:

*RP5/N.F: 'The Dad and the boys don't clean the home; they only want to surprise the Mum for making the house neat and clean'.*

Another child was quite definite in the duties or role her father can assume:

*PP6/S.M: 'No, my Dad can't iron and work anything in the house'.*

When shown a prompt card of a man carrying a baby, this seemed inconceivable for one of the girls, who preferred to interpret the situation as the father playing:

*PP3/Z.SH: 'He is playing, the father is carrying the doll, the little boy is fixing his building blocks'.*

This was also true of another child:

*PP5/D.A: 'Yes they are playing, they are not really cleaning, they are pretending' [laughing].*

This strategy of challenging the image presented by the prompt card by insisting that what was being shown was in some way 'whimsical' also appealed to other children:

*PP6/A.M: 'Look the other one is younger; they are playing with the Hoover'.*

*PP9/R.F: 'The Dad is pulling the son's clothes using the vacuum cleaner; he is only playing with him'.*

The following extract offers an alternative. Sex role theory states that young children carry a firm belief in gender role and identity. However, an individual's beliefs about sex roles will depend not only on their age and stage of cognitive development, but also on their life experiences (Connolly, 2004). Young girls are part 'of the production of civilized femininity' (Walkerdine, 1997:61), selecting within the process (MacNaughton, 2000). When the following girls were shown pictures of males doing domestic chores, they demonstrated that they had seen this before:

*TVP6/A.M: 'Yes, I can see similar to this in Mum's phone [cartoons] and*

*not anywhere else*'.

*TVP6/D.S: 'I saw lots of things similar to this in my iPad*'.

So, the media provides alternatives to common behavioural gender expectations and roles (Guantlett, 2008). MacNaughton (1998:155) argues that the media creates and maintains sexist gender differences in society, but perhaps the media can also be responsible for creating alternative, non-sexist roles. Children are subjected to images daily, moving (television, cinema, computer games) and static (such as advertisements, shop signs, catalogues, books) (Anning and Ring, 2004). In the domestic domain, my data shows that some of the girls understood the difference between practices in the media and at home, and that this could be a source of confusion or conflict for the individual child. The following extracts show that these children perceive such images as contrary to the reality in their lives:

*TVP3/ SH.A: 'My Mum is always cleaning, and those pictures I see it only on TV*'.

*TVP5/D. A: 'Just in the story that he is ironing and cleaning*'.

The following child also found the prompt card difficult to believe:

*CP4/L.K: 'Miss, they are washing the clothes, cleaning up everything... for me, Mum does the job and not my Dad*'.

Moreover, some felt that a man could help in the home, but that the normality was different:

*PP9/R.F: 'My Dad is only helping Mum if she needs help, but most of the time Mum does all the jobs [housework] and Dad is just sitting down*'.

One of the children explained the roles of both her mother and father in the home:

*PP4/L.K: 'Of course the Dad will sit because he is tired and Mum will*



*continue working*'.

This view was also expressed by the following child:

*SP6/D.S: 'The Dad can go to the school to teach and whenever he comes back home, he doesn't do anything, he cannot clean*'.

However, some of the children conceded to helping 'Mum' sometimes; this child suggested that she can help her mother sometimes, but it is not her brothers' or father's role to help:

*RP6/GH.H: 'Sometimes I help her in washing my school uniform and hang them if she needs help. My brothers never, my Dad never*'.

These gender stereotypes pervade popular culture (Saltmarsh, 2009). Applying gender stereotypes help children organise their memories, direct their attention and guide their own behaviour (Martin and Ruble, 2004). This might seem positive for the children. However, if we also consider that stereotypes help forge a culture of prejudice, communicated to families, communities and young children in words and action, then the contribution is negative (Derman-Sparks, 2001). The following comment reveals clear stereotypical roles for both genders:

*PP3/SH.A: 'My Dad doesn't work like this, he is a man. Mum is a woman so this is her job*'.

They still felt that Mums should do regular work and some were allowed to sleep:

*SP6/A.M: 'The job of the Mum is to attend to her regular job and sleep at home*'.

They also believed her level of happiness depended upon whether the home was clean:

*RP6/GH.H: 'The Mum's job is to clean the home. The Mum will be happy to see her home all clean*'.

Children who can respond to the emotions of others and make inferences about actions are more likely to succeed with peer interactions or with their teachers as they are viewed as ‘more socially competent’ (Denham, Zensser and Brown, 2013:70). According to Ghanim (2009), females in Middle Eastern societies are disadvantaged from the day they are born, owing to discriminatory cultural practices that degrade and devalue females. Gregg (2005) discusses the peculiarities of female status in these societies, explaining that, as a female grows, her skills and importance in the domestic environment increases. This growth into puberty and subsequent adulthood introduces restrictions and reduced status. She will find herself increasingly segregated from the males in both household and society, placing her in a far more subservient role.

### **6.4.3 Hierarchy in female gender identity and role**

In the above discussion, hierarchy in the public and domestic spheres was explored. Males emerged the dominant gender and top of the hierarchy in these domains. Baumeister and Twenge (2002) confirm that, as in other Arab cultures, there is gender hierarchy in the KSA, whereby society exerts great pressure on men to maintain power and authority in the public as well as the private domain. However, it is not simply about gender; there are other forms of hierarchy, relating to nationality, class, economics and skin colour. In this research, some of these were encountered. Hierarchy among females was also observed, including occupational hierarchy in the home:

*CP3/SH.A: ‘My Mum is doing everything, she is in charge of everything, and my Dad doesn’t do anything. He has another home, other children, and when he comes to us, all he does is to sit down, only. My Mum works really hard; she is doing all these jobs alone’.*

Perhaps this mother has more autonomy and power in her domestic environment as her husband’s time is split between two domestic domains. The ‘first wife’ has considerably more authority and independence than subsequent spouses (Gaffney-Rhys, 2011).

According to Cook and Kelly (2006) polygyny stereotypes females into reproductive and domestic roles. It is socially, religiously and legally accepted in the KSA to practice 'polygamy' (the acceptance of a man to have multiple wives). In Islam, this is limited to four wives. In the Qur'an, Chapter of Women '*Surah An-Nisa*' (Holy Qur'an, 1984:4-3), Muslim men are permitted to marry up to four wives. However, polyandry, the practice of a woman having more than one husband, is not permitted.

Many households in the KSA employ a *shaghalla* (maid), usually from another country, to do household duties (Bradley, 2005). Saudi households employ an estimated 1.5 million domestic workers, primarily from Indonesia, Sri Lanka, the Philippines and Nepal. Smaller numbers come from other countries in Africa and Asia (Kelly and Thompson, 2015). As a general rule, households do not exploit or oppress as an objective when acquiring domestic help. However, several practices create a hierarchy and '*shaghalla*' assume a subordinate role. KSA females hold citizenship and although they have a minority status in their country, they are relatively privileged (Le Renard, 2014). The patriarchal family structure also encourages competition among females (Wang and Lin, 2012). Non-Saudi females experience different social expectations, constraints and limitations (Le Renard, 2014). Moreover, this structure perpetuates oppression by exploiting the caring nature of the females. However, these situations can also create a cycle whereby female members are both the oppressed and the oppressor (Wang and Lin, 2012), 'both victims and abusers at the same time' (Ghanim, 2009:6). According to Foucault (1990), not only do the dominant produce power in societies; the subordinate, although not on an equal scale, do so, too. Until 50 years ago, many families tribes owned slaves (Vlieger, 2011). Although King Faisal abolished slavery in 1962 (Nehme, 1994), associated inequalities linger (North and Tripp, 2012). During circle time, one of the children explained what happened with her maid:

*SP10/M.N: 'Our maid escaped while we were sleeping'.*

One of the children spoke of their maid, who she described as 'looking and behaving like a man' every time her parents left home. She said:

*RP10/R.A: 'My 'shaghalla' (maid)...she is a 'humara' (donkey), I asked her if she is a boy or a girl and she replied 'I am a man' [screwing up her face].*

Some children felt it was not the mother's place to do the cleaning but the province of another female:

*SP7/GH.H: 'The Mum is usually at home, and the 'shaghalla' (maid) is the only one who cleans the dishes'.*

*SP1/S.M: 'I liked this story, but I don't do all this nor Mum, we have a 'shaghalla' (maid) to do it, my Mum's job is just to cook our food'.*

The following child also explained that it was her maid's responsibility to do everything at home:

*SP6/A.M: 'We have 'shaghalla' (maid) too, because my Mum is working in the morning and she is responsible to do everything [the maid]'.*

That there is another female who can be responsible for subordinate roles such as cleaning and cooking shows a hierarchy in terms of female gender, challenging the concept that there is a homogenous category for 'female' in the country (Strobel and Bingham, 2004). Not all KSA households have a maid, and this seems to have made it acceptable for some men to assume tasks previously belonging to females:

*SP9/R.F: 'They are cleaning the dishes and he [Dad] is helping us because we don't have a maid'.*

The following child, however, found it inconceivable that a man should work at home:

*CPI/M.K: 'No Miss this is unacceptable to let my Dad do chores, even if we don't have 'shaghalla' (maid), my brother and I can help my Mum,*

*but my Dad just works outside.'*

This child, when shown a prompt card of a man cleaning shoes, rejected the concept, locating the responsibility for domestic chores with the maid:

*SP3/Z.SH: 'I don't think the man should clean the shoes, men shouldn't work, shaghalla (maid) can do everything, clean, iron, and do the shoes'.*

Until very recently, housework was the responsibility of the maid. Most KSA households employed at least one maid in the household. However, this is changing, and it is becoming increasingly difficult to obtain residency for maids. The following shows how this is changing the role of females:

*PP3/Z.SH: 'No Miss, I am not working at home, my Mum is doing everything. We used to have shaghalla (maid), but she went back home, for that reason, I am now helping my Mum'.*

The above discussion and analysis show that in the household there is a complexity of gender roles, and that issues regarding maids and subordinate roles for females differed among households. It also demonstrates systems of influence, ranging from immediate environments such as family to more remote contexts such as culture and government directives and legislations. All these represent the child's 'natural ecology' and will impact the developing child (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 2006). As in all countries, the needs and practices of each household in the KSA are unique. In the following section, gender roles and behaviours beyond the norm are explored.

#### **6.4.4 Gender roles beyond the normative**

Not only homes and schools influence children. Other daily interactions affect children's perceptions of gender role and identity. This contradicts sex-role theory, according to which gender roles are fixed and continually reproduced by the 'agents of socialisation' (Francis and Skelton, 2005). Other 'agents of socialisation' perpetuate gender roles beyond the

society in which one lives. Children are less knowledgeable than adults of real-world limitations, less able to disagree effectively and less able to differentiate between fiction and reality (Diekman and Murnen, 2004). Media is an alternative source of gender norms in today's world. When reading to the children the book *Nahila's Bike*, some of the children reported that they were aware of social expectations, but that in reality, they do the activities that their society deems inappropriate for females:

*P.(BN)/L.N: 'Boys can ride because they are boys, and the girls shouldn't ride the bicycles because they are girls, but Miss, I have a bicycle and also I can play football'.*

Although this child could accept that both boys and girls could do household chores, she objected to children doing housework:

*PP3/Z.SH: 'This work is not for his age, it is for adults. And this work is for Mum and Dad because they are adults'.*

In the following excerpt, the child suggests that the mother does have power and that the father is helping before she sees the mess, signifying fear for the father himself or perhaps protection for the female child:

*RP10/M.N: 'I swear to God Miss, they wanted to clean everything because the child made everything messy, the Dad is helping because he doesn't want the mother to see all that mess'.*

Children in the public domain seem to navigate back to the normative perception of gender roles. This was emphasised during 'role play', when children were acting out everyday situations of domestic scenarios. Children often 'work out' the scripts of everyday life in role-play, practicing adult skills and roles and adopting the perspectives of others in their play (Rogoff, 1990:186). The majority of the girls believed that males have more power than females, but that, in some scenarios, this can change. The next comments remind us that women can 'do it all'; at least, these children think they can:

*PP6/S.M: 'Mummies can cook, read and work at the same time'.*

Prompt cards of males doing domestic chores elicited an unsettled response in relation to gender practices some of the children had experienced. Some children felt that in addition to the 'right' behaviour and role for a female, the duties and role could be extended beyond the domain of domesticity:

*PP6/GH.H: 'She is washing the dishes, cleaning the house, and making it nice and beautiful, after that she can study, because she is a girl and she needs to study'.*

I observed the children in the home corner. There were three girls dressed in '*hijabs*' and '*abaya*', a symbol of national identity in the KSA for women in public (Le Renard, 2008). This was highlighted when girls started talking about driving cars; the normative perception of driving in the KSA is that women need a male to drive the car. I heard one of the girls say to another girl:

*P.O/: 'You be the man and drive the car'.*

The girls did not go to ask a boy to join them; they seemed happy to adopt masculine traits in their play. Evans and Davies (2000) reported the same phenomenon, although not for the male children they observed. This is consistent with the work of Herbert and Stipek (2005), where who report that teachers and their views are 'responsible for gender differences in children's own beliefs' (2005:280). As observed in my study, this can affect the way children adopt roles in their play. If we consider that gender is constructed through discourses and society, we also have to consider that children play an active role in these discourses (Wyness, 2012). Rogoff (1990) argues that children actively create culture and transform practices, which are 'carried through to the next generation' (1990:198). If we deconstruct gender realities, we see that the 'powerful adult' and her notions of gender will always lock the child into 'appropriate' behaviour (Wyness, 2012).

My data support these points. For some children, the accepted rules and practices are now shifting (or the children's viewpoints of themselves are being altered) and they are viewing females in stronger roles. This may also be because children have not yet fully absorbed socially acceptable gender roles and are still working towards the change and integrating these concepts into their worldview. For example:

*PP4/SH.A: 'Because she [Mum] is in the mall, she finished her work and went straight to the mall with her driver, when she comes back she wants the home to be clean'.*

But one child linked this change in the role of women in the public domain as due to Dad becoming bored of it. When shown the prompt card of a woman shopping, one child explained this as:

*CP3/Z.SH: 'Because the Dad is 'tafshan' (bored) and he doesn't want to go, that is why he sent the Mum to buy the stuff'.*

Through the perceptions of the children, we see the juxtaposition between public and domestic domains, between which children and families navigate according to the influencing layers of their natural ecology (Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 2006). The following child shows that her family finds it acceptable for her Dad to be involved in domestic roles:

*SP9/L.N: 'Our maid left us to [return to] her country and Dad is cleaning and sometimes he makes us lunch'.*

The data show that two girls have stated that their father helps their mother in the domestic role. One child explained:

*PP9/R.F: 'Yes, Dad is cleaning; my Dad is cleaning together with my Mum'.*



This was also stated by the second girl:

*PP10/R.A: 'I saw similar to this [picture, prompt card]in my home, my mama, papa, and... we are helping each other to clean the home'.*

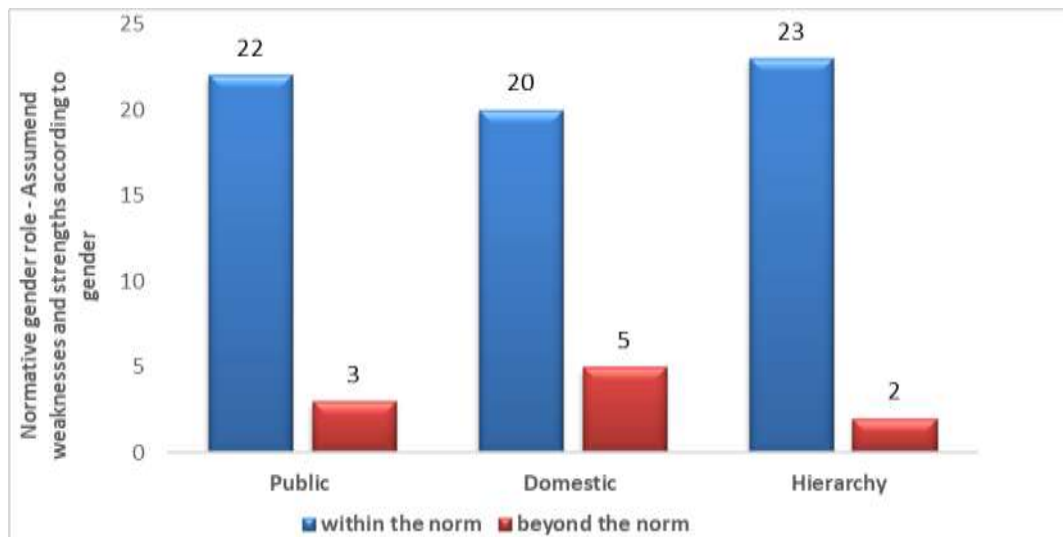
When prompted further:

*PP10/R.A: 'The man and woman should help each other, they live in the same home so they should do all the things together'.*

The experiences children have construct gender biases, which inform attitudes and beliefs that impact a child's development (Wei and Hendrix, 2009). These statements indicate that there are situations in which the woman seems to have more power than the man and that, in the domestic setting, males have the same roles as females, a *sunnah* in Islam, as the prophet Muhammad (PBUH) helped with household chores (Aleem, 2007). I prompted the young girl about the role of men in the home by showing a male cleaning. She said:

*CP10/R.A: 'The Dad is cleaning and doing all the house chores, but here in the picture, the Dad is cleaning but he is talking to his son and saying that "This is all because of you, you messed up everything" and the child will reply to his Dad "This is not your business".'*

A post-structuralist interpretation would be that the young girl has adopted a cultural, rather than religious, attitude towards men cleaning in the home. Blaise (2005<sup>b</sup>) would interpret this young girl as taking an active part in her views on gender. The above analysis implies that not only do children passively absorb gender notions, but they also analyse and select the roles they feel are 'fit for use' (Rogoff, 1990). Although some of the children could look beyond social norms for gender role and identity, most remained rigid in their thoughts on activities, holding strong views on what males and females can and cannot do.



**Figure 6: The number of girls in the KSA study who responded within or beyond the norm to prompt card, stories or reflection on Public, Domestic and Hierarchy domains. All girls were between 4 and 6 years old (n = 25) (Al Zahrani, 2017)**

Figure 6 illustrates the number of girls who demonstrate moral heteronomy and those who might be developing autonomous morality (Piaget, 1932). In the public and hierarchy domains, the majority of girls in my study fall under ‘heteronomous morality’, meaning that these girls obey the rules, positioning themselves within social norms. This is also evident in the domestic domain. Several girls responded beyond the norms, suggesting that they are more likely to witness actions that transcend gender norms in their households compared to in public life. Many of these girls said they had seen their dad helping their mum at home.

### **6.5 Children's Criteria of Permissible and non-Permissible Activities According to Gender Identity and Role**

To envisage 'right or wrong', 'yes or no' according to a person's gender requires complete polarisation of gender identity and role. An essentialist view on gender is that gender differences are fixed and natural (Gamble, 2001) and that, for any specific individual, there is a set of attributes necessary for their identity and function (Cartwright, 1968). It may seem redundant to state that there are qualities and behaviours all women share (Grosz, 1995). Is

there such a thing as an essential gender identity? Some might consider it necessary in order to explain stereotypical behaviour (Gelman, 2004). According to Grieshaber (2007:7-8), post-structuralist theory opposes the 'essentialized gendered way of knowing' and instead insists that gender is produced discursively: an individual's gender performance will depend upon social context and social meaning. How do these influence the construction of female gender and, what do non-permissible acts protect or restrict? A female's body in the KSA never belongs to her and is the property of her family (Ghanim, 2015) and future husband. This goes some way to explain gender attitudes. Since the purity and completeness of a female's body is the epitome of family honour, she leads a life deficient in experiences that may jeopardise or transcend the social order (Pateman, 1988). In the following discussion, these issues are considered in light of the children's perceptions and experiences of activities.

### **6.5.1 Dress and colour according to gender**

Children build a gender schema through cognitive structures (Smith, Cowie and Blades, 2011:222): that is, gender is, in part, learned cognitively (Kohlberg, 1966<sup>b</sup>). This was evident in several of my observations, particularly in the drawings. Here, I saw that the girls mostly used the same colours to draw and paint. They used pink and purple colours more frequently than other colours, specifically to highlight the body parts of a girl. I asked one of the girls 'Have you ever seen a pink hand before?'

*D/J.A: 'Yes, it is a girl's hand, Miss'.*



Figure 7: Girl's colouring in – it's a girl's hand. (Al Zahrani, 2015)

The same girl also coloured her face in pink (Figure 7), supporting my observation. Colour division was evident throughout the school. Girls' name labels with photographs were on pink card; boys' on blue. Moreover, most borders for the class displays were either pink or purple. Teachers are often unaware of how their beliefs and biases manifest in their speech and actions (Larrivee, 2000). If the teacher believes pink is a girl's colour only, they may discourage boys in their class from wearing pink clothing to school or from colouring with pink (Dewar *et al.*, 2013). In Figure 7, the same girl shows us what she likes (flowers) and has coloured herself in pink, as this is a colour she likes.

*D/J.A: 'I like flowers, this is me' ... 'I like pink colour'.*



Figure 8: I like the colour pink (Al Zahrani, 2015)

This love of pink even transfers to a bicycle:

*R.(BN)/L.N: 'They will buy a bicycle for her, but it will be the colour pink'.*

According to Martin (1984), children apply cognitive schemas as filters when they observe other children and when they judge themselves (Martin, 1994). These convictions of what a female could and could not do were not only related to chores or activities; the children also had very clear assumptions regarding how a female should and should not dress. The following extract suggests that this child was expressing social expectations:

*A.(BP)/M.K: 'She is a woman, and Miss she shouldn't wear these clothes or play this kind of sport, 'ayb' (taboo)'.*

*P.(BP)/M.K: 'The boys will say to them that "you are boys, because you are wearing trousers, and you are boyish"'.*

Davies (1989<sup>b</sup>:15) terms this 'gendered symbols': gender 'marking' of items of dress helps maintain distinct gender identities. One girl said:

*P.(BP)/M.N: 'They are girls, and also women and the girl shouldn't wear these kinds of sports clothes'.*

When asked what kind of clothes a woman should wear, they also seemed to have very clear expectations:

*P.(BP)/M.N: 'These kind of clothes [trousers and sweat shirts] are for boys only, and girls have special clothes to wear'.*

When asked what those special clothes would entail:

*P.(BP)/M.N: 'They are wearing a fluffy dress'. 'Of course, RED'.*

*P.(BP)/A.M: '...she will not wear training shoes; she will wear proper shoes that will go with the dress'.*

These children are of a young age, yet seemed keenly aware of societal expectations, in a society in which women are covered, have issues regarding appearances and gender-specific dress and colours. However, females are only covered outside the home. It is in their accessible 'world of women' (Makhlouf, 1979) – the domestic domain (particularly for children, in their own or others' homes) – where matching or coordinating outfits seems important. According to Le Renard (2014), these homosocial gatherings are spaces where the circulation of discourses prevails, defining the norms of femininity and judging whether individuals conform and are respectable. The following comment from a child shows how she is aware of conformity and of what will happen if one does not conform:

*C.(BP)/L.K: 'When you wear something that doesn't match people will laugh at you'.*

Importantly, there seemed to be a great deal of stereotypical assumptions about dress. Martin and Ruble (2004) explain that, by the age of five years, children have already developed an impressive collection of gender stereotypes, which they then apply to themselves and to others, using these stereotypes to form impressions of others. Another girl said:

*C.(BP)/R.F: 'A woman... should wear high heels'.*

*C.(BP)/M.N: 'She has to wear her high heels, pink or black...she is a woman'.*

Another child felt that females could not even wear sweaters:

*P.(BP)/R.S: 'The 'hurma' (women) should not wear a jersey'.*

Stereotypical colour assumptions were even related to toys or items of equipment:

*P.(BP)/R.F: 'If it is important for girls to ride a bicycle, it should be coloured pink',*

Whereas the next child preferred gold and was imagining where she would wear such a garment:

*CPI/ M.K: 'I like the colour gold Miss, because it is the colour of my crown, Mum bought me one and my sister's colour was silver... for 'Eid' (festival) or 'Zawaj' (weddings) I will dress up like a princess, so that I will be pretty and beautiful'.*

Stereotypes and sexism arguably hinder a child's growth and development (Narahara, 1998). Negative stereotypes, then, ultimately affect the self-esteem and academic progress of children. White (1998) concurs, advocating closer scrutiny of gender attitudes and suggesting we should closely observe how the social and physical environment perpetuates gender stereotypes.

### **6.5.2 Acceptability of play according to gender**

Play, in all its variations, embodies the meanings that emerge from children's lived experiences (Fromberg and Bergen, 2015). Play is an important component of a child's day at pre-school (Ayres, Khan and Leve, 2015) and has, associated with it, many important emotional, social and cultural connotations (Fromberg and Bergen, 2015). There is evidence of clear gender differences in young children in terms of play preferences (Maccoby, 2002).

Other researchers (Fabes, Martin and Hanish, 2004) suggest that the differences may have more to do with social skills and behavioural styles than to a specific toy or activity preference (Ayres, Khan and Leve, 2015). However, my data revealed otherwise. Kristensen (2006) conducted a study with six-year-olds (girls and boys), exploring the effects of gender in dramatic play. He concluded that boys often extended their play space and subject of play beyond the set area, using the props to support predetermined roles, while girls developed their storyline around the props and surroundings already present and focused their play mainly on relationship building and family themes.

Boys like 'rough and tumble' play, whereas girls prefer collaborative activities (Maccoby, 2002). Some believe these attitudes are stereotypical in their assumptions. It is likely difficult to understand 'play' without considering its ideological context (Wiltz and Fein, 2015). Constructions of childhood may, however, vary not only with the social and cultural setting, but also with the particular historical moments that shape those settings (Brooker, 2005). In every society, the 'child' and 'childhood' are socially constructed (Brooker, 2005). The following extracts show that some of the children in my study rejected and even abhorred certain play or activities, according to gender. According to Piaget (1932; cited in Oswalt, 2010<sup>a</sup>), the relative subjection of children, together with their egocentrism, channels a sense of heteronomous moral orientation, or blind obedience to authority. Moral development typically occurs between the ages of five to ten years (Piaget, 1932), during which period children view their world through the lens of heteronomous morality (Oswalt, 2010<sup>a</sup>), where rules are absolute and unbreakable and must be followed (Kohlberg, 1984). The rules constructing this heteronomy are handed down by authority figures (parents, teachers and significant others). They must comply or will be punished (Oswalt, 2010<sup>a</sup>). The following comment illustrates that the child has clear gender differences in relation to what a male or a female could do:



*AP6/S.M: 'No, no! She cannot play football, she is a girl, and boys only can play football'.*

Although the following girl showed that it was her choice, she nevertheless still related it to gender:

*A.(BP)/N.F: 'I am a girl and it is not necessary for me to play football'.*

This leads us to think about the objectives of the 'social discourses' and 'criteria of permissible acts'. It was clear in my study that the young girls used language expressing disagreement with the images on the prompt card (Heyman and Gelman, 2000). Not all the children accepted these social restrictions or concepts. The following indicates that views can diverge somewhat from the social norm:

*A.(BP)/L.N: 'The girls do not usually play ball'.*

Aina and Cameron (2011) argue that young children often reveal their gender stereotyping in their play even though there may be gender-neutral play areas. I noted in my observations using the tracking sheets (see Appendix, C.2-C.3) that both classes upheld clear demarcation according to gender and that every area was gender-marked. This was reinforced by access passes (name cards) the children needed to enter a particular activity area. The home corner and creative arts area were considered to be for girls; the construction area for boys. Other activities at 'learning stations' were also segregated: the instructions from the teachers were one turn for the boys followed by one for the girls. The children themselves guarded these areas according to gender; applying panopticism (Foucault, 1979) by self-policing. If a child of the opposite gender tried to enter, they complained to the teacher. However, not all the girls felt that 'football' was such a great achievement for boys:

*PP6/GH.H: 'All 'wallad' (boys) can do is only play football'.*

The responses when reading the story of Nahila, and asked what would happen if the family found out that Nahila had been riding the bicycle, included:

*C.(BN)/L.N: 'girls cannot ride bikes, because it is 'ayb' (taboo), if she wants to ride a bike she can just ride it indoors'.*

*C.(BN)/R.D: "'Ayb' (taboo), for girls to ride a bicycle'.*

The term '*ayb*' (taboo) denotes the awareness that a female riding a bike would be regarded by their society as 'too open'; shameful for their culture (Kramarae and Spender, 2000). Various studies indicate that instilling shame in children leads to distress, generating a maladaptive emotion linked to various forms of psychopathology, including depression (Tangney, Stuewig and Mashek, 2007). One study reported children as young as three years old suffering from depression and that gender was a significant factor in pre-school children's expressions of shame (Luby *et al.*, 2009). Disconcertingly, young females are more acutely emotionally connected to their situations and these emotions lead to higher levels of depression and anxiety than is the case for boys (Angold *et al.*, 2002).

Erikson's psychosocial theory (1963) emphasises the environmental and social factors that influence cultural demands on children (Bee and Boyd, 2007). The positive point about this theory is that it takes into account that the learning of one generation will differ from another, by understanding events pertinent to each era, such as immigration, industrialisation, urbanisation, and others, and how these impact on present and subsequent generations (Smith, Cowie and Blades, 2011). This was apparent in my work in the way that some of the children were breaking away from societal norms and traditions, although the following child held the more traditional view of females riding a bicycle:

*P.(BN)/M.N: 'For sure 'bint' (girls) are not allowed by parents to ride a bicycle'.*

Parents and other authority figures in children's lives can expand gender conceptions and the realms of normative activities or behaviour (Kane, 2006), using language. The word '*bint*' means girl and children are often categorised and labelled by their gender (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2013). The use of language marked and inflected by gender also reinforces sexism as a 'social reality' (Weatherall, 2002: 5). Bicycles are traditionally seen as a boy's toy in the KSA. In fact, they have often been linked to female chastity, even in Victorian Britain (Maxwell, 2011), as a bicycling female could no longer be chaperoned due to the mobility it afforded her (Blodgett, 1996; Youngs, 2019). The children above showed how they felt they could deal with their social restrictions and that they could own a bicycle, but the next comments from the children reveal restrictions:

*S.(BN)/R.F: 'I have one also, but it is on the roof terrace and I can't use it or take it to the street'.*

*C.(BN)/R.A: '... little girls can ride bicycles inside their house'.*

When prompted during the conference session regarding the above extract: 'What about Mums, where can they ride a bicycle?' the girl replied:

*C.(BN)/R.A: '... she is going to fall down and die, she is very big, she cannot ride the bicycle'.*

This child's reaction shows indicates a judgement based on values and communal moral standards (Ghanim, 2015) – '*she will fall down and die...*' – relating to the fact that the mother is big, 'a woman', and that the shame of the act will result in death. This brings us back to the notion that KSA society considers females social and religious objects that must demonstrate piousness (Arebi, 1994) in both embodiment and performance (Nyman, 2017). Ginat (1982) explains that it is not the act itself that determines the punishment. Rather, it

is the public knowledge of an act that reinforces the ethical standards of the community.

According to Dunn and Kendrick (1982), gender is fixed (gender stability) and usually occurs in children between the ages of three to five years. However, the comment of the girl above shows that, at five years, she is still unsure whether gender is fixed. Many of the children found it difficult to reconcile the female role with activities they felt were predominantly male in their social context, or something that challenged female mobility in the public domain. To expand further on the social context in terms of female activity, mobility for females in the KSA is explored in the following section.

### **6.5.3 Acceptability of mobility according to gender**

Historically, societies and religions have restricted and controlled female mobility, limiting the activities in which females can be involved (Smith, 2004<sup>b</sup>). In some countries, these restrictions of mobility are decreed through government legislation (Bradley, 2005). In the KSA, many misinterpret this as religious in origin, when in fact it is cultural. Islam does provide a unitary culture amongst the citizens of the KSA (Bowen, 2008). Woven into the ‘normative’ fabric of the KSA is Islam, forming the ideological rationale for the status of females, their place in education and their role in society. However, also woven into this fabric are the customs, norms and traditions of the tribes and inhabitants of the KSA (Yamani, 2000), many of which have persisted through the centuries and were in place prior to Islam (Naseef, 1999).

Fundamental issues, such as the mobility of females and gender autonomy, are patriarchal (Hamidaddin, 2013). In Saudi Arabia, mobility is only negotiated in the religious arena, as, according to the culture of the KSA, it is more acceptable to accede to a religious logic than to an official imperative (Hamidaddin, 2013). This did not seem to be the case for the children in my study. None referenced religious reasons for why women should not drive. ‘As far as most people are concerned, the issue of women driving is not a matter of religion

and it will not be solved by religion' (Hamidaddin, 2013). Isaksson (1979) describes how Kohlberg's ideas explain why this is the case, in that the child is not primarily interested in the content of moral judgment. Like Piaget (1932), Isaksson (1979) focuses his attention on its form: the types of reasons and justifications given. According to Kohlberg (1966<sup>a</sup>), these responses would be included in the pre-conventional level of moral development, when children are looking at rules in the social order; rules that, if disobeyed, would be punished. Even though they are still young, and able to disobey, the girls have oriented themselves to adhere to these orders. One child said emphatically:

*P.(BP)/R.D: 'She is a woman, she shouldn't drive'.*

The 'absolute' opinions the children express may be a product of the fact that many have lived insular lives, with very limited experience of other societies, and may not yet have developed a sense of causality. Thus, when asked why, another child retorted:

*SP3/Z.SH: 'The man is the one driving not the Mum, she is 'hurma' (woman)'.*

Similarly:

*C.(BP)/R.D: 'The girl should not be driving because the Dad is the man.'*



**Figure 9: Only males can drive (Al Zahrani, 2015)**

In this child's drawing, the child says:

*D/M.K: 'The Mum is calling her daughters to come to the car. The son is driving'.*

The following drawing makes me think of the subtle interactions between gender and mobility:



**Figure 10: Decisions and dilemma (Al Zahrani, 2015)**

*D/Z.SH: 'Miss look the girl is thinking how can she go with her sister; her Dad is waiting outside in the car'.*

The foregoing extract highlights that children know that the domains, although separate, are still maintained and guarded by the male, bringing to mind Bentham's 'panopticon', whereby an anonymous power controls society (cited in Foucault, 1979<sup>b</sup>). The fact that 'Dad' was waiting outside shows that the child was cognizant that their male guardian enforces restrictions and obstacles to their mobility. According to sex-role theory, a person should assume a particular role according to their gender, obeying collective stereotypes held by the proletarians of a society, whereby males are depicted as dominant and aggressive and females as kind, nurturing and compliant (Hesselbart, 1981).

Even in imaginative scenarios, the children maintained cultural norms. These replies make clear that the children realise it is a gender issue, that the reason Dad can drive and Mum cannot, is that he is a man and she is a woman. The following statements from two of the children show that they are privy to this social discourse, aware of the legal implications of a female driving:

*S.(BJ)/M.K: 'I told you Miss, that the police will catch her'.*

And:

*S.(BJ)/R.A: 'They are going to drive her to jail'.*

This child is demonstrating panopticism (Foucault, 1979<sup>b</sup>): although she cannot see the police, she is self-policing to comply with cultural norms. Her certainty that this behaviour is wrong, is absolutely understandable against the backdrop of a conservative cleric in the KSA having recently warned that allowing women to drive would increase prostitution, pornography, homosexuality and divorce rates, signalling the end of virginity and chastity in the region (Ghanim, 2015). Although children are unaware of the full extent of this warning, it would still influence societal perceptions of gender mobility in their social world. According to Bem (1989), gender identity develops through a child's observation of societal groupings of masculinity and femininity, evidenced in human autonomy, social roles and characteristics. The following comments from children show that they are aware that females are not encouraged to walk in or frequent the streets:

*S.(BN)/Z.SH: '... young girls shouldn't walk in the street and also the streets are dangerous'.*

Similarly, the next child showed fear of going into the street:

*S.(BN)/A.N: 'She could die if she went to the street'.*

These are strong fears for a young child to internalise. Moreover, it is highly unlikely that a Saudi parent would redress the impact of fear or reassure a female child regarding the supposed dangers of going into the street. Instead, many parents reinforce and exaggerate these dangers to instil fear in their daughters as a deterrent, thus keeping their behaviour within social and cultural norms. Children understood that a female could not go out alone, even if she was an adult, and that her companion must be a male:



*CP9/R.F: '... she can't go out alone, someone must drive her and it must be a man'.*

Being male validated mobility and authority. Children were firm in their expectations of gender roles, particularly for only a man to drive:

*PP8/R.D: '...because he is a man, he can drive them [Mum and the kids] to school, supermarket, and everywhere'.*

When reading the story, *Not All Princesses Dress in Pink* (Yolen and Stemple, 2010), with reference to the princess driving, a child said:

*P.(BP)/SH.A: 'No Miss, this will not work, because the man is the only one who can fix the car'.*

One of the children spoke of a responsibility that she felt was only for men:

*CP9/R.F: 'The man is the only one who can drive to bring the vegetables'.*

In similar research, participant children identified the male (Mr Biggs) as the likely driver and orientated their assumptions to the social norm that men 'normally drive and normally want to drive' (Jackson, 2007:72). The excerpt below positions males as more skilled and 'better at driving'. However, the children were aware that this is not only a cultural, social or even individual assumption; it is also a legal restriction that prevents females from driving in the KSA and endorses males to assume this role as part of their gender identity. However, the children believed that women cannot drive:

*CP3/SH.A: 'Woman, she can't ...she cannot drive, she needs someone with her'.*

One could ponder whether the children felt this restriction against driving a vehicle was due to a lack of skill. However, the following extract demonstrates that this child understands it is a legal restriction, even referencing the consequences:

*C.(BP)R.A: 'She can't...they will take her to jail'.*

This was a real consequence, one that received much global media attention: two women were each jailed for 70 days for defying the Kingdom's ban on female drivers (BBC, 2015). During one of the storytelling sessions, one of the children shared that her aunt had driven a car in the street and that the police had come and taken her away (this was confirmed by her mother). Gender assumptions were also very clear when discussing whether a woman could work as a mechanic:

*S.(BP)/R.F: 'There is no 'hurma' (woman) who works in the car service'.*

The discussion and analysis above indicate that the children have rigid assumptions for gender roles, in terms of activities and occupations. This is discussed further in the section following. How is society at large organised in terms of gender and how does this impact the children's gender identity and roles?

#### **6.5.4 Gender segregation and polarisation**

When do children develop their sense of gender segregation? When is it that children's interests and behaviours diverge? In sex-role socialisation theory, adults teach children about the assumed biological basis of sexual difference (Davies, 1989<sup>b</sup>:5). This theory is, however, limited, in that, 'there is no room in this model for the child as an active agent'(1989<sup>b</sup>:5). This is apparent in the context of the KSA, where sex-role is a very important component of gender role and identity, making it difficult to disentangle sex-role theory from general socialisation. Gender segregation exists in all aspects of KSA life, domestic and public. 'Homosociality' refers to the development of social bonds among same-sex groups (Le Renard, 2014: VIII). Members of KSA society conform to this strict social model, which does not afford women or female children the freedom to be 'active', as the gender beliefs and values of significant others in their lives (adults) overwhelmingly

impact young children (Anning and Ring, 2004). Moreover, cultural emphasis in many traditional Asian families is on the value of their sons (Morrow, 2006). This elevated positioning or marking of power by gender can be communicated subtly or directly and will influence a daughter's self-concepts of value and worth (Morrow, 2006).

