

**THE POSITION OF ISLAM ON DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN WITH
PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO SOUTHERN SAUDI ARABIA**

By

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A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

School of Philosophy, Theology and Religion

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University of Birmingham

April 2019

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to investigate the phenomenon of domestic violence in the southern province of Saudi Arabia in order to understand the phenomenon and to identify its triggers. The study will help the social and governmental institutions of the southern province of Saudi Arabia to understand the phenomenon more clearer. Moreover, the study provides several recommendations regarding the ways in which the society can combat this phenomenon. At the initial stage, the study identified the relevant literature in the literature review chapters, namely: the theory of domestic violence, the status of women in Islam and Saudi Society.

After the initial stage, the study identified the research methodology, which presents the nature of the primary data that was collected, the method the study used to collect the primary data, and the way in which the data was analysed. This stage was followed by the data collection stage. In this stage, the primary data was collected from three different protection institutions that are located in three different cities. The primary data was collected by distributing surveys to the victims of abuse, and assistance was provided to these victims to help them in filling out these surveys as some of them are not educated.

The outcome of the data collection phase is two different sets of primary data. The first set of data could be quantified, which helped the researcher to capture these data in separated tables. This quantifying process has helped the researcher to analyse the data and provide a dialogue between the primary data and the literature that the study identified. The other set of the primary data is qualitative data, which was identified and presented in the form of comments that were taken from the victims of abuse. The comments were read, coded and then each set of data were organised under a suitable title that fits the nature of the primary data. Afterwards, the data was presented and a dialectical process took place between the primary data and the relevant literature to each section (or subsection).

The final chapter is devoted to the summary of the data analysis, the findings, and the recommendations of the study. The recommendations aim to provide the protection institutions and the society of the southern province of Saudi Arabia some solutions (e.g. the compulsory education must include high school at minimum; the age of marriage must increase to reach 18 years; spread awareness regarding domestic violence and women's legal and theological rights, through spreading of brochures, creating advertisements or any other midum that can increase awarness regarding women's right and women's abuse) by which

they can combat the phenomenon of domestic violence against women in the southern province. However, the findings and solutions may be applicable in other regions of Saudi Arabia as well.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my parents and husband who provided the support required to accomplish this work. It also dedicated to the staff of Birmingham University who provided me with lots of guidance and knowledge that were necessary for this work to be completed.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I am grateful to Allah for the strength, bestowed upon me to complete this thesis. I would like to express my abundant thanks to my supervisor Dr. Jawad for her supervision, patience, continuous support and valuable comments during my studies. My sincere thanks are also extended to Prof Cesari who provided me with insightful comments and suggestions, which greatly helped to improve my thesis.

In addition to my supervisors, I would like to express my profound appreciation to Dr. Ali for his insight and expertise, which greatly assisted the research, as well as for his spiritual, support. My gratitude is extended to his diligent encouragement at a time when I felt frustrated, and without his earnest support it would not have been possible to conduct this research.

Most importantly, I would like to thank my husband who has been a real pillar of support for the completion of my study and who has provided me with an opportunity to complete my study by removing obstacles that would otherwise have hindered me throughout the different stages of the research.

Moreover, my appreciation goes to the lights of my life, my sons: Abdullah and Yazan, for their patience during the research which occupied most of my time and restricted the qualitative motherly time. “So thanks guys for being such good children”.

And my appreciation goes to the third party, Belal, who did the proofreading for my thesis.

Last but not least, I am grateful to my parents, and my brothers and sisters for supporting me and standing by me during the quest of my PhD research.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis has not been previously submitted or accepted in substance for any other program/ degree. I also declare that this work is the outcome of my personal research and investigation.