Does segregation occur because children have different play styles or are those play styles developed because of segregation? (Ayres, Khan and Leve, 2015). The social marking of people, in particular the grouping of people 'into two gender groups' (Duveen, 1996:258), provides children with the scaffolding on which to develop a gender identity (1996). From a very early age, the 'polarisation' of gender organises children's lives (Bem, 1989). As observed in my study, children automatically segregate themselves:

*A.O/ Activity time had finished and the teacher asked the children to line up and automatically the boys lined up in one line and the girls in a different line.*

They must have learned this over time as this kind of segregation is also in their play:

*A.O /SH.F 'A boy came to me in the playground and said, 'Come Miss, those girls do not want us [a girl and a boy] to play with them'.*

The girls were asked why this was the case.

*A.O/J.A 'Because he is a boy and we do not want boys to play with us'.*

Such gender segregation occurs in almost every cultural setting in which researchers have observed children choosing playmates (Fabes, Martin and Hanish, 2004). By the age of six years, children are so entrenched in segregation by gender that if you observe them in the playground you will mostly see girls playing with girls and boys playing with boys, with very few exceptions (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1987).

In another study, 'at first glance it appear[ed] as if all the boys [we]re lined up right and all

girls left' (Waller, 2010:534). This wording indicates an assumption. However, in Saudi Arabia this is the situation. I noticed in my observations that even the dress code for pre-school children was gender-related: trousers and white shirt (both long and short sleeved) for boys, while girls wore long pinafores to just above the ankle, with thick tights underneath. The girls' white shirts were buttoned to the wrist. In fact, this is a standard uniform for all schools, the only difference being the colour of the pinafore. Lunchtime also revealed self-segregation. Boys and girls lined up separately and sat in gender-segregated areas. Positioning the self as male or female is a physical as well as a conceptual process (Davies, 1989<sup>b</sup>). Having an identity is a psychological process that allows a person to position themselves, develop their gender identity, and locate where they and others are in their social world (Duveen, 1996).

I noted that, at playtime, boys played with boys and girls with girls. Moreover, the setting provided the facilities for the children to perpetuate this gender marking of equipment. Two of each piece of equipment were provided, with only a few things expected to be shared (not at the same time) – the slide and the trampoline. The following observation shows that, although equipment is shared, gender groups do not use it at the same time.

*P.O/ The children run out to play. The girls run up to the teacher and ask who can play on the slide first Miss? The teacher looks then replies 'First 10 minutes is for the girls on the slide; the boys can play on the trampoline and then we will change'. Each gender runs to the equipment and boys line up to play on the trampoline and girls line up to play on the slide.*

This is an order the school implements, rather than a choice the children are making based on gender association. The child's *microsystem* (e.g., parents, workers, spouses and close friends or others who participate in one's life) influence the qualities and development of a person (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Not only do experiences of teaching and learning inform

teachers' beliefs and practices, they also influence interactions that occur within the *microsystems*. This is even more poignant if we consider the argument that teachers should challenge narratives of gender exclusion and segregation, providing alternatives both in modelling and in alternative narratives in the classroom (Aina and Cameron, 2011; Boldt, 2011; Howarth, 2010).

The 'role-play' activities in which children are involved, such as home-corner, are, most often, not individual but collective, interactive processes that take place in peer groups in which children create their own peer cultures (Corsaro, 1985; Mouritsen, 2002). One day a boy asked the teacher if he could play in the home corner, which she allowed. In the KSA, shop workers and bakers are male occupations so perhaps the teacher felt it socially acceptable in this instance for the boy to join the girls' play. Also, the children seemed to know this scenario well, as quite quickly after the boy joined the girls, he assumed the role of the bakery man. This is an illustration of gender performativity, whereby children enact and perform a set of socially embedded meanings (Butler, 1990). The home corner was notably segregated, only for females to play in. Specific toys were gender-separated; some by the teachers in preparation of the pre-school environment, others by the children themselves. Very often, pre-school children construct stereotypical definitions of acceptable girls' and boys' toys (Freeman, 2007). Although this is not exclusively a KSA phenomenon, I noticed it in my studies, particularly in the outdoor activities. To a degree, it related more to boys than to girls:

*P.O/ Sandplay: the children were self-segregated – boys on one side and girls on the other. Even if a child [I witnessed several girls] was trying to play with the boys - they were rejected and told by the boys 'go away, you are 'bint' (girl).*

Some argue that this response is not stereotypical, that the children are merely showing that they are selective and that this innate sense of their own gender identity allows children to

choose what and who to observe and imitate (Smith, Cowie and Blades, 2001). Gender is also learned cognitively (Kohlberg, 1966<sup>a</sup>): the child makes an innate contribution to their developing gender. If a cognitive structure indeed helps children build a gender schema, more than does sociological influence (Smith, Cowie and Blades, 2011:222), the development of both gender identity and gender stereotyping depend upon cognition (Halim and Ruble, 2010). Foucault's (1979<sup>b</sup>) panopticism is a compelling paradigm for why children accept and agree with patriarchal standards of gendered being. Sociological influences still drive the development of gender stereotypes, which in turn, help the child make sense of their world. When asked, 'What is the difference between a girl's bike and a boy's bike?'

*C.(BN)/L.N: 'The bike for girls will be for only one turn, but boys can play as long as they want'.*

This child is cognitively trying to make sense of what many would believe an 'unfair gender reality', where one is accorded more if one belongs to a particular gender.



**Figure11: No bikes for girls, only dolls (Al Zahrani, 2015)**

This drawing shows how this child has been influenced by her mother and suggests that she has been told not to play with a bike; that it is for boys only:

*D/A.M: 'Girls should only play with dolls; my Mum says she will buy me a doll'.*

Brewer (2001) discusses how adults approve and disapprove of gendered behaviour as a means of constructing gender identity in children in the early years. This also develops gender division. Children believe others are more likely to approve of their play when they are with same-sex peers (Martin *et al.*, 1999). The following remarks demonstrate this division of approval/non-approval of play according to gender:

*AP6/S.M: 'No, no! She cannot play football, she is a girl, boys only can play football'.*

Another child's comment suggests that she is fearful of boys, their dispositions and character, and at the same time, implies weakness of the female gender:

*AP6/GH.H: 'I don't want to play with boys, girls don't play with boys – they will hurt us'.*

This fear of violence from boys was also echoed in the next child's comments:

*RP6/S.M: 'The boys are going to slap her... they are going to hit her, and I cannot play with them, because they usually hit me'.*

These very young children also experienced the power status of male over female. Gender inequality for females begins in childhood: girls are expected to be obedient and boys to show pride and independence (Ghanim, 2009). Gender differences and inequalities become an 'ordinary fact of life' (Ghanim, 2009:70).

This child had a very strong opinion on who could and could not ride a bike:

*A.(BP)/J.A: 'The bicycle is for boys only'.*

The next child felt that a girl could ride a bike, but had specific, if not stereotypical, ideas regarding what its colour:

*P.(BP)/R.F: Girls should ride a pink bicycle and blue for boys’.*

The following drawing by a child shows how her play is segregated by gender:

*D/ M.K: The girls can play only with girls’*



**Figure 12: Girls can play only with girls (Al Zahrani, 2015)**

Challenging segregation of the sexes did invoke religiosity. When asked if segregation could be overlooked in the context of a party, the children seemed to be well aware of religious and societal expectations:

*G.(BP)/R.D: ‘No Miss, it is ‘haram’ (forbidden); women should be only with women’.*

When I suggested, not even for a party?

*C.(BP)/R.D: ‘No Miss, ‘ayb’ (taboo); my Mum and Dad will not allow me to do that’.*



Children challenge and even actively resist stories that disrupt normal discourses. '[T]he context of previous knowledge and experience of their culture and history' significantly influences what children take from the text (Yeoman, 1999:428). Traditional stories provide a 'script' for accepted female and male behaviour (Rice, 2000:215), significantly influencing children's concept of acceptable gendered behaviour (Parsons, 2004). This was very much the case when I read the story *Not All Princesses Dress in Pink* (Yolen and Stemple, 2010). Many of the children rejected, seemed disturbed by and responded indignantly to the scenarios. This can be seen in how the children raise ideological concepts of what is '*halal*' (right) and '*haram*' (wrong), manifesting as gender roles in play and rejection of the scenarios depicted in the book:

*G.(BP)/R.D: [raising her voice] 'No this is not good, how can she play with a ball, 'haram' (forbidden), girls shouldn't play with boys'.*

Through education, children learn religious and moral beliefs (Fulcher and Scott, 2011). From the outset, it was apparent that the school practised gender segregation, showing the 'gendered social order' of the classroom (Blaise, 2005<sup>a</sup>:42). When observing the setting and facilities, I noticed that the male and female uniforms were completely different. The girls' uniform was a below-the-knee skirt; the boys wore trousers. On the first week, I focused on the girl's section and found that the classes had feminine names, such as 'flower class' and 'butterfly class' and that 'feminine' colours were used to define areas and groups:

*P.O/ Self-registration: from when children enter the setting they are gender-segregated by both column and colour. Pink board for girls and blue board for boys.*

This discussion and analysis indicate that the pre-school children's practice of gender segregation is fixed, polarised in terms of their activities and the roles they can play. There are always exceptions to the norm. In the following, this concept is explored, examining

contributions from the children that show a different way of thinking, a different practice of gender identity and roles.

### **6.5.5 Criteria beyond the normative and the consequences**

Each child, family and culture has its own perspective (Brooker, 2005). Moreover, these varying cultures have different criteria for what should be cultivated or developed in children. According to Brooker (2005), a family from a Western culture may feel it important to cultivate childhood behaviour in their child, as well as independence and individualism. Someone from an Asian background may value their child adopting and participating in the family roles familiar to them; developing interdependence rather than independence (Brooker, 2005). However, during my data analysis I noticed that some of the children had experience of activities beyond the gender norms of their society. Others were able to conceive of alternatives beyond that deemed normative. This makes sense, as 'human beings' usually do not reside in one particular discourse; just as the social groups to which we belong are diverse (gender, race, class, culture and age), so are our discourses (Ryan, 2005). When reading the story *Jane's Car*, the different perspectives of the children were interesting. The following child did not reject the woman driving *per se*; rather, she understood it was a social issue and intimated that her mother drove in the desert, where no one could see her. Some children accept the social norms for gendered behaviour and activities, but navigate around these social rules:

*CP9/L.N: 'The man must drive the car and go to the supermarket and bring the food, but my Mum is driving in the desert'.*

After being read the book, *Jane's Car*, the following child was happy to imagine a scenario in which Mum (the female) would be the driver:

*D/SH.A: 'This is my Mum and Dad; my Mum is driving the car'.*

The child relished the idea of her mother driving<sup>5</sup> and her father being the passenger in the car. Although she enjoyed imagining this scenario, she made it clear that it was only in her imagination.



*Figure 13: Imagine this is my Mum driving (Al Zahrani, 2015)*

Several children agreed that there were occasions when football could be acceptable for girls:

*C.(BP)/R.F: 'I play football with my little cousin, he is little, 'Aadi' (normal)'.*

*A.(BP)/J.A: 'I am playing football soccer with my sister too. I am playing with my sister'.*

Another girl, listening to J.A's response, stated that she also plays but only with her sister:

*A.(BP)/S.A: 'I can play with my sister as well',*

<sup>5</sup> Very recently (2017), the KSA government decreed that women were allowed to drive. More details are found in the Conclusion chapter.

Another said:

*C.(BP)/S.L: 'Girls can't play football but I can play with my younger brothers'.*

The next two comments show how practices and opinions are changing, even for riding bicycles, considered against the norm of cultural expectation, or simply, 'ayb':

*A.(BN)/L.N: 'Even my sister and I own a bicycle'.*

There are differences between what children might say and do at school (Bronfenbrenner's macro system) and at home (micro system). Differences among families are not always clear. However, the example of the young girl saying 'even' when talking about bike riding space indicated that she was freer at home than in outside society and that she knew it was a different space with different expectations. Perhaps through play, children feel they can transcend the concentric layers of influence and restrictions surrounding their daily lives:

*P.(BN)/D.A: 'I have a bicycle Miss, it is pink too'*

Although the children were engaging in activities outside what is perceived as socially acceptable, there were some variations of activities they found unacceptable. It may be that there is a hierarchy of acceptable social gender deviations, as the children seemed to realise that some things should still not be done in front of adult males, and that society would not accept it:

*R.(BP)M.N: 'Miss, I saw a girl playing football, but when she saw her Dad, she suddenly stopped'.*

Another child felt that a female could play with a bicycle if no one else wanted it until a new one was bought:

*A.(BN)/Z.SH: 'No problem, this bicycle is no longer for anyone, and I can play with this until you buy another one'.*

The following child's actions can be associated with Erikson's (1963) Stage 3: Conflict (initiative vs. guilt) in that she is thinking of riding a bike (taking initiative) but is feeling guilty that someone may notice as she knows that it will be disapproved of:

*R.(BN)/R.D: 'If she falls down she is going to get hurt and bleed... she wanted to ride the bicycle and she doesn't want anyone to notice that'.*

According to Wang and Leichtman (2000), 'shame' and guilt are culture-specific and their study suggested that Chinese children knew more about guilt than did American children. A major influence is the discourses and narratives of parents. The child below shows how she would like a bicycle and even the tactics she could use to get one:

*A.(BN)/M.N: 'She is going to hide herself and she will not allow anyone to see her, and her Mum will ask her why she is doing that, and they will ask their Mum to buy a new bicycle with a pink colour'.*

This child is showing that she may be challenging the cultural norm regarding females riding a bicycle. However, she shows that she is still accepting the stereotypical notions of gender-related colours. The following child demonstrates awareness of the social and cultural norms, but shows this by challenging them, questioning the social norms and the restrictions placed upon her as a female:

*S.(BN)/R.A: 'Why is it 'haram'(forbidden) to ride a bicycle, and 'haram' to play, everything is 'haram' and 'ayb' (taboo)'.*

However, the child below has communicated what she envisaged would happen if someone were to reject these societal restrictions:

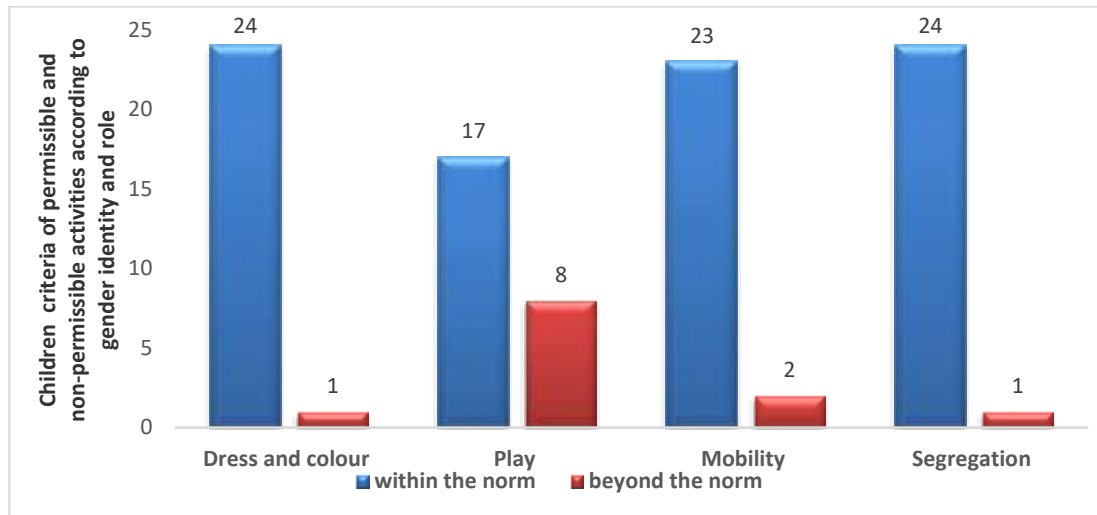
*S.(BN)/SH.H: 'Her friends will go away and no one will want to talk to her' [girls playing with boys].*

When prompted further and asked why someone would not want to agree to the rules of what is accepted or forbidden, SH.H explained that once the girl plays with boys she will

adopt boys' attributes, stating:

*C.(BN)/SH.H: 'because she became 'kaslana' (her positioning will become weak)'*.

These children are highly creative in their reasoning, imagining solitude and providing the excuse that if someone should reject societal rules, she will lose her social standing. This child's perceived 'weakness' of females who function outside the societal normative could be related to physical weakness or to religion, as in faith. Rogoff (1990:197) suggests that social processes are fostered through a person creatively reproducing the societal norms and knowledge they appropriate through modelling and imitation. She explains that it is through this transformation that children acquire or ignore social activities in order to structure social practices that 'fit their uses'. This is probably too simplistic, as a child is part of a family, a society who strive to be 'socially competent', to demonstrate 'interpersonal behaviours' that are normative and socially approved (Schneider, 1993:14-15). Children learn gender-appropriate behaviour and gender-appropriate actions and talk, to ease their interactions with others (Browne, 2004).



**Figure 14: The number of girls in the KSA study who responded within or beyond the norm on Dress and colour, Play, Mobility and Segregation factors. All girls were between 4 and 6 years old (n = 25) (Al Zahrani, 2017)**

We have discussed children's perspectives on social, public and domestic domains. Play, though, is the child's domain and is a key feature of the child's world (Wyness, 2012). Children modify their behaviour according to location. Most of what they would reveal to me would be according to what is expected at school. What happens at home might differ. They might inadvertently reveal some differences, but I could not be sure of the authenticity of what they might say about what happened at home. Children acted out or voiced most of the activities beyond the 'cultural gender norms' during play. Lillard, Pinkham and Smith (2011:286) comment on the contradictions or mystery of play: 'young children need to adapt to the world as it is, yet in pretend play they contrive the world to be as it is not'. Play offers children the opportunity to construct meaning by providing the stage that allows them to interrelate and interact with their social and physical worlds (Davies *et al.*, 2001), in which meanings are negotiated, recreated and co-constructed with others (Haight and Miller, 1992). Children develop through playing. Children at play would not initially heed societal norms regarding girls playing. The next section will explore further how the gender-appropriate behaviours for young females are constructed and reinforced within the context of the KSA. .

## **6.6 Behaviour and Attitudes - Gender Roles Constructed and Restricted**

From a very young age, children adhere to behavioural rules stipulated by adults. It is uncertain whether they recognise these rules as simply the wishes of an individual or as rules that represent the social group as a whole – 'a society' (Göckeritz, Schmidt and Tomasello, 2014). According to Bussey and Bandura (1999), gender role socialisation takes place by children observing the rewards and punishments others receive for gender-role behaviour and attitudes. This begins at home, where children modify their gendered behaviour consistent with parental expectations (Duveen and Lloyd, 1990). Families influence gender learning when they reinforce or discourage specific behaviours (Aina and Cameron, 2011). Parents often use social markers or benchmarks that represent what is accepted, an 'indirect socialisation', whereby parents or others reward or reinforce gender-appropriate behaviour in children (Maccoby, 2002). According to Skinner (1977), adults use reward and punishment to construct gender identity in the early years.

The KSA society is based on a complex combination of religion, custom and morals. These structures are framed by ideologies inherited from previous generations. The customs derived from tribal traditions – and, more importantly, from religion – form the authority, or rather 'deterrent authority', for the society and the hierarchy of its citizens. Religion has been described as 'a phenomenon on a cultural level' (Belzen, 2004:302): culture influences religion and vice versa. Depictions of culture and religion directly influence social practice and cultural belief (Rasmussen, 2015). Religion is taught in families and affects morality. In families, religion is often taught to children through stories, parables and traditional songs (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). The tribe is a significant force in KSA society:

As a core principle, the government and religious elite in Saudi Arabia tried to dissolve tribal structures. But neither Islamic law nor state law did abolish the tribal system and law completely, although certain customs were successfully banned. (Maisel and Shoup, 2009)



Power is thus concerned with group or tribal authority, and this leads to parental authority and educational and institutional authority. Tribal authority is central, alongside Islamic principles, to the functioning of the KSA society and to determining acceptable and unacceptable behaviours, many of which are gender-regulated. In the KSA, emanating from this tribal influence is the extended family, who play a crucial part in KSA society. Their authority and traditions have led to many of the social norms we see today (Long, 2005). Although the family is the main source for developing morals in young children through religious and tribal tradition (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), children also encounter religious ideologies from other sources, such as media and school (Oswalt, 2010<sup>c</sup>). Mass media provide strong messages and images that reinforce the 'correct' way to be a boy or a girl (Anning and Ring, 2004). Currently, through the Internet and satellite television, the population of the KSA can watch (albeit censored) almost any programme or channel in the world. According to Salhi (2013:95), the practices and processes behind media portrayals are just as important, even more so, than the portrayals themselves. Also, parents choose the programmes their children watch, the books they read and the toys with which they play (Maccoby, 1998), although children also pressure parents for toys they see advertised in the media. Peers have a major influence on gender play and reinforce and punish other children according to what they believe to be the gender norms (Blakemore, Berenbaum and Liben, 2009). According to Davies *et al.* (2001), young girls desire and look for the teacher's approval and like to model the 'good pupil' by working hard and obeying. This is also relevant with parents and other figures of authority in a young girl's life (Ghanim, 2009). Parents, and indeed other adults such as teachers, impress their own gender norms on children, who really only want to please them. This is highlighted by Kohlberg's theory (1984) of egocentrism, whereby children follow rules from parents or other adults (e.g., teachers), focusing on the consequences of the rules (reward or punishment), rather than on

the reason behind the rules (Arthur, Powell and Hsing-Chiung, 2014). There are other ways of reinforcing desirable behaviour and the following analysis will explore the processes of these within their contexts.

### **6.6.1 Behaviour reinforcement through reward**

In this section, the focus is on reward. Behaviourists believe that children are rewarded for certain behaviours, according to what some deem the normal or correct way to think, feel and behave, according to gender (Gee, 1990:XX). Iconically, Kohlberg (1966<sup>a</sup>) reported one child as saying, 'I want a reward, I am rewarded for doing boys' things, therefore I want to be a boy'. This is no less true of females: if society or their parents reward them for behaving appropriately for their gender, they exhibit that behaviour. If a child behaves in the 'right' way, they are rewarded either through subtle forms of social approval, or materially. One child confirmed this:

*RP9/L.N: 'She [Mum] is going to buy gifts for them if she is going to find her house clean and tidy'.*

The next child explains how obedience is rewarded:

*R.(BN)/L.N: 'Because she should listen to her Mum, if she does her Mum will buy anything for her, even the bicycle'.*

This discussion has looked at gender behaviour reinforced through reward. However, this is not the only way gender is modified or constructed. The following section analyses the data that reveal punishment as a mode of restriction for specific behaviours or actions deemed inappropriate for females.

### **6.6.2 Behaviour restriction through punishment**

Wyness (2012) identifies limitations to locating children's gender oppression solely as the responsibility of a patriarchal authority, and argues that it rests on the ability of adults, both

male and female. However, in the context of this study, the children's narratives demonstrated that they perceived the power in the family to lie with the male, in terms of punishment and approval. They understood the culture of control and authority:

*R.(BN)/M.N: 'He will punish her so she will not do it again, she must get permission from her brothers and wait till they say yes'.*

Leaper (2000) studied children and parental attitudes to cross-gender behaviour and concluded that fathers were more likely to react negatively than were mothers. However, not all (or even most) construction of gender behaviour and attitudes occurs at home; schools have a significant impact (Gilborn and Mirza 2000). In the KSA, pre-schools are not legally compulsory but are considered part of the educational system. Some teachers may consider social development a priority for development in a pre-school setting (Schneider, 1993). In the KSA, there is a strict curriculum that all schools follow, but they allow some sections open for individual teachers to hold open discussions with the children. The personalities, attitudes and beliefs of teachers influence their interactions with their students, as do those of significant in the lives of children (Gouch and Powell, 2012). Child-rearing practices are underpinned by specific, albeit often unconscious, 'goals in mind' (Brooker, 2008:65). According to panopticism, females self-police and self-survey, perpetuating cultural norms; ideals are adopted so profoundly that the subject lacks the critical distance to challenge these ideals, and the consequences of noncompliance are appalling (Bartky, 1998). The following observation shows how teachers can transfer their attitudes and beliefs onto children:

*G.O/ Some girls were on their own in circle time and were chanting and whispering for quite a long period. They were chanting 'astagherlah'(God forgive us) – they said that their teacher had told them to do this.*

In this case, teachers provided guidance to prevent children from an '*athim*' (norm transgressor), which would lead to punishment. This is an example of how teachers can

influence children's behaviour in pre-schools (Chapman, 2016). Teachers deal more harshly with girls than with boys who exhibit challenging behaviour (Liu, 2006) and teachers regularly use gender as a social category (Lloyd and Duveen, 1992). In every society, 'the child' and 'childhood' are socially constructed concepts and theories, as is 'lived reality' (James and Prout, 1997). Different theories construct children in different ways (Baker, 1994; Jenks, 1992). Teachers and parents approve or disapprove of the behaviours accepted as socially acceptable in terms of gendered practices and identities (Danby, 1998). Children gather information, characteristics and traits from several key sources – their parents, but also local communities and peer groups, early years professionals and the media – resulting in many different messages about how to be 'normal' in relation to one's gender, race, class and ability (MacNaughton, 2000:21). The following comment demonstrates that this child believes parents and teachers have the same understanding of gendered practices:

*R.(BN)/SH.H: '...if the teacher will find out! The teacher will prohibit everything as a punishment for not listening to her Mum'.*

Interestingly the child above mentioned that punishment will be due to '*not listening to her Mum*'. According to Kagitcibasi and Sunar (1992:84), model spousal roles in many traditional Muslim countries involve 'clear-cut sex-role differentiation' and come with a hierarchy of authority, in which the chain of command is father to adult son (if there is a son), authoritative male to mother, then mother to children. Differences in behavioural expectations according to gender were apparent in both classes. The teachers addressed girls differently to boys. Boys' misbehaviours were ignored, while the teachers continuously reprimanded the girls, telling them off or reminding them about trivial things.

*P.O/ It was noted that if a girl was to sit in a manner that the teachers deemed inappropriate (i.e. legs open, or with their long skirts raised) they were told off by the teacher and admonished for 'not sitting suitably for a female'.*

Even outside the school environment, play was distinct in terms of gender. When I read the children the book about Nahila and her aspirations to own and ride a bike, the children felt it should not be allowed. This is unsurprising, considering the consequences they expect.

Another child felt she should be punished:

*P.(BN)/R.D: ..[raising her hand] 'Her Dad will ask her to face the wall because she made a big mistake, she rode the bicycle and it is for boys',*

The same girl specified further the punishment of the girl who was riding a bike:

*R.(BN)/R.D: 'Her Dad will slap her twice'.*

This child states the punishment would be bodily harm; another child said her Dad would use isolation and deprivation (i.e. non-physical punishment), perhaps a more effective discipline for young children as the main purpose of physical punishment is to correct children's actions (Smith, 2004<sup>a</sup>). The following child, when asked if girls can play with boys, said:

*R.(BP)/J.A: 'No maybe her Dad will be looking at her and he will be angry'.*

When asked why?

*S.(BP)/J.A: 'Maybe her Dad will see her and he will get angry and he will take her to another house and lock the door. Her Mum will be sad and ask her why she left them'.*

Just as the 'right' behaviour is met with approval and reward, the 'wrong' behaviour can be met with disapproval and punishment, including physical punishment (Fulcher and Scott, 2011). Research at King Saud University (Riyadh) in May 2005 showed that 90% of adult females had witnessed their fathers being violent with their mothers (Ghanim, 2009). Living in an environment in which violence is prevalent puts pressure not only on the children but also on the adult females. Children would adopt selfish ways of avoiding punishment and

gaining only praise from their parents and other adults, realising that morally good behaviours attract only positive outcomes and not punishment (Oswalt, 2010<sup>b</sup>). When showing the prompt cards, one of the children explained what would happen if they failed to keep a clean home:

*RP9/R.F: 'The Mum will come and she will get angry if she finds out that it is not clean'.*

This girl's statement implies maternal disapproval and, perhaps, physical punishment or threat. It also reveals an expectation from her mother that she comply with the female gender role of cleaning (Fulcher and Scott, 2011). When discussing whether a girl could ride a bike outside in the street, one of the children was particularly vehement, explaining what would happen to a female:

*S.(BN)/R.A: 'Her Mum will kill her with the knife if she ever goes out with the bike in the street...she will hit her, because this [bicycle] is for boys'.*

Another child differed slightly, but then agreed:

*P.(BN)/L.N: 'No! Her Mum will not say anything, but if she found out that she is riding the boys' bicycle, of course she will hit her'.*

Clearly there are many ways in which children differ in their interpretations and manifestations of their society's norms and traditions. However, when you realise that children are trying to enforce conventional norms on others using a character in a story, this suggests that the enforced behavioural norm is not only associated with themselves but is something to which everyone is expected to conform to (Rakoczy and Schmidt, 2013; Schmidt and Tomasello, 2012). When I read *Nahila's Bike*, one child was alarmed that a girl would want to ride a bike and responded as follows:

*C.(BN)/A.M: 'I think if her family saw her, they will hit or slap her'.*

The same child also included the character's male brother:

*C.(BN)/A.M: 'Her brother will slap her and will ask her to bring back her bicycle'.*

The following child continued the outcome but explained why the brother would punish her:

*C.(BN)/L.N: 'He would slap her because she didn't ask permission, she did not say 'excuse me, can I borrow your bicycle?''*

This child explains that she had never had a bicycle and why:

*R.(BN)/D.A: 'I have never ever had a bicycle...my Mum will hit me if I ride a bicycle, she always says that I am not allowed to ride it'.*

The following excerpt suggests that deviations from expected gender behaviour norms could result in being sent back to the family or tribe of origins:

*R.(BN)/M.N: 'Her Mum will not allow her if she found out that she is riding a bicycle, and after that she will be angry, and if she will do it again she will slap her hard and take her back to her family'.*

These statements emphasise the influence of adults and culture and how they can significantly impact children's behaviour. This is consistent with Skinner (1953), who proposed that children are programmed by parents and other influential adults (such as teachers) to remain within the specific gender and behavioural norms, directing children towards 'gender-appropriate' toys and actions (Hinitz and Hewes, 2011:25-26), reinforcing these choices by reward and punishment. In the following discussion, this is discussed in terms of chastity, the ideology of virginity and honour, female attributes that are a social commodity, adherence to which cultivates family honour and matrimony or social failure and shame.

### 6.6.3 Maintaining female chastity through fear

Many cultures have controlled and continue to control female sexuality and power. In the Middle East, virginity is an important social category, marker and mode of social existence for a female living in these regions. From early childhood, children are socialised and indoctrinated in the ideology of honour and shame (Ghanim, 2015). A female's chastity and virginity represent family honour and social status. Because chastity is the concern of society, every person is a stakeholder in its preservation (Ghanim, 2015). Chastity is a major component in the construction of the 'ideal female' (Smith, 2004<sup>b</sup>:100). Vygotsky (1961<sup>a</sup>) argues that imitation and instruction are vital to a child's development. This is consistent with Bandura (1977), in that the environment impacts on children's perceptions of gender through observation and imitation. Whether the behaviour is appropriate or not, children perpetuate the behaviours they learn from their social environment. The communicating of acceptable and unacceptable gender behaviour is very often transferred by society and reinforced by parents; frequently through discourses to which children are privy in their 'micro' world (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). This child explained why a girl should not play football, based on her 'micro' world:

*P.(BP)/J.A: 'No Miss this [football] is not good ... a man could come and take her from the playground'.*

When prompted over which man would come and take her:

*P.(BP)/J.A: '... a stranger, he will come and take her because she is a girl'.*

This reveals the belief that females who do not conform will experience 'adverse outcomes'. Instilling a sense of fear in females prevents them from conducting themselves in an unchaste manner. Fostering shame is a form of fear, and fears prevent us from taking unnecessary risks (Ljungqvist, 2012:143). Environmental factors, social interaction and the



common 'age-related' cultural demands on children are greatly emphasised in Erikson's (1963) psychological theory (Bee and Boyd, 2007). Even though there are eight distinctive stages within his theory, the theory gives specificity to cultural influence, as Erikson clearly states that different cultures have their own distinct ways of influencing individual behaviour at each stage. I have seen this specificity in the KSA. The culture emphasises Stage 2 (autonomy vs. shame) and Stage 3 (initiation vs. guilt) (Erikson, 1963). KSA culture has long employed shame and guilt to make children adhere to cultural norms. Guilt and shame are both emotions: they are complex and require the individual to self-appraise their actions and behaviours (Lewis, 1998). Shame manifests internally whereas guilt motivates reparative behaviour. Such 'self-policing' becomes a virtue and is made possible by internalising the mechanisms of self-control as well as the social gender values (Ghanim, 2015:33). Bee and Boyd (2007) refer to psychosocial theory, whereby the social interactions and 'age-related' cultural demands on children come into play. Psychodynamic and cognitive aspects of guilt leave children feeling that they have harmed or inconvenienced another person (Whitbourne, 2012). The following data show that the societal order of behaviour is reinforced using fear tactics and discourses. Many of the children spoke fearfully of what they were told might happen to them if they were to do something that they were warned not to:

*C.(BN)/M.N: 'Because they don't want her to be lost',*

While another child said:

*R.(BN)/R.D: 'They don't want the 'harami' (thief) to take her';*

Once more:

*C.(BN)/R.D: 'They don't want 'rajjal' (man) to take her'.*

Using the fear of bad people and criminals to create social gender boundaries is also seen

here:

*C.(BJ)/R.F: '...if there is a 'harami' (thief) in the car service, Jane will be afraid'.*

It was not always a male who was bad, though. The following comment shows that sometimes females can be 'bad'. However, this is often a connotation applied to females who transgress social boundaries:

*C.(BN)/L.N: 'A woman 'harami' (thief) could take her'.*

The discussions above examine the ways in which gender is constructed and how particular gender behaviours and roles are reinforced or restricted. To further restrict girls, discouraging them from leaving home, they also introduced a female 'thief', which will make the girls fear both genders outside their micro world. There are, of course, always exceptions to the norm.

#### **6.6.4 Maintaining femininity through biological difference**

Gender is an important component of identity. From the beginning of a child's life, the self-meanings and expected gender traits of femininity are formed through social interactions and observations of situations involving significant others, such as parents, peers and educators (Katz, 1986). What do masculinity and femininity encompass? What are the qualities or characteristics that determine your gender? Masculinity as a social gender refers primarily to activity-orientation, dominance, performance, asserting oneself and rationality; femininity to community-orientation, emotionality, empathy and warmth (cited in Browne, 2004:154). This division of roles is due either to the social environment or to biological characteristics, and likely a combination of both. Children use discourses to constitute themselves as gendered beings and to play out their gendered norms in daily life (Blaise, 2005<sup>a</sup>). Discourses are used to assuage social and cultural expectations of gender role and

identity, guiding people as to the 'right' and 'wrong' behaviours for their gender (Chen, 2009). The child below is five years old and, according to Kohlberg (1966<sup>a</sup>), gender stability is established by the age of four. However, Bem (1981) argues that gender stability is based on stereotypes and the following statements highlight this:

*RP6/GH.H: 'If she is going to play football, they are going to shave her hair because she will become a boy if she plays football'.*

The following child shows concern at being involved in activities classified for boys, and that she could change her gender by doing so:

*P.(BN)/R.D: 'The girls can't ride the bicycle, otherwise they will become boys'.*

It is interesting to consider this threat of female emasculation in light of the possible discourses to which this child was exposed. She demonstrated a shifting notion of sex, linked to activity. Theories of gender stability suggest that these notions are typical at pre-school age (Kohlberg, 1966). This child obviously did not understand the reality of embodiment and biological sex, and would not understand the consequences of sex change (Piantato *et al.*, 2016). Meadows (2010) suggests that, for children to understand that changes in appearance or activity make no difference to gender, depends on the scenario and on whether they feel it is 'real' or 'pretend'. Dress and hairstyle are obvious bodily practices that distinguish males from females (Davies, 1989<sup>a</sup>). Bem (1989) reported that children perceive a child without hair as male. Although the following child did not seem influenced by those same discourses, she still had very strong ideas; she felt that playing with a ball could hurt her and made the following comment about the princess in the *Not all Princesses Dress in Pink*:

*R.(BP)/L.N: 'No Miss the ball could hit her stomach and she could die, she is so slim and weak, plus she is a woman, she should not wear a jersey...my Mum never wears it'.*

The following child also worried that as a female she could get hurt:

*R.(BP)/J.R: 'She should be careful because she is a 'bint' (girl) she might get hurt by the ball'.*

These young girls therefore believe females are fragile and need protection. Mischel (1966) suggests that girls are rewarded for dependency more than are boys. However, this is debatable. What constitutes reward and to whom? Freedom and strength could be considered risks if we consider these in contrast to dependency, which implies safety and security for some children. The following child's opinion is that girls should not even play sports and her understanding is that they should all have long hair:

*A.(BP)/R.A: 'She is a girl and she shouldn't play sport, look at her picture, she doesn't have hair... the 'wallad' (boys) should play this kind of sport not girls'.*

Children make sense of their social world through illustrations as well as text (Jackson, 2007). This child explains that gender roles are due to biological differences:

*PP8/R.D: 'Also the Dad can't take care of the babies, only Mums can breastfeed'.*

This statement demonstrates gender traditionalism: how biological knowledge can assist children in expressing gender stereotypes: 'It is my body, not my behaviour that makes me either a male or a female' (Bem, 1989:661). However, in my study it might not have been a case of 'liberation', but rather of 'determination' for the normal depiction of the female role.

### **6.6.5 Behaviour and attitudes beyond the norm**

Societies are structured by social norms and children are born into societies (Göckeritz, Schmidt and Tomasello, 2014). Behavioural standards are mutually accepted by the groups affiliated and these standards are so powerful that affiliated members must either comply or 'risk being punished or ostracized' if they resist (Göckeritz Schmidt and Tomasello,

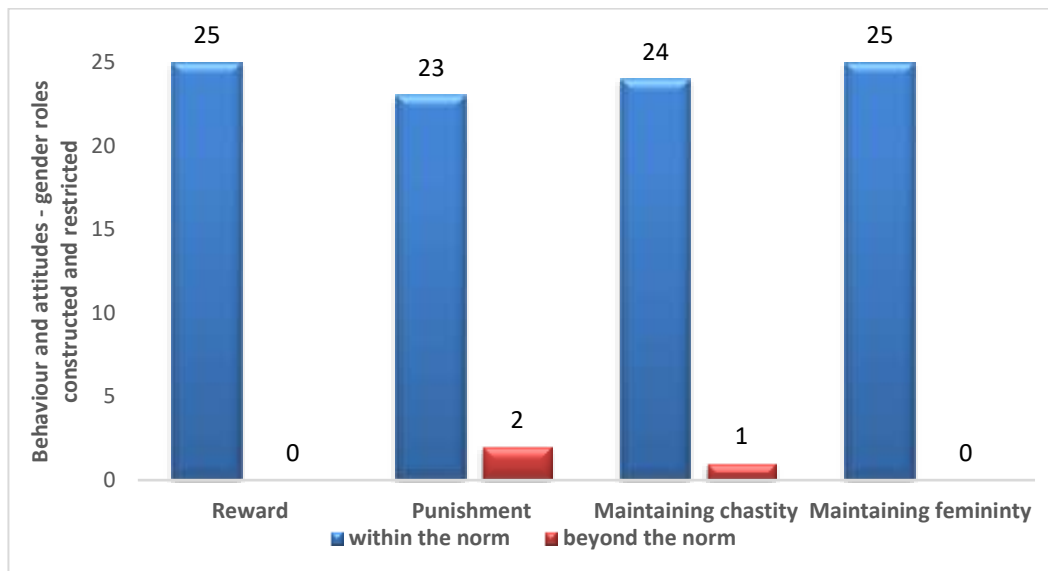
2014:81). Piaget (1932) portrays pre-school children as heteronomous – they believe rules are part of an external, physical reality, handed down by authorities and 'untouchable'; that to change or resist them would be wrong. Göckeritz, Schmidt and Tomasello (2014) term those who do change or resist behavioural norms as '*athim*' (norm transgressor). Many individuals draw upon shared cultural conceptions of what it means to be male or female in society. Many of these concepts are transmitted through institutions such as the education system or religion. Just as many adhere to cultural norms of gendered behaviour, few who may come to see themselves as departing from masculine or feminine cultural models:

*R. (BN)/Z.SH: 'You promised me to buy a new bicycle and now you didn't buy anything for me'.*

The environment in which boys and girls are brought up is an important factor in the development of their gender identities (Connolly, 2004). Masculinity and femininity change from one generation to another, as 'boys and girls renegotiate their identities within specific social contexts' (Waller, 2010). The following child demonstrates that she understands the expected feminine behaviour or model and will use it in order to do what she wants to:

*C.(BN)/A.M: 'If her Dad will see her and asked her where is she going, she will say that she is going to wash the dishes and then after that she can play and do whatever and nobody will know about her'.*

Most of these children went beyond the 'norms' with regard to their safety even though many refused to go outside on their bicycles and knew it was wrong for a female to be outside walking alone or to go to places that were for males only. Pre-school children respect the distinction between moral norms, which apply to all people, and the conventional norms that apply to in-group members only.



**Figure15: The number of girls in the KSA study who responded within or beyond the norm on reward, punishment, maintaining chastity and maintaining femininity. All girls were between 4 and 6 years old (n = 25) (Al Zahrani, 2017)**

Figure 15 illustrates that, within behaviour and attitudes for gender roles, all the girls follow the norms with respect to rewards, conforming to the gender role of domesticity for females in the KSA as they are rewarded for their action or compliance. Most girls fear the negative consequences of their actions if they diverge from the norm, anticipating punishment. Female chastity is already a priority for the majority of girls in this study, owing to the cultural implications of safety. All girls mentioned maintaining femininity.

### 6.7 Extended Focus Analysis of Data Involving Twin Sisters

This study included twin sisters, L.N and M.N, whose data emphasises Piaget's (1932) theory on moral heteronomy and moral autonomy. Each twin positioned herself differently, using language, cognitive ability and mental judgement about acceptable gender behaviours and roles, although both children were involved in the same family with similar influences. When talking about activities acceptable for young girls, they shared beliefs. For example, L.N stated:

*P.(BN)/L.N: 'Boys can ride because they are boys, and the girls shouldn't ride the bicycles because they are girls'.*

This statement indicates that the girl understands the social norms. Her sister produced a similar statement:

*P.(BN)/M.N 'For sure 'bint' (girls) are not allowed by parents to ride a bicycle'.*

This similarity indicates that these girls have adopted this language from their environment. According to Bronfenbrenner (1979), children's environment and external factors impact their language. They learn words linked to the societal norms and traditions to which they are exposed. However, L.N. contradicts her statement by elaborating, *'but Miss I have a bicycle and also I can play football'*. She therefore practises activities society deems inappropriate for females, something of which she is aware. This out-of-the-norm statement allows the suggestion that L.N is developing moral autonomy (Piaget, 1932), expressing and acting in contrast to the traditions she has witnessed and the societal norms of which she is aware. Moreover, her parents may accept activities 'out of the cultural norm for females', as long as they are conducted in the privacy of the domestic domain.

Some researchers believe that the language children use and learn is not just gained from their micro and macro systems, but they choose the language they use to conform to their cognitive ability (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). In this case, L.N went on to say: *'Even my sister and I own a bicycle'*, indicating that her thoughts on girls playing with bicycles may have been greatly influenced by her micro-environment, which includes her parents and the family's domestic environment. However, her twin sister, M.N, did not mention owning a bicycle, even though she spoke about her views on girls riding bicycles (this followed social norms). This response may be explained by Bronfenbrenner's theory, according to which the child is considered the centre of her world and all factors and structures in this world form multi-layers that affect a child's gender identity (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). In this case, the language used to define social norms for girls reinforces female identity (Jiwani,

Steenbergen and Mitchell, 2006).

The twins agreed on the colour girls should be associated with: unequivocally, pink. This is consistent with social norms, one to which all girls in this study conformed. The association of colour with gender is linked to parenthood. From the time the child is born, even before, parents tend to choose specific colours according to the gender of their child. L.N's language when talking about various topics, such as the domestic roles of females and males, revealed she was able to reason about and explain statements, indicating her higher cognitive ability compared with her sister M.N, who simply repeated the words consistent with societal norms. In L.N's statements about the domestic domain and the role of women at home, it was clear she transcended normative opinions, stating that her family found it acceptable for her Dad to be involved in domestic roles:

*SP9/L.N: 'our maid left us to [return to] her country and Dad is cleaning and sometimes he makes us lunch'.*

Initially, this statement seems to indicate, again, that the micro environment to which L.N belongs allows her to hold beliefs beyond societal norms. The power of the language used by L.N complies with post-structuralist theory. Her language highlights the importance of discourses in a child's everyday life, which help them explore the relationships between the language used around them, the social organisation and the power of their society (Richardson and St. Pierre, 2008). The majority of the statements of M.N were about punishment when and if a girl does any action beyond the norm, such as riding a bicycle:

*R.(BN)/M.N: 'Her Mum will not allow her if she found out that she is riding a bicycle, and after that she will be angry, and if she will do it again she will slap her hard and take her back to her family'.*

This is an unusual trait sometimes seen in egocentric children, whereby they focus primarily on the outcome (Kohlberg, 1984) rather than on the reason why someone has done an action in the first place. On the other hand, when talking about girls' actions beyond the norm, L.N



uses reasoning to defend the actions or logic and to explain the differences between girls and boys. For example, in the following statement:

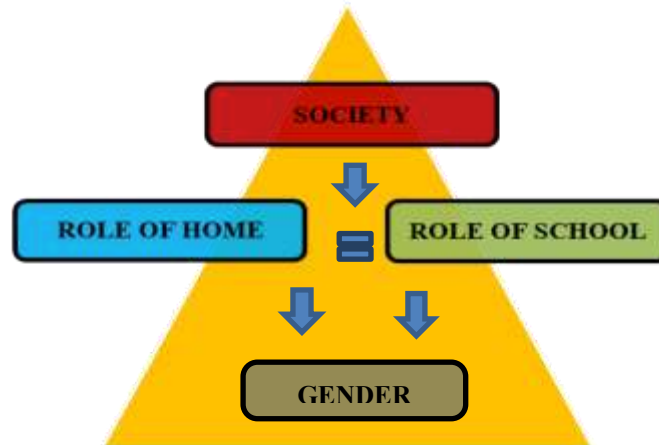
*C.(BN)/L.N: 'the bike for girls will be for only one turn, but boys can play as long as they want'.*

This statement shows how L.N uses logic to explain why it is acceptable for girls to play with the bicycle, but she is still aware of societal norms, comparing the time allowance differences for girls and boys. This response in a young child indicates good cognitive ability in processing the actions of people in their society. Both Kohlberg (1966<sup>b</sup>) and Piaget (1932) have stated that the main factor dividing heteronomous and autonomous children is their cognitive ability. In these twins, it was clear that many of the statements they offered were adopted from their mesosystem, but the differences between the children in how they explained or processed their statements indicates that their different cognitive abilities are linked to the way they process their environment (Kohlberg, 1966<sup>b</sup>). This also revealed gender differences in expected social gender norms between two children of the same sex, age and family, brought up in the same household.

## **6.8 Chapter Summary**

The analysis reveals evidence supporting the three main themes proposed in this research. The discussion places the child in the centre and explored the principal authorities that collude, reinforce and influence children in their gender construction, in terms of both gender role and gender identity. There is evidence that the overarching authority is society - the KSA society, with its multitude of factors, such as media, religion, traditions and customs, tribal expectations, government legislation and systems, which all greatly influence children. There are two social levels: formal and informal. Formal settings include educational authorities – and 'education is political' (Brooker, 2008:153) – moulding children and constructing gender through moral guidance, religion, peer interaction, teachers, curriculum and the role of the school. The informal setting is the home, where the

child's character and gender identity is constructed through parents, siblings, religion, extended family and traditions. Home, school and society create a triangle of construction, each reinforcing the philosophy and stratagem of the other without contradicting one another. The following diagram provides a pictorial representation of this:



**Figure 16: The main authorities that influence girls' gender identity (Al Zahrani, 2016)**

The family is the first implementer of the rules of society in the KSA. Society's ideologies, norms and cultures are constructed and manifested in the domestic domain. On the other hand, depending upon the family, the home can also be where stereotypes such as those associated with gender are contested. The children's contributions to this study showed that there are individual variations in understanding these cultural norms. One child said, *'Mummies can cook, read and work at the same time'* [c.f.] [S.M]; another, *'Mum cannot work; she might prick her fingers with a sharp object and start bleeding'* [R.D]. The components of society, such as values, morals, customs, religion and tribal traditions are reinforced and modified by family in the KSA, consistent with their own values and perspectives. As illustrated by Figure 15, most of the young girls conform to gender norms in their domestic and social environments.

The government is the ultimate authority in the KSA, using different tools to perpetuate

traditional norms in order to preserve the nation and uphold societal expectations. Teachers are appointed by the education authority with the formal role to teach children. Schools therefore reinforce the values, traditions and religion of their society. Many children exhibited almost no contradictory roles and behaviours, although there were some subtle nuances of challenge. This is due to each domain or authority in the KSA appearing to relay the same message, set the same rules and espouse the same scope of acceptable gender role and identity. Moreover, as each of the domains above is a replicate and/or subdivision of the overarching authority, it is almost certain that any deviations or diversions will be rectified when seen. Analysis revealed that many of the young girls mainly accepted the societal norms and rules on behaviour taught them. Thus, their attitudes towards another gender, including those who do not come from their immediate family, are formed during pre-school and may not change throughout their educational lives. Pre-school reinforces cultural values and societal expectations towards gender, which persist. The influences discussed within the societal framework showed that the majority of the girls followed the norm, while some spoke beyond the norm. Even though influences varied, some children felt able to challenge the societal norms:

*S.(BN)/R.A: 'Why is it 'haram' (forbidden) to ride a bicycle, and 'haram' to play?... everything is 'haram' and 'ayb' (taboo)'.*

Challenging societal norms is not typical in this society. This is illustrated by Figure (15), which depicts children who conform and those who question societal norms. This could be the result of different influences on the children (parent versus school, older child versus parent, and media versus culture) or it could have come from the child herself. It can be difficult for a young child to resolve conflict. In the KSA, a strong ethical code is imparted to children, and this may be stronger than in many other countries.

Children in the early years are closely guided by moral heteronomy. Typically, as they age,

moral autonomy increases. A child's personal moral domain crystallises when they start to make their own choices and moral decisions and are no longer largely passive recipients (Arthur, Powell and Hsing-Chiung, 2014). The data from this study showed that most of the girls were adamant and rigid in their acceptance of the gender roles and identity set forth by their society. Very few were willing to question these norms. Why would they, if this is the only model or custom they are seeing? Reward and punishment are attached to conformity and rebellion, influencing children in this regard. This is known as social conditioning according to Skinner (1953) and seeking approval in in post-structuralist discourse (Baxter, 2003). The child participants showed that they complied with the rules regarding gender, and were able to position themselves in order to receive intervention for their role and the contributions they could make. It was also noted that they positioned themselves easily in the scenarios depicted in the prompt cards, adapting the pictures to suit their home-life situations and even reject it if not applicable. The evidence here indicates that there are clearly defined roles for men and women in KSA society, with rigid definitions, and that children largely accept these differences, locating themselves according to their gender.

Girls used common terminology throughout: namely '*ayb*', '*haram*' and '*halal*'. These were normally used when reasoning and describing acceptable and unacceptable roles for females in the KSA. As all the girls used these expressions, I deduce that they adopted them from the surrounding environment. This also indicates that, to restrict a female's role in society, specific language implying religious connotations is used, suggesting that the restrictions on female roles are due to religious beliefs rather than to culture. Similarly, when the girls talked about actions beyond the norm for females in the KSA, they used '*ayb*' (taboo), implying constraints on the female role, thus restricting them in society. They deemed these 'taboo' actions shameful for a girl; or as Erikson (1963) described a tool. The language that was used by the girls was powerful and the terminology used is expressed in both the

domestic environment and at institutions, such as schools. This implies that the terminology used by the child in a formal setting permeates her language in informal surroundings (e.g., home), too. Therefore, the child can attain language knowledge from both powerful figures (e.g., parents) and instructors (e.g., school teachers). This aspect is commonly discussed in post-structuralist theories, as it allows us to evaluate the link between ‘power, knowledge and institutions’ (Bové, 1990), as well as to assess societal terminology. The link between negative terminology and the gender identity and roles of females in the KSA is unilateral, meaning the terms used could adjust as the gender roles of females transform in the future.

## Chapter Seven: Conclusion and Implications for Further Research

This thesis began with Simone de Beauvoir's (2011) famous sentence, '*One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman*'. It is fitting that this study should also conclude with this notion. The research has explored female gender identity and role in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) by seeking out and analysing the perspectives of female children in a pre-school setting, using a qualitative, broadly ethnographic approach. The aim of the study was to identify and analyse the influences on female gender construction in pre-school children in the KSA, exploring how these influences shape and construct female gender identity and role in the KSA.

My research also explored the ways in which female gender identity and role manifest in narratives and stories, and the influences that wider cultural ideologies and discourses have had on how female gender is constructed in the KSA. Gender identities and role are often thought of in their adult manifestations, but constructions of gender identity and their attendant roles are in fact predetermined by one's societal and cultural expectations and these begin at the very beginning of a person's life. This was borne out by the research, which showed that, in the KSA, social expectations for gender roles and gender identity, in respect of females, are not prescribed in adulthood: the foundations and strictures are set in early childhood. The concept of a child being innocent is very much part of the culture in Saudi Arabia, both religiously and socially (Stearns, 2017) and the ways in which this relates to my research is of great interest, as it concerns female children. In their early years, children barely think about virginity (Hussain, 2004). Sexuality is not yet an overt part of their thinking or physical life (Veinguer *et al.*, 2009).

My research also led me to hypothesise how a young Saudi girl's existence develops when she becomes a woman, and to explore how KSA society first shapes the child's world regarding the woman she may become, prior to narrowing her existence, during puberty. According to my findings, even in pre-school children these notions of chastity, family honour and fear of female liberation are constructed from the beginnings of a female's life. The society of the KSA, in which males largely prescribe what females can do (Doumato, 2010), decrees the cultural and social norms that make 'a good woman' and therefore necessitating the making of 'a good girl'.

I have chosen to talk about my reflexivity here, to clarify my positioning and agency, before discussing the three main points that emerged from this study. My overarching objective was to understand the topic through the perspectives of young girls. I believe this has been achieved, and without using other sources of data. The only adult contribution was my own subjectivity as a Saudi female and as the researcher. Davies and Banks (1992) describe subjectivity a valid feature of research, where the process includes constructing meanings and making sense of the world. My findings reveal that many notions of a 'good woman or girl' are derived from discourses that form an 'ideal' identity for both male and female and that much of the propagation of this identity is policed by females themselves (self-policing) – perpetuating panopticism (Foucault, 1979<sup>b</sup>). This runs alongside the 'blueprint' for female development, ensuring that a girl continues towards the identity and role her culture and society expects and needs her to embody, thereby safeguarding her to be recognised as 'a good woman'. Three important theoretical and practical positions regarding young girls in the KSA were confirmed, and are discussed below:

1. Females have to live, function in, and dress for two different worlds – a social paradox they must successfully navigate in order to sustain an acceptable female identity in these two worlds. In one world, she must be very feminine in behaviour and dress [A.BP/ M.K]

*'She is a woman, and Miss she shouldn't wear these clothes or play this kind of sport... 'The boys will say to them that "you are boys, because you are wearing trousers"'. This is a world in which she will be judged by other females and males (who are privy to her private world) according to prescribed criteria on what constitutes 'a good woman' – a female by virtue of feminine appearance, 'girls have special clothes to wear...a fluffy dress' [P.BP/M.N]. In the other world, however, this same femininity must be denied, female characteristics and features hidden, and activities and mobility restricted. Another set of criteria applies in this world, originating in patriarchal dominance, where the whole society will judge whether she is a 'a good woman' – an accepted female through feminine constraints. In this world she is judged a 'good woman' by the amount of restraint she imposes on her femininity through her outward appearance and manner with others, particularly males who are not regarded as one of her 'mahram' (male guardians). The restrictions are applied and maintained by her mahram: 'He will punish her...she must take permission from her brothers' [R.BN/M.N]*

2. The body of a female does not belong totally to that female – it is the property of her husband and male guardians, who maintain her female chastity and moral ideology, which supersedes everything and anyone. It is also the property of her society as the development of this notion and its upkeep of restrictions are borne out of tribal traditions, beliefs and ideologies that relate to the purity and chastity of the female, who is in fact considered a social and religious object demonstrating piety (Arebi, 1994), in terms of embodiment and performance (Nyman, 2017).

3. As young girls grow up, in order to have moral citizenship, we see a shift from female gender autonomy to heteronomy, decreed by the authority that creates her identity through rules and discourses: her society. Females must negotiate their existence within the masculine powers that propagate and promulgate the ideals and traditions within these moral



discourses, to construct what they consider a good woman. The diagram below illustrates the processes involved in constructing female gender identity and role in the KSA:

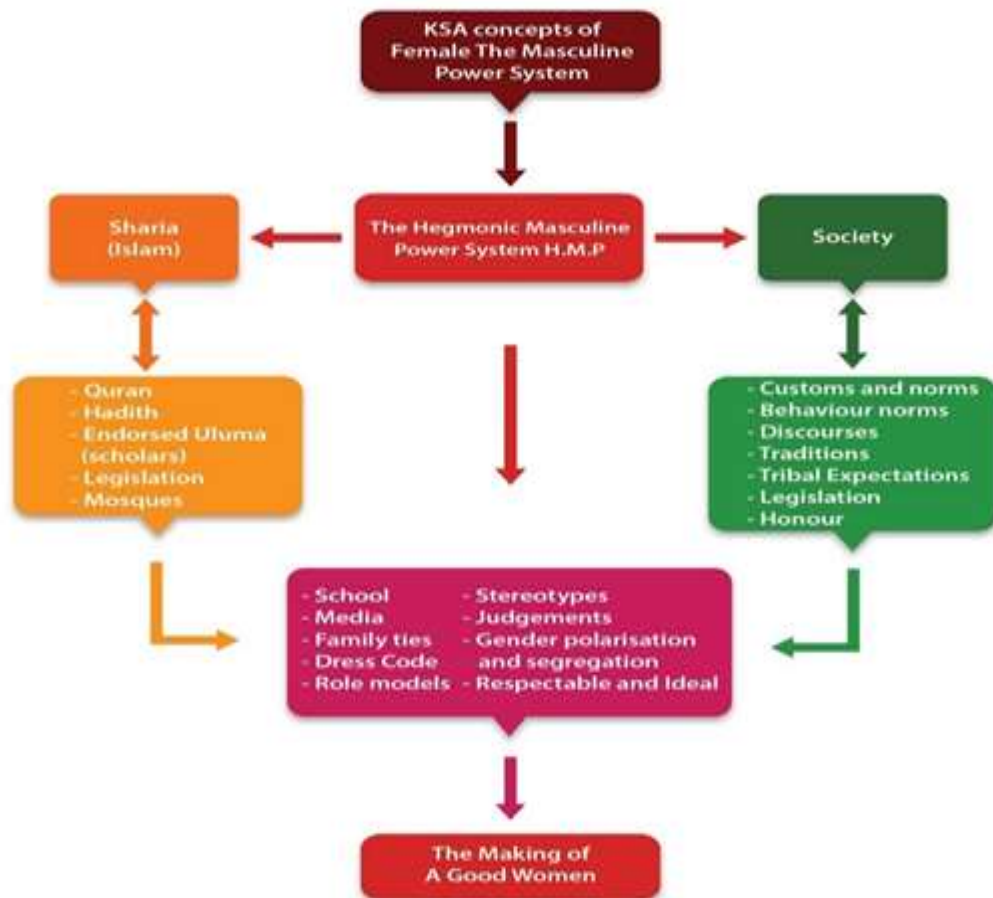


Figure 17: The making of a 'good woman' (Al Zahrani, 2016)

My findings reveal the important role that culture and discourse play in developing and shaping gender identity and role for the participants in the research. Figure 18 captures how powerful masculine authorities influence KSA society. Much of this influence is manipulated through discourses and practices in order to maintain social traditions, decrease resistance and remove any opposition to the stated norms and gender positioning. The realisation that young girls understand the societal expectations appropriate for fully grown females, surprised me. For example, they accept a hierarchy according to gender and even among women (e.g. maid versus female head of household). At the outset of the study, my

concept of the phenomenon under exploration was of a small female child and, at that time, ‘gender’ was simply the ways in which a child might manifest her feminine identity and role as a female. I also assumed what the research would entail, including exploring children’s stereotypes and biases regarding gender, toys and behaviour. However, the research rapidly led me to integrate each child’s female existence within her pre-school with the cultural and societal domains of her society. The origins of the rules and restrictions became evident. It became clear why these behavioural adjustments were necessary, and what the final expected outcome was for the girls themselves. The following diagram illustrates some of these expectations using encircling colour codes that highlight reasons why it is deemed important in the KSA society to construct female gender identity and roles in this way:

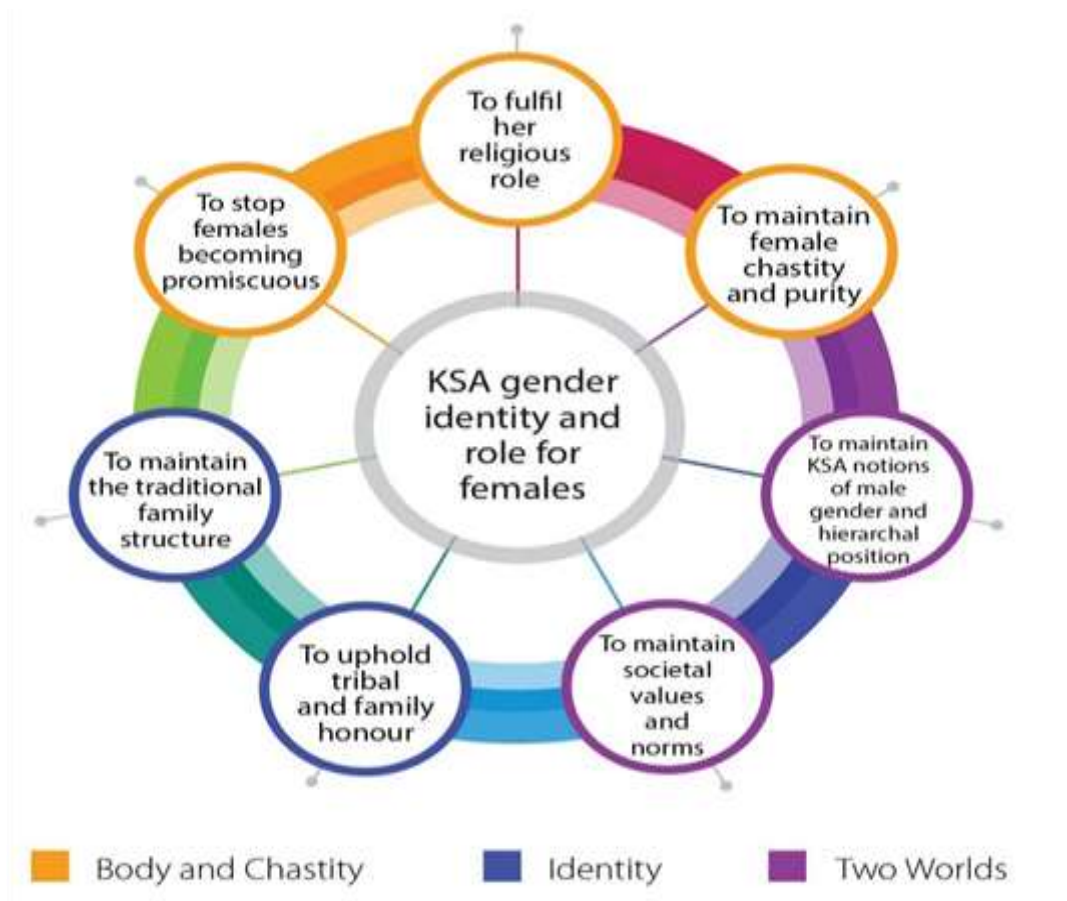


Figure 18: The KSA gender identity and roles for females (Al Zahrani, 2016)

All research is inquiry. To embark upon any kind of research, however, one must first gain knowledge in the context of the study. I accomplished this by exploring and understanding the theory of knowledge, together with past and present discourses and language surrounding gender, its construction, the KSA and early childhood. My perspective was informed chiefly by sex-role or gender schema theory (Bem, 1981); ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) and post-structuralist theory (Davies *et al.*, 2001) and all were relevant to my conceptualisation and exploration of female gender development in the KSA. Sex-role theory was useful in that it helped me establish my grounding theory on gender construction, as mine is a society with very distinct gender roles and identities. The socio-ecological theory was extremely beneficial to my general understanding of the child, extrapolating their experiences to the influences on their day-to-day interactions and considering the influences and connectedness in each case. Bronfenbrenner's theory was particularly advantageous to my research. In addition to helping me contextualise the young girl in her world, it also helped me understand post-structuralist theory, illuminating the many layers in an environment and anticipating the effects they have on a young girl, then linking each concentric influence with the requirements that each layer imposes on the next. Post-structuralist research helped me comprehend and evaluate these layers. By forming a post-structuralist lens, I began to question, deliberate and realise the purposes and intentions of the social norms applied within them (as discussed in Chapter Five). Bronfenbrenner helped me to understand the research, the gender identity and the roles of the young girls, as well as my own attitudes towards gender. Bronfenbrenner was instrumental in considering pre-school education and the many 'systems' that impact on the young girl or boy attending these pre-schools. I have considered these systems, from the most immediate to the most remote. All influence young girls in the KSA. Keeping his theories in mind helped me to visualise the male authority in my country and how the everyday mundane is

used to dominate society and effectively contain the female role and identity within a very controlled and limited gender framework. I have adapted his framework to the context of the developing child in the KSA.

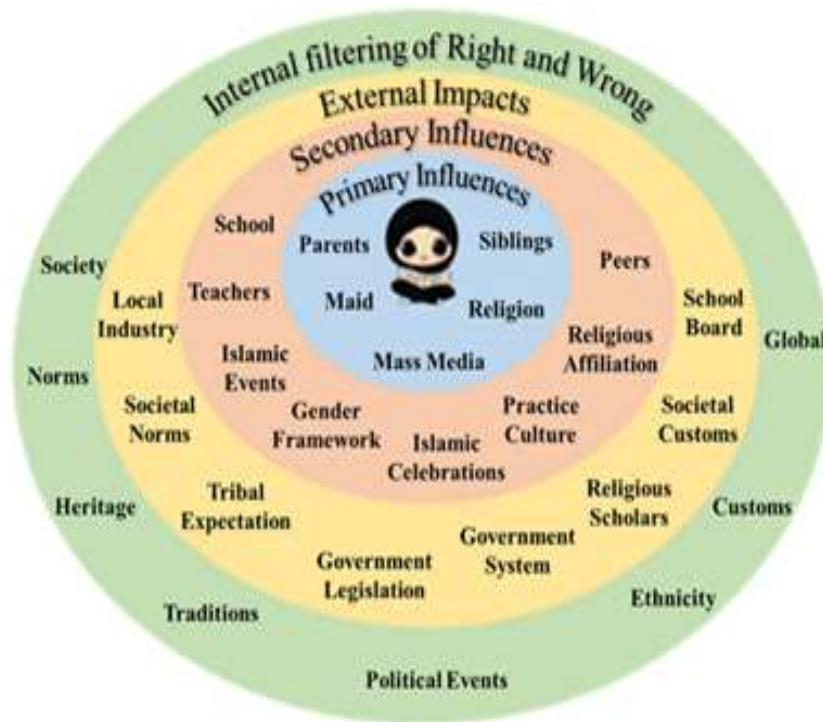


Figure 19: Pictorial graph of the female child in the KSA context, adapted from Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (Al Zahrani, 2017)

The diagram in Figure 19 is adapted from Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems for children, which includes the environment of, and context for, the developing child. I have adapted his work to enable me to view the young KSA female in the KSA context. The terms of his socio-ecological system have been altered, to simplify the influential contexts and include those most relevant to the KSA context. For example, the 'primary influences' includes the maid, an acknowledgment that many households have a maid, and in some she is the primary carer for the children: *'We have 'shaghalla' (maid)...she is responsible to do everything'* [SP6/A.M]. Mass media was also identified as a primary influence, although this is beyond the scope of this research (as discussed in Chapter Three). Strict religious

adherence is uppermost in maintaining the family's position in society. A secondary influence on development includes the KSA gender framework, which describes gender segregation in both private and public domains, and decrees which activities are acceptable, according to gender. Although the religious police are responsible for upholding and implementing gender segregation laws in the KSA, not all attitudes towards these gender restrictions in the KSA can be explained entirely by reference to religion (Cummins, 2015). Although the degree of religious adherence varies amongst families within the *microsystem*, religion is, with input from prominent Islamic scholars, in many ways found in all the child's concentric layers of influence. For example, the family may decide not to adhere to all Islamic practices in their home: for their neighbours, though, and in public in general, they must comply completely with strict religious standards of dress and of behaviour (Cummins, 2015).

The third layer of influence for the KSA is very similar to Bronfenbrenner's theory (1979); however, it includes political elements, such as political incentives and directives from the KSA government, as these influences are particularly strong in the country. The KSA is recognised as being a 'developing country' (Etheredge, 2011) or even a 'semi-developed country': a country in transition, in which social and political life is still evolving and adapting to social influences, both internally and externally. Social stratification is mostly influenced internally, by patrilineal kinship and tribal traditions (Etheredge, 2011). However, influences are more far-reaching, including a wide range of directives and influences (through media, travel and the Internet) that impact on parents and, in turn, influence the filters and perceptions that construct the developing personality of a child. The Literature Review in this thesis discusses how children can be socialised through a moral framework and my analysis of the data has explored this idea in the context of the KSA. Bronfenbrenner's theory (1962; 1979) discusses how religion is taught in families, how it

affects morality and how, in a family context, religion is often taught to children through stories, parables and traditional songs. In my results, one young girl's explanation of what might happen in a given situation was founded on a story or parable told to her through a discourse: *'He will get angry . . . take her to another house . . . lock the door . . . Mum will be sad . . . ask her why she left them'* [S.BP/J.A].

## **7.1 Major Themes for Young Girls in the Study**

Three main perspectives on the female gender and role of pre-school girls in the KSA emerged from the analysis. These are identified and discussed below, in terms of how females construct and embody their gender identity in the KSA.

### **7.1.1 Can young girls in the KSA successfully navigate two worlds to maintain female gender identity?**

Young girls in the KSA exist in two juxtaposed worlds: the 'feminine' world, in which feminine attributes are accentuated, expected and recompensed and the 'un-feminine' wider world, in which these same attributes are hidden and restrained. The data revealed that the young subjects of this study, girls aged four to six years, realised that gender was situationally varied and were already able to navigate with skill between these worlds, using complex syntheses to switch between them: *'Mum is driving [only] in the desert'* [CP9/L.N]. Presumably this mother would not be seen by others and thus her mother's reputation as a 'good woman' would be maintained, showing that the preservation of her good reputation depends upon the society and not the act itself. Another child talked about enjoying *'playing football'*, but realised she had to stop when her *'father saw her playing'* [R.BP/ M.N], illustrating that gender role and identity is situational, depending upon who is watching. Children develop the knowledge and skills necessary to live and thrive in any given society. (Weible and Dromsky, 2002). In post-structuralist theory, children position themselves within discourses of masculinity and femininity; as children, perhaps these

arenas are more accessible (Davies, 1989<sup>a</sup>). My results suggest that this may be the case. This extract shows how a child uses her moral reasoning about social gender expectations to navigate her role and identity: *'she will say that she is going to wash the dishes and then after that she can play and do whatever and nobody will know about her'* [C.(BN)/A.M]. The young girls were keenly aware that, in their society, gender accessibility, gender mobility and gender participation are restricted: for example, that females should not enter the public domain alone or drive or ride a bicycle in public. However, they also knew that the situation can change, that in some instances this rule should be applied and in others it could be more lenient in application – a female can ride a bicycle but not outside her own garden (correlating with the previous comment that gender behaviour is situationally varied).

Hermans (2001:325) refers to the 'matrix of internal and external positions', for females in the KSA: these positions are twofold in each of the two domains: the inner female world and the external female world; internal female public positioning and that expected for external female public identity. The findings revealed that the female children understood these gender positions with regard to appropriate dress. One of the books used as a prompt depicted a female dressed in traditionally masculine attire. The children unequivocally rejected this representation, exclaiming that a female should wear only pinks and purples, that their clothes should be fluffy and that females should wear high heels. This could be regarded as typical feminine attire. Notably, though, they did not say she had to be covered with a '*hijab*' or '*nikab*', standard adult female attire in the KSA. The children also knew that females should be covered when in the public domain. This demonstrates that the children thought of dressing for two environments: one where they could be feminine and would in fact be judged (a form of punishment) – *'people will laugh!'* [C.(BP)/L.K] – if they were not; and another, where femininity should be hidden. In their play, some children

dressed themselves in an ‘*abaya*’ and ‘*hijab*’. There were different ideas or notions of acceptable activities, as a young girl said that she could have a bicycle but that ‘*it should be pink*’ [R.(BN)/L.N]. It is important that she said she had the right to a bike: it does appear, then, that perceptions are changing, albeit in a limited gender framework. My research highlighted that children at this stage actively define their gender discourses and many of the participant girls revealed typical feminine gender discourses, such as body movement, wearing feminine clothes and talking about beauty and fashion. This was similar to Blaise’s (2005<sup>b</sup>) study in Australia, which demonstrated that pre-school children actively maintain and even regulate their societal gender norms in the classroom.

#### **7.1.1.1 ‘Two Worlds’ Model**

My research considers the influences on girls at the pre-school stage, but extends to the identity and role they may yet fulfil. My contribution is further knowledge and exploration of the fact that these young girls are living within quite complex social paradoxes, where they are learning to balance and negotiate contradictions in order to become acceptable females in the KSA. On one hand they are expected ‘in the private domain’ to be feminine in the extreme, in appearance, dress and behaviour. However, in public, femininity must be covered and is bounded through shame and fear. [S.(BN)/Z.SH] stated, ‘... *young girls shouldn’t walk in the street and also the streets are dangerous*’. In another example of controlling the appearance of girls, [RP6/GH.H] stated, ‘*If she is going to play football, they are going to shave her hair*’. By contrast, another child implied that she would comply but then, ‘... *after that she can play and do whatever and nobody will know about her*’ [C.(BN)/A.M]. This is similar to Goffman’s (1967) front stage/back stage metaphor – where the dominants and subordinates are privy to a public transcript and hidden transcript, which subordinates are free to disregard in the private domain as long as they show public etiquette and deference in the public domain. My research found that young girls in the KSA are able



to negotiate these variant social norms in their social and cultural framework. As they move or ‘shift’ between one environment and another (i.e., public and domestic), they adapt their external behaviour and appearance according to cultural expectation. Based on this, I propose what I call the ‘Two Worlds Model’:



Figure 20: The arenas through which young girls are shifting (Al Zahrani, 2017)

My model was greatly influenced by Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) theory of ecological systems, in which he considers the external factors in the human development of a child. He states that a child: ‘ . . . becomes capable not only of participating actively in that environment but also of modifying and adding to its existing structure and content’ (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:47). Young girls adapt their traits, behaviour and appearance according to the expectations of their mandated environments (e.g., parents, teachers, extended family) (see Figure 20). The influence of the mandated environment on a child can lead to different

perceptions of skilfulness and strength. In the private domain a female can be viewed as strong. For instance, [PP6/S.M] stated: '*Mummies can cook, read and work at the same time*'. This is supported by Bronfenbrenner, who elaborates how a child can be influenced by her mother, who becomes skilful at raising her child while also engaging in more than one 'essential activity' (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:48). This is consistent with Martin and Ruble's (2004) postulation that children are 'gender detectives', actively seeking gender information to categorise gender identity and role. Moreover, in the KSA, the gender roles and identity differ from the public to the private domain, as each environment has alternative expectations of females, leading them to change their external manifestations of 'behaviour and appearance' accordingly.

There are six distinct environments a young female may encounter in the KSA: school, home, public, domestic, national and international. In each of these, the young female is expected to negotiate a multitude of factors and influences that are part of the societal framework. In my research, it was clear that the school and home environments reciprocally reinforce the gender segregation positioning with which a young girl must comply in order to be a heteronymic child who both accepts, and functions within, the 'two world model'. At pre-school, a young girl studies the same topics as a young boy. However, many researchers have highlighted that, even universally, many educational establishments and teachers assign different roles and expectations according to gender (Chapman, 2016). In my study, one girl [SP1/S.M] stated that teachers have specific expectations about how the girls should behave in the school environment: '*the teachers in our school wanted us to maintain cleanliness*'. This influence on young female roles leads girls to modify their play, dress, and activities according to what is regarded as a norm in their specific school community, in order to gain reward and acceptance. In the home environment, a girl's femininity is maintained or 'protected' by many factors. One is fear: '*Her Mum will kill her*

*with the knife if she ever goes out with the bike in the street* [S.(BN)/R.A] and *'she will hit her'*. Many of the children were familiar with stereotypical images and activities associated with her gender. [TVP3/SH.A] stated: *'My Mum is always cleaning, and those pictures [of men doing domestic duties] I see only on T.V.'*. This highlights how girls, even at a young age, can distinguish differences associated with female role expectations at home, nationally or internationally (see Figure 20). Moreover, young females are aware that, even in the public environment, different expectations apply to them or to other females; for instance [PP4/SH.A] stated: *'Because she [Mum] is in the mall, she finished her work and went straight to the mall with her driver'*, showing she is aware of her society's regulations. Once a young girl leaves her home and even her public environment, she encounters different models. In this case, the young girl should be able to construct subjective characters in a fluid manner, 'produce, challenge, reproduce then transform' her actions in various settings (Barrett 1980:97). A young girl depicted within the two worlds theory would 'shift', which Simpson (1997) explains as adaptation within each arena; this is similar to Kohlberg's theory (1984), where he states that cognitive ability and content for a child are constructed and shift as they grow. My study suggests that, as the young girl develops, she will acquire experience in more domains, and in each of these environments she will have to insert herself into the discourses she believes in and values, with reference to gender and identity.

### **7.1.2 'Young girls in the KSA and the sense of 'self-control' and being 'a good girl'**

The young female participants were aware of restricted access and participation, based on gender. The findings reveal that young girls are being limited not only by actions but also by words. The male dominant power creates a system based largely on inference, using words such as *'ayb'* (taboo) and *'haram'* (sinful) to set the social boundaries of both accessibility and behaviour. One girl [S.(BN)/R.A] made the following observation: *'Why is it 'haram' (forbidden) to ride a bicycle, and 'haram' to play, everything is 'haram' and*

'*ayb*' (taboo)'. She is questioning the way things are, precisely because she cannot see any sense in the very limited choices afforded her and, according to Piaget's (1932) theory, would be credited with having an autonomous mentality. A word which very definitely carries pejorative connotations is the word '*bint*', which in English slang is a derogatory term for a woman. In Arabic, in addition to simply meaning 'girl', it carries heavy implications of limits and restrictions. In a country that wishes to subjugate the role and identity of the female, one realises what an apt label '*bint*' is, when related to the construction of what is considered 'a good girl' and eventually 'a good woman'.

The findings emphasise the hierarchy of power in KSA society, not only between males and females but also among females themselves, and that the young girls were aware of this hierarchy. This helped me to identify an individual's positioning from a child's perspective; allowing me to realise the influences on a child's developing character, behaviour and appearance. The girls modified their attitudes and behaviour in order to be accepted, in both their micro and mesosystems (primary and secondary influences). Modes of acting were significantly influenced in KSA society, involving concepts and expectations of what constitutes a 'good woman'. These notions have filtered down to young KSA females. Most importantly, rather than a girls' microsystem having the most influence, a girls' *macrosystem* was most influential. Here, the blueprint of female gender identity and role was prepared and framed, with expected societal values, level of purity and adherence to family honour. Applying post-structuralist theory to the analysis allowed me to dissect the actions and speech seen and heard in everyday KSA life, the dichotomies females confront and exhibit. I found that the young girls were attempting to define themselves as individuals. However, they were also positioning themselves within the social norms and trying to understand social structures and expectations – for example: '*Girls should ride a pink bicycle and blue for boys*' [P.(BP)/R.F]. Demonstrating the identification of oneself as a

capable individual - '*I can ride a bike*' – whilst remaining ineluctably positioned within the gender stereotypes of appearance. There are often conflicts between individual children and the socialisation agents surrounding them (Connolly, 2004). How these might be resolved was of great importance in my research. The data revealed that not many children questioned the rhetoric and language used to modify and control their behaviour. Religion in general, the Qur'an in particular, was used to justify restrictions on female autonomy and how females are conditioned to accept and self-police these boundaries and limitations in order to be considered 'a good woman or girl'.

My research revealed that teachers were reinforcing in children a sense of guilt, not only when encouraging good behaviour and rejecting bad behaviour but also by obliging the children repeatedly to chant '*astagherlah*' (forgive me God) for long periods of time, so that any sins they had committed during the day would be forgiven. In a country that considers the sanctity and completeness of the female body to be the epitome of family honour and male control, the female body and its purity require protection and preservation, from infancy (Ghanim, 2015). Moreover, the reputation of the female, perceptions of shame and notions of being 'a good woman' are not restricted to specific acts such as promiscuity. Rather, they encompass a wide range of behaviours, including ways of speaking, sitting, standing, laughing; even what a woman reads or writes (Ghanim, 2015). This extends to how the female looks: should a woman objectively be regarded as exceptionally beautiful and a temptation - or '*shahawa*' (a woman of beauty) – this in and of itself is a punishment for that woman. Even the use of a '*hijab*' (religious covering), which would ordinarily allow a female to move around freely in public, is insufficient for these women (Ghanim, 2015). She will be put down by her husband and male guardians ('*mahram*'), constantly subjected to male interference in areas where males and females are mixed.

Although some of the children could envisage variations of female gender roles and

identities, most of them could not position themselves within the scenarios offered in the books and/or prompt cards used to elicit their perspectives. They were adamant that, as females, they would need to conform to societal and family expectations for their gender. For a female family member to be a non-conformist or not to be recognised by society as a 'good woman' is often considered a great risk, as parents believe that the future, honour and validity of their family name and tribe are of the utmost importance. Whether this will change in the future is uncertain. Women are becoming more educated, making change possible. Ghanim (2015:5) terms this 'incarcerating honour', whereby discourses on gender, in particular, female gender, propagate a restrictive culture and a strict moral code that leaves females with little of which to be proud, except the maintenance of their virginity. Many of the children were alarmed about and fearful of assuming a different female gender role or identity outside KSA norms. Many spoke of violence and a fear of ostracism, and the chastisements which exploit these fears seem a more immediate and certain way of keeping females in line. Female identity and role are also constructed through messages, images, ideologies, restrictions and discourses. The data shows that the children were privy to social discourses and norms regarding 'normal' behaviour for both males and females, and that many of the children were adamant that they would remain within the expected social systems, i.e., gender segregation and roles. These social conditions, together with the acceptance of the objectification of the 'ideal KSA female', result in females in the KSA self-limiting and self-policing their world to the perimeters and social interactions defined by the religion, culture and social powers of the KSA.

The 'powers that be' (male authority) continue to instil in young girls the responsibility to maintain acceptable standards of female status, chastity and roles, even to the extent that a female would suppress her own desires and happiness, voluntarily revoking her rights to liberty. Of particular interest is the fact that some of the physical threats come from a

mother, another female: *'she will be angry'*; *'again she will slap'* [R.(BN)/M.N]. The majority of the data showed that, although female physical violence was used to restrict and construct behaviour, most of the perceived anticipated threats were instigated by male guardians, either fathers or brothers, reinforcing the notion that power lies with the male. One girl said: *'Sometimes I help her [mother] in washing my school uniform and hang them . . . my brothers never, my Dad never'* [RP6/GH.H] and so we see that the delineation of girls and boys, females and males, has been made even at this young age. Davies (1989<sup>b</sup>:7) explains that women are 'prepared in an ideal manner' for the role they will fulfil later, and that this is possible because females are trained to ignore their self-perceptions and the perceptions of their own interests (Lyra-Wex,1979:321). In the KSA, this is highly apparent. These gender identity ideologies are part of everyday social life: the expected and accepted way to live. The mother was usually depicted by the children as the person who metes out punishment, but also gives rewards. Behaviour was constructed through perceived or expected rewards from either the mother or the father. The KSA society cannot risk its daughters becoming non-conformists who behave outside the social norms and values of their society. This causes a girl to develop and become egocentric, seeking reward in a 'selfish' manner, and obeying those rules within the societal norms which govern reward and punishment (Arthur, Powell and Hsing-Chiung, 2014) (this was explored further in Chapter Three).

My research shows that female gender, roles and identity in the KSA are constructed sometimes by love, but mainly through fear of punishment and ostracism if one does not conform to the societal gender norms. The children in this study themselves revealed that many of their restrictions on gender activity or behaviour were controlled through fear by threats like: *'Mum will kill her with a knife!'* or *'I could die!'* [S.(BN)/R.A]. These fears extended into their right to liberty, where the children understood that 'poor' behaviour

might result in being imprisoned or taken from their family home, and indeed seemed to feel that they would be blamed, as the person who stepped out of the societal norm, the one who did not conform or comply. The use of these methods to construct and restrict may to the child seem inherently reasonable, but such methods are likely used by parents who feel unable to negotiate or influence children's behaviour through words or discourses that would enlighten rather than constrain. One reason for this might be that, at such a young age, negotiation or modelling is difficult and perhaps unsuccessful. Perhaps the stakes are simply too high to allow these children any space for dissent. The KSA societal teaching uses shame and guilt (Erikson, 1963) as tools to endow young girls with an egocentric mentality, rendering them heteronomous (Piaget, 1932). This causes the young girl to develop a 'self-controlled' character to 'protect' herself so she can remain a 'good girl'. In my study, one young girl demonstrated autonomous morality, questioning cultural norms. Egocentrism is therefore not found in all children at the pre-conventional level. The cognitive ability of some allows them to develop a different moral mentality.

### **7.1.3 Young girls' identity and role in the KSA are constructed by society through a moral heteronymic framework**

Colby and Kohlberg (1987) argue that the form of thinking is more important than the content. I argue that it is in fact content that constructs the moral framework, and society that affects the structure. We cannot disregard content and accept Kohlberg's claim that moral development is innate and independent of culture: a universal development. This may be the case where cultures share moral frameworks, but does not apply when they differ significantly. Equally, in the scenario whereby cultures are suggested to share the same principles, this would surely only apply if there exists a human tendency to conform, which underpins each particular manifestation. The findings here are consistent with Piaget (cited in Kavathatzopoulos, 1991:48) in that, in order for the individual to adapt to the social world and develop her moral heteronomy, both the inherent nature and the reality of the world



must be considered, together with deliberation upon the most powerful influential environmental forces (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Discussions pertaining to his theory were reflected upon throughout this study. The KSA has strong, fixed ideals of the roles and identity each gender should have, and this reverberates through each of the layers or ecosystems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) that constitute and construct a person's life. For females, this is much more pronounced and much more controlled. At this point in time, females are unable to distance or detach themselves from the identity and role society confers upon them. My research revealed that gender identity was important for the children. They were very clear about what was relevant to them as a female in the context of their day in pre-school. It also showed that these young girls were aware of gender roles and identity in the context of their home and the roles that females adopt in maturity. Although they did experience other female gender identities, such as in story books, on television, or in discussions using prompt cards, the children were absolute and final in their notions of female gender identity and role. They also showed that they had the reasoning skills to accept these variations for others. The following young girl knew that these scenarios were irrelevant to her society: *'I see that . . . but Mums . . . do the tidying it (sic) up'* [PP4/SH.S]. Another child agreed that she had seen these variations in another culture, but not in hers: *'Yes, I can see similar to this in Mum's phone [cartoons] and not anywhere else'* [TVP6/A.M].

The data showed that the children largely had very strong ideas of what were culturally and socially acceptable activities according to gender. A female playing football was viewed by one child as a contravention of social norms and serious enough to have: *'your hair shaved off'* [RP6/GH.H], which could be interpreted as losing your female identity. The family is the 'authoritarian state in miniature', the most important source for the reproduction of the authoritarian social systems – 'the powers that be' (Ghanim, 2009:177). This is the case

when the children talk about their attitudes, with most respondents expecting the principal identity and roles of women to be wives and mothers rather than workers, even though their teachers were female and they may have female maids. There were also disparities regarding perceived strengths related to gender, with males regarded as big and strong and females as weak, fragile and helpless. However, this is not the case in the domestic domain, in which the adult female is seen as more dominant and/or having greater autonomy. The girls mention how their mothers expect the house to be clean and tidy, even if their fathers 'could' help with the cleaning.

In the KSA, it takes both a male and a female to start a home; thereafter, the maintenance and upkeep of the Saudi home is designated solely to the females within it. The research highlighted that many of the girls had accepted standards for girls and women, in that women were expected to take on the role of a homemaker, to do the cleaning and cooking, while men are largely exempt from these tasks. It might be argued that this monopoly concerning domestic roles, and the fact that in the KSA males are very often absent (Ghanim, 2009) from the household, would in some way increase female authority within. However, my research showed that, in the domestic arena, the children perceived males to hold the power and to have the final authority in decisions. For example, *'because the Dad is 'tafshan' (bored) and he doesn't want to go, that is why he sent the Mum to buy the stuff'* [CP3/Z.SH]. KSA children are brought up without autonomous morality because the social framework of the country is built on hierarchal authority, proven to lead to heteronomous morality (Piaget, 1932). There is also a moral framework in place and for many females a sense of 'helplessness' pervades their navigating of these frameworks in terms of choice and autonomy. Females obey mainly to comply with religious and customary practices (Doumato, 2003). Several of the young girls felt empathy and compassion for their mothers and spoke of their mothers being tired, sick and entitled to rest, thus adding to the concept

that females are weak and fragile: a communication of 'victimhood' (Ghanim, 2009). This enlivens a special bond between young girls and their mothers (further discussion in Chapter Four). Many of the children felt exactly this way with their mother. Ghanim (2009) argues that many women develop this approach with their children in the hope that the children will in fact look after them in their older age (further discussion on this can be found in Chapter Four). Moreover, in the KSA, females do not have any real authority, as their gender gives them a 'lower status in the gender structure' of their homes and society (Ghanim, 2009:137). Promoting male dominance and superiority brings to mind 'essentialism', but this research is post-structuralist and does not easily reflect one essentialised gendered way of knowing (Grieshaber, 2007:7-8). I would assert that gender is constructed largely through social means, including discourses to adhere to the context of KSA society and culture. However, both approaches are relevant. On one hand is the essentialist view, according to which the roles of female and male are clearly shaped (Gelman, 2004). On the other, discourses continually add flesh to these shapes to make the identity and roles of gender rigid and conforming. Davies and Banks (1992) believe the agency of individuals is very important according to post-structuralist theory and that a person is not passively shaped by others; that they actively 'take up' and adopt discursive practices that are 'interpellated' into gender roles and identity, rather than being socialised into them. This makes sense in a society in which identity, roles and gender formation are within our own power and we alone are the masters in producing our own selves (Davies, 1989<sup>a</sup>). Post-structuralist theory in this research challenged the 'essentialised gender way of knowing' (discussed in Chapter Three), exploring the fact that this is a society constructed by men, who maintain the social order. This is accomplished through discourses and cultural, tribal and ideological practice.

## **7.2 My Position as a Saudi Researcher in the Context of Post-structuralist Research**

The post-structuralist approach in this research considered the ambivalence between the ‘oppositions’ proposed by structuralists in society. Such oppositions constitute the gender binary notions, according to which each gender is assumed by default to align and assume the characteristic traits, behaviour and appearance of the gender according to the genitals with which they are born. Moreover, the assumption is that these oppositions create a hierarchy that privileges one side of the binary over the other. The post-structuralist approach attempts to dismantle and overturn this hierarchical establishment. Some might suggest that this research has not accomplished that. However, from my positioning, it has, although I would consider it the beginnings – as my approach has identified and explored the hierarchal establishment in the KSA and realised the expectations and outcomes for females in the KSA. It has also dismantled the hierarchical establishment – albeit in my own head, in my own understanding and stance. This is a start. According to Harcourt (2007), post-structuralism assists in emancipation from dependency, ‘the inability to use one’s own understanding without the guidance of another’ (Kant, 1970:54) to become an independent thinker. Holland *et al.* (2001) explain this by asserting that we emerge from the experiences in our scripted social positions to make our own way into cultural worlds as a knowledgeable and committed participant. These authors also provide a framework to examine the formation of identity, calling this ‘Figured worlds’ (Holland *et al.*, 1998: 52): the socially and culturally constructed

realm of interpretation that can be used to understand society, in its structure, context, actions and practices.

I believe that post-structuralist theory was crucial for my understanding and for disassembling the power structure in the KSA. Post-structuralist theory expects researchers

to be open themselves – to move beyond their own backgrounds and views about gender, so that they can define the present and suggest possible change. This is difficult for someone from the KSA, but I found it extremely important. To be able to look at gender through KSA eyes and still anticipate how change can occur is a goal that I believe I have achieved. MacNaughton (2005) describes post-structuralism as a useful ideology, in that it challenges the view that there are dominant ideologies based on power, and that these are difficult to change. She describes studies in which children from all groups learn what will make them ethical and democratic. I selected a post-structuralist approach (Foucault, 1987; Blaise, 2005<sup>b</sup>; Blaise, 2010; Mac Naughton, 2005; Jones, 2010; Jones *et al.*, 2010) as this was necessary to ascertain the level of control in the KSA, since control is demonstrated in many ways; for example, body space, women's status. I used many theories and research to formulate my research questions and develop methods for testing how young KSA girls develop their gender identity. Thus I was able, as a KSA female, primarily educated in the KSA, but now living and studying further in the UK, to understand my own attitudes towards gender and to determine where they originated. Also, to recognise where change can occur and who is best placed to effect change. Ultimately, it is in the hands of females as they are teachers and mothers who can educate the future generations.

I discovered some positive, rather than only negative, outcomes in terms of the present views of KSA children towards gender. By using a post-structuralist approach, I was able to consider how I can move beyond my previous attitudes towards a new way of thinking. I also discovered how change might be considered and implemented in KSA pre-school education. I have been able to understand the benefits and objectives for many social norms, in particular those surrounding gender identity and role in the KSA. Jones (2001, 2010) and Jones *et al.* (2010) write about how important teachers are in bringing about change, even in discrete ways. They provide examples of how teachers can alter the gender perceptions

of young children by moving sideways, by suggesting gender-neutral activities. We owe it to young children to help them adjust to their future lives, to deal with the present power structures and future ones, in their own communities and countries and in the world at large. In fact, children today are exposed to many influences outside their homes and schools, largely through media. Teachers need to accept this and use different approaches in the classroom, so that children learn how to be happy and tolerant of others and themselves (boys and girls). This may not be easy in the KSA classroom. However, adopting an attitude, or even a post-structuralist approach, that questions and evaluates the cultural norms and expectations of society will hopefully shift these norms, bringing about gradual change and ensuring that KSA children have a different future to that of previous generations.

### **7.3 Impact of the Research on the Researcher**

Throughout the research, I mention assuming a 'post-structuralist' stance in my research; but this is no longer the case. I am no longer assuming this role. It is now embedded in my female or human construct and there will always now be a post-structuralist aspect to me, raising my questioning head objectively above my subjective heart to extricate the who, what and why from the social dictates, norms and traditions assumed in our everyday lives. Knowledge of different perspectives has helped me to understand the problems associated with the present situation and those that might emerge in the future. I have discussed the theoretical contributions that underpinned my understanding of the construction of gender identity and role in pre-school children in the KSA. They were many. I think this was accurate, as I do not believe we are one-dimensional. Humans are complex and our gender construction is multi-faceted and multi-layered through cognitive, social and biological influences. Each discourse and theory influenced me differently, and my subjectivity led me to think and feel and develop into the person I am today. This research has taught me now to question, analyse, synthesise and understand why I have certain beliefs. I have been living

in another country for more than ten years, yet I retain remnants of a KSA concept of female identity and role, which I now look at through a 'post-structuralist' lens, exploring my societal norms. I also contemplate what the alternative might be. If I were to look at another example of a society in a different country, would I find that females there are also constructed by their society's compliance towards masculine powers that shape an appropriate female with attitudes towards her gender identity and notions of gender role that suits the needs of that society? These attitudes might or might not be suitable for the needs of the KSA society. This leads us back to people wanting to fit into their own society, their own values and constructs of what they see as right or wrong. Each one may be right and each one may be wrong; it is all dependent on a person's subjectivity and positioning, developed through discourses, imitation and ideologies. I have come to realise some of the contradictions in my culture's attitude towards men and women. However, I am proud to be a woman. I am proud to be a Muslim woman. I am proud to be a KSA Muslim woman. If I want to change something or develop the situation in my country to foster female independence, it will evolve through education and choice. I still believe in the logic and wisdom of Islam and the rights it affords women to be respected and protected within a society that is pious, good and beneficial for both genders.

The construction of female gender identity and role has been researched for decades. The focus of this particular research, however, was more narrow, exploring the phenomenon in the KSA, and looking at some of the issues surrounding female gender identity and roles for females in that particular context. To bring about change, we need to provide something relevant and acceptable to the culture of that society. This research showed that young girls reject examples or viewpoints they felt were irrelevant to their society and culture. Change must therefore be instigated by adults and driven in the future by the youth. It must be within a context relevant to the child and the context of her society. I reiterate that pre-school

education remains a compelling force for constructing and perpetuating the norms and values of KSA society. It provides an important opportunity to dispel stereotypical notions and restrictions of gender and can work to educate individual children, both boys and girls, so that they reach their full potential and hopefully establish a society not dominated by gender differences but rather one in which everyone respects everyone else and the contribution they can make to society, regardless of gender.

The course of this research has changed me a great deal. It has been a cathartic involvement. Experiences that were influential in constructing my own female persona, and at one time suppressed, have now emerged or been expelled. My previous understanding was that I created my own identity, whereas, in fact, I discovered that it had been created by those around me: my father's, mother's and husband's beliefs, and the discourses to which they were privy, all of which constructed my gender identity and female role – not only as a child, but as the woman I would become. It is important to stress, however, that I am still 'under construction'. The research process has shown me that, ultimately, we are only a composite of those discourses to which we are privy and unless we isolate ourselves from society and any outside influences, these discourses are continuous and changing, and our identities are continuously shifting – although in some societies the margins for these shifts are narrower than in others. Many things affect and influence our identity. Religious identity shapes who we are, but it is not stable; it changes and evolves, and follows a process that involves: 'internal subjective perceptions, self-reflection, and external characterisations' (Peek, 2005:271). Added to this is the fact that we are continuously interacting with our social environment, which is also inherently unstable because our environment changes and we ourselves change by virtue of our cognitive development, which is affected by our developing maturity and the developing social environment. Frequently, when I read books by feminists, I feel sad and indignant about the plight of females, and about the limited



gender framework that young girls are afforded. I am comforted, however, by discourses on the wisdom of Islam – after all, the basis of many cultural practices in KSA – which reinforce my love of my culture and my religion. These discourses highlight the positive aspect of my cultural practice. In reading them, I understand and feel compelled to accept the notion of ‘social order’ in the KSA, as well as its dual purpose in protecting females and preserving purity and piety – but one that applies gender on a more equal basis.

#### **7.4 Limitations and Possible Future Research**

This is the first study in the context of the KSA (Appendix, E.3) that explores female gender through the perspectives of pre-school female children. I undertook the research as a female in the context of the KSA, in a setting to which researchers from other cultures might not have had the same access. The setting, context, regional language and culture were familiar to and understood by me – I was born and brought up as a Saudi Arabian female. This study, in many ways, has given a voice, not only to female children in the KSA, but also to the women they will become. I have interviewed only a small number of young girls and this could be viewed as a limitation of the study. I strongly believe this to be a positive factor, as having fewer participants allowed the research to delve more deeply into the attitudes towards females and the societal expectations of female gender identity and role. This research provided an insight into and an understanding of a particular context. Further research could be conducted to extend and deepen the conclusions and to reflect on our actions and intent relating to the discourses that influence our everyday life.

Further research could usefully include the views of the adults who are influencing these young girls. Also, the research was conducted in the capital city of the KSA, Riyadh, but the KSA is an enormous country whose size is approximately one-fifth of Europe (Ham, Shams and Madden, 2004) (details regarding the demographics of the KSA are given in Chapter Two). Each region has its own particular context and culture. Researching attitudes

in more rural areas, for example, might yield different results. We could extend into other regions and factors (e.g., south of the KSA, Bedouin groups, villages, different wealth structures) through further research. It would also be beneficial to expand the research to address other issues, such as the role of the media in changing female gender identity in the KSA. The media provides an alternative view, but may or may not significantly influence the perspective of young girls. It would be beneficial to know whether other cultures are changing the KSA culture. Other important questions are what females in the KSA hope the future holds for them and for their own daughters. Is it possible for women to assert their own integrity and independent female identity and still be accepted within the societal realms of the KSA? Future research should be conducted on what constitutes the making of a 'good boy' and a 'good man' and could explore the ways male gender identity and roles are constructed in the KSA. This could be the next logical step from my research. Similar research with the same remit (gender identity and role) could be conducted with older children and other female members of the family, providing a comparative view and ascertaining whether the moral heteronomy identified in these young female girls continues into adolescence or whether they later develop their own individual moral autonomy. Additionally, the research could focus just on the influences that school life and female teachers have on the construction of female gender identity in the KSA and explore play in accordance with the KSA gender framework.

Some recent research has been conducted on topics linked to my research, and these could be used as the foundation for future research leading on from the one I conducted. For example, Chapman (2016) studied how pre-school teachers' attitudes impact on children in their classes, so that play was often considered gendered. By studying two different settings and using a feminist post-structuralist approach, the author was able to determine what the teachers thought was typical girl and boy play. She concluded that there are still gender

stereotypes, and that these are sometimes due to gender identities learnt outside the classroom, but are also enforced in the classroom by teachers' ideologies. In Canada, Bosacki, Woods and Coplan (2015) looked at pre-schoolers' aggression and attitudes towards play. They interviewed both male and female pre-school professionals, and identified major differences in the views of men and women – the men felt that aggression and rough-and-tumble play, especially for boys, had fewer negative social and academic consequences than did the women. These differences will naturally affect how the different sexes approach play in pre-school and may have consequences in future years. The authors recommend more gender-inclusive initiatives so that pre-school children improve the balance of attitudes among the children. Woods, Bosacki and Coplan (2016) then studied gender links to behaviour, such as shyness, aggression and prosocial attitudes in pre-school children. They looked at each behavioural pattern, its influences and the role of the teacher. For example, shyness was observed in both boys and girls, but manifested differently (boys being quiet and girls hiding). Stereotypes and families were the main influences upon shyness (shy children tended to be more overprotected by their families). For the teachers, a more inclusive and collaborative atmosphere might help the shy child. The authors recommend some of their results being used when training pre-school professionals. These recent research findings emphasise the importance of understanding the complex nature of gender and gender experiences, even in a pre-school classroom. Further research is required to understand the depth between gender experiences and education (pre-schools).

## Bibliography

- Abdul-aljawad, N.M. (2010) [Pre-primary education], in Al-ghamdi, H. A. and Abdul-aljawad, N. M. (Eds.), (2010) [The development of the educational system in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia]. 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. Riyadh: Al-Rushd Press, pp. 107-128.
- Abu-Lughod, L. (1988) *Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.
- Achoui, M.M. (2006) 'The Saudi society: tradition and change,' in Georgas, J., Berry, J.W., van de Vijver, F.J.R., Kagitcibasi, C. and Poortinga, Y.H. (eds.), *Families Across Cultures: A 30-Nation Psychological Study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 435-441.
- Adams, J. (1986) *The conspiracy of the text: the place of narrative in the development of thought*. London: Routledge.
- Afshar, H. (1993) 'Development Studies and Women in the Middle East: The Dilemmas of Research and Development', in Afshar, H. (ed.), *Women in the Middle East: Perceptions, Realities and Struggle for Liberation*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, pp.3-17.
- Ahn, J. (2011) 'Review of children's identity construction via narratives', *Creative Education*, 2(5), pp. 415-417.
- Aina, O.E. and Cameron, P.A. (2011) 'Why does gender matter? Counteracting stereotypes with young children', *Dimensions of Early Childhood*, 39(3), pp. 11-19.
- Al-Albani, M.N. (1988) [Small Collection of Prophetic Traditions]. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. Beirut: Al-Maktab Al-Islami.
- Al-Ameel, H. (2002). *The effects of different types of preschool curricula on some aspects of children's experience and development in Saudi Arabia*. PhD Thesis, School of Social Science, University of Wales, Cardiff, UK.
- Alamri, M. (2011) 'Higher Education in Saudi Arabia', *Journal of Higher Education Theory and Practice*, 11(4), pp. 88-91.
- Al-Arabiya English (2017) 'Saudi women no longer need male guardian consents to receive services', 4 May. Available at: <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/gulf/2017/05/04/Saudi-women-no-longer-need-male-guardian-consents-to-receive-services-.html#.WQ1cUylsBdo.facebook> [Accessed 8 May 2017].
- Al-Asqalani, A (1970) [Correctness in distinguishing the companions]. Cairo: Library of Al-Azhar Colleges, in Attas S.M. (Ed.), *Aims and Objectives of Islamic Education*. Jeddah: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Al-Bayhaqi, A.A. (2008) [Branches of the Faith]. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, in Zaglul, M.A.B (ed.), Cairo: Dar Al-Kotob Al-Ilmiyah.
- Al-Bukhari, M. (1997a) *The translation of the meanings of Sahih Al-Bukhari*. Vol. 8, pp.5970-6860. Translated by M.M. Khan. Riyadh: Darussalam.
- Al-Bukhari, M. (1997b) *The translation of the meanings of Sahih Al-Bukhari*. Vol. 9, pp.6861-7563. Translated by M.M. Khan. Riyadh: Darussalam.
- Alderson, P. (1994) 'Researching Children's Rights to Integrity', in Mayall, B. (ed.), *Children's Childhoods: Observed and Experienced*. London: Falmer Press, pp. 45-62.

- Aleem, S. (2007) *Prophet Muhammad(s) and His Family: A Sociological Perspective*. Bloomington, Ind.: Author House.
- Alexander, H. (2017) 'Saudi Arabia to allow women to drive in major milestone for country', *The Telegraph*, 26 September. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/09/26/saudi-arabia-allow-women-drive/> [Accessed 26 September 2017].
- Al-ghamdi, H.A. and Abdul-aljawad, N.M. (2010) *تطور نظام التعليم في المملكة العربية السعودية* [The development of the educational system in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia]. 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. Riyadh: Al-Rushd Press.
- Al-Ghazali, M. (1989) *الحق المر [The sour truth]*. Cairo: Shurook Publishing.
- Al-Hariri, R. (1987) 'Islam's point of view on women's education in Saudi Arabia', *Comparative Education*, 23(1), pp. 51-57.
- Alhazmi, A. and Nyland, B. (2012) 'The Saudi Arabian international student experience: from a gender-segregated society to studying in a mixed-gender environment', *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 43(3), pp. 346-365.
- Al-Hibri, A. (1997) 'Islam, Law and Custom: Redefining Muslim Women's Rights', *American University International Law Review*, 12(1), pp. 1-44.
- Al-Jaza'iry, A.J. (2001) *Minhaj Al-Muslim: A book of creed, manners, character, acts of worship and other deeds, Vol. 1*. Riyadh: Darussalam.
- Alloway, N. and Gilbert, P. (1997) 'Post-structuralist Theory and Classroom Talk', in Davies, B. and Corson, D. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Education, Vol. 3: Oral Discourse and Education*. London: Springer-Verlag, pp. 53-64.
- Almalki, S. and Ganong, L. (2018) 'Family Life Education in Saudi Arabia', in M. Robila and A.C. Taylor (eds.). *Global Perspectives on Family Life Education*. Switzerland: Springer International Publishing AG, pp.
- Al-Mammar, A.H. (2013) *تربيه الطفل المسلم في المجتمع الغربي: الطفل العراقي في لندن نموذجا* [The upbringing of the Muslim child in Western society: an example of an Iraqi child in London]. Baghdad: Modern Western Press.
- Al-Mubarakpuri, S.R. (2014) *لارحمة المصنوع [The Sealed Nectar: Biography of the Prophet]*. 24<sup>th</sup> edn. Mansoura, Egypt: Dar Al-Wafaa.
- AlMunajjed, M. (1997) *Women in Saudi Arabia Today*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- AlMunajjed, M. (2009) *Women's Education in Saudi Arabia: The Way Forward*. New York: Booz and Company. Available at: [http://arabdevelopmentportal.com/sites/default/files/publication/211.womens\\_education\\_in\\_saudi\\_arabia\\_the\\_way\\_forward.pdf](http://arabdevelopmentportal.com/sites/default/files/publication/211.womens_education_in_saudi_arabia_the_way_forward.pdf) [Accessed 2 December 2016].
- Al-Naim, M.A. (2005) *Political Influences and Paradigm Shifts in the Contemporary Arab Cities: Questioning the Identity of Urban Form*. Milan: Catholic University of Milan.
- Al-Nasa'i, A. (1997) *Al-Sunan al-Sughra*. Translated by M.I. Siddiqi. Lahore: Kazi Publications.
- Al-Nawawi, Y. (1996) *شرح النووي على صحيح مسلم [An-Nawawi's Explanation of Sahih Muslim]*. Cairo: Dar Al-Khair.
- Al-Rasheed, M. (2010) *A History of Saudi Arabia*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Al-Rasheed, M. (2013) *A most masculine state: gender, politics and religion in Saudi Arabia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Al-Saif, M.I. (1997) *المُدخَلَفِي وَاَسْأَلُ مَضْمُونِ السُّعُودِي* [Introduction to the study of Saudi society] Riyadh: Dar Al-Khariji Publishers.
- Al Shaer A.I. (2007) Education for all programmes in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Background paper for the Education for all global monitoring report 2008: Education for all by 2015: will we make it ?, Available at: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0015/001554/155498e.pdf> [Accessed 27 May 2016].
- Alsop, R., Fitzsimons, A. and Lennon, K. (2002) *Theorizing Gender*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Alsuwaida, N. (2016) 'Women's Education in Saudi Arabia', *Journal of International Education Research*, 12(4), pp. 111-118.
- Altheide, D.L. and Johnson, J.M. (1994) 'Criteria for assessing interpretive validity in qualitative research', in Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, pp. 485-499.
- Althusser, L. (1971) 'Ideology and ideological state apparatuses', in Althusser, L. (ed.), *Lenin and philosophy and other essays*. London: New Left Books, pp.232 -272
- Amer, M. (2012) *An Islamic Perspective on Legislation for Women*. London: Scribe Digital.
- Anderson, B. (1991) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Angold, A., Erkanli, A., Silberg, J., Eaves, L. and Costello, E.J. (2002) 'Depression scale scores in 8 – 17 year olds: effects of age and gender', *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 43(8), pp. 1052-1063.
- Anih, S. (1992) *Religious ecumenism and education for tolerance*. Enugu Nigeria: Institute of Ecumenical Education.
- Anning, A. and Ring, K. (2004) *Making Sense of Children's Drawings*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Anning, A., Cullen, J. and Fleer, M. (2009) *Early Childhood Education: Society and Culture*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. London: Sage.
- Arebi, S. (1991) 'Gender Anthropology in the Middle East: The Politics of Muslim Women's Misrepresentation', *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, 8(1), pp. 99-108.
- Arebi, S. (1994) *Women and Words in Saudi Arabia: The Politics of Literary Discourse*. New York, N.Y.: Columbia University Press.
- Arnot, M. (2002) *Reproducing Gender: Essays on Educational theory and Feminist Politics*. London: Routledge Falmer.
- Arsenault, N. and Anderson, G. (1998) 'Qualitative Research', in Anderson, G. in Arsenault, N. (eds.) *Fundamentals of Educational Research*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., London: Routledge Falmer, pp.126-143.
- Arnold, D. (2013) *Everyday Technology, Machines and the Making of India's Modernity*. London: University of Chicago Press.
- Arthur, J., Powell, S. and Hsing-Chiung, L. (2014) 'Foundations of character: methodological aspects of a study of character development in three- to six-year-old children with a focus on sharing behaviours', *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal*, 22(1), pp. 105-122.
- Ashcraft, A.M. and Belgrave, F.Z. (2005) 'Gender identity development in urban African American girls', in Lee, J.W. (ed.), *Gender Roles*. New York, N.Y.: Nova Biomedical Books, pp.1-32.
- Ayres, M.M., Khan, A. and Leve, L.D. (2015) 'Gender identity and play', in Fromberg, D.P. and Bergen, D. (eds.), *Play from Birth to Twelve: contexts, perspectives, and meanings*. Abingdon: Routledge , pp. 35-42.

- Baker, J.K., Fenning, R.M. and Crnic, K.A. (2010) 'Emotion socialisation by mothers and fathers: coherence among behaviours and associations with parent attitudes and children's social competence', *Social Development*, 20(2), pp. 412-430.
- Baker, T.L. (1994) *Doing Social Research*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. New York, N.Y.: McGraw-Hill.
- Bakhurji, N. (2003) 'Slow progress is better than none', *Arab News*, 4 April. Available at: <http://www.arabnews.com/node/233818> [Accessed 22 January 2017].
- Baki, R. (2004) 'Gender-segregated Education in Saudi Arabia: Its Impact on Social Norms and the Saudi Labor Market', *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 12(28), pp. 1-12.
- Balter, L. and Tamis-LeMonda, C.S. (2006) *Child Psychology: A Handbook of Contemporary Issues*. New York, N.Y.: CRC Press.
- Bandura, A. (1969) *Principles of Behavior Modification*. New York, N.Y.: Holt, Reinhart and Winston.
- Bandura, A. (1971) *Psychological Modeling: Conflicting Theories*. Chicago, Ill.: Aldine-Atherton.
- Bandura, A. (1977) *Social Learning Theory*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall.
- Barcinski, M. and Kalia, V. (2005) 'Extending the Boundaries of the Dialogical Self: Speaking from within the Feminist Perspective', *Culture and Psychology*, 11(1), pp. 101-109.
- Barone, T. (2001) *Touching eternity: The enduring outcomes of teaching*. New York: Teachers' College Press.
- Barrett, M. (1980) *Women's Oppression Today: Problems in Marxist Feminist Analysis*. 4<sup>th</sup> edn. London: Verso.
- Bartky, S. (1988) 'Foucault, Femininity, and the Modernization of Patriarchal Power', in Diamond, I. and Quinby, L (eds.), *Feminism and Foucault: Reflections on Resistance*, Boston: Northeastern University Press, pp. 63-81.
- Bashiruddin, A. (2007) 'Becoming a teacher educator: a female perspective', in Qureshi, R. and Rarieya, J.F.A. (eds.), *Gender and education in Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, pp. 43-59.
- Bastian, B. and Haslam, N. (2006) 'Psychological essentialism and stereotype endorsement', *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 42(2), pp. 228-235.
- Baumeister, R.F. and Twenge, J.M. (2002) 'Cultural Suppression of Female Sexuality', *Review of General Psychology*, 6(2), pp. 166-203.
- Baxter, J. (2003) *Positioning gender in discourse: a feminist methodology*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- BBC (2015) 'Saudi women drivers 'freed from jail'', 13 February. Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-31449972> [Accessed 1 April 2016].
- Bearne, E. (2000) 'Myth, legend, culture and morality', in Bearne, E. and Watson, V. (eds.), *Where Texts and Children Meet*. London: Routledge, pp. 183-197.
- Bee, H.L. and Boyd, D.G. (2007) *The Developing Child*. 11<sup>th</sup> edn. Boston, Mass.: Pearson Education.
- Bellah, R.N.N. (2011) *Religion in Human Evolution: From the Palaeolithic to the Axial Age*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Belsey, C. (2002) *Poststructuralism: A Very Short Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Belzen, J.A. (2004) 'Spirituality, Culture and Mental Health: Prospects and Risks for Contemporary Psychology of Religion', *Journal of Religion and Health*, 43(4), pp. 291-316.
- Bem, S.L. (1981) 'Gender schema theory: a cognitive account of sex typing', *Psychological Review*, 88(4), pp. 354-364.

- Bem, S.L. (1989) 'Genital knowledge and gender constancy in preschool children', *Child Development*, 60(3), pp. 649-662.
- Bem, S.L. (1993) *The lenses of gender: transforming the debate on sexual equality*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- Bennett, M. and Sani, F. (2004) *The Development of the Social Self*. East Sussex: Psychology Press.
- BERA (2011) *Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research*. London: British Educational Research Association. Available at: <https://www.bera.ac.uk/researchers-resources/publications/ethical-guidelines-for-educational-research-2011> [Accessed 8 September 2015].
- Berk, L.E. (2000) *Child Development*. London: Pearson.
- Bhana, D. (2016) *Gender and Childhood Sexuality in Primary School*. Singapore: Springer.
- Billig, M. (1996) *Arguing and Thinking: A Rhetorical Approach to Social Psychology*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Billington, T. (2000) *Separating, Losing and Excluding Children: Narratives of difference*. London: Routledge Falmer.
- Bin Adawi, M. (1987) كشف الابهام عن حثي فر المراقبون زوج او محرم [Exposing the vagueness of the ruling for a woman travelling without a husband or mahram]. Dammam, Saudi Arabia: Dar Ibn Al-Qayyim.
- Bin Sunaytan, M. (2004) النخب السعوية قدراس في الكحوالت والصلقات [The Saudi elite: a study of transformation and failure]. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. Beirut: Centre for Arab Unity Studies.
- Black, A. (2001) *The History of Islamic Political Thought*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Black, M., Coward, R. and Spender, D. (1981) *Linguistic, social and sexual relations: a review of Dale Spender's Man Made Language*. London: Society for Education in Film and Television.
- Blaise, M. (2005a) *Playing it straight: uncovering gender discourses in the early childhood classroom*. New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Blaise, M. (2005b) 'A feminist poststructuralist study of children "doing" gender in an urban kindergarten classroom', *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 20, pp.85-108.
- Blaise, M. (2009) "'What a girl wants, what a girl needs": Responding to sex, gender, and sexuality in the early childhood classrooms', *Journal of Research in Childhood Education*, 23(4), pp. 450-460.
- Blaise, M. (2010) *New maps for old terrain: Creating a postdevelopmental logic of gender and sexuality in the early years*, Engaging play, Maidenhead: Open University Press
- Blaise, M. and Andrew, Y. (2005) 'How "bad" can it be? Troubling gender, sexuality and early childhood teaching', in Yelland, N. (ed.) *Critical Issues in Early Childhood Education*. London: Routledge, pp. 49-57.
- Blaise, M. and Taylor, A. (2012) 'Using queer theory to rethink gender equity in early childhood education', *Young Children*, 67(1), pp. 88-96.
- Blakemore, J.E.O., Berenbaum, S.A. and Liben, L.S. (2009) *Gender Development*. New York: Psychology Press.
- Blodgett, H. (1996) 'Preserving the Moment in the Diary of Margaret Fountaine', in Bunkers S. L. and Huff, C. A. (eds.), *Inscribing the Daily: Critical Essays on Women's Diaries*. USA: The University of Massachusetts Press, pp.156-168.
- Bogdan, R. and Biklen, S.K. (1992) *Qualitative Research for Education*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. Boston, Mass.: Allyn and Bacon.
- Boldt, G.M. (2011) 'One hundred hotdogs, or performing gender in the elementary classroom', in Jacobson, T. (ed.), *Perspectives on gender in early childhood*. St. Paul, Minn.: Redleaf Press, pp. 77-93.



- Bond, M.H. (1991) *Beyond the Chinese face: insights from psychology*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Borger, J. (2009) *Saudi Arabia Appoints First Female Minister*. The Guardian Newspaper. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/feb/16/saudi-cabinet-woman-minister> [Accessed 23 January 2015].
- Bosacki, S., Woods, H. and Coplan, R. (2015) 'Canadian female and male early childhood educators' perceptions of child aggression and rough-and-tumble play', *Early Child Development and Care*, 185(7), pp. 1134-1147.
- Bouachrine, I. (2014) *Women and Islam: Myths, Apologies, and the Limits of Feminist Critique*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Bové, P. (1990) 'Discourse', in Lentricchia, F. and McLaughlin, T. (eds.), *Critical terms for literary study*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, pp. 50-65.
- Bowen, W.H. (2008) *The history of Saudi Arabia*. London: Greenwood Press.
- Bracke, S. (2003) 'Author(iz)ing Agency: Feminist Scholars Making Sense of Women's Involvement in Religious 'Fundamentalist' Movements', *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 10(3), pp. 335-346.
- Bradley, J.R. (2005) *Saudi Arabia Exposed: Inside a Kingdom in Crisis*. New York, N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Brewer, S. (2001) *A Child's World: A Unique Insight into how Children Think*. London: Headline Book Publishing.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1962) 'The Role of Age, Sex, Class and Culture in Studies of Moral Development', *Religious Education*, 57(S4), pp. 3-17.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979) *The Ecology of Human Development. Experiments by Nature and Design*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1986) 'Ecology of the Family as a Context for Human Development: Research Perspectives', *Developmental Psychology*, 22(6), pp. 723-742.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. and Morris, P.A. (2006) *The Bioecological Model of Human Development: Theoretical Models of Human Development*. Hoboken, N.J.: John Wiley & Sons.
- Brooker, L. (2002) *Starting school: Young Children Learning Cultures*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Brooker, L. (2005) 'Learning to be a child: cultural diversity and early years ideology', in Yelland, N. (ed.), *Critical Issues in Early Childhood Education*. Maidenhead: Open University Press, pp. 115-130.
- Brooker, L. (2008) *Supporting Transitions in the Early Years*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Browne, N. (2004) *Gender Equity in the Early Years*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Browne, N. (2007) 'Identity and children as learners', in Moyles, J. (ed.), *Early Years Foundations: Meeting the Challenge*. Maidenhead: Open University Press, pp. 58-74.
- Bruce, T. (2006) *Early childhood: a guide for students*. London: Sage.
- Bruner, J.S. (1990) *Acts of meaning, part 3: The Jerusalem-Harvard lectures*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Bryman, A. (2004) *Social Research Methods*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Buchele, N. (2008) *The essential guide to customs and culture: Culture Smart! Saudi Arabia*. London: Kuperard.
- Bullock, K. (2002) *Rethinking Muslim Women and the Veil: Challenging Historical and Modern Stereotypes*. London: The International Institute of Islamic Thought.
- Burke, P.J. and Reitzes, D.C. (1981) 'The Link between Identity and Role Performance', *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 44(2), pp. 83-92.
- Burke, P.J. and Tully, J.C. (1977) 'The measurement of role identity', *Social Forces*, 55(4),

- pp. 881-897.
- Buss, D.M. (2000) 'Evolutionary Psychology', in Kazdin, A. (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Psychology*. Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association.
- Bussey, K. and Bandura, A. (1999) 'Social-cognitive theory of gender development and differentiation', *Psychological Review*, 106(4), pp. 676-713.
- Butler, J. (1990) *Gender trouble: feminisms and the subversion of identity*. New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Byrne, C. (2014) *Religion in secular education: what, in Heaven's name, are we teaching our children?* Leiden: Brill.
- Carrington, V. (2005) 'New textual landscapes, information, and early literacy', in Marsh, J. (ed.), *Popular culture, new media and digital literacy in early childhood*. New York, N.Y.: Routledge Falmer, pp. 13-27.
- Carspecken, P.F. (1996) *Critical Ethnography in Educational Research: A Theoretical and Practical Guide*. London: Routledge.
- Cartwright, R.L. (1968) 'Some remarks on Essentialism', *The Journal of Philosophy*, 65(20), pp. 615-626.
- Chafetz, J.S. (1990) *Gender equity: an integrated theory of stability and change*. London: Sage.
- Champion, D. (2003) *The Paradoxical Kingdom: Saudi Arabia and the Momentum of Reform*. London: C. Hurst and Co (Publishers) Ltd.
- Chapman, R. (2016) 'A case study of gendered play in preschools: how early childhood educators' perceptions of gender influence children's play', *Early Child Development and Care*, 186(8), pp. 1271-1284.
- Chaudhury, S.R. and Miller, L. (2008) 'Religious Identity Formation among Bangladeshi American Muslim Adolescents', *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 23(4), pp. 383-410.
- Chen, R. (2009) *Early Childhood Identity: Construction, Culture and the Self*. New York, N.Y.: Peter Lang Publishing.
- Chouliaraki, L. (2008) 'Discourse Analysis', in Bennett, T. and Frow, J. (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Cultural Analysis*. London: SAGE, pp. 674-698.
- Christensen, P. and James, A. (2008) *Research with Children: Perspectives and Practices*. London: Routledge.
- Clandinin, D.J. and Connelly, F.M. (2000) *Narrative inquiry: experience and story in qualitative research*. San Francisco, California: Jossey-Bass.
- Clark, A. (2004) 'The Mosaic approach and research with young children', in Lewis, V., Kellett, M., Robinson, C., Fraser, S. and Ding, S. (eds.), *The Reality of Research with Children and Young People*. London: Sage, pp. 142-161.
- Clark, A. (2010) *Transforming children's spaces: children's and adults' participation in designing learning environments*. New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Clark, A. and Moss, P. (2001) *Listening to Young Children: The Mosaic Approach*. London: National Children's Bureau.
- Clark, A. and Moss, P. (2005) *Spaces to Play: More Listening to Young Children using the Mosaic Approach*. London: National Children's Bureau.
- Clark, A., Kjørholt, A.T. and Moss, P. (2005) *Beyond Listening: Children's Perspectives on Early Childhood Services*. London: Policy Press.
- Clark, A., Flewitt, R., Hammersley, M. and Robb M. (2014) *Understanding research with children and young people*. London: Sage.
- Clark, S. and Paechter, C. (2007) "'Why can't girls play football?'" Gender dynamics and the playground', *Sport, Education and Society*, 12(3), pp. 261-276.
- Clough, P. (2002) *Narratives and Fictions in Educational Research*. Buckingham: Open

University Press.

- Coady, M. (2010) 'Ethics in Early Childhood Research', in MacNaughton, G., Rolfe, S. and Siraj-Blatchford, I. (eds.), *Doing Early Childhood Research: International Perspectives on Theory and Practice*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. Buckingham: Open University Press, pp. 73-84.
- Cohen, A.B. and Hill, P.C. (2007) 'Religion as culture: religious individualism and collectivism among American Catholics, Jews, and Protestants', *Journal of Personality*, 75(4), pp. 709-742.
- Cohen, L., Manion, L. and Morrison, K. (2011) *Research Methods in Education*. 7<sup>th</sup> edn. London: Routledge.
- Cohen, L., Manion, L. and Morrison, K. (2007) *Research Methods in Education*. 6<sup>th</sup> edn. New York: Routledge.
- Cohen M.D. and Martin L.P. (1976) *Growing free: ways to help children overcome sex-role stereotypes*. Washington D.C.: Association for Childhood Education International.
- Colby, A. and Kohlberg, L. (1987) *The Measurement of Moral Judgement, Vol. 1: Theoretical Foundations and Research Validation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Coleman, I. and Abdelgadir, A. (2015) 'The MENA's woman problem: progress and challenges in women's economic participation', in Chesler, E. and McGovern, T. (eds.), *Women and Girls Rising: progress and resistance around the world*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 243-257.
- Condor, S. (2011) 'Towards a Social Psychology of Citizenship? Introduction to the Special Issue', *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 21(3), pp. 193-201.
- Conle, C. (1997) 'Images of change in narrative inquiry', *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice*, 3(2), pp. 205-219.
- Connell, R.W. (1987) *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Connell, R.W. (2000) *The Men and the Boys*. London: Blackwell.
- Connolly, P. (2004) *Boys and schooling in the early years*. London: Routledge Falmer.
- Cook, R.J. and Kelly, L.M. (2006) *Polygyny and Canada's Obligations under International Human Rights Law*. Canada: Department of Justice.
- Constitutional Rights Foundation (2019) *The origins of Islamic law*. Available at: <http://www.crf-usa.org/america-responds-to-terrorism/the-origins-of-islamic-law.html> [Accessed 2 January 2019].
- Cooke, M. (2001) *Women Claim Islam: Creating Islamic Feminism Through Literature*. New York: Routledge.
- Cordesman, A.H. (2003) *Saudi Arabia enters the Twenty-First century: the political, foreign policy, economic, and energy dimensions*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger Publishers.
- Corsaro, W.A. (1985) *Friendship and peer culture in the early years*. New York, N.Y.: Ablex Publishing.
- Cotterall, S. (2008) 'Passion and Persistence: Learning English in Akita', in Kalaja, P., Menezes, V. and Barcelos, A.M.F. (eds.), *Narratives of Learning and Teaching EFL*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 113-127.
- Cowan, J.M. (1979) Editor. *Hans Wehr: A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*. 4<sup>th</sup> edn. Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co., KG: Wiesbaden, Germany.
- Craig, C.J. (2009) 'Research on the Boundaries: Narrative Inquiry in the Midst of Organized School Reform', *The Journal of Educational Research*, 103(2), pp. 123-136.
- Craig, C.J. and Huber, J. (2007) 'Relational reverberations: shaping and reshaping narrative inquiries in the midst of storied lives and contexts', in Clandinin, D.J. (ed.), *Handbook of narrative inquiry: mapping a methodology*. Thousand Oaks,

- California: Sage.
- Crawford, M.L. and Rossiter, G.M. (2006) *Reasons for living: education and young people's search for meaning, identity and spirituality: a handbook*. Camberwell, Victoria: Australian Council Educational Research (ACER).
- Crespi, I. (2003) *Gender socialization within the family: a study of adolescents and their parents in Great Britain*. Milan: Catholic University of Milan.
- Crooks, R. and Baur, K. (2017) *Our Sexuality*. 13<sup>th</sup> edn. Boston, Mass.: Cengage Learning.
- Crowther, D. and Lancaster, G. (2008) *Research Methods: A Concise Introduction to Research in Management and Business Consultancy*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Cummins, D. (2015) *Islam in Saudi Arabia*. London: I.B. Tauris Co. Ltd.
- Curtin, A. and Hall, K. (2013) 'Literacy as Shared Consciousness: A Neurocultural Analysis', in Hall, K., Cremin, T., Comber, B. and Moll, L.C. (eds.), *International Handbook of Research on Children's Literacy, Learning and Culture*. West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, pp.108-120.
- Dagkas, S., Benn, T. and Knez, K. (2014) 'Religion, Culture and Sport in the Lives of Young Muslim Women: International Perspectives', in Hargreaves, J. and Anderson, E. (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Sport, Gender and Sexuality*. London: Routledge, pp. 198-205.
- Dahlberg, G., Moss, P. and Pence, A.R. (2007) *Beyond quality in early childhood education and care: languages of evaluation*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. London: Routledge.
- Daitsman, J. (2010) 'Exploring gender identity in early childhood through story dictation and dramatization', *Voices of Practitioners*, 6(1), pp. 1-12.
- Danby, S.J. (1998) 'The serious and playful work of gender: talk and social order in a preschool classroom', in Yelland, N. (ed.), *Gender in Early Childhood*. London: Routledge, pp. 175-205.
- Darwish, M.A, Al-Saif, G., Albahrani, S. and Sabra, A.A. (2014) 'Lifestyle and Dietary Behaviors among Saudi Preschool Children Attending Primary Health Care Centers, Eastern Saudi Arabia', *International Journal of Family Medicine*, pp. 1-9.
- Davies, B. (1988) *Gender, Equity and Early Childhood*. Canberra: Curriculum Development Centre.
- Davies, B. (1989a) 'The Discursive Production of the Male/Female Dualism in School Settings', *Oxford Review of Education*, 15(3), pp. 229-241.
- Davies, B. (1989b) *Frogs and Snails and Feminist Tales: Preschool Children and Gender*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.
- Davies, B. (1993) *Shards of Glass: Children Reading and Writing beyond Gendered Identities*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.
- Davies, B. (1998) 'The politics of category membership in early childhood settings', in Yelland, N. (ed.), *Gender in early childhood years*. London: Routledge, pp. 131-148.
- Davies, B. (2003) *Shards of glass: children reading and writing beyond gendered identities*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press.
- Davies, B. (2011) 'Open Listening: Creative Evolution in Early Childhood Settings', *International Journal of Early Childhood*, 43(2), pp. 119-132.
- Davies, B. and Banks, C. (1992) 'The gender trap: a feminist poststructuralist analysis of primary school children's talk about gender', *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 24(1), pp. 1-25.
- Davies, B. and Harre, R. (1990) 'Positioning: the discursive production of selves', *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 20(1), pp. 43-63.

- Davies, B. and Harre, R. (1991) 'Contradiction in lived and told narratives', *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 25(1-4), pp. 1-36.
- Davies, B., Dormer, S., Gannon, S., Laws, C., Rocco, S., Taguchi, H.L. and McCann, H. (2001) 'Becoming schoolgirls: the ambivalent project of subjectification', *Gender and Education*, 13(2), pp. 167-182.
- de Beauvoir, S. (2011) *The Second Sex*. Translated by C. Borde and S. Malovany-Chevallier. London: Vintage Books.
- DeFrancisco, V.P. and Palczewski, C.H. (2007) *Communicating Gender Diversity: A Critical Approach*. California: Sage Publications Inc.
- DforE (Department for Education), (2014) *The Equality Act 2010 and schools*. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/equality-act-2010-advice-for-schools>. [Accessed 18 November 2018].
- Derman-Sparks, L. (2001) *Anti-bias curriculum: tools for empowering young children*. Washington D.C.: National Association for the Education of Young Children.
- Deal, T.E. and Peterson, K.D. (1999) *Shaping School Culture: The Heart of Leadership*. San Francisco, California: Jossey-Bass.
- Del Castillo, D. (2003) 'Teaching through an Electronic Veil', *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 49(29), p. A48.
- Denham, S.A., Zensser, K.M., and Brown, C.A. (2013) 'The Emotional Basis of Learning and Development in Early Childhood Education', in Saracho O.N. and Spodek, B. (eds.), *Handbook of Research on the Education of Young Children*. 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. New York, N.Y.: Routledge, pp. 67-88.
- Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (2000) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. London: Sage.
- Dewar, B.A., Servos, J.E., Bosacki, S.L. and Coplan, R. (2013) 'Early childhood educators' reflections on teaching practices: the role of gender and culture', *Reflective Practice*, 14(3), pp. 381-391.
- Diamond, L.M. and Butterworth, M. (2008) 'Questioning gender and sexual identity: dynamic links over time', *Sex Roles*, 59(5-6), pp. 365-376.
- Dickson, H.R.P. (1949) *The Arab of the Desert (RLE Saudi Arabia): A Glimpse into Badawin* (2015 edition and reprint). Oxon: Routledge.
- Diekman, A.B. and Murnen, S.K. (2004) 'Learning to be Little Women and Little Men: The Inequitable Gender Equality of Nonsexist Children's Literature', *Sex Roles*, 50(5), pp. 373-385.
- Dininio, P., Murtazashvili, J., Carter, L. and Schwoebel, M.H. (2010) *Tribalism, Governance and Development*. Washington D.C.: United States Agency for International Development. Available at: <http://www.msiworldwide.com/wp-content/uploads/Tribalism-Governance-and-Conflict-Report.pdf> [Accessed 6 April 2016].
- Dixon, J. and Levine, M. (2012) *Beyond Prejudice: Extending the Social Psychology of Conflict, Inequality and Social Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Docherty, S. and Sandelowski, M. (1999) 'Focus on qualitative methods: interviewing children', *Research in Nursing and Health*, 22(2), pp. 177-185.
- Doumato, E.A. (2003) 'Education in Saudi Arabia: gender, jobs and the price of religion', in Doumato, E.A. and Posusney M.P. (eds.), *Women and Globalization in the Arab Middle East: Gender, Economy, and Society*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc., pp. 239-257.

- Doumato, E.A. (2010) 'Saudi Arabia', in Kelly, S. and Breslin, J. (eds.), *Women's Rights in the Middle East and North Africa: Progress amid Resistance*. New York, N.Y.: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, pp. 425-458.
- Dumais, S.A. (2002) 'Cultural Capital, Gender, and School Success: The Role of Habitus', *Sociology of Education* 75(1), pp. 44-68.
- Dunn, J. and Kendrick, C. (1982) 'The speech of two- and three-year-olds to infant siblings: 'baby talk' and the context of communication', *Journal of Child Language*, 9(3), pp. 579-595.
- Durkheim, E. (1954) *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. Translated by J. Swain. New York: The Free Press.
- Duska, R. and Whelan, M. (1975) *Moral Development: A Guide to Piaget and Kohlberg*. New York: Macmillan Publishers Group.
- Duval, S. (1998) 'New Veils and New Voices: Islamist Women's Groups in Egypt', in Ask, K and Tjomsland, M. (eds.), *Women and Islamization: Contemporary Dimensions of Discourse on Gender Relations*. Berg Publishers: Oxford, pp.45-72.
- Duveen, G. (1996) 'The Development of Social Representations of Gender', *The Japanese Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 35(3), pp. 256-262.
- Duveen, G. and Lloyd, B. (1990) *Social representations and the development of knowledge*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dwyer, C.A. (1982) 'The Role of Schools in Developing Sex Role Attitudes', in Gross, I., Downing, J. and D'Heurle, A. (eds.), *Sex role attitudes and cultural change*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, pp.39-43.
- Eagly, A.H., Wood, W. and Diekmann, A.B. (2000) 'Social role theory of sex differences and similarities: a current appraisal', in Eckes, T. and Trautner, H.M. (eds.), *The Developmental Social Psychology of Gender*. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, pp. 123-174.
- Eberle, T.S. and Maeder, C. (2016) 'Organizational Ethnography', in Silverman, D. (ed.), *Qualitative Research*. London: Sage, pp. 121-136.
- Eckert, P. and McConnell-Ginet, S. (2013) *Language and Gender*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- El Mallakh, R. (1982) *Saudi Arabia: Rush to Development*. London: Routledge.
- Emilson, A., Folkesson, A. and Lindberg, I.M. (2016) 'Gender Beliefs and Embedded Gendered Values in Preschool', *International Journal of Early Childhood*, 48(2), pp. 225-240.
- Endendijk, J.J., Groeneveld, M.G., van Berkel, S.R., Hallers-Haalboom, E.T., Mesman, J. and Bakermans-Kranenburg, M.J. (2013) 'Gender stereotypes in the family context: mothers, fathers and siblings', *Sex Roles*, 68(9), pp. 577-590.
- Engineer, A. (2004) *The Rights of Women in Islam*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. Slough: New Dawn Express.
- Ennaji, M. and Sadiqi, F. (2011) 'Introduction: Contextualising Gender and Violence in the Middle East', in Ennaji, M. and Sadiqi, F. (eds.), *Gender and Violence in the Middle East*. London: Routledge, pp. 1-10.
- Ensor, R. and Hughes, C. (2010) 'With a little help from my friends: maternal social support, via parenting, promotes willingness to share in pre-schoolers born to young mothers', *Infant and Child Development*, 19(2), pp. 127-141.
- Epstein, J.L. (1983a) *Effects on parents of teacher practices of parent involvement*. Baltimore, Md.: Center for Social Organization of Schools, Johns Hopkins University.
- Epstein, J.L. (1983b) 'Longitudinal effects of family-school-person interactions on student outcomes', in Kerckhoff, A.C. (ed.), *Research in Sociology of Education and Socialization*. Greenwich, Conn.: JAI press. 4, pp. 101-128.

- Erikson, E. (1963) *Childhood and Society*. New York: Norton.
- Erikson, P. and Kovalainen, A. (2008) *Qualitative Methods in Business Research*. London: Sage.
- Eren, M. (2014) 'Breaking the Stigma? The Antiheroine in Fatih Akin's *Head On*', in Taylor, L.K. and Zine, J. (eds.), *Muslim Women, Transnational Feminism and the Ethics of Pedagogy: Contested Imaginaries in Post 9/11 Cultural Practice*. Routledge: New York, pp.82-109.
- Essa, E.L. (2014) *Introduction to Early Childhood Education*. 7<sup>th</sup> edn. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.
- Estola, E. and Elbaz-Luwisch, F. (2000) 'Teaching bodies at work', *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 35(6), pp. 697-719.
- Etheredge, L. (2011) *Middle East: Region in Transition Saudi Arabia and Yemen*. New York: Britannica Educational Publishing.
- Evans, L. and Davies, K. (2000) 'No sissy boys here: a content analysis of the representation of masculinity in elementary school reading textbooks', *Sex Roles*, 42(3), pp. 255-270.
- Ewing Lee, A.E. and Troop-Gordon, W. (2011) 'Peer socialization of masculinity and femininity: differential effects of overt and relational forms of peer victimization', *The British Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 29(2), pp. 197-213.
- Fabes, R.A., Martin, C.L. and Hanish, L.D. (2004) 'The next 50 years: considering gender as a context for understanding young children's peer relationships', *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, 50(3), pp. 260-273.
- Fagot, B.I. (1984) 'Teacher and peer reaction to boys' and girls' play styles', *Sex Roles*, 11(7), pp. 691-701.
- Fairclough, N. (1995) *Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Longman.
- Farrell, A. (1998) 'Gendered settings and human rights in early childhood', in Yelland, N. (ed.), *Gender in Early Childhood*. London: Routledge, pp. 98-114.
- Favat, A. (1977) *Child and Tale: The Origins of Interest*. Urbana, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English.
- Featherstone, S. and Cummings, A. (2009) *Role-Play in the Early Years: Developing Children's Language Creativity*. London: A&C Black Publishers.
- Ferraro, F. (2002) *Minority and cross-cultural aspects of neuropsychological assessment*. Lisse: Swets & Zeitlinger.
- Fetterman, D.M. (1998) *Ethnography: Step-by-Step*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.
- Fielder, C. and King, C. (2004) *Sexual Paradox: Complementarity, Reproductive Conflict and Human Emergence*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. London: Courtauld Institute Gallery.
- Fine, C. (2010a) *Delusions of gender: the real science behind sex differences*. London: Icon Books Ltd.
- Fine, C. (2010b) *Delusions of gender: How our minds, society, and neurosexism create difference*. New York, N.Y.: W.W. Norton and Company.
- Fine, M.A. and Fincham, F.D. (2013) *Handbook of Family Theories: A Content-based Approach*. New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Fineman, M.A. (2009) 'Evolving Images of Gender and Equality: A Feminist Journey', *New England Law Review*, Vol. 43, Emory Public Law Research Paper No. 09-73.
- Fischer, P., Greitemeyer, T. and Kastenmüller, A. (2007) 'What do we think about Muslims? The validity of Westerners' implicit theories about the associations between Muslims' religiosity, religious identity, aggression potential, and attitudes toward terrorism', *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 10(3), pp. 373-382.

- Fisher, W. (1984) 'Narration as a human communication paradigm: the case of public moral argument', *Communication Monographs*, 51(1), pp. 1-122.
- Fisher, W. (1985) 'The narrative paradigm: an elaboration', *Communication Monographs*, 52(4), pp. 347-367.
- Flavell, J.H., Flavell, P.H. and Millar, S.A. (1993) *Cognitive Development*. 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. London: Prentice Hall.
- Flick, U. (2009) *An introduction to qualitative research*. 4<sup>th</sup> edn. London: Sage.
- Fodor, J.A. (1992) 'A theory of the child's theory of mind', *Cognition*, 44(3), pp. 283-296.
- Foucault, M. (1979a) *The history of sexuality*, Vol. 1. London: Allen Lane.
- Foucault, M. (1979b) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage.
- Foucault, M. (1980) *Knowledge/Power: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*. New York, N.Y.: Pantheon Books.
- Foucault, M. (1982) 'The subject and power', in Dreyfus, H. and Rabinow, P. (eds.), *Michael Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, pp. 208-226.
- Foucault, M. (1990) *The history of sexuality*, Vol. 2. Translated by R. Hurley. New York: Vintage Books.
- Foucault, M. (1991) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage.
- Foucault, M. (1987) 'Technologies of the self', in Martin, L., Gutman, H. and Hutton, P. (eds.), *Technologies of the Self: a seminar with Michel Foucault*, London: Tavistock, pp. 18-49.
- Foucault, M. (1997). 'The ethics of the concern of the self as a practice of freedom.' Interview with H. Becker, R. Fornet-Betancourt, & A. Gomez-Miller, 1984. (P. Aranov & D. McGrawth, Trans.). In P. Rabinow (Ed.), *Ethics, subjectivity and truth: The essential works of Foucault 1954 - 1984*. Vol.1 (pp. 281-301). New York: The New Press
- Francis, B. and Skelton, C. (2005) *Reassessing gender and achievement: questioning contemporary key debates*. London: Routledge.
- Franks, M. (2001) *Women and Revivalism in the West: Choosing Fundamentalism in a Liberal Democracy*. New York, N.Y.: Palgrave.
- Fraser, S., Flewitt, R. and Hammersley, M. (2013) 'What is research with children and young people?' in Clark, A., Flewitt, R., Hammersley, M. and Robb, M. (eds.), *Understanding Research with Children and Young People*. London: Sage, pp. 34-50.
- Freedman, J. (2001) *Concepts in the Social Sciences: Feminism*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Freeman, M.A. (2003) 'Mapping multiple identities within the self-concept: psychological constructions of Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict', *Self and Identity*, 2(1), pp. 61-83.
- Freeman, N.K. (2007) 'Preschoolers' perceptions of gender appropriate toys and their parents' beliefs about genderized behaviors: miscommunication, mixed messages, or hidden truths?' *Early Childhood Education Journal*, 34(5), pp. 357-366.
- Fromberg, D.P. and Bergen, D. (2015) *Play from birth to twelve: contexts, perspectives, and meanings*. New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Fulcher, J. and Scott, J. (2011) *Sociology*. 4<sup>th</sup> edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gadamer, H.G. (1975) *Truth and Method*. Translated by J. Weinsheimer and D.G. Marshall. London: Sheed and Ward.
- Gahwaji, N. (2013) 'Controversial And Challenging Concerns Regarding Status Of Saudi Preschool Teachers', *Contemporary Issues In Education Research*, 6(3), pp. 333-344.



- Gaffney-Rhys, R. (2011) 'Polygamy and the Rights of Women', *Women in Society*, 1, pp. 2-17.
- Gamble, S. (2001) *The Routledge companion to feminism and postfeminism*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. London: Routledge.
- Garvey, C. (1990) *Play*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Garvis, S. and Manning, M. (2017) *An Interdisciplinary Approach to Early Childhood Education and Care: Perspectives from Australia*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Gauntlett, D. (2008) *Media, Gender and Identity: An Introduction*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Gee, J.P. (1990) *Social Linguistics and Literacies: Ideology in Discourse*. London: Falmer.
- Gee, J.P. (2014) *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method*. 4<sup>th</sup> edn. London: Routledge.
- Geertz, C. (1975) *Interpretation of cultures*. London: Hutchinson.
- Geertz, C. (2017) *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Book.
- Gelman, S.A. (2004) 'Psychological essentialism in children', *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, 8(9), pp. 404-409.
- Gelman, S.A. (2005) *Essentialism in Everyday Thoughts*. American Psychological Association Psychological Science Agenda. Available at: <http://www.apa.org/science/about/psa/2005/05/gelman.aspx>. [Accessed 30 December 2013].
- Gelman, S.A. and Medin, D.L. (1993) 'What's so essential about essentialism? A different perspective on the interaction of perception, language, and conceptual knowledge', *Cognitive Development*, 8(2), pp. 157-167.
- General Authority for Statistics (2016) Demographic Survey [online]. Available at: [https://www.stats.gov.sa/sites/default/files/ar-demographic-research-2016\\_5.pdf](https://www.stats.gov.sa/sites/default/files/ar-demographic-research-2016_5.pdf) [Accessed 17 September 2017].
- General Authority for Statistics (2017) Hajj 2017 Statistics [online]. Available at: [https://www.stats.gov.sa/sites/default/files/haj\\_1438.pdf](https://www.stats.gov.sa/sites/default/files/haj_1438.pdf) [Accessed 17 September 2017].
- Ghanim, D. (2009) *Gender and Violence in the Middle East*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger Publishers.
- Ghanim, D. (2015) *The Virginity Trap in the Middle East*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gibbs, G.R. (2007) *Analyzing qualitative data*. Los Angeles, California: Sage.
- Gilborn, D. and Mirza, H.S. (2000) *Educational inequality - mapping race, class and gender: a synthesis of research evidence*. London: Office for Standards in Education. Available at: [http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/4428/2/Educational\\_inequality\\_mapping\\_race\\_class\\_and\\_gender\\_\(PDF\\_format\).pdf](http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/4428/2/Educational_inequality_mapping_race_class_and_gender_(PDF_format).pdf) [Accessed 4 March 2016].
- Gill, R. (2000) 'Discourse Analysis', in Bauer, M.W. and Gaskell, G. (eds.), *Qualitative Researching with Text, Image and Sound: A Practical Handbook for Social Research*. London: Sage, pp. 172-190.
- Ginat, J. (1982) *Women in Muslim Rural Society: Status and Role in Family and Community*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books.
- Göckeritz, S., Schmidt, M.F.H. and Tomasello, M. (2014) 'Young children's creation and transmission of social norms', *Cognitive Development*, 30, pp. 81-95.
- Goffman, E. (1967) *Interaction Ritual: Essays in Face-to-Face Behavior*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Golden, R.N., Peterson, F.L., Hilgenkamp, K., Harper, J. and Boskey, E. (2010) *The Truth About Rape*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. New York, N.Y.: Facts on File.

- Goldner, V. (1991) 'Toward a critical relational theory of gender', *Psychoanalytic Dialogues*, 1(3), pp. 249-272.
- Goodson, I. and Sikes, P. (2001) *Life History in Educational Settings: Learning from Lives*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Goouch, K. and Powell, S. (2012) 'Orchestrating professional development for baby room practitioners: raising the stakes in new dialogic encounters', *Journal of Early Childhood Research*, 11(1), pp. 78-92.
- Gordon, A.M. and Browne, K.W. (2014) *Beginnings and Beyond Foundations in Early Childhood Education*. 9<sup>th</sup> edn. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.
- Graybill, B.E. (2002) 'Multiple Meanings of Conservative Women's Dress', in Schmidt, K.D., Umble, D.Z. and Reschly, S.D. (eds.), *Strangers at Home: Amish and Mennonite Women in History*. Baltimore, Md.: John Hopkins University Press, pp. 51-76.
- Greene, S. (2003) *The Psychological Development of Girls and Women: Rethinking Change in Time*. London: Routledge.
- Gregg, G.S. (2005) *The Middle East: A Cultural Psychology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Grieshaber, S. (1998) 'Constructing the gendered infant', in Yelland, N. (ed.), *Gender in early childhood*. London: Routledge, pp. 16-35.
- Grieshaber, S. (2007). *Gender and early childhood education*. Presentation and workshop at National Taipei College of Nursing (NCTN) 9 November 2007.
- Groenewald, T. (2004) 'A phenomenological research design illustrated', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 3(1), pp. 1-26.
- Grosz, E. (1995) *Space, Time, and Perversion: Essays on the Politics of Bodies*. New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Grusec, J.E and Hastings, P.D. (2007) *Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research*. New York, N.Y.: Guilford Press.
- Guantlett, D. (2008) *Media, Gender and Identity: An Introduction*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. Oxon: Routledge.
- Guba, E.G. and Lincoln, Y.S. (1989) *Fourth Generation Evaluation*. Newbury Park, California: Sage.
- Gubrium, J.F. and Holstein, J.A. (2012) "'Don't Argue with the Members'", *The American Sociologist*, 43(1), pp. 85-98.
- Gullov, E. and Skreland, L.L. (2016) 'Ethnographic studies of young children', in Prior, J. and Van Herwegen, J. (eds.), *Practical Research with Children*. Oxon: Routledge, pp. 127-144.
- Gunter, H.M. (2012) *Leadership and the Reform of Education*. Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Haight, W. and Miller P. (1992) 'The development of every-day pretend play: a longitudinal study of mothers' participation', *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, 38, pp. 331-349.
- Halim, M.L. and Lindner, N.C. (2013) 'Gender self-socialization in early childhood', in Martin, C.L. (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Early Childhood Development*. Montreal: Centre of Excellence for Early Childhood Development. Available at: <http://www.child-encyclopedia.com/gender-early-socialization/according-experts/gender-self-socialization-early-childhood> [Accessed 15 March 2017].
- Halim, M.L. and Ruble, D.N. (2010) 'Gender identity and stereotyping in early and middle childhood', in Chrisler, J.C. and McCreary, D.R. (eds.), *Handbook of Gender Research in Psychology*. London: Springer, pp. 495-525.
- Halim, M.L, Ruble, D.N, Lurye, L, Greulich, F, Zosuls, K, and Tamis-LeMonda, C.S (2014) 'The case of the pink frilly dress and the avoidance of all things "girly": Girls' and

- boys' appearance rigidity and cognitive theories of gender development', *Developmental Psychology*, 50(4), pp. 1091-1101.
- Hall, C.M. (1996) *Identity religion and values: implications for practitioners*. Washington D.C.: Taylor and Francis.
- Hall, S. (1997) *Representation: cultural representations and signifying practices*. London: Sage.
- Halsall, R. (1998) *Teacher Research and School Improvement*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Ham, A. Shams, M.B. and Madden, A. (2004) *Saudi Arabia*. Footscray, Victoria: Lonely Planet Publications.
- Hamdan, A. (2005) 'Women and education in Saudi Arabia: challenges and achievements', *International Education Journal*, 6(1), pp. 42-64.
- Hamidaddin, A. (2013) 'Religion, patriarchy and cars in Saudi Arabia', *Al-Arabiya English*, 18 October. Available at: <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/views/news/middle-east/2013/10/18/Religion-patriarchy-and-cars-in-Saudi-Arabia.html> [Accessed 1 April 2016].
- Hanson, M.J. and SooHoo, T. (2008) 'Cultural Influences on Young Children's Social Competence', in Brown, W.H., Odom, S.L. and McConnell, S.R. (eds.), *Social Competence of Young Children: Risk, Disability and Intervention*. Baltimore, Md.: Paul H. Brookes Publishing, pp. 61-76.
- Harcourt, B. (2007) *An answer to the question: 'what is poststructuralism?'* Public law & legal theory working Papers No.156. Chicago: University of Chicago law school.
- Hargreaves, A. (1994) *Changing Teacher, Changing Times: Teachers' Work and Culture in the Post-Modern Age*. London: Cassell.
- Harris, P.L. and Kavanaugh, R.D. (1993) 'Young children's understanding of pretense', *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 58(1), pp. 1-92.
- Hatem, M. (1999) 'Modernization, the State, and the Family in Middle East Women's Studies', in Meriwether, M. and Tucker, J. (eds.) *A Social History of Women and Gender in the Modern Middle East*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, pp. 63-87.
- Haykel, B. Hegghammer, T. and Lacroix, S (2015) *Saudi Arabia in transition: Insights on social, political, economic and religious change*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Henderson, S. (2017) *Is Saudi Arabia Really Changing?: What a woman's right to drive says about the influence of the kingdom's hardline clerics*. The Atlantic. Available at: <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/09/saudi-arabia-women-driving-reform/541218/> [Accessed the 2 January 2019].
- Herbert, J. and Stipek, D. (2005) 'The emergence of gender differences in children's perceptions of their academic competence', *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 26(3), pp. 276-295.
- Hermans, H.J.M. (2001) 'The construction of a personal position repertoire: method and practice', *Culture and Psychology*, 7(3), pp. 323-366.
- Hesselbart, S. (1981) 'An evaluation of sex role theories: the clash between idealism and reality', in Monroe, K.B. (ed.), *NA - Advances in Consumer Research, Vol. 8*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Association for Consumer Research, pp. 570-575.
- Heyman, G.D. and Gelman, S.A. (2000) 'Preschool children's use of novel predicates to make inductive inferences about people', *Cognitive Development*, 15(3), pp. 263-280.
- Hinitz, B.F. and Hewes, D.W. (2011) 'Practical applications from the history of gender and early childhood education', in Jacobson, T. (ed.), *Perspectives on gender in early childhood*. St Paul, Minn.: Redleaf Press, pp. 21-37.

- Hogg, M.A., Adelman, J.R. and Blagg, R.D. (2010) 'Religion in the Face of Uncertainty: An Uncertainty-Identity Theory Account of Religiousness', *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 14(1), pp. 72-83.
- Holland, D. Lachicotte, W. Skinner, D and Cain, C (2001) *Identity and agency in cultural worlds*. Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press.
- Holtz, M. (2015) 'King Abdullah an 'advocate of women'? What he did and didn't achieve', *Christian Science Monitor*, 23 January. Available at: <https://www.csmonitor.com/World/Middle-East/2015/0123/King-Abdullah-an-advocate-of-women-What-he-did-and-didn-t-achieve> [Accessed 28 November 2016].
- House, K.E. (2012) *On Saudi Arabia: its people, past, religion, fault lines - and future*. New York, N.Y.: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Howarth, C. (2010) 'Revisiting gender identities and education: notes for a social psychology of resistant identities in modern cultures', *Papers on Social Representations*, 19(1), pp. 8.1-8.17. Available at: [http://www.psych.lse.ac.uk/psr/PSR2010/19\\_08Howarth.pdf](http://www.psych.lse.ac.uk/psr/PSR2010/19_08Howarth.pdf). [Accessed 29 October 2015].
- Howarth, D. (2013) *Poststructuralism and After: Structure, Subjectivity and Power*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hughes, P. and MacNaughton, G. (1998) 'Fractured or manufactured? Gendered identities and culture in the early years', in Grieshaber, S. and Canella, G. (eds.), *Embracing identities in early childhood education: diversity and possibilities*. New York, N.Y.: Teachers' College Press, pp.114-132.
- Husni, R. and Newman, D.L. (2007) *Muslim Women in Law and Society: Annotated translation of al-Tahir al-Haddad's Imra 'tuna fi 'l-sharia wa 'l-mujtama, with an introduction*. Translated by R. Husni and D.L. Newman. London: Routledge.
- Hussain, A. (2004) 'Islamic education: why is there a need for it?' *Journal of Beliefs and Values*, 25(3), pp. 317-323.
- Hussain, Z. (2016) *Saudi Arabia in a Multipolar World: Changing dynamics*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Hycner, R.H. (1999) 'Some guidelines for the phenomenological analysis of interview data', in Bryman, A. and Burgess, R.G. (eds.), *Qualitative research, Vol. 3*. London: Sage, pp. 143-164.
- Ibn Al-Jawzi, A. (1996) *الصلة والبر [Kinship and Virtue]*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. Abdul Mawjud, A. and Mu'wad, A. (eds.) Beirut: Cultural Books Foundation.
- Inglehart, R. (2017) 'Changing Values in the Islamic World and the West: Social Tolerance and the Arab Spring', in Moaddel, M. and Gelfand, M. J. (eds.), *Values, Political Action, and Change in the Middle East and the Arab Spring*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp.3-24.
- Isaksson, A. (1979) 'Kohlberg's Theory of Moral Development and Its Relevance to Education', *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, 23(2), pp. 47-63.
- Ismail, M.A. (2012) 'Sociocultural Identity and Arab Women's and Men's Code-Choice in the Context of Patriarchy', *Anthropological Linguistics*, 54(3), pp. 261-279.
- Ismail, R. (2016) The Saudi 'Ulama', in Ismail, *Saudi Clerics and Shi'a Islam*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Jackson, S. (2007) "She might not have the right tools... and he does": children's sense-making of gender, work and ability in early school readers', *Gender and Education*, 19(1), pp. 61-77.

- Jackson, S. and Gee, S. (2005) 'Look Janet', 'No you look John': constructions of gender in early school reader illustrations across 50 years', *Gender and Education*, 17(2), 115-128.
- James, A. and Prout, A. (1997) 'A new paradigm for the sociology of childhood? Provenance, Promise and Problems', in James, A. and Prout, A. (eds.), *Constructing and reconstructing childhood: contemporary issues in the sociological study of childhood*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. London: Falmer, pp.7-32.
- Janin, H. and Besheer, M. (2004) *Cultures of the world: Saudi Arabia*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. Tarrytown, N.Y.: Marshall Cavendish Benchmark.
- Jenks, C. (1992) *The sociology of childhood: essential readings*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing.
- Jiwani, Y., Steenbergen, C. and Mitchell, C. (eds.) (2006) *Girlhood: Redefining the Limits*. Canada: Black Rose Books.
- Jones, L. (2001) Trying to break bad habits in practice by engaging with poststructuralist theories, *Early Years: An International Journal of Research and Development*, 21(1), pp. 25-32.
- Jones, L. (2002) 'Derrida goes to nursery school: deconstructing young children's stories', *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood*, 3(1), pp. 139-146.
- Jones, L. (2010) Reflexivity as a Ground-clearing Activity within the Context of Early Years' Pedagogy, *Qualitative Inquiry*, 16(5), pp. 342-348.
- Jones, L., Holmes, R., Macrae, C. and Maclure, M. (2010) Documenting classroom life: how can I write about what I am seeing? *Qualitative Research*, 10(4), pp. 479-491.
- Jones, M. (2015) 'This is what the world's education gender gap looks like', *World Economic Forum*, 17 September. Available at: <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2015/09/education-gender-gap-around-the-world> [Accessed 24 March 2016].
- Kagitcibasi, C. and Sunar, D. (1992) 'Family and Socialization in Turkey', in Roopnarine, J.L. and Carter, D.B. (eds.), *Parent-Child Socialization in Diverse Cultures: Annual Advances in Applied Developmental Psychology, Vol. 5*. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing, V(5), pp. 75-88.
- Kandiyoti, D. (1991) Identity and its Discontents: Women and the Nation, *Millennium*, 20(3), pp. 429-443.
- Kane, E.W. (2006) "No way my boys are going to be like that!' Parents' responses to children's gender nonconformity', *Gender and Society*, 20(2), pp. 149-176.
- Kant, I. (1770[1784]) *An Answer to the Question: 'What is Enlightenment?'* in Reiss, H. (ed.), *Kant: Political Writings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Katz, P.A. (1986) 'Gender identity: development and consequences', in Ashmore, R.D. and Del Boca, F.K. (eds.), *The Social Psychology of Female-Male Relations: A Critical Analysis of Central Concepts*. New York, N.Y.: Academic Press, pp. 21-67.
- Kavathatzopoulos, I. (1991) 'Kohlberg and Piaget: differences and similarities', *Journal of Moral Education*, 20(1), pp. 47-54.
- Kaye, K. (1982) *The mental and social life of babies: how parents create persons*. Brighton: Harvester Press.
- Kennedy Root, A.K. and Denham, S.A. (2010) 'The Role of Gender in the Socialization of Emotion: Key Concepts and Critical Issues', *New Directions for Children and Adolescent Development*, 2010(128), pp. 1-9.
- Kellett, M. (2005) *Children as active researchers: a new research approach for the 21st century?* ESRC National Centre for Research Methods. Available at: <http://eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/87/> [Accessed 8 November 2014].

- Kelly, A. and Thompson, H. (2015) 'The vanished: the Filipino domestic workers who disappear behind closed doors', *The Guardian*, 24 October. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/oct/24/the-vanished-filipino-domestic-workers-working-abroad> [Accessed 7 April 2016].
- Kelly, L., Buron, S. and Regan, L. (1996) 'Beyond Victim or Survivor: Sexual Violence, Identity and Feminist Theory and Practice' in Adkins, L. and Merchant, V. (eds.), *Sexualizing the Social: Power and the Organization of Sexuality*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 77-101.
- Khalifa, H.K. (2001) *Changing Childhood in Saudi Arabia: A Historical Comparative Study of Three Female Generations*. Unpublished thesis from University of Hull. Available at: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/5222507.pdf> [Accessed 12 April 2015].
- Killen, M. and Smetana, J.G. (2014) 'Preface', in Killen, M. and Smetana, J.G. (eds.), *Handbook of Moral Development*. New York, N.Y.: Psychology Press, pp. xix-xxiv.
- Kimmel, M.S. (2004) *The Gendered Society*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- King, E. and Hill, A. (1997) *Women's education in developing countries: barriers, benefits and policies*. Baltimore, Md.: World Bank Publications.
- Klein, S.S., Richardson, B., Grayson, D. A., Fox, L. H., Kramarae, C., Pollard, D. S. and Dwyer, A. (eds.) (2007) *Handbook for achieving gender equity through education*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Kohlberg, L. (1966a) 'A cognitive-development analysis of children's sex role concepts and attitudes', in Maccoby, E. (ed.), *The development of sex differences*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, pp. 82-172.
- Kohlberg, L. (1966b) 'Cognitive stages and preschool education', *Human Development*, 9, pp. 5-17.
- Kohlberg, L. (1969) 'Stage and sequence: the cognitive- developmental approach to socialization', in Goslin, D.A. (ed.), *Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research*. Chicago, Ill.: Rand McNally, pp. 347-480.
- Kohlberg, L. (1984) *The Psychology of Moral Development: The Nature and Validity of Moral Stages (Essays on Moral Development, Vol. 2)*. London: Harper and Row.
- Kostakopoulou, D. (2008) *The Future Governance of Citizenship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kostelnik, M.J., Soderman, A.K., Whiren, A.P., Rupiper, M.L. and Gregory, K. (2015) *Guiding Children's Social Development and Learning: Theory and Skills*. Belmont, California: Cengage Learning.
- Kostiner, J. (1990) 'Transforming Dualities: Tribe and State Formation in Saudi Arabia', in Khoury, P. S and Kostiner, J. (eds.), *Tribes and State Formation: In the Middle East*. Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, pp. 226-251.
- Kraidy, M. (2002) 'Social change and the media', in Schement, J. R. (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Communication and Information*, 3, pp. 931-935. New York, NY: Macmillan Reference US. Available at [http://repositoryupenn.edu/asc\\_papers/328](http://repositoryupenn.edu/asc_papers/328) [Accessed 5 December 2017].
- Kramarae, C. and Spender, D. (2000) *Routledge International Encyclopedia of Women: Global Women's Issues and Knowledge*. New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Kristensen, K.O. (2006) 'Boys' and girls' dramatic play: gender and dramaturgy', *Australian Research in Early Childhood Education*, 13(1), pp. 91-101.
- Kubler, A. (1999) *Man's Work*. Swindon: Child's Play International Ltd.
- Kustatscher, M. (2016) Exploring Young Children's Social Identities: Performing Social Class Gender and Ethnicity in Primary School. *Centre for Education for Racial Equality in Scotland (CERES) Briefing 6*. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh.

- Kuykendal, L.F. and Sturm, B.W. (2007) 'We Said Feminist Fairy Tales, Not Fractured Fairy Tales!' The construction of the feminist fairy tale: female agency over role reversal', *Children and Libraries*, 5(3), pp. 38-42.
- Lacey, S. (2009) 'Beyond a Fair Price: The Co-operative Movement and Fair Trade', *Co-operatives for Development, Briefing paper 1*. Manchester: Co-operative College.
- Lapidus, I.M. (1990) 'Tribes and State Formation in Islamic History', in Khoury, P. S. and Kostiner, J. (eds), *Tribes and State Formation: In the Middle East*. Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, pp. 303-312.
- Larrivee, B. (2000) 'Transforming teaching practice: becoming the critically reflective teacher', *Reflective Practice*, 1(3), pp. 293-307.
- Leaper, C. (2000) 'The social construction and socialization of gender during development', in Miller, P.H. and Kofsky Scholnick, E. (eds.), *Toward a feminist developmental psychology*. London: Routledge, pp. 127-152.
- Lee, J.W. (2005) *Gender Roles*. New York: Nova Science.
- Lees, S. (1986) *Losing out: Sexuality and adolescent girls*. London: Hutchinson.
- Lemsine, A. (1993) *The Chrysalis*. Translated by D.S. Blair. London: Quartet Books.
- Lenz Taguchi, H. (2005) 'Getting Personal: how early childhood teacher education troubles students' and teacher educators' identities regarding subjectivity and feminism', *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood*, 6 (3), pp. 244-255.
- Le Poire, B.A. (2006) *Family Communication: Nurturing and Control in a Changing World*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.
- Le Renard, A. (2008) 'Only for Women: Women, the State, and Reform in Saudi Arabia', *Middle East Journal*, 62(4), pp. 610-629.
- Le Renard, A. (2014) *A Society of Young Women: Opportunities of Place, Power, and Reform in Saudi Arabia*. Palo Alto, California: Stanford University Press.
- Leslie, A.M. (1992) 'Pretense, autism, and the theory of mind module', *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 1(1), pp. 18-21.
- Lewis, M. (1998) 'Emotional competence and development', in Pushkar, D., Bukowski, W., Schwartzman, A., Stack, D. and White, D. (eds.), *Improving competence across the lifespan*. New York: Plenum Press. pp. 27-36.
- Lieblich, A., Tuval-Mashiach, R. and Zilber, T. (1998) *Narrative research: reading, analysis and interpretation*. London: Sage.
- Lillard, A., Pinkham, A.M. and Smith, E. (2011) 'Pretend Play and Cognitive Development', in Goswami, U.C. (ed.), *The Wiley-Blackwell Handbook of Childhood Cognitive Development*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, pp.285-311.
- Lincoln, Y.S. and Guba, E.G. (1985) *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Beverley Hills, California: Sage.
- Lindsey, E.W. and Colwell, M.J. (2003) 'Preschoolers' emotional competence: links to pretend and physical play', *Child Study Journal*, 33(1), p. 39.
- Liu, F. (2006) 'School Culture and Gender', in Skelton, C., Francis, B. and Smulyan, L. (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Gender and Education*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, pp.425-438.
- Ljungqvist, F.C. (2012) 'Female shame, male honor: The chastity code in Juan Luis Vives' *De Institutione Feminae Christianae*', *Journal of Family History*, 37(2), pp. 139-154.
- Lloyd, B. (2013) 'Thinking through social representations: the significance of social identities (1986) with Barbara Lloyd', in Moscovici, S., Jovchelovitch, S. and Wagoner, B. (eds.), *Development as a social process: contributions of Gerard Duveen*. Oxford: Routledge, pp.157-172.

- Lloyd, B. and Duveen, G. (1992) *Gender Identities and Education: The Impact of Starting School*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Long, D.E. (2005) *Culture and Customs of Saudi Arabia*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.
- Lowe, K. (1998) 'Gendermaps', in Yelland, N. (ed.), *Gender in Early Childhood*. London: Routledge, pp. 206-222.
- Luby, J., Belden, A., Sullivan, J., Hayen, R., McCadney, A. and Spitznagel, E. (2009) 'Shame and guilt in preschool depression: evidence for elevations in self-conscious emotions in depression as early as age 3', *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 50(9), pp. 1156-1166.
- Luttrell, W. (2005) 'Crossing anxious borders: teaching across the quantitative-qualitative divide', *International Journal of Research and Method in Education*, 28(2), pp. 183-195.
- Lyra-Wex, M. (1979) 'Lets Take Back our Space': "female" and "male" body language as a result of patriarchal structures. Translated by J. Albert. Berlin: Frauenliteratureverlag Hermine Fees.
- Ma, L. and Woolley, J.D. (2013) 'Young children's sensitivity to speaker gender when learning from others', *Journal of Cognition and Development*, 14(1), pp. 100-119.
- Mac an Ghaill, M. and Haywood, C. (2007) *Gender, Culture and Society: Contemporary Femininities and Masculinities*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Maccoby, E. E. (1990) The role of gender identity and gender constancy in sex-differentiated development, *New Directions for Child Development*, 47, pp. 5-20.
- Maccoby, E.E. (1998) *The Two Sexes: Growing Up Apart, Coming Together*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Maccoby, E.E. (2002) 'Gender and group process: a developmental perspective', *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 11(2), pp. 54-58.
- Maccoby, E.E. and Jacklin, C.N. (1987) 'Gender Segregation in Childhood', in Reese, E.H. (ed.), *Advances in Child Development and Behavior, Vol. 20*. London: Academic Press, pp. 239-287.
- MacIntyre, A. (1985) *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. London: Duckworth.
- MacLeod, A.E. (1992) 'Hegemonic Relations and Gender Resistance: The New Veiling as Accommodating Protest in Cairo', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 17(3), pp. 533-557.
- MacNaughton, G. (1996) 'Is Barbie to blame? Reconsidering how children learn gender', *Australian Journal of Early Childhood*, 21(4), pp. 18-24.
- MacNaughton, G. (1997a) 'Who's Got the Power? Rethinking Gender Equity Strategies in Early Childhood', *International Journal of Early Years Education*, 5(1) pp. 57-66.
- MacNaughton, G. (1997b) 'Feminist Praxis and the Gaze in the Early Childhood Curriculum'. *Gender and Education*, 9(3), pp. 317- 326.
- MacNaughton, G. (1998) 'Improving our gender equity 'tools': a case for discourse analysis', in Yelland, N. (ed.) *Gender in early childhood*. London: Routledge, pp. 150-174.
- MacNaughton, G. (2000) *Rethinking gender in early childhood education*. London: Sage.
- Mac Naughton, G. and Hughes, P. (2008) *Doing action research in early childhood studies: a step by step guide*. Berkshire: Open University Press.
- MacNaughton, G. (2005) *Doing Foucault in Early Childhood Studies: Applying Post-Structural Ideas*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 2-9.
- Mahoney, A. (2005) 'Religion and Conflict in Marital and Parent-Child Relationships', *Journal of Social Issues*, 61(4), pp. 689-706.
- Maisel, S. (2015) *The Resurgent Tribal Agenda in Saudi Arabia*. Washington, D.C.: Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington. Available at: [http://www.agsiw.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/Maisel\\_Resurgent-Tribal-Agenda.pdf](http://www.agsiw.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/Maisel_Resurgent-Tribal-Agenda.pdf) [Accessed 5 June 2017].



- Maisel, S. and Shoup, J.A. (2009) *Saudi Arabia and the Gulf Arab States Today: An Encyclopaedia of Life in the Arab States*. London: Greenwood Press.
- Makhlouf, C. (1979) *Changing Veils: Women and Modernisation in North Yemen*. London: Croom Helm.
- Malchiodi, C.A. (1998) *Understanding Children's Drawings*. New York, N.Y.: Guilford Press.
- Markman, E.M. and Jaswal, V.K. (2003) 'Commentary on part II: abilities and assumptions underlying conceptual development', in Rakison, D.H. and Oakes, L.M. (eds.) *Early category and concept development: making sense of the blooming, buzzing confusion*. New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, pp. 384-402.
- Martin, C.L. (1994) 'Cognitive influences on the development and maintenance of gender segregation', in *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development* 1994, Issue 65, pp. 35-51.
- Martin, C. L. and Dinella, L. M. (2001) 'Children's gender cognitions, the social environment, and sex differences in cognitive domains', in Lisi, A. M.-D. and Lisi, R. D. (eds.), *Biology, society, and behavior: The development of sex differences in cognition*. Westport, CT: Ablex, pp. 207-239.
- Martin, C.L. and Fabes, R.A. (2001) 'The stability and consequences of young children's same-sex peer interactions', *Developmental Psychology*, 37(3), pp. 431-446.
- Martin, C.L. and Halverson, C.F. (1981) 'A schematic processing model of sex typing and stereotyping in children', *Child Development*, 52(4), pp. 1119-1134.
- Martin, C. L., and Little, J. K. (1990) 'The relation of gender understanding to children's sex-typed preferences and gender stereotypes', *Child Development*, 61, 1427-1439.
- Martin, C.L. and Ruble, D.N. (2004) 'Children's search for gender cues: cognitive perspectives on gender development', *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 13(2), pp. 67-70.
- Martin, C.L., Ruble, D.N. and Szkrybalo, J. (2002) 'Cognitive theories of early gender development', *Psychological Bulletin*, 128(6), pp. 903-933.
- Martin, C.L., Fabes, R.A., Evans, S.M. and Wyman, H. (1999) 'Social cognition in the playground: children's beliefs about playing with girls versus boys and their relation to sex-segregated play', *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 16(6), pp. 751-771.
- Maton, K.I., Dodgen, D., Domingo, M.R.S. and Larson, D.B. (2005) 'Religion as a Meaning System: Policy Implications for the New Millennium', *Journal of Social Issues*, 61(4), pp. 847-867.
- Mackenzie, J. (2019) *Language, Gender and Parenthood Online: Negotiating Motherhood in Mumsnet Talk*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Maxwell, R. (2011) 'Bicycle', in Mitchell, S. (ed.), *Victorian Britain (Routledge Revivals): An Encyclopedia*, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- McIntosh, D.N. (1995) 'Religious-as-schema, with implications for the relation between religion and coping', *The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion*, 5(1), pp. 1-16.
- McLeod, J. (2001) 'When poststructuralism meets gender', in Hultqvist, K. and Dahlberg, G. (eds.), *Governing the child in the new Millennium*. New York: Routledge Falmer, pp. 259-289.
- Meadows, S. (2010) *The Child as Social Person*. London: Routledge.
- Miedema, S. (2014) "'Coming Out Religiously!'" Religion, the Public Sphere, and Religious Identity Formation', *Religious Education*, 109(4), pp. 362-377.
- Miles, M.B. and Guberman, M. (1994) *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. London: Sage.
- Ministry of Education (2015) [نظام نور وتسجيل الطلاب بالمرحلة رياض الأطفال] [Nour registration system for kindergartens - Registration of new students in Kindergarten]. Available at: <https://noor-system.com/students-results/64.html> [Accessed 9 September 2018].

- Ministry of Education (2017a) إدارة العام للتعليم الأهلي والطلاب [General Department for Private Higher Education] Available at: <https://departments.moe.gov.sa/PHE/Pages/default.aspx> [Accessed 9 September 2017].
- Ministry of Education (2017b) General Department for Nursery Schools [online]. Available at: <https://www.moe.gov.sa/en/PublicEducation/Gov/Pages/GeneralDepartmentforNurserySchool.aspx> [Accessed 17 September 2017].
- Ministry of Education (2017c) Private Higher Education Colleges [online]. Available at: <https://www.moe.gov.sa/en/HigherEducation/PrivateHigherEducation/Pages/PrivateHigherEducationColleges.aspx> [Accessed 9 September 2017].
- Ministry of Education (2017d) State Universities [online]. Available at: <https://www.moe.gov.sa/en/HigherEducation/governmenthighereducation/StateUniversities/Pages/default.aspx> [Accessed 8 September 2017].
- Ministry of Education (2017e) مدارس العاصمة تستقبل أكثر من مليون طالب وطالبة مع بداية العام الدراسي الجديد [The schools of the capital receive more than a million students at the start of the new academic year]. Available at: <https://edu.moe.gov.sa/Riyadh/MediaCenter/News/Pages/20170917101.aspx> [Accessed 16 September 2017].
- Ministry of Education (2017f) الدليل الإرشادي لرياض الأطفال والحضانة [Practical Guide to Kindergarten and Nursery]. Available at: <https://departments.moe.gov.sa/EducationAgency/RelatedDepartments/Kindergarten/Documents/الطفال20هـ%20في%20رياض%20الأطفال%20الدليل.pdf> [Accessed 8 September 2017].
- Mischel, W. (1966) 'A social learning view of sex differences in behaviour', in Maccoby, E.E. (ed.), *The development of sex differences*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, pp. 57-81.
- Mischel, W. and Ebbesen, E.B. (1970) 'Attention in delay of gratification', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 16(2), pp. 329-337.
- Moaddel, M. and Karabenik, S.A. (2013) *Religious fundamentalism in the Middle East: a cross-national, inter-faith, and inter-ethnic analysis*. Boston: Brill.
- Money, J. (2002) *A first person history of pediatric psycho-endocrinology*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Money, J. and Ehrhardt, A.A. (1996) *Man and woman, boy and girl: differentiation and dimorphism of gender identity from conception to maturity*. Lanham, Md.: Jason Aronson.
- Montessori, M. (1949) *The Absorbent Mind*. Madras, India: The Theosophical Publishing House.
- Moore, H. L. (1994) *A Passion for Difference: Essays in Anthropology and Gender*. Cambridge. Polity Press.
- Morgan, C. (2005) *Culture Validity*. Personal communication. Bath: University of Bath Department of Education.
- Morris, C.A.S., Denham, S.A., Bassett, H.H. and Curby, T.W. (2013) 'Relations among teachers' emotion socialisation beliefs and practices and pre-schoolers' emotional competence', *Early Education and Development*, 24(7), pp. 979-999.
- Morrow, V. (2006) 'Understanding gender differences in context: implications for young children's everyday lives', *Children and Society*, 20(2), pp. 92-104.

- Morrow, V. and Richards, M. (1996) 'The Ethics of Social Research with Children: An Overview', *Children & Society*, 10(2), pp. 90-105.
- Mouritsen, F. (2002) 'Child culture - play culture', in Mouritsen, F. and Qvortrup, J. (eds.), *Childhood and Children's Culture*. Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, pp. 14-42.
- Mukherji, P. and Albon, D. (2010) *Research Methods in Early Childhood: An Introductory Guide*. London: Sage.
- Munsch, R. (1980) *The Paper Bag Princess*. Toronto: Annick Press.
- Naik, Z. (2007) *The Concept of the God in Major Religions*. Riyadh: Dar-us-Salam Publications.
- Narahara, M.M. (1998) *Gender stereotypes in children's picture books*. Long Beach, California: University of California.
- Naseef, F.U. (1999) *Women in Islam: A Discourse in Rights and Obligations*. Egypt: International Islamic Committee for Woman and Child.
- Nash, R. (1990) 'Bourdieu on education and social and cultural reproduction', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 11, pp. 431-447.
- Nehme, M.G. (1994) 'Saudi Arabia 1950-80: between nationalism and religion', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 30(4), pp. 930-943.
- New York Times (2017) 'Saudi education ministry to allow girls' sports in public schools', *Women in the World*, 13 July. Available at: <http://nytlive.nytimes.com/womenintheworld/2017/07/13/saudi-education-ministry-to-allow-girls-sports-in-public-schools/> [Accessed 18 July 2017].
- Nisbrett, R.E. (2005) *The Geography of Thought: How Asians and Westerners Think Differently- and Why*. London: Nicholas Brealey.
- Nofal, Y. (2014) *القصة ثقاف ءال ظل [The story and culture of children]*. Cairo: Dar Al-Aalam Al-Arabi.
- North, P. and Tripp, H. (2012) 'Culture Shock! Saudi Arabia: A Survival Guide to Customs and Etiquette'. 4<sup>th</sup> edn. Singapore: Marshall Cavendish International (Asia) Private Limited
- Nucci, L.P. (2001) *Education in the moral domain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nutbrown, C. (2011) *Key concepts in early childhood education and care*. London: Sage.
- Nyland, B. and Alfayez, S. (2012) 'Learning Stories-crossing Borders: Introducing Qualitative Early Childhood Observation Techniques to Early Childhood Practitioners in Saudi Arabia', *International Journal of Early Years Education*, 20(4), pp. 392-404.
- Nyman, N. (2017) 'Tattoos: An Embodiment of Desire', in Rees, E. (ed.), *Talking Bodies: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Embodiment, Gender and Identity*. Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.75-94.
- Oakley, A. (1993) *Sex, gender and society*. (rev. edn.) Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing.
- Offenhauer, P. (2005) *Women in Islamic societies: a selected review of social science literature*. Washington D.C.: Federal Research Division Library of Congress.
- Okta, M.F. (2014) *Pengaruh struktur kepemilikan dan struktur modal terhadap kebijakan inisiasi dividen pada perusahaan yang melakukan Initial Public Offering di bursa efek indonesia periode 2000-2012. s1 thesis*. fakultas ekonomi.
- Onsman, A. (2011) 'It is better to light a candle than to ban the darkness: government-led academic development in Saudi Arabian universities', *Higher Education*, 62(4), pp. 519-532.

- Oppong, S.H. (2013) 'Religion and Identity', *American International Journal of Contemporary Research*, 3(6), pp. 10-16.
- Oswalt, A. (2010a) *Moral Development: Piaget's Theory*. Available at: <https://www.mentalhelp.net/articles/moral-development-piaget-s-theory/> [Accessed 22 January 2017].
- Oswalt, A. (2010b) *Kohlberg's Stages of Moral Development*. Available at: <https://www.mentalhelp.net/articles/Kohlberg-s-stages-of-moral-development/> [Accessed 22 January 2017].
- Oswalt, A. (2010c) *Bronfenbrenner's Environmentally Influenced Morality*. Available at: <https://www.mentalhelp.net/articles/bronfenbrenner-s-environmentally-influenced-morality/> [Accessed 22 January 2017].
- Paechter, C. (2006) 'Reconceptualizing the gendered body: learning and constructing masculinities and femininities in school', *Gender and Education*, 18(2), pp. 121-135.
- Pardhan, A. (2011) 'Influence of teacher-student interactions on kindergarten children's developing gender identity within the Pakistani urban classroom culture', *Early Child Development and Care*, 181(7), pp. 929-948.
- Park, A., Bryson, C., Clery, E., Curtice, J. and Phillips, M. (eds.) (2013), *British Social Attitudes: the 30th Report*, London: NatCen Social Research. Available at: [www.bsa-30.natcen.ac.uk](http://www.bsa-30.natcen.ac.uk) [Accessed 31 October 2017].
- Parsons, L.T. (2004) 'Ella Evolving: Cinderella Stories and the Construction of Gender-Appropriate Behavior', *Children's Literature in Education*, 35(2), pp. 135-154.
- Pateman, C. (1988) *The Sexual Contract*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Pearce, G. and Bailey, R.P. (2011) 'Football pitches and Barbie dolls: young children's perceptions of their school playground', *Early Child Development and Care*, 181(10), pp. 1361-1379.
- Pedersen, T. (2016) Theory of Mind. *Psych Central*. Available at: <https://psychcentral.com/encyclopedia/theory-of-mind/> [Accessed 17 September 2017].
- Peek, L. (2005) 'Becoming Muslim: The Development of a Religious Identity', *Sociology of Religion*, 66(3), pp. 215-242.
- Peters, M.A. and Burbules, N.C. (2004) *Poststructuralism and Educational Research*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- Pew Research Center (2017) *The Changing Global Religious Landscape*. Available at: <http://www.pewforum.org/2017/04/05/the-changing-global-religious-landscape/> [Accessed 17 September 2017].
- Pharaon, N.A. (2004) 'Saudi Women and the Muslim State in the Twenty-First Century', *Sex Roles*, 51(5), pp. 349-366.
- Piaget, J. (1932) *The Moral Judgment of the Child*. New York: Free Press.
- Piaget, J. (1947) *The Psychology of Intelligence*. London: Routledge.
- Piaget, J. (1951) *Play, Dreams and Imitation in Childhood*. Reprint, London: Routledge, 1999.
- Piaget, J. (1968) *Six Psychological Studies*. Translated by A. Tenzer. New York, N.Y.: Vintage.
- Piaget, J. (1972) *Psychology and epistemology: towards a theory of knowledge*. Translated by P.A. Wells. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Piantato, G. (2016) *How has queer theory influenced the ways we think about gender?* Azienda Ospedaliera Nazionale. SS. Antonio e Biagio e Cesare Arrigo, pp. 1-11.
- Pollard, A. and Filer, A. (1999) *The social world of pupil career: strategic biographies through primary school*. London: Cassell.

- Popenoe, R. (2004) *Feeding desires: fatness, beauty and sexuality among a Saharan people*. London: Routledge.
- Premack, D. and Woodruff, G. (1978) 'Does the chimpanzee have a theory of mind?' *Behavioural and Brain Science*, 1(4), pp. 515-526.
- Princess Nourah bint Abdulrahman University (2016) Available at: [www.pnu.edu.sa](http://www.pnu.edu.sa) [Accessed 25 November 2016].
- Profanter, A. and Cate, S.R. (2009) "'Deal justly with them...': (in)justice in polygyny – the male perspective', *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 149(3), pp. 323-342.
- Prošić-Santovac, D. (2013) 'Happily Ever After: Teaching Gender Equality in the Primary Classroom', *Conference Proceedings No.16, Integrating Culture and Language in TEYL*. Jagodina: Faculty of Education in Jagodina, University of Kragujevac, pp. 69-80. Available at: [http://www.pefja.kg.ac.rs/preuzimanje/TEYL%202015/TEYL\\_Conference\\_2012.pdf](http://www.pefja.kg.ac.rs/preuzimanje/TEYL%202015/TEYL_Conference_2012.pdf) [Accessed 20 June 2015].
- Puroila, A.M. and Estola, E. (2013) 'Not Babies Anymore: Young Children's Narrative Identities in Finnish Day Care Centers', *International Journal of Early Childhood*, 46(2), pp. 187-203.
- Puroila, A.M., Estola, E. and Syrjälä, L. (2012) 'Does Santa exist? Children's everyday narratives as dynamic meeting places in a day care centre context', *Early Child Development and Care*, 182(2), pp. 191-206.
- Qubain, F.I. (2016) 'Arab Education', in Landau, J.M (ed.), *Man, State and Society in the Contemporary Middle East*. 1<sup>st</sup> edn. 1972). Oxon: Routledge, pp. 312-326.
- Qutb, M. (2008) *Women Around the Messenger*. Riyadh: International Islamic House.
- Qvortrup J. (1994) 'Childhood matters: an introduction', in Qvortrup, J., Bardy, M., Sgritta, G. and Wintersberger, H. (eds.), *Childhood Matters: Social Theory, Practice and Politics*. Aldershot: Avebury Press, pp.1-24.
- Rajab, A. and Wright, N. (2018) The idea of autonomy and its interplay with culture in child-centered education: evidence from practitioners in preschools in Saudi Arabia. *Early Year. An International Research Journal*, Vol 38, pp. 1-14.
- Rakoczy, H. and Schmidt, M.F.H. (2013) 'The early ontogeny of social norms', *Child Development Perspectives*, 7(1), pp. 17-21.
- Rahaman, M.M. (2017) *Inclusive Education Aspirations: Exploration of Policy and Practice in Bangladesh Secondary Schools*. PhD thesis, University of Canterbury, Canterbury New Zealand.
- Ramady, M.A (2010) *The Saudi Arabian economy: policies, achievements and challenges*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. New York, N.Y.: Springer.
- Randell, B. and Ruth, T. (1994) *Jane's Car*. Petone, N.Z.: Nelson Price Milburn.
- Rasmussen, S. (2015) 'Understanding honor in religious, cultural, and moral experience: commentary on "diasporic virginites: social representations of virginity and constructions of identity amongst British Arab Muslim women" by Howarth, Caroline; Amer, Amena; and Sen, Ragini', *Culture and Psychology*, 21(1), pp. 20-36.
- Rathus, S.A. (2006) *Childhood and Adolescence: Voyages in Development*. Belmont, CA, USA: Thomson/Wadsworth.
- Rees, E. (2017) *Talking Bodies: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Embodiment, Gender and Identity*. Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Reese, E., Yan, C., Jack, F. and Hayne, H. (2010) 'Emerging identities: narrative and self from early childhood to early adolescence', in McLean, K.C. and Pasupathi, M. (eds.), *Narrative Development in Adolescence: Creating the Storied Self*. New York, N.Y.: Springer, pp. 23-43.

- Reeves, H. and Baden, S. (2000) *Gender and Development: Concepts and Definitions*. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies. Available at: <http://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/sites/bridge.ids.ac.uk/files/reports/re55.pdf> [Accessed 24 April 2017].
- Reeves, S., Kuper, A. and Hodges, B.D. (2008) 'Qualitative research methodologies: ethnography', *British Medical Journal*, 337(a1020), pp.512-514.
- Reich, W. (1970) *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*. New York, N.Y.: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.
- Renold, E. (2006) 'Gendered Classroom Experiences', in Skelton, C., Francis, B. and Smulyan, L. (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Gender and Education*. London: Sage, pp. 439-452.
- Rhodes, M., Leslie, S.J. and Tworek, C.M. (2012) 'Cultural transmission of social essentialism', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 109(34), pp. 13526-13531.
- Rice, P.S. (2000) 'Gendered readings of a traditional 'feminist' folktale by sixth-grade boys and girls', *Journal of Literacy Research*, 32(2), pp. 211-236.
- Richardson, L. and St. Pierre, E.A. (2008) 'Writing: a method of inquiry', in Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (eds.) *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*. 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, pp.473-500.
- Rideout, V. (2013) *Zero to eight: children's media use in America*. San Francisco, California: Common Sense Media.
- Rideout, V. and Hamel, E. (2006) *The media family: electronic media in the lives of infants, toddlers, preschoolers and their parents*. Menlo Park, California: The Kaiser Family Foundation.
- Roberts-Holmes, G. (2011) *Doing Your Early Years Research Project: A step-by-step guide*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. London: Sage.
- Robinson, K.H. (2013) *Innocence, knowledge and the construction of childhood: the contradictory nature of sexuality and censorship in children's contemporary lives*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Robinson, K.H. and Jones-Diaz, C. (2006) *Diversity and difference in early childhood education: issues for theory and practice*. Berkshire: Open University Press.
- Robson, C. (2002) *Real world research: a resource for social scientists and practitioner-researchers*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Rogoff, B. (1990) *Apprenticeship in thinking: cognitive development in social context*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rogoff, B. (2003) *The culture nature of human development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Roudi-Fahimi, F. and Moghadam, V.M. (2003) *Empowering Women, Developing Society: Female Education in the Middle East and North Africa*. Washington, D.C.: Population Reference Bureau. Available at: <http://www.prb.org/Publications/Reports/2003/EmpoweringWomenDevelopingSocietyFemaleEducationintheMiddleEastandNorthAfrica.aspx> [Accessed 15 April 2017].
- Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia, Washington, D.C. Available at: <https://www.saudiembassy.net/education> [Accessed 22 October 2015].
- Ruble, D.N. and Martin, C.L. (1998) 'Gender development', in Damon W. (ed.), *Handbook of Child Psychology, Vol. 3*. 5<sup>th</sup> edn. New York, N.Y.: John Wiley & Sons, pp. 993-1016.
- Rudman, L.A. and Glick, P. (2008) *The social psychology of gender: how power and intimacy shape gender relations*. New York, N.Y.: Guilford Press.

- Ryan, S. (2005) 'Freedom to choose: examining children's experience in choice time', in Yelland, N. (ed.), *Critical Issues in Early Childhood Education*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Sabbagh, S. (1996) *Arab Women: Between Defiance and Restraint*. New York, N.Y.: Olive Branch Press.
- Sadler, D. and Zittelman, K.R. (2009) *Still failing at fairness: how gender bias cheats girls and boys at school and what we can do about it*. New York, N.Y.: Scribner.
- Sakr, N. (2008) 'Women and Media in Saudi Arabia: Rhetoric, Reductionism and Realities', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 35(3), pp. 385-404.
- Salhi, Z.S (2013) *Gender and Violence in Islamic Societies: Patriarchy, Islamism and Politics in the Middle East and North Africa*. London: IBTauris.
- Sallee, M.W. (2011) 'Performing Masculinity: Considering Gender in Doctoral Student Socialization', *The Journal of Higher Education*, 82(2), pp. 187-216.
- Saltmarsh, S. (2009) 'Becoming economic subjects: agency, consumption and popular culture in early childhood', *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 30(1), pp. 47-59.
- Sanchez, R. (2018) 'Saudi women allowed into football matches for the first time'. The Telegraph. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/01/12/saudi-women-allowed-football-matches-first-time/> [Accessed 15 March 2016].
- Saudi Arabian Cultural Bureau Canada (2018) *KASP Scholarship Program*. Available at: <https://www.saudibureau.org/en/inside.php?ID=16> [Accessed 15 January 2018].
- Sayeed, A. (2013) *Women and the Transmission of Religious Knowledge in Islam*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 27-29.
- Schmidt, M.F.H. and Tomasello, M. (2012) 'Young children enforce social norms', *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 21(4), pp. 232-236.
- Schneider, B.H. (1993) *Children's Social Competence in Context: The Contributions of Family, School and Culture*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Schoen, L.T. and Teddlie, C. (2008) 'A new model of school culture: a response to a call for conceptual clarity', *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, 19(2), pp. 129-153.
- Scott, D. and Morrison, M. (2007) *Key ideas in educational research*. London: Continuum.
- Sedgwick, R. (2001) 'Education in Saudi Arabia', *World Education News + Reviews*, 1 November. Available at: <https://wenr.wes.org/2001/11/wenr-nov-dec-2001-education-in-saudi-arabia> [Accessed 19 October 2015].
- Segal, L. (1990) *Slow Motion: Changing Masculinities, Changing Men*. London: Virago Press.
- Segal, E.S. (2003) 'Cultural Constructions of Gender', in Ember, C. R. and Ember, M. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender: Men and Women in the World's Cultures*. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, pp.3-10.
- Shaffer, D.R. (2009) *Social and Personality Development*. 6<sup>th</sup> edn. Belmont, California: Wadsworth.
- Shaffer, D.R. and Kipp, K. (2014) *Developmental Psychology: Childhood and Adolescence*. 9<sup>th</sup> edn. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.
- Shaikh, S. (2003) 'Transforming feminism: Islam, women and gender justice', in Safi, O. (ed.), *Progressive Muslims: On Justice, Gender and Pluralism*. Oxford: Oneworld Publications, pp 147-161.
- Shaw, C. Brady, L. and C. Davey (2011) *Guidelines for Research with Children and Young People*. London: NCB Research Centre. National Children's Bureau. Available at: <https://www.ncb.org.uk/sites/default/files/field/attachment/NCB%20guidelines%20CYP.pdf> [Accessed 8 September, 2015].
- Shefer, T., Boonzaier, F. and Kiguwa, P. (2006) *The Gender of Psychology*. Cape Town: UCT Press.
- Shulman, L. S. (2005). Signature pedagogies in the professions. *Daedalus*, 134(3): 52-59.

- Sidani, Y. (2005) 'Women, Work and Islam in Arab Societies', *Women in Management Review*, 20(7), pp. 498-512.
- Sikand, Y. (2006) 'An Islamic Critique of Patriarchy: Mawlana Sayyed Kalbe Sadiq's Approach to Gender Relations', in Abu-Rabi, I. (ed.), *The Blackwell Companion to Contemporary Islamic Thought*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 644-656.
- Silberman, I. (2005) 'Religion as a Meaning System: Implications for the New Millennium', *Journal of Social Issues*, 61(4), pp. 641-663.
- Silin, J.G. (1995) *Sex, Death and Education of Children: Our Passion for Ignorance in the Age of AIDS*. New York, N.Y.: Teachers College Press.
- Silverman, D. (2000) *Doing qualitative research: a practical handbook*. London: Sage.
- Silverman, D. (2006) *Interpreting qualitative data: methods for analyzing talk, text, and interaction*. 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. London: Sage.
- Simmons, R. (2002) *Odd Girl Out: The Hidden Culture of Aggression in Girls*. New York, N.Y.: Harcourt.
- Simpson, A. (1997) 'It's a game!': The construction of gendered subjectivity', in Wodak, R. (ed.), *Gender and Discourse*, V(31): 3-4, London: Sage, pp. 197-224.
- Sindic, D. (2011) 'Psychological Citizenship and National Identity', *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 21(3), pp. 202-214.
- Siraj-Blatchford, I. and Clarke, P. (2000) *Supporting identity, diversity and language in the early years*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Skinner, B.F. (1938) *The behavior of organisms: an experimental analysis*. New York, N.Y.: D. Appleton-Century.
- Skinner, B.F. (1953) *Science and human behavior*. New York, N.Y.: Macmillan.
- Skinner, B. F. (1977) Herrnstein and the evolution of behaviorism, *American Psychologist*, 32, pp. 1006-1012.
- Sly, L. (2018) 'Saudi Women on the front line of change'. *The Washington Post*. Available at: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/world/wp/2018/06/17/feature/saudi-women-on-the-front-line-of-change/?utm\\_term=.d0e5b93a2d80](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/world/wp/2018/06/17/feature/saudi-women-on-the-front-line-of-change/?utm_term=.d0e5b93a2d80) [Accessed 15 September 2018].
- Smart, N. and Denny, F.W. (2007) 'The Spread of Islam', in Smart, N. and Denny, F.W. (eds.), *Atlas of the World Religions*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. Available at: <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t253/e17> [Accessed 30 March 2015].
- Smith, A.B. (2004a) 'How do infants and toddlers learn the rules? Family discipline and young children', *International Journal of Early Childhood*, 36(2), pp. 27-41.
- Smith, B.G. (2004b) *Women's History in Global Perspectives, Vol. 1*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Illinois Press.
- Smith, D.E. (1987) *The Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology*. Boston, Mass.: Northeastern University Press.
- Smith, B. and Sparkes, A.C. (2008) 'Contrasting perspectives on narrating selves and identities: an invitation to dialogue', *Qualitative Research*, 8(1), pp. 5-35.
- Smith, P.K., Cowie, H. and Blades, M. (2011) *Understanding children's development*. 5<sup>th</sup> edn. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Smyth, E., Lyons, M. and Darmody, M. (2013) *Religious education in multicultural Europe: children, parents and schools*. New York, N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Snarey, J. and Samuelson, P. (2008) 'Moral education in the cognitive developmental tradition: Lawrence Kohlberg's revolutionary ideas', in Nucci, L.P. and Narvaez, D. (eds.), *Handbook of moral and character education*. New York: Routledge, pp. 61-83.



- Stake, R.E. (1995) *The art of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.
- Stearns, P.N. (2017) *Childhood in World History*. 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Stenslie, S. (2012) *Regime stability in Saudi Arabia: the challenge of succession*. London: Routledge.
- Stewart, C. (2011) 'Saudi women gain vote for the first time', *The Independent*, 25 September. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/saudi-women-gain-vote-for-the-first-time-2360883.html> [Accessed 4 July 2015].
- Stockard, J. (2006) 'Gender Socialisation', in Chafetz, J.S. (ed.), *Handbook of the Sociology of Gender*. New York, N.Y.: Springer, pp. 215- 227.
- Stoll, L. and Fink, D. (1996) *Changing Our Schools*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Strobel, M. and Bingham, M. (2004) 'The theory and practice of women's history and gender history in global perspective', in Smith, B.G. (ed.), *Women's History in Global Perspectives, Vol. 1*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, pp. 9-47.
- Talbot, M.M. (2001) 'Feminism and language', in Gamble, S. (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Feminism and Post-feminism*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. London: Routledge, pp. 140-147.
- Tangney, J.P., Stuewig, J. and Mashek, D.J. (2007) 'What's moral about the self-conscious emotions?' in Tracy, J.L., Robins, R.W. and Tangney, J.P. (eds.), *The Self-Conscious Emotions: Theory and Research*. London: Guilford Press, pp. 21-37.
- Tanner, R.E.S (2007) *Social Behaviour of Children: A Cross Cultural Assessment*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.
- Tarullo, L.B. (1994) 'Windows on social worlds: gender differences in children's play narratives', in Slade, A. and Wolf, D.P. (eds.), *Children at play: clinical and developmental approaches to meaning and representation*. New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, pp.169-187.
- The Holy Qur'an (1984) *The Holy Qur'an – English Translations of the Meanings*. Madinah, K.S.A.: King Fahd Holy Qur'an Printing Complex.
- Thomas, G. (2009) *How to do your research project: a guide for students in education and applied social sciences*. London: Sage.
- Thompson, M.C. (2014) *Saudi Arabia and the path to political change: national dialogue and civil society*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Traversa, R. (2012) 'Religion made me free: cultural construction of female religiosity', *Culture and Psychology*, 18(1), pp. 34-59.
- Turiel, E. (1983) *The development of social knowledge: morality and convention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tuyizere, A.P. (2007) *Gender and Development: The Role of Religion and Culture*. Kampala, Uganda: Fountain Publishers.
- UNCRC (2006) The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. Available at: <http://www.childrensrights.ie/childrens-rights-ireland/un-convention-rights-child> [Accessed 25 May 2016].
- UNDP (2003) Saudi Arabia: 'Women in public life.' In *United Nations Development Programme. Program on Governance in the Arab Region*. Available at: // <http://www.hdr.undp.org/en/content/saudi-arabia-human-development-report-2003> [Accessed 25 May 2017].
- UNESCO (2010) *World Data on Education 7<sup>th</sup> edn, Saudi Arabia*. Available at: [http://www.ibe.unesco.org/fileadmin/user\\_upload/Publications/WDE/2010/pdf-versions/Saudi\\_Arabia.pdf](http://www.ibe.unesco.org/fileadmin/user_upload/Publications/WDE/2010/pdf-versions/Saudi_Arabia.pdf) [Accessed 10 September 2017].

- UNICEF (2013) Education: Adult literacy rate – Percentage (Saudi Arabia). Available at: <https://data.unicef.org/topic/education/literacy/> [Accessed 25 May 2016].
- United Kingdom (2014) Foreign and Commonwealth Office, *Saudi Arabia - Country of Concern: latest update, 31 December 2014*. Available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/54d385af4.html> [Accessed 18 November 2018].
- Uprichard, E. (2008) 'Children as 'being and becomings': children, childhood and temporality', *Children and Society*, 22(4), pp. 303-313.
- Usher, K. (2013) *Gender Roles in Pastoral Societies*. Available at: <https://prezi.com/cvpmmwpc8tyd/gender-roles-in-pastoral-societies/> [Accessed 26 September 2018].
- U.S. Library of Congress (1992) 'Bedouin Tribes and Merchant Families', in Metz, H.C. (ed.), *Saudi Arabia: A Country Study*. Washington, D.C.: GPO for the Library of Congress. Available at: <http://countrystudies.us/saudi-arabia/55.htm> [Accessed 22 December 2016].
- Veale, A. (2005) 'Creative methodologies in participatory research with children', in Greene, S. and Hogan, D. (eds.), *Researching Children's Experience: Methods and Approaches*. London: Sage, pp. 253-273.
- Veinguer, A.A., Dietz, G., Jozsa, D.P. and Knauth, T. (2009) *Islam in Education in European Countries: Pedagogical Concepts and Empirical Findings*. Münster: Waxmann Verlag.
- Vlieger, A (2011) 'Transnationalism, legal pluralism and types of conflicts: contractual norms concerning domestic workers', *Recht der Werkelijkheid*, Amsterdam Law School Research Paper No. 2011-31. Available at: [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=1933729](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1933729) [Accessed 15 November 2016].
- Vuorinen, R. and Tuunala, E. (1997) *Basics of Psychology, Brain and Psychiatry*. Helsinki: Otava Publishing.
- Vygotsky, L.S. (1961a) *Thought and language*. Translated by E. Hanfmann and G. Vahar. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Vygotsky, L.S. (1961b) 'The development of scientific concepts in childhood', in Paciorek, K. and Munro, J. (eds.). *Sources: Notable selections in early childhood education*. Guilford: CT Duskin/McGraw Hill, pp. 11-18.
- Vygotsky L.S. (1978) *Mind in Society: the Development of Higher Psychological Process*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Vygotsky L.S. (1987) 'Thinking and speech', Notes to the Russian Edition, in Rieber, R.W. and Carton, A.S. (eds.), *The collected work of L.S. Vygotsky, Vol. 1: Problems of general psychology*. New York, N.Y.: Plenum Press, pp. 375-384.
- Wagner, W., Sen R., Permanadeli, R. and Howarth, C.S. (2012) 'The Veil and Muslim Women's Identity: Cultural Pressures and Resistance to Stereotyping', *Culture and Psychology*, 18(4), pp. 521-541.
- Walkerdine, V. (1990) *Schoolgirl Fictions*. London: Verso.
- Walkerdine, V. (1997) *Daddy's Girl: Young Girls and Popular Culture*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Wallen, N.E. and Fraenkel, J.R. (2001) *Educational Research: A Guide to the Process*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Waller, T. (2010) "Let's throw that big stick in the river": an exploration of gender in the construction of shared narratives around outdoor spaces,' *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal*, 18(4), pp. 527-542.

- Wang, F.T.Y. and Lin, C. (2012) 'Sisters in struggle? Wars between daughters in law and migrant workers', in Chambon, A., Schröer, W. and Schweppe, C. (eds.), *Transnational Social Support*. London: Routledge, pp. 108-128.
- Wang, Q. and Leichtman, M.D. (2000) 'Same Beginnings, Different Stories: A Comparison of American and Chinese Children's Narratives', *Child Development*, 71(5), pp. 1329-1346.
- Wang, Q., Leichtman, M.D. and Davies, K.I. (2000) 'Sharing memories and telling stories: American and Chinese mothers and their 3-year-olds', *Memory*, 8(3), pp. 159-178.
- Warming-Rasmussen, B. And Windsor, C.A. (2003) Danish Evidence of Auditors' Level of Moral Reasoning and Predisposition to Provide Fair Judgements. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 47 (2), pp. 77-87
- Warne, R. (1995) 'Further Reflections on the 'Unacknowledged Quarantine': Feminism and Religious Studies', in Burt, S. and Code, L. (eds.), *Changing Methods: Feminists Transforming Practice*. Ontario: Broadview Press, pp. 97-98.
- Wearing, B. (1996) *Gender: The Pain and Pleasure of Difference*. Melbourne: Longman.
- Weatherall, A. (2002) *Gender Language and Discourse*. Hove: Routledge.
- Weaver, G.R. and Agle, B.R. (2002) 'Religiosity and Ethical Behavior in Organizations: A Symbolic Interactionist Perspective', *Academy of Management Review*, 27(1), pp. 77-97.
- Wei, F.F. and Hendrix, K.G. (2009) 'Gender differences in preschool children's recall of competitive and non-competitive computer mathematics games', *Learning, Media and Technology*, 34(1), pp. 27-43.
- Weible, T.D. and Dromsky, A.J. (2002) 'Early Childhood Social Studies', in Saracho, O.N. and Spodek, B. (eds.), *Contemporary Perspectives on Early Childhood Curriculum*. Greenwich, Conn.: Information Age Publishing, pp. 155-170.
- Weiner, G., Arnot, M. and David, M. (1997) 'Is the future female? Female success, male disadvantage and changing gender patterns in education', in Halsey, A.H., Brown, P. and Lauder, H. (eds.), *Education: culture, economy, society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 620-630.
- West, C. and Zimmerman, D.H. (1987) 'Doing gender', *Gender and Society* 1(2), pp. 125-151.
- Whitbourne, S.K. (2012) The definitive guide to guilt: the five types of guilt and how you can cope with each [online]. Available at: <https://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/fulfillment-any-age/201208/the-definitive-guide-guilt> [Accessed 23 May 2016].
- White, M. (1998) "'The pink's run out!'" The place of artmaking in young children's construction of the gendered self', in Yelland, N. (ed.), *Gender in Early Childhood*. London: Routledge, pp. 207-223.
- Wilson, J. and Stapleton, K. (2006) *Devolution and Identity*. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing.
- Wiltz, N.W. and Fein, G.G. (2015) 'Play as children see it', in Fromberg, D.P. and Bergen, D. (eds.), *Play from Birth to Twelve: Contexts, Perspectives, and Meanings*. New York, N.Y.: Routledge, pp. 127-139.
- Wolcott, H.F. (1999) *Ethnography: A Way of Seeing*. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.
- Wolska, M. (2011) Gender stereotypes in mass media. Case study: Analysis of the gender stereotyping phenomenon in TV commercials [online]. Available at: <http://krytyka.org/gender-stereotypes-in-mass-media-case-study-analysis-of-the-gender-stereotyping-phenomenon-in-tv-commercials/> [Accessed 15 September 2015].

- Wood, J. (2013) 'Becoming Gendered: Theories of Gendering Processes in Early Life', in Fine, M.A. and Fincham, F.D. (eds.), *Handbook of Family Theories: a content-based approach*. New York, N.Y.: Routledge, pp. 201-315.
- Wood, J.T. (1994) 'Gendered media: the influence of media on views of gender', in Wood, J.T. (ed.), *Gendered lives: Communication, Gender and Culture*. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing, pp. 231-244.
- Woods, H., Bosacki, S. and Coplan, R.J. (2016) 'Canadian Early-Childhood Educators' Perceptions of Children's Gendered Shy, Aggressive, and Prosocial Behaviors', *Journal of Research in Childhood Education*, 30(3), pp. 320-333.
- Wynbrandt, J. (2010) *A brief history of Saudi Arabia*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. New York, N.Y.: Facts on File.
- Wyness, M.G. (2012) *Childhood and Society*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Xu, J. (2017) *The good child: moral development in a Chinese preschool*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Yamani, M. (1996). Some Observations on Women in Saudi Arabia, in Yamani, M. (ed.), *Feminism and Islam: Legal and Literary Perspectives*. New York: New York University Press, pp. 263-282.
- Yamani, M. (2000) *Changed Identities: The Challenge of the New Generation in Saudi Arabia*. London: Chatham House, Royal Institute of International Affairs.
- Yelland, N. and Grieshaber, S. (1998) 'Blurring the edges', in Yelland, N. (ed.), *Gender in Early Childhood*. London: Routledge, pp.1-14.
- Yeoman, E. (1999) "How does it get into my imagination?": Elementary school children's intertextual knowledge and gendered storylines', *Gender and Education*, 11(4), pp. 427-440.
- Yin, R.K. (2003) *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.
- Yolen, J. and Stemple, H.E.Y. (2010) *Not all Princesses Dress in Pink*. New York, N.Y.: Simon and Schuster.
- Youngs, R. (2019) *Civic Activism Unleashed: New Hope or False Dawn for Democracy?* New York: Oxford Press.
- Youniss, J. (1980) *Parents and peers in social development: a Sullivan-Piaget perspective*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press.
- Ysseldyk, R., Matheson, K. and Anisman, H. (2010) 'Religiosity as identity: toward an understanding of religion from a social identity perspective', *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 14(1), pp. 60-71.
- Zayzafoon, L.B.Y. (2005) *The production of the Muslim Woman: negotiating text, history and ideology*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books.
- Zine, J. (2014) 'Cartographies of Difference and Pedagogies of Peril: Muslim Girls and Women in Western Young Adult Fiction Novels', in Taylor, L.K. and Zine, J. (eds.), *Muslim Women, Transnational Feminism and the Ethics of Pedagogy: Contested Imaginaries in Post 9/11 Cultural Practice*. Routledge: New York, pp. 175-197.
- Zosuls, K.M., Miller, C.F., Ruble, D.N., Martin, C.L. and Fabes, R.A. (2011) 'Gender development research in sex roles: historical trends and future directions', *Sex Roles*, 64(11-12), pp. 826-842.
- Zucker, K.J. (2001) 'Biological Influences on Psychosocial Differentiation', in Unger, R.K. (ed.), *Handbook of the Psychology of Women and Gender*. Hoboken, N.J.: John Wiley & Sons, pp. 101-115.
- Zucker, K.J. and Bradley, S.J. (1995) *Gender identity disorder and psychosexual problems in children and adolescents*. London: Guilford Press.

Zuhur, S. (2011) *The Middle East in Focus: Saudi Arabia*. Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO.

## Appendices

### ➤ **Appendix A: Consent forms and Letters (English and Arabic)**

<b>A.1 Certified Translation (Statement).....</b>	<b>II</b>
<b>A.2 Approval from University .....</b>	<b>III</b>
<b>A.3 Letter to the school .....</b>	<b>IV-VII</b>
<b>A.4 Teachers information sheet .....</b>	<b>VIII-XI</b>
<b>A.5 Parents information sheet .....</b>	<b>XII-XV</b>
<b>A.6 Parents' consent forms .....</b>	<b>XVI-XVII</b>

*Certified Translator*  
**Naim M. B. Kishi**  
*B.A. in English Language*  
*Master's Degree in*  
*Translation and Interpreting*



الترجمان المحلف  
 نعيم محمد بسام كيشي  
 (إجازة في اللغة الإنكليزية)  
 ماجستير في الترجمة التحريرية  
 والقورية من جامعة ساكسوند

### **Certified Translation** **(Statement)**

I certify that this is an accurate and true translation of the attached English Text.

I, Naim M. B. Kishi, hereby certify that I translated the attached documents from English into Arabic and that, to the best of my ability, it is a true and correct translation. I further certify that I am competent in both Arabic and English to render and certify such translation.

Date: 15 / 10 / 2015

Translator  
 Naim M. B. Kishi



**Naim M. B. Kishi**  
 MA Arabic / English  
 Translation & Interpreting

98 Angora Drive  
 M3 6AR  
 Tel. 01614788022

[www.targamh.com](http://www.targamh.com)



Dr Elise Alexander  
Director of Studies  
School of Education  
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences  
Oxford Brookes University  
Harcourt Hill Campus

17 September 2015

Dear Dr Alexander

UREC Registration No: 150942

Analysing children's narratives on female gender identity in preschool Saudi Arabia.

Thank you for your emails of 24 August and 17 September outlining your response to the points raised in my previous letter about the PhD study of your research student Mona Al Zahrani and attaching the revised documents. I am pleased to inform you that, on this basis, I have given Chair's Approval for the study to begin.

The UREC approval period for this study is two years from the date of this letter, so 17 September 2017. If you need the approval to be extended please do contact me nearer the time of expiry.

Should the recruitment, methodology or data storage change from your original plans, or should any study participants experience adverse physical, psychological, social, legal or economic effects from the research, please inform me with full details as soon as possible.

**Yours sincerely**

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Hazel Abbott'.

Hazel Abbott  
Chair of the University Research Ethics Committee

cc Georgina Glenny and Mary Wild, Supervisory Team  
Mona Al Zahrani, Research Student  
Maggie Wilson, Research Ethics Officer  
Jill Organ, Research Degrees Team  
Louise Wood, UREC Administrator

UNIVERSITY RESEARCH ETHICS  
COMMITTEE, FACULTY OF HEALTH  
AND LIFE SCIENCES  
Headington Campus Gypsy Lane  
Oxford OX3 0BP UK  
Tel: 01865 482639  
heabbott@brookes.ac.uk





### Letter to the School

Researcher: Mona Shanan Al Zahrani  
 Email: [monaphdresearch@outlook.com](mailto:monaphdresearch@outlook.com)  
 15 October 2015

Dear Head teacher,

I am currently doing research for a PhD in Education in the UK at the Oxford Brookes University and is funded by the Ministry of Education in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. I am requesting your permission to conduct research in your school. The title of my thesis is, **analysing children's narratives on female gender identity in preschool Saudi Arabia**. The findings of which will contribute to my PhD thesis. When completed, a copy of this thesis will be available in the Ministry of Education in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. A report on the findings will also be compiled and this will be sent to school and will be available for parents. The research will be introduced to the parents and staff in a meeting, thereafter an information letter and leaflet together with an informed consent form will be given to both parents and teachers.

This study will take place over a period of 3 months in a pre-school class in Saudi Arabia, consisting of approximately 25 4-6 year old children. The focus of the research will be to explore gender identity and roles in pre-school females in Saudi Arabia and to gather the attitudes and perceptions of these participant children on female gender by exploring how these are demonstrated in a pre-school setting. Observations will be made of the children within their natural play and their natural interactions with other children in the setting. The children's attitudes and perceptions will be gathered through group discussions using picture prompts that depict gender roles. The children will listen to children's stories and act out story events in role-play. They will draw and narrate scenes that are related to the class discussions and stories read, as well as answer questions about the text. At the end of every month, the children will reflect on the work they have completed during that month.

I am under the guidance of supervisors at Oxford Brookes University in the UK and they have approved the design and methods of my research. The research has also been approved by the University's Research Ethics Committee. Please be assured that all the information gathered will be treated with the strictest confidence and any names will be anonymised using a code. All information or data collected will be kept strictly confidential and will be protected in accordance with the University's policy on Academic Integrity. If you have any concerns about the way in which this study has been conducted; contact can be made with the Chair of the University Research Ethics Committee on [ethics@brookes.ac.uk](mailto:ethics@brookes.ac.uk). Should you have any further queries about this study, I will be happy to discuss further details with you. My contact information and University address is at the top of the page or you can contact any of my supervisors by the following methods:

Supervisor: Senior Lecturer Early Childhood Studies Name: Dr Elise Alexander Email: <a href="mailto:elalexander@brookes.ac.uk">elalexander@brookes.ac.uk</a> Telephone: 01865 488529	Supervisor: Head of the School of Education Name: Dr Mary Wild Email: <a href="mailto:MWild@brookes.ac.uk">MWild@brookes.ac.uk</a> Telephone: 01865488357
---	--

Naim M. B. Kishi  
 MA Arabic / English  
 Translation & Interpreting

If you agree to your school and attendant children (provided parents have given consent) being a part of this research, I would be grateful if you could contact me on the above email with an appointment that is suitable to you. I thank you for taking time to give this matter your attention and thank you in anticipation of your support.

Mrs Mona Alzahrani

Date: 15 / 10 / 2015

**Naim M. B. Kishi**  
MA Arabic / English  
Translation & Interpreting

OXFORD  
BROOKES  
UNIVERSITY

Naim M. B. Kishi  
MA Arabic / English  
Translation & Interpreting

الباحثة: منى شلمان الزهراني  
البريد الإلكتروني: [monaphdresearch@outlook.com](mailto:monaphdresearch@outlook.com)  
15 أكتوبر 2015  
مديرة المدرسة المحترمة،

السلام عليكم ورحمته وبركاته.

أقوم حالياً ببحث الدكتوراه في مجال التعليم في جامعة أوكسفورد برعس في المملكة المتحدة، وهذا البحث ممول من وزارة التعليم في المملكة العربية السعودية، وأود أن أطلب السماح لي بالقيام بالبحث في مدرستكم. عنوان أطروحتي هو: تحليل قصص الأطفال وتأثيرها في تكوين الهوية لدى التلميذات في مرحلة ما قبل المدرسة في المملكة العربية السعودية. وسوف تثرى نتائج البحث أطروحتي الخاصة بالدكتوراه وعند انتهاء البحث سوف تتوفر نسخة من هذه الأطروحة لدى وزارة التعليم في المملكة العربية السعودية كما سيقدم تقرير بكافة نتائج البحث وسوف يرسل للمدرسة ويكون متوفراً لذوي الأطفال، وسوف يتم تقديم شرح للمشروع أيضاً لذوي الطلاب والمدرسين خلال لقاء، وسيتم تقديم رسالة تعريفية واستمارة موافقة للمدرسات ولأولياء الأمور.

تمتد هذه الدراسة لثلاثة أشهر في صف واحد من صفوف التمهيدي في مدرسة واحدة في مدينة الرياض. وسيشارك فيها حوالي خمس وعشرون طفلة ممن تتراوح أعمارهم بين الأربع والست سنوات، وسيكون التركيز في هذا البحث على التعرف على الهوية وكيفية تكوينها عند الفتيات في المرحلة التمهيدي في المملكة العربية السعودية، والتعرف على مواقف والطباعات الفتيات المشاركات حول موضوع الهوية، وذلك من خلال استكشاف كيفية ظهورها في البيئة المدرسية. سوف أقوم بتدوين الملاحظات حول الأطفال من خلال وقت اللعب العفوي وطرق تواصلهم العفوية مع بقية الأطفال في البيئة المحيطة، وسوف أقوم بجمع المعلومات حول مواقفهم وانطباعاتهم من خلال المحادثات الجماعية وباستخدام الصور التوضيحية التي تمثل أنوار الهوية، وسوف أستمع لقصص الأطفال وكذلك سوف يقومون بتمثيل بعض الأحداث من القصص، كما سوف يقومون برسم ورواية بعض المشاهد المتعلقة بالمواضيع التي أناقشها في الصف والقصص التي تمت قراءتها وسوف يقومون بالإجابة على بعض الأسئلة المتعلقة بالنص، وفي نهاية كل شهر سوف يقومون بمراجعة العمل الذي قاموا به خلال ذلك الشهر.

يقوم مشرفان من جامعة أوكسفورد برعس في المملكة المتحدة بالإشراف على بحثي حيث تمت الموافقة على شكل وطريقة البحث، كما تمت الموافقة على بحثي أيضاً من قبل لجنة معايير البحث الأخلاقية، ونفديكم علماً أن جميع المعلومات التي تم جمعها ستعامل معاملة سرية بالغة ولن يتم نشر الأسماء صريحة بل سوف تستخدم الرموز والأحرف للإشارة إليها، وسوف تحفظ جميع البيانات التي تم جمعها بشكل سري ومحمي بما يتوافق مع سياسة الجامعة ونزاهتها الأكاديمية. إذا كانت لديك أية أسئلة حول الطريقة التي تم بها إجراء هذا البحث الرجاء الإتصال بمدير لجنة معايير البحث الأخلاقية على البريد الإلكتروني [ethics@brookes.ac.uk](mailto:ethics@brookes.ac.uk) وإذا كانت لديك أية استفسارات حول البحث فسكون من دواعي سروري مناقشتها معك ويمكنك أن تجد عنواني في الجامعة وطرق الإتصال بي في أعلى الصفحة، كما يمكنك الإتصال بأي من المشرفين المذكورين باستخدام الطرق التالية.

Naim M. B. Kishi  
MA Arabic / English  
Translation & Interpreting

المشرفة: مديرة كلية التطعيم الإسم: د. ماري وايلد البريد الإلكتروني: <a href="mailto:Mwild@brookes.ac.uk">Mwild@brookes.ac.uk</a> الهاتف: 01865488357	المشرفة: أستاذ محاضر في دراسات الطفولة المبكرة الإسم: د. اليس الكسندر البريد الإلكتروني: <a href="mailto:elalexander@brookes.ac.uk">elalexander@brookes.ac.uk</a> الهاتف: 01865 488529
---	---

في حال الموافقة على مشاركة المدرسة والطلاب في هذا البحث (موافقة ولي أمر الطفل مهمة لأنهم جزء من البحث) فالرجاء التواصل معي عبر البريد الإلكتروني وتحديد موعد مناسب لكم. شكراً لكم على الإهتمام والمساعدة، وشكراً لصدقكم المرتقب.

Naim M. B. Kishi  
MA Arabic / English  
Translation & Interpreting

الباحثة: منى الزهراني  
التاريخ: 2015 / 10 / 15

Naim M. B. Kishi  
MA Arabic / English  
Translation & Interpreting

OXFORD  
BROOKES  
UNIVERSITY

Naim M. B. Kishi  
MA Arabic / English  
Translation & Interpreting

**Teacher -Information sheet**

Researcher: Mona Shanan Al Zahrani  
Email: [monaphdresearch@outlook.com](mailto:monaphdresearch@outlook.com)

15 October 2015

Dear teacher,

**Title of Research: Analysing children's narratives on female gender identity in preschool Saudi Arabia.**

Your class will be involved in a research study. Before this takes place, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

**What are the aims and purpose of the research?**

I am currently carrying out research for a PhD in Education in the UK at Oxford Brookes University which is supported by the Ministry of Education in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. This study will take place over a period of 3 months in your school and class. The focus of the research will be to explore gender identity and roles in pre-school females in Saudi Arabia. The research will involve gathering the attitudes and perceptions of these participant children about female roles and gender by exploring how these are demonstrated in a pre-school setting. Your school was selected by the Ministry of Education and your head teacher has agreed to the research being carried out.

**In which way will my class take part?**

This information sheet is yours to keep and I wish to thank you in anticipation of your kind assistance. I will require a 'drop off box' to be kept in your classroom that parents' can use to drop off their informed consent. I will collect these documents at a later date. Your help will also be required to support me to organise a time-table that will facilitate my working with the children, and to become familiar with the class over the first week. Once this has been established, my research should not interrupt your normal daily teaching routine.

**What will happen to the children who agree to take part?**

Observations will be made of the children within their natural play and their natural interactions with other children in the setting. The female participant children's attitudes and perceptions will be gathered through group discussions using picture prompts that depict gender roles. The participant children will listen to children's stories and act out story events in role-play. They will draw and narrate scenes that are related to the class discussions and stories read, as well as answer questions about the text. At the end of every month, the participant children will reflect on the work they have completed during that month.

**What are the possible benefits, or disadvantages and risks of taking part?**

All children will continue to be included in all their normal class activities and there will be no 'cost' to the individual child or the school other than the time it takes to carry out these activities. This research will not bring any benefits directly to the participants; nor present any risks. However, it will contribute to an educational understanding of how children are influenced and affected by discourse practices.

Naim M. B. Kishi  
MA Arabic / English  
Translation & Interpreting

**Will data collected from the children in this study be kept confidential?**

All information collected about the participant children will be kept strictly confidential (subject to legal limitations). Audio tapes, observations, transcripts, photographs (that do not allow children to be identified), drawings/paintings and all documents will be stored in a locked cupboard and the files on the computer will be stored on my laptop that is secured by a password. All data generated by the study will be retained in accordance with the University's policy on Academic Integrity. The data collected during the course of the research must be kept securely in paper and electronic form for a period of ten years after the completion of a research project. Moreover, any future publication of research material will abide by the assurance of confidentiality of participants, and all names will continue to be anonymised using a coding system.

**What will happen to the results of the research study?**

The findings generated will contribute to my PhD thesis. When completed, copies of this research will be available in the Ministry of Education in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Oxford Brookes University. Additionally, a report of the findings will also be made available for parents and teachers; this will be sent to the school.

**Who has reviewed the study?**

My research has been approved by the University Research Ethics Committee, as well as the Ministry of Education, in the KSA.

**Contact for further information**

**Naim M. B. Kishi**  
MA Arabic / English  
Translation & Interpreting

**Supervisor: Senior Lecturer Early Childhood Studies**  
**Name: Dr Elise Alexander**  
**Email: [elalexander@brookes.ac.uk](mailto:elalexander@brookes.ac.uk)**  
**Telephone: 01865 488529**

**Supervisor: Head of the School of Education**  
**Name: Dr Mary Wild**  
**Email: [Mwild@brookes.ac.uk](mailto:Mwild@brookes.ac.uk)**  
**Telephone: 01865488357**

If you have any concerns about the way in which this study has been conducted; contact can be made with the Chair of the University Research Ethics Committee on [ethics@brookes.ac.uk](mailto:ethics@brookes.ac.uk). Should you have any further queries about this study, I will be happy to discuss them with you. My contact information and University address is at the top of the page or you can contact any of my supervisors listed above.

Thank you for attending the meeting, for taking the time to give this matter your attention and thank you in anticipation of your support.

Mrs, Mona Alzahrani  
Date: 15 / 10 / 2015

**Naim M. B. Kishi**  
MA Arabic / English  
Translation & Interpreting

OXFORD  
BROOKES  
UNIVERSITY

Naim M. B. Kishi  
MA Arabic / English  
Translation & Interpreting

الباحثة: منى شنان الزهراني  
البريد الإلكتروني: [monaphdresearch@outlook.com](mailto:monaphdresearch@outlook.com)  
15 أكتوبر 2015  
عزيزتي المعلمة،

موضوع البحث : تحليل قصص الأطفال وتأثيرها في تكوين الهوية لدى التلميذات في مرحلة ما قبل المدرسة في المملكة العربية السعودية.

صفاك مدعو للمشاركة في هذه الدراسة، ولكن قبل البدء بها، من المهم أن تكون لديك فكرة عن سبب إجراء هذه الدراسة و مضمونها. الرجاء أخذ الوقت الكافي لقراءة المعلومات التالية بدقة.

ما هي أهداف ومغزى البحث؟

أقوم حالياً ببحث لمرحلة الدكتوراه في مجال التعليم في جامعة أوكسفورد برنكس في المملكة المتحدة، وهذا البحث ممول من قبل وزارة التعليم في المملكة العربية السعودية، وسوف تمتد هذه الدراسة لثلاثة أشهر في صفك في المدرسة، وسيكون التركيز في هذا البحث على التعرف على الهوية و دور البنات في هذه المرحلة في المملكة العربية السعودية وسيزكر البحث على التعرف على مواقف وانطباعات الفتيات المشاركات حول موضوع الهوية، وذلك من خلال إكتشاف كيفية ظهورها في بيئة المرحلة التمهيديّة. لقد تم إختيار مدرستك من قبل وزارة التعليم، كما وافقت مشرفتك على إجراء البحث فيها.

ماهي الطريقة التي سيشارك فيها صفي ؟

يمكنك الاحتفاظ بورقة المعلومات هذه وأشترك مسبقاً على ماسناتك. سأحتاج إلى وضع صندوق في صفك كي يستخدمه الأهالي لوضع أوراق موافقتهم فيه وسأقوم بجمع هذه الأوراق في وقت لاحق، كما سأحتاج مساعدتك في وضع جدول زمني لمساعدتي أثناء العمل مع الأطفال وللتعرف على الصف في الأسبوع الأول. ولغور الإنتهاء من هذه الخطوة ستتمكنين من متابعة نشاطاتك اليومية بالتدريس بشكل طبيعي بدون أية مقاطعة مني.

ماذا سوف يحدث للأطفال المشاركين؟

سوف تقوم بتكوين الملاحظات حول الأطفال من خلال وقت اللعب العفوي وطريقة تواصلهم العفوية مع بقية الأطفال في البيئة المحيطة، وسوف أقوم بجمع المعلومات حول مواقفهم وانطباعاتهم من خلال المحادثات الجماعية وباستخدام الصور التوضيحية التي تمثل الأدوار التي يقومون بها، وسوف يستمع الأطفال لقصص الآخرين وسيقومون بتحميل بعض الأحداث من القصة، كما سيقيمون برسم ورواية بعض المشاهد المتعلقة بالمواضيع التي يناقشها الصف والتخصص التي تمت قراءتها، وسوف يقومون بالإجابة على بعض الأسئلة المتعلقة بالنص وفي نهاية كل شهر سوف يقومون بمراجعة العمل الذي قاموا به خلال ذلك الشهر.

Naim M. B. Kishi  
MA Arabic / English  
Translation & Interpreting

#### ماهي الفوائد المحتملة أو الأثار السلبية والمخاطر التي قد تنتج عن المشاركة؟

سوف يستمر الأطفال بحضور كافة النشاطات العادية في الصف ولن يكون هناك أية تكلفة لهم أو للمدرسة سوى بالوقت المطلوب للقيام بهذه النشاطات، و لن يقوم البحث بإضافة أية فوائد بشكل مباشر للمشاركين أو تعريضهم لأية مخاطر، إلا أنه سوف يساهم في معرفة كيفية تأثير القصاص على الأطفال.

#### هل ستبقى المعلومات المأخوذة من الأطفال خلال هذه الدراسة سرية؟

جميع المعلومات المتعلقة بالأطفال المشاركين ستكون سرية (وخاضعة للحدود القانونية)، وسيتم الاحتفاظ بجميع التسجيلات الصوتية والملاحظات والنسخ والصور ( التي لا يمكن التعرف من خلالها على شخصية الطفل ) والرسومات واللوحات والمستندات في خزانة مغلقة، وستحفظ الملفات الإلكترونية على حاسبي الشخصي المحمي بكلمة مرور، وسوف تحفظ جميع البيانات بما يتوافق مع سياسة الجامعة حول النزاهة الأكاديمية، وستكون البيانات المجمعة خلال مدة البحث سرية سواء بنسختها الورقية أو الإلكترونية لمدة عشر سنوات بعد نهاية مشروع البحث، كما أن نشر أية مواد إضافية من البحث سوف يراعى سرية المشاركين بالبحث وسوف يتم تشفير الأسماء لتبقى مجهولة.

#### ماذا سيحصل لنتائج البحث؟

سوف تساهم وتغني نتائج البحث أطروحتي للدكتوراه، كما أنه متوفر نسخ من هذه الأطروحة عند الإنتهاء منها في كل من وزارة التعليم في المملكة العربية السعودية وجامعة أوكسفورد بركس، كما أنه سيتم إعداد تقرير يتضمن نتائج البحث للوالدين وسيتم إرسالها للمدرسة.

**Naim M. B. Kishi**  
MA Arabic / English  
Translation & Interpreting

#### من قام بمراجعة هذه الدراسة؟

لقد تمت الموافقة على مشروعي من قبل لجنة معايير البحث الأخلاقية بالإضافة إلى وزارة التربية في المملكة العربية السعودية وكذلك المشرفات المباشرات على الدراسة.  
للمزيد من المعلومات الرجاء الإتصال ب:

<p>المشرفة: أستاذ محاضر في دراسات الطفولة المبكرة الإسم: د. اليس الكسندر البريد الإلكتروني: <a href="mailto:elalexander@brookes.ac.uk">elalexander@brookes.ac.uk</a> الهاتف: 01865 488529</p>	<p>المشرفة: مدير كلية التعليم الإسم: د. ملري وايلد البريد الإلكتروني: <a href="mailto:Mwild@brookes.ac.uk">Mwild@brookes.ac.uk</a> الهاتف: 01865488357</p>
---	--

إذا كانت لديك أية أسئلة حول الطريقة التي تم بها إجراء هذا البحث الرجاء الإتصال بمدير لجنة معايير البحث الأخلاقية على البريد الإلكتروني [ethics@brookes.ac.uk](mailto:ethics@brookes.ac.uk) وإذا كانت لديك أية استفسارات حول البحث فسيكون من دواعي سروري مناقشتها معك ويمكنك أن تجد معلومات الإتصال الخاصة بي وعنوان الجامعة في أعلى الصفحة، كما و يمكنك الإتصال بأي من المشرفين المذكورين في الأعلى.

**Naim M. B. Kishi**  
MA Arabic / English  
Translation & Interpreting

شكراً لكم لحضور الاجتماع و لوقتكم واهتمامكم ودعمكم المرتقب.

التاريخ 2015 / 10 / 15

ملى الزهراني



**Naim M. B. Kishi**  
MA Arabic / English  
Translation & Interpreting

**OXFORD  
BROOKES  
UNIVERSITY**

**Parents –Information sheet**  
Researcher: Mona Shanan Al Zahrani  
Email: [monaphdresearch@outlook.com](mailto:monaphdresearch@outlook.com)  
15 October 2015  
Dear parents,

**Title of Research: Analysing children's narratives on female gender identity in preschool Saudi Arabia.**

Your child is invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

**What are the aims and purpose of the research?**  
I am currently carrying out research for a PhD in Education in the UK at Oxford Brookes University, which is being funded by the Ministry of Education in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. This study will take place over a period of 3 months in a pre-school class in Saudi Arabia, consisting of approximately 25 4-6 year old children. The focus of the research will be to explore gender identity and roles in pre-school females in Saudi Arabia and to gather the attitudes and perceptions of these participant children on female gender by exploring how these are demonstrated in a pre-school setting.

I am requesting your permission for your daughter to be a participant in this study. Her school was selected by the Ministry of Education. The head teacher and class teacher have agreed to the research being carried out.

**Does my daughter have to take part?**  
It is up to you to decide whether or not to allow your daughter to take part. If you do decide to allow her to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part you and your daughter are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. Choosing whether to take part or not to take part in this research will have no effect on your daughter's school grades or her progress, now or in the future.

**What will happen to my daughter if she takes part?**  
Observations will be made of your child within their natural play and their natural interactions with other children in the setting. Your daughter's attitudes and perceptions will be gathered through group discussions using picture prompts that depict gender roles. Your daughter will listen to children's stories and act out story events in role-play. She will draw and narrate scenes that are related to the class discussions and stories read, as well as answer questions about the text. At the end of every month, your daughter will reflect on the work she has completed during that month.

**What are the possible benefits, or disadvantages and risks of taking part?**  
Your daughter will continue to be included in all her normal class activities and there will be no 'cost' to her or the school other than the time it takes to carry out these activities. This research will not bring any benefits directly to the participants; nor present any risks. However, it will contribute to an educational understanding of how children are influenced and affected by discourse practices.

**Naim M. B. Kishi**  
MA Arabic / English  
Translation & Interpreting

**Will data collected from my daughter in this study be kept confidential?**

All information collected about your daughter will be kept strictly confidential (subject to legal limitations). Audio tapes, observations, transcripts, photographs (that do not allow children to be identified), drawings/paintings and all documents will be stored in a locked cupboard and the files on the computer will be stored on my laptop that is secured by a password. All data generated by the study will be retained in accordance with the University's policy on Academic Integrity. The data collected during the course of the research must be kept securely in paper and electronic form for a period of ten years after the completion of a research project. Moreover, any future publication of research material will abide by the assurance of confidentiality of participants, and all names will continue to be anonymised using a coding system.

**What should I do if I wish my daughter to take part?**

This information sheet describes the research and should be kept by you. To indicate that you give permission for your child to be a participant, please sign the informed consent form accompanying this letter and return it to the school (a drop off box is in the classroom). The findings generated will contribute to my PhD thesis. When completed, copies of this research will be available in the Ministry of Education in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Oxford Brooke University. Additionally, a report of the findings will also be made available for parents and this will be sent to the school.

**Who has reviewed the study?**

My research has been approved by the University Research Ethics Committee.

**Naim M. B. Kishi**  
MA Arabic / English  
Translation & Interpreting

**Contact for further information**

Supervisor: Senior Lecturer Early Childhood Studies  
Name: Dr Elise Alexander  
Email: [elalexander@brookes.ac.uk](mailto:elalexander@brookes.ac.uk)  
Telephone: 01865 488529

Supervisor: Head of the School of Education  
Name: Dr Mary Wild  
Email: [Mwild@brookes.ac.uk](mailto:Mwild@brookes.ac.uk)  
Telephone: 01865488357

If you have any concerns about the way in which this study has been conducted; contact can be made with the Chair of the University Research Ethics Committee on [ethics@brookes.ac.uk](mailto:ethics@brookes.ac.uk). Should you have any further queries about this study, I will be happy to discuss them with you. My contact information and University address is at the top of the page or you can contact any of my supervisors listed above.

Thank you for attending the meeting, for taking the time to give this matter your attention and thank you in anticipation of your support. Please sign the consent letter if you wish your child to take part. For further information, please see the attached leaflet.

Mrs, Mona Alzahrani

Date: 15 / 10 / 2015

**Naim M. B. Kishi**  
MA Arabic / English  
Translation & Interpreting

OXFORD  
BROOKES  
UNIVERSITY

Naim M. B. Kishi  
MA Arabic / English  
Translation & Interpreting

[monaphdresearch@outlook.com](mailto:monaphdresearch@outlook.com)

الباحثة: منى شنان الزهراني

البريد الإلكتروني:

15 أكتوبر 2015

ولي أمر الطفلة:

السلام عليكم ورحمته وبركاته،

موضوع البحث: تحليل قصص الأطفال وتأثيرها في تكوين الهوية لدى التلميذات في مرحلة ما قبل المدرسة في المملكة العربية السعودية. هدفنا من هذا البحث هو معرفة مدى مشاركة هؤلاء التلميذات في هذه الدراسة التحليلية، ومن المهم أن تكون لديكم فكرة عن سبب إجراء هذه الدراسة ومضمونها قبل أن تقرروا فيما إذا كانت ابنتكم سوف تشارك أم لا. الرجاء أخذ الوقت الكافي لقراءة المعلومات التالية بدقة.

ما هي أهداف البحث؟

أقوم حالياً ببحث الدكتوراه في مجال التعليم في جامعة أوكسفورد بركنس في المملكة المتحدة، وهذا البحث ممول من وزارة التعليم في المملكة العربية السعودية، وسوف تمتد هذه الدراسة لثلاثة أشهر في صف تمهيدي في مدينة الرياض وسيشارك فيها حوالي خمس وعشرون طفلة من تتراوح أعمارهم بين أربع وست سنوات، وسيكون التركيز في هذا البحث على التعرف على هوية و دور الفتيات في المرحلة التمهيدي والتعرف على مواقف وانطباعات الفتيات المشاركات حول موضوع الهوية وذلك من خلال معرفة كيفية ظهورها في بيئة المرحلة التمهيدي. أطلب إنتمكم بمشاركة ابنتكم في هذه الدراسة حيث تم اختيار مدرستها من قبل وزارة التعليم وقامت المديرية والمدرسة بالموافقة على إجراء هذا البحث.

هل من الواجب مشاركة ابنتي؟

يعود لكم قرار مشاركة ابنتكم من عدمها، فإذا قررتما السماح لها بالمشاركة سوف تحفظان بهذه الرسالة وسوف يطلب منكما التوقيع على طلب الموافقة، وحتى وإن قمتم بالعدول عن المشاركة فلكم كامل الحرية بالانسحاب فيما بعد وبدون الحاجة لتقديم أية أسباب، وإن يكون لقرار مشاركة ابنتكم في هذا البحث من عدمها أي تأثير على درجات أو تقدم ابنتكم المدرسي الآن أو في المستقبل.

ماذا سيحدث لبنتي إذا قامت بالمشاركة؟

سوف نقوم بتدوين الملاحظات حول ابنتكم من خلال وقت اللعب العفوي وطريقة تواصلها العفوية مع بقية الأطفال في البيئة المحيطة وسوف نقوم بجمع المعلومات حول مواقفها وانطباعاتها من خلال المحادثات الجماعية وباستخدام الصور التوضيحية التي تمثل الأدوار أثناء اللعب، وسوف تستمع ابنتكم لقصص الأطفال وتقوم بتمثيل بعض الأحداث من القصة، كما ستقوم برسم ورواية بعض المشاهد المتعلقة بالمواضيع التي يناقشها الصف والقصص التي تمت قرائتها، وسوف نقوم بالإجابة على بعض الأسئلة المتعلقة بالنص وفي نهاية كل شهر سوف أوم بمراجعة العمل الذي قامت به خلال ذلك الشهر.

ماهي الفوائد المحتملة أو الآثار السلبية والمخاطر التي قد تنتج عن المشاركة؟

سوف تستمر ابنتكم بحضور كافة نشاطاتها العادية في الصف وأن يكون هناك أية تكلفة لها أو للمدرسة سوى بالوقت المطلوب للقيام بهذه النشاطات، وإن يقوم البحث بإضافة أية فوائد بشكل مباشر للمشاركين أو تعريضهم لأية مخاطر، إلا أنه سوف يساهم في الوصول إلى فهم تعليمي أفضل لكيفية تأثير الروايات والقصص على الأطفال.

Naim M. B. Kishi  
MA Arabic / English  
Translation & Interpreting

هل ستبقى المعلومات المأخوذة من ابنتي خلال هذه الدراسة سرية؟

جميع المعلومات المتعلقة بطلنكم ستكون سرية (وخاضعة للحدود القانونية)، وسيتم الاحتفاظ بجميع التسجيلات الصوتية والملاحظات والنسخ والصور (التي لا يمكن التعرف من خلالها على الطفل) والرسومات واللوحات والمستندات في خزانة مغلقة، وستحفظ الملفات الإلكترونية على حاسبي الشخصي المحمي بكلمة مرور، وسوف تحفظ جميع البيانات بما يتوافق مع سياسة الجامعة حول اللاهة الأكاديمية، وستكون البيانات التي تم جمعها خلال مدة البحث سرية سواء بنسخها الورقية أو الإلكترونية لمدة عشر سنوات بعد نهاية مشروع البحث، كما أن نشر أية مواد إضافية من البحث يجب أن يراعي سرية المشاركين بالبحث وسوف يتم تشفير الأسماء لتبقى مجهولة.

ماذا علي أن أفعل إذا رغبت بأن تشارك ابنتي؟

عليك الاحتفاظ بورقة المعلومات التي توضح محتوى البحث. الرجاء توقيع استمارة الموافقة المرفقة مع هذه الورقة لتأكيد موافقتك على مشاركة ابنتك وإعادتها للمدرسة ووضعها في الصندوق المخصص لها في الصف، والتي سوف تساهم وتغني نتائج البحث أطروحتي للدكتوراه، كما أنه ستوفر نسخ من هذا البحث عند الانتهاء منه في كل من وزارة التعليم في المملكة العربية السعودية وجامعة أوكسفورد بركس، كما أنه سيتم إعداد تقرير يتضمن نتائج البحث للوالدين وسيتم إرساله للمدرسة.

**Naim M. B. Kishi**  
MA Arabic / English  
Translation & Interpreting

من قام بمراجعة هذه الدراسة؟

لقد تمت الموافقة على مشروعي من قبل المشرفات المسؤولات عن هذه الدراسة وكذلك لجنة معايير البحث الأخلاقية، بالإضافة إلى وزارة التربية في المملكة العربية السعودية.

للمزيد من المعلومات الرجاء الاتصال على:

<p>المشرفة: أستاذة محاضرة في دراسات الطفولة المبكرة الاسم: د. اليس الكسندر البريد الإلكتروني: <a href="mailto:elalexander@brookes.ac.uk">elalexander@brookes.ac.uk</a> الهاتف: 01865488529</p>	<p>المشرفة: مدير كلية التعليم الاسم: د. ماري وايلد البريد الإلكتروني: <a href="mailto:Mwild@brookes.ac.uk">Mwild@brookes.ac.uk</a> الهاتف: 01865488357</p>
--	--


إذا كانت لديك أية أسئلة حول الطريقة التي تم بها إجراء هذا البحث الرجاء الاتصال بمدير لجنة معايير البحث الأخلاقية على البريد الإلكتروني [ethics@brookes.ac.uk](mailto:ethics@brookes.ac.uk) وأنا كنت لديك أية استفسارات حول البحث فسيتكون من نوعي سروري مناقشتها معك ويمكنك أن تجد معلومات الاتصال الخاصة بي وعنوان الجامعة في أعلى الصفحة، كما يمكنك الاتصال بأي من المشرفين المذكورين في الأعلى.

شكرا لكم لحضور الاجتماع و لوقتكم وإهتمامكم ودعمكم. الرجاء توقيع مستند الموافقة إن كنتم راغبين بمشاركة ابنتكم بالبحث. للمزيد من المعلومات الرجاء مراجعة الورقة المرفقة.

الباحثة: منى الزهراني

التاريخ: 2015 / 10 / 15

**Naim M. B. Kishi**  
MA Arabic / English  
Translation & Interpreting



**Parents - CONSENT FORM**


**Full title of Project:** Title: Analysing children's narratives on female gender identity in preschool Saudi Arabia.  
**Name, position and contact address of researcher:** Mona Shanan Alzahrani  
 Research Student  
**Email:** [monaphdresearch@outlook.com](mailto:monaphdresearch@outlook.com)

**Please initial box**


1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. I understand that my child's participation is voluntary and that she is free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason.
3. I agree for my child to take part in the above study.

**Please initial box**

	Yes	No
4. I agree that my child's data gathered in this study may be stored ( after it has been anonymised ) in a specialist data centre and may be used for future research	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



Name of Child	Date	Signature
Name of Parents	Date	Signature
Name of Researcher	Date	Signature





استمارة الموافقة الخاصة بالوالدين  
عنوان البحث: تحليل قصص الأطفال وتأثيرها في تكوين الهوية لدى التلميذات في مرحلة ما قبل المدرسة في المملكة العربية  
السعودية.  
اسم ووظيفة و معلومات الاتصال الخاصة بالباحثة: منى شحان الزهراني  
البريد الإلكتروني: [monaphdresearch@outlook.com](mailto:monaphdresearch@outlook.com)

الرجاء الإشارة بالصلدوق

1- أؤكد أنني قرأت ولهمت المعلومات المذكورة بالورقة بالنسبة للبحث في الأعلى وكان  
لدي الفرصة لطرح الأسئلة.

2- أعلم أن مشاركة طفلي تنوعية وأن لها حرية الانسحاب في أي وقت دون تقديم أي  
مبرر

3- أوافق على مشاركة طفلي في الدراسة المذكورة أعلاه

الرجاء الإشارة بالصلدوق

نعم

لا



4- أوافق على الاحتفاظ بالمعلومات التي تم جمعها عن طفلي في هذه الدراسة (بعد أن تصبح  
المعلومات مجهولة) في مركز مختص بجمع البيانات وأن يتم استخدامها في أبحاث مستقبلية  
عند الحاجة.

Naim M. B. Kishi  
MA Arabic / English  
Translation & Interpreting

التوقيع

التاريخ

إسم الوالدين

التوقيع

التاريخ

إسم الوالدين

التوقيع

التاريخ

إسم الباحثة

Naim M. B. Kishi  
MA Arabic / English  
Translation & Interpreting

## ➤ **Appendix B: leaflets (Arabic and English)**

<b>B.1 Leaflets for parents .....</b>	<b>XIX-XX</b>
<b>B.2 Leaflets for children.....</b>	<b>XXI-XXIV</b>

**Leaflets for parents (English)**

My name is **Mona Alzahrani**, I'm a student at **Oxford Brookes University**




At present I am studying children and how they learn and play and make sense of their socialised world. Part of my research is to observe children in their pre-school setting to explore what it is like to be a female child in pre-school. What roles or identity do they feel they have?

The observation process will consist of story-telling; group discussions; informal 1:2




Discussions observing children in their natural play.

the taking of photographs for reflection (no showing of face and they will not be included in the final Thesis).



I may ask your child to draw or paint.



It is very important that you realise that your child's participation is totally voluntary and that you agree for your child to be a part of this study. Permission has already been obtained from the Ministry of Education in Saudi Arabia, together with the Saudi Cultural Bureau in London. The Head teacher and classroom teachers have also been informed of this research and have agreed upon my conducting research in the setting.

As a parent, please note, that your child's participation in the research will be negotiated at each step with your child and she will have the right to withdraw at any time. Your child's name will not be used and their identity will always remain confidential. A report of the findings will also be provided and this will be sent to the pre-school once the research has been finalised.


If you would like a copy; please indicate on the attached Informed Consent together with your signature to indicate your consent for your child to participate.

Thank you for your attention.

Parents' Leaflet

Researcher: Mona Shanan Al Zahrani

Email: [monaphdresearch@outlook.com](mailto:monaphdresearch@outlook.com)









### Leaflets for children (English)

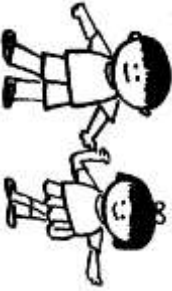
Mrs Mona is a student too, did you know that?




I go to study in a place called Oxford Brookes University.




I have to learn lots of new things, at the moment I am learning about




children and how they learn and play.




The most important part of my study is you. I want to know how you enjoy playing and




learning at pre-school and your ideas on what it means to be a girl. For my study, I will write down what you do





taking photographs




talking with you




asking you to draw or paint


Another very important thing is that you agree to be a part of this study. Your parents, Headteacher and teachers have already agreed to let you take part in this study.




or



If I want to put your words or your photo or your painting or your drawing in my study, you have a right to say



or



If you don't like something or you want the activity to stop, you can tell me:



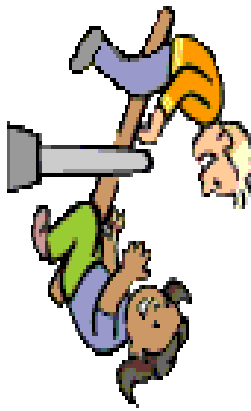
I won't share anything that you tell me unless you say I can, although I have a duty to help you if you tell me you have some kind of problem.



I won't use your real name, only the first letter in your name. Could you please show me if you want to be part of my study

### Oxford Brookes Research Children's


#### Informed Consent



Researcher: Mona Shanan Al Zahrani

Email: [monaphdresearch@outlook.com](mailto:monaphdresearch@outlook.com)

## Leaflets for children (Arabic)

<p>هل تعلم أن يخطأه أيضا؟</p>  <p>لأنه لا درس في لها اني دعي جاتك فيك سرفو رفس لفس</p>  <p>ي جت عاني أن يطلع للغير من الورد ال جويده موي الك ال حالي في أدرس</p>  <p>موضوع الإخطال وطريقه تعلمهم و لغير</p> 	<p>القسم الأهم من دراستي تتعلق بكم وأريد أن اعرف كيف يستمعون باللعب والتعلم في المدرسة</p>  <p>وأريد أن أعرف ما ينجح لك أنت في تعلمي في مختلف عن غيرك، سألهم تدهو نشاشطك من قبل بسخي</p>  <p>وسألتهم الصور واتحدث معكم</p>  <p>وللعب هناك أكثر سوي أو تلاني</p>  
<p>عندما أتى إليكم لسؤالك فيما إذا كنت تسمحي لي بالكلام: وأخذ الصور والحديث إليك و أطلب منك أن ترسمي أو تلوني، فإن لديك الحق بالموافقة أو الرفض بقل</p>  <p>أو</p>  <p>أقل مثل ارتطاك وصوتك أو رسوبك في دراسيتهم بسألنيك فتستطيعون التاويد</p>  <p>أو</p> 	<p>أقل مثل ارتطاك وصوتك أو رسوبك في دراسيتهم بسألنيك فتستطيعون التاويد</p>  <p>أو</p>  <p>أقل مثل ارتطاك وصوتك أو رسوبك في دراسيتهم بسألنيك فتستطيعون التاويد</p>  <p>أو</p> 

ومن ناحية أخرى من المهم أن توافقي على المشاركة في هذه الدراسة، ولتعلم فقط وافق والدك والمشرفة والمعلمات على السماح لك بالمشاركة في هذه الدراسة.



لكن أشراك لي شيء شخصي، يهمني بحدود لغفتك رغم أنه من واجبي مساعدتك إن اضرتني أن لوجك متقبل ما.



لكن أستخدم اسمك الحقيقي، ال حر الأول من أبوك فقط. الرجاء إعلامي أين كنت تتوون ال مشارفتي دراستي.



البحث لأم غفتك فور لبرك  
لمطوية ال أة ب مطلق أة طفل

OXFORD  
BROOKES  
UNIVERSITY

لمطوية ال أة ب لولون  
بلاش تونى شن ان للدراني

بدر يد الله تونى  
[monahdresearch@outlook.com](mailto:monahdresearch@outlook.com)

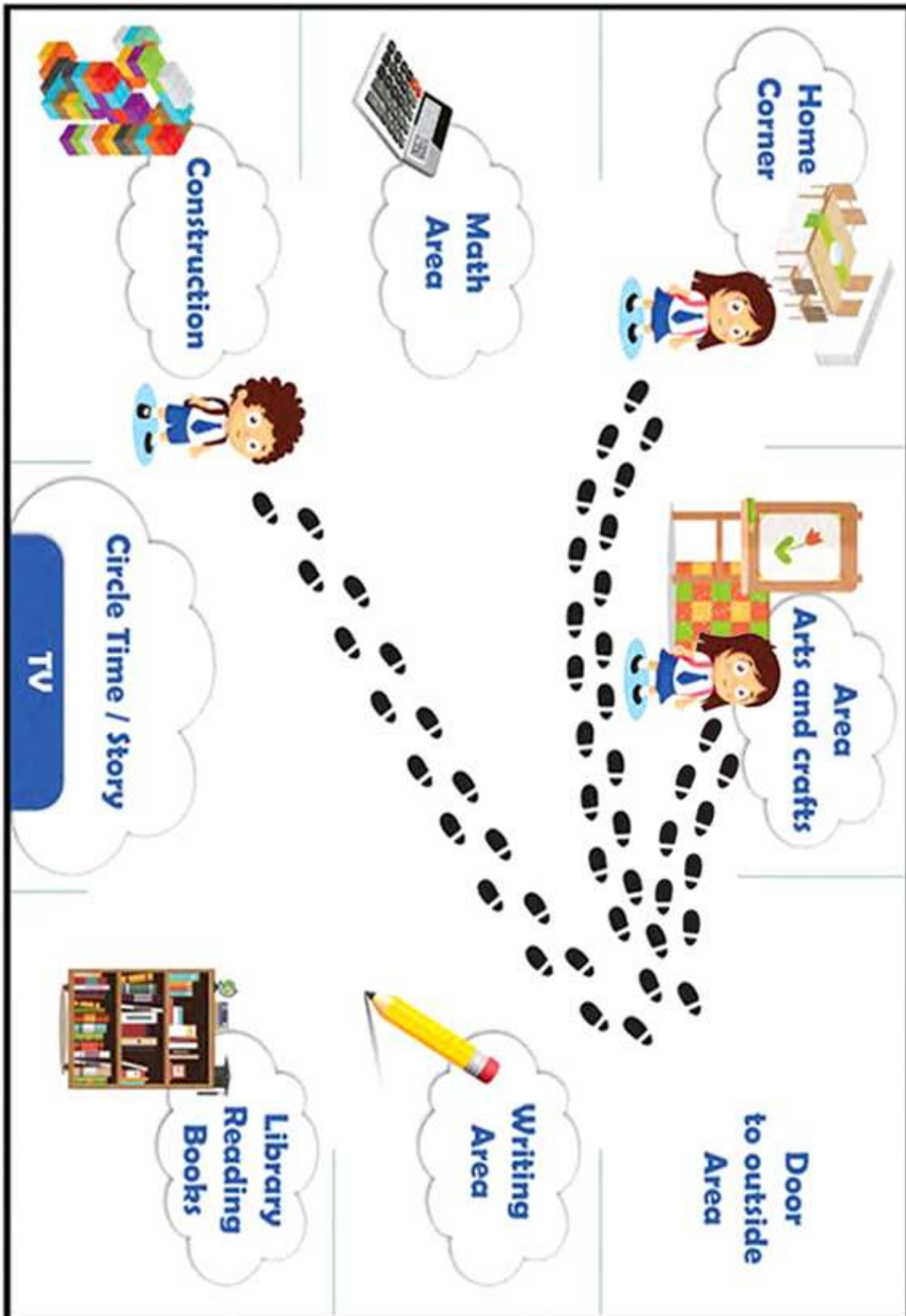
**➤ Appendix C: tracking sheets and observation note**

**C.1 Observation note.....XXVI**  
**C.2 Tracking sheet class1.....XXVII**  
**C.3 Tracking sheet class2.....XXVIII**

**Observation note**

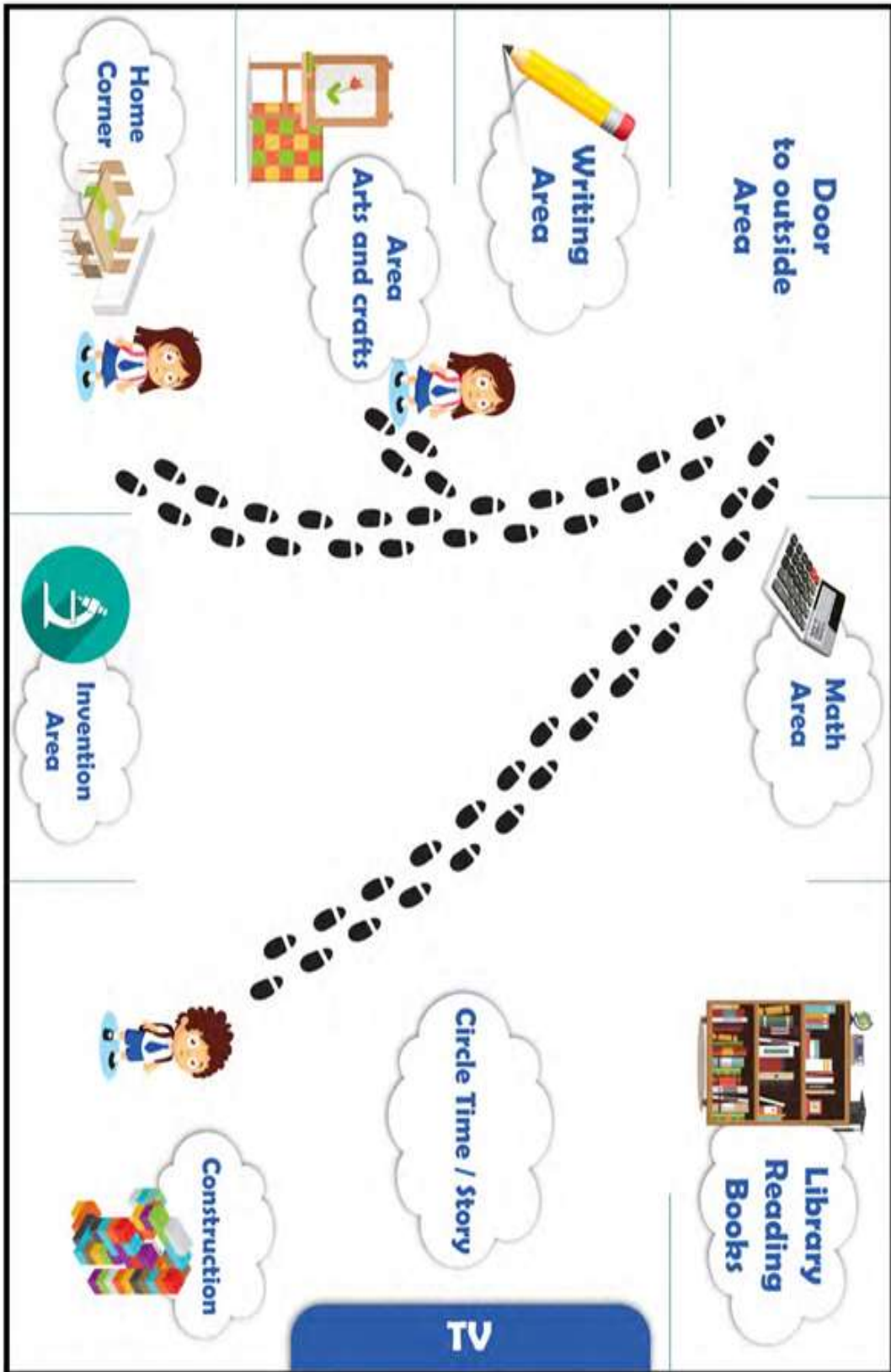
<b>Children/ name:</b>	<b>Child</b>	<b>Area of activity:</b>  Role - play	<b>Date:</b>	<b>Time:</b>  <b>Start:</b>  <b>Finish:</b>
<b>Description of context:</b>				
<b>What is happening:</b>				
<b>Language/communication being used:</b>				
<b>Analysis:</b>				

• Class 1





• Class 2



## ➤ **Appendix D: Stories and Prompts**

**D.1 Alzahrani, M, (2015). *Nahila and the bike*. Oxford Brookes University. Oxford. Due to Intellectual Property and Copy Right of developed stories and art work, it could be ordered directly only from the researcher: [monaphdresearch@outlook.com](mailto:monaphdresearch@outlook.com) or [mona.london@hotmail.com](mailto:mona.london@hotmail.com)  
 .....XXX**

**D.2 Yolen, J. and H. E. Y. Stemple (2010) *Not All Princesses Dress in Pink*. Simon & Schuster Children’s Publishing Division. New York. Available at : <https://books.google.com.sa/books?isbn=1416980180>.**

**D.3 Randell,B and Ruth, T. (1994). *Jane’s Car*. Petone: Nelson Price Milburn. Available at: <https://books.google.com.sa/books?isbn=1869555880>**

**D.4 Kubler, A. (1999) *Man’s Work!* Swindon: Child’s Play (International) Ltd.**

• Some of the story photo's



## **➤Appendix E: Arabic to English Translation and documentation**

<b>E.1 The Certified Translation for quotes and documentation throughout this thesis from Arabic to English.....</b>	<b>XXXII</b>
<b>E.2 The Certified Translation for the Primary date.....</b>	<b>XXXIII</b>
<b>E.3 Statements from King Faisal and King Fahad library. ....</b>	<b>XXIV-XXXVII</b>

*Certified Translator*

*Naim M. B. Kishi*

*B.A. in English Language  
Master's Degree in  
Translation and Interpreting  
from Salford University*



الترجمان المحلف

نعيم محمد بسام كيشي

إجازة في اللغة الإنكليزية

ماجستير في الترجمة التحريرية

والفورية من جامعة سالفورد

### **Certified Translation** **(Statement)**

I, Naim M. B. Kishi, hereby certify that I have checked both the Arabic texts and their translations which have been used in this thesis. To the best of my ability, the translations are true and accurate. I further certify that I am competent in both Arabic and English to verify the accuracy of these translations.

Date: 06/09/2017

Translator

*Naim M. B. Kishi*

**Naim M. B. Kishi**

MA Arabic / English  
Translation & Interpreting

98 Angora Drive  
Manchester M3 6AR  
Tel. 01614788022

[www.targamh.com](http://www.targamh.com)

*Certified Translator*  
**Naim M. B. Kishi**  
*B.A. in English Language*  
*Master's Degree in*  
*Translation and Interpreting*



الترجمان المحلف  
 نعيم محمد بسام كيشي  
 إجازة في اللغة الإنكليزية  
 ماجستير في الترجمة التحريرية  
 والغوية من جامعة ساغورد

### **Certified Translation** **(Statement)**

I certify that this is an accurate and true translation of the attached Arabic Text.

I, Naim M. B. Kishi, hereby certify that I translated the attached documents from Arabic into English and that, to the best of my ability, it is a true and correct translation. I further certify that I am competent in both Arabic and English to render and certify such translation.




Date: 02/09/2016

*Translator*  
 Naim M. B. Kishi

**Naim M. B. Kishi**  
 MA Arabic / English  
 Translation & Interpreting

98 Angora Drive  
 M3 6AR  
 Tel. 01614788022

[www.targamh.com](http://www.targamh.com)

Saleh Binbaz Office for Certified Translation License No. 692 - Membership No 260843	 Bin Baz for Translation	مكتب صالح بن باز للترجمة المعتمدة ترخيص رقم 692 - رقم العضوية 260843
Kingdom of Saudi Arabia King Fahd National Library	 مكتبة الملك فهد الوطنية King Fahd National Library	55/2 Date:
<b>Statement</b> <b><u>Inquiry on Registration of Research Subject (Master's/ PhD Degrees)</u></b>		
<b>Name:</b> MONA SHANAN M ALZHRANI		<b>Mobile Phone:</b>
<b>Date:</b>		<b>E-mail:</b>
<b>University's Name:</b> Oxford Brookes/ UK		<b>Academic Degree:</b> PhD
<b><u>Research Subject:</u></b> "Making of a Good Women: Analysing Children's Narrative on Female Gender Identity in Pre-school Saudi Arabia "		
<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> <b>For Management Use Only</b> </div>		
Kindly be informed that having reviewed the records of university's academic dissertations titles at the Official Depository Department at the Library, it was shown that:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>The subject has never been researched</u> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/></li> <li>• <u>The subject has already been researched</u> <input type="checkbox"/></li> </ul>		
Under the title		
..... Academic Degree ( )		
<b>Director General,</b>	<b>Date:</b>	<b>Seal:</b> The Library's Seal Affixed
<b>Officer in Charge,</b>	<b>Signature:</b> Signed,	
In case of any modification to the statement, kindly contact us at: <a href="mailto:Depository@kfnl.gov.sa">Depository@kfnl.gov.sa</a>		
		
المملكة العربية السعودية الرياض مطرح 24 بجوار دلة لتعليم القيادة - هاتف : +966114286555 - فاكس : +966118800773 Kingdom of Saudi Arabia - Exit 24 Near Dallah Driving School - Tel.: +966114286555 - Fax: +966118800773 <a href="http://www.binbazz.com">www.binbazz.com</a> <a href="mailto:info@binbazz.com">info@binbazz.com</a>		



المملكة العربية السعودية  
مكتبة الإبداع الوطنية

### إفسادة

#### استفسار عن تسجيل موضوع بحث (ماجستير / دكتوراه)

الاسم: منى بنت شنان بن محمد الزهراني	ال هاتف:
التاريخ:	البريد الإلكتروني:
اسم الجامعة: أكستورد بروكس / بريطانيا	الدرجة العلمية: دكتوراه

#### موضوع البحث:

بناء المرأة العاملة: تحليل قصص الأطفال وتأثيرها في تكوين الهوية لدى التلميذات في مرحلة رياض الأطفال في المملكة العربية السعودية.

#### لاستخدام الإدارة فقط

نفيدكم انه بالبحث في عناوين الرسائل الجامعية بإدارة الإبداع النظامي المتأخر

لدى المكتبة تبين أن:

- الموضوع لم يتم بحثه  
 الموضوع تم بحثه  
 تمت عنوان

الدرجة العلمية ( )

الختم	التاريخ	مدير الإدارة
	التوقيع	اسم الموظفة

في حقة للتحويل على الأمانة مراسلتنا على الإيميل : Depository@kfnl.gov.sa



Saleh Binbaz Office for Certified Translation  
License No. 692 - Membership No 260843



مكتب صالح بن باز للترجمة المعتمدة  
ترخيص رقم 692 - رقم العضوية 260843

مركز الملك فيصل للبحوث والدراسات الإسلامية  
King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies



**External Services**  
**"Academic Dissertations"**

**Code:**

**Date:**

**The Honorable Researcher/ MONA SHANAN M ALZHRANI,**  
**Oxford Brookes University**

Greetings,

In reference to your kind inquiry concerning the following Subject:

**"Making of a Good Women: Analysing Children's Narrative on Female Gender Identity in Pre-school Saudi Arabia"**

Kindly be informed that: having searched the academic dissertations' database available at the center, it was shown that there is no information on that subject. We hope you could provide the center, in case the research subject is approved, with a copy of the final approval decision issued by the college; in order to register the research at the center's academic dissertations database, and to reserve the researcher's rights and to prevent the registration of the same subject at any other university.

Wishing you all the best of success.

**Consultant of Libraries Affairs,**

(The Center's Seal Affixed)

*Signed,*



P.O.Box 51049 Riyadh 11543 Kingdom of Saudi Arabia  
Tel (+966 11) 4652255 - Fax (+966 11) 4659993  
E-mail : kfcris@kfcris.com - www.kfcris.com

المملكة العربية السعودية الرياض - مخرج 24 بجوار دلة لتعليم القيادة - هاتف : +966114286555 - فاكس : +966118800773  
Riyadh Saudi Arabia - Exit 24 Near Dallah Driving School - Tel.: +966114286555 - Fax: +966118800773  
www.binbazz.com info@binbazz.com



الخدمات الخارجية  
" الرسائل الجامعية "

الرقم:

التاريخ:

الموافق:

حفظها الله

المكرمة الباحثة / منى بنت شنان الزهراني  
جامعة أكسفورد - بريطانيا

السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته ... وبعد

فإشارة إلى استفسارك الكريم عن الموضوع التالي:

(Making of a good women: Analysing children's narrative on female gender  
Identity in pre-school Saudi Arabia )

نفيدكم أنه بالبحث في قاعدة معلومات الرسائل الجامعية المتاحة لدى المركز تبين عدم توافر معلومات عنه. كما أمل  
منكم في حالة اعتماد البحث تزويد المركز بنسخة من قرار الموافقة النهائية الصادر عن الكلية لتسجيل البحث في  
قاعدة بيانات الرسائل الجامعية بالمركز لضمان حق الطالبة وعدم تكرار تسجيل البحث في أي جامعة أخرى  
مع امتناتي لكم بدوام التوفيق والسداد....

مستشار شؤون المكتبات

ص. بـ 51049 الرياض 11543 المملكة العربية السعودية  
هاتف: 4652255 ( + 966 11 ) فاكس: 4652255 ( + 966 11 )  
P.O Box 51049 Riyadh11543 Kingdom of Saudi Arabia  
Tel. (+966 11) 4652255-Fax.(+966 11) 4659993  
E-mail: kfcris@kfcris.com - www.kfcris.com