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Transliteration

Library of Congress Arabic Transliteration System

ء	'	ض	ḍ
ب	B	ط	ṭ
ت	T	ظ	ẓ
ث	Th	ع	‘
ج	J	غ	Gh
ح	ḥ	ف	F
خ	Kh	ق	Q
د	D	ك	K
ذ	Dh	ل	L
ر	R	م	M
ز	Z	ن	N
س	S	هـ	H
ش	Sh	و	W
ص	ṣ	ي	Y

Vowels

Long		Short	
ا	Ā	أ	A
ي	ī	إ	I
و	ū	و	U

Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Explanation
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CRC	Carbon Reduction Commitment
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
CRLO	The Permanent Committee for Scientific Research and Legal Opinion
ed.	Edition
et al.	and other authors or editors
P	Page
PP	Pages
Vol.	Volume
n.d.	no date
WBR	The World Bank Report

1.INTRODUCTION TO THIS THESIS

1.Introduction to this Chapter

This chapter is an introduction to the thesis. Therefore, it presents the key drivers, namely: problem statement (see Section 1.1); the aim of the study (see Section 1.2); the objectives of the study (see Section 1.3) that drove the development of the thesis. This chapter also provides a summary of each chapter to give an overview of the thesis (see Section 1.4).

2.Research Problem

2.1.Early Trigger of this Study

One day, while I was browsing the on-line newspapers, there was news about a Pakistani girl, called Malala Yousafzai (i.e. *Malala is Pakistani education activist, who was born in 1997. Ṭālibān banned the girls from going to school and in 2009 she was one of them in her city, called Swat, in 2009. After that, she wrote many articles about the militant Ṭālibān who were against women's education and these articles were published by several international newspapers. Because of her appearance on the BBC news channel to talk about educational rights of girls as well as about her articles and statements, she was shot by a Ṭālibān gunman in 2012. She survived after surgery in her head and a programme of rehabilitation in the Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Birmingham. She was discharged from the hospital in 2013 (BBC News, 2013)*). Malala was targeted by an assassination of the Ṭālibān regime in her struggle for the educational rights of girls.

Additionally, I noticed that all the criticism had been directed at the Ṭālibān as a simple Islamic rule not as a political regime, although there is no law in Islam that deprives women of their educational rights. The prophet Mohammed was speaking to both men and women when the prophet urged his followers to ‘seek knowledge from the cradle to the grave’ (Sultan, 2007, p. 140). Moreover, this serious phenomenon has become an acknowledged fact in many countries as well as a number of global conventions have been organised in order to tackle this problem. However, violence against women has increased over the years globally (Asay et al., 2013), with Islamic and non-Islamic countries split into fully certified (e.g. Sweden and Tunisia) and non-certified parties of the international treaty Elimination of Violence against Women (e.g. the United State of America) whereas some of countries

certified but with some reservations, such as Oman and Saudi Arabia (Manjoo and Jones, 2018).

Saudi Arabia is one the countries that certified but with some reservations that are contrary to the teachings of Shari‘h. This prompted me to research into the reasons for the rejection by Saudi Arabia of these items and does this represent the position of Islam on violence against women?

The reported domestic violence has also increased over the years in Saudi Arabia, which has encouraged me still more to carry out further research.

2.2. The Significance of the Domestic Violence Investigation

The effect of domestic violence against women can lead to many social problems for which families and societies pay a high price (Anglin and Mitchell, 2009; Renzetti et al., 2011). For this reason, the WHO report (2013) identified violence against women as a public health issue worthy of our attention. The report of WHO (2013, P. 5) stated that:

Violence against women is not a small problem that only occurs in some pockets of society, but rather is a global public health problem of epidemic proportions, requiring urgent action

Therefore, domestic violence is considered to be a challenge with a high toll in many countries worldwide (Buzawa and Buzawa, 2017). Although the statistics of advanced countries are considered to be comprehensive and detailed compared to those of developed nations, studies by global organisations (e.g. the World Health Organisation, world bank report, and the United Nations) have provided some insight into the cost of domestic violence. For instance, the WBR (2011) gives examples regarding the high costs (direct and incident costs) that countries pay as a result of domestic violence. The WBR bank report (2011, P. 65) stated that:

Indirect costs—associated with stress and trauma, time off work due to violent incidents, and lower productivity from injury or mental illness—far overshadow direct costs. In Brazil in 2004, the direct medical costs of all interpersonal violence were estimated at US\$235 million and the indirect medical costs at US\$9.2 billion. Comparable figures, respectively, for Jamaica, are US\$29.5 million and US\$385 million, and for Thailand US\$40.3 million and US\$432 million. Emerging findings from Kenya estimate the total costs of violence at 1.2 per cent of GDP. In the United Kingdom, the direct costs of domestic violence are estimated at £5.7 billion annually.

As the world bank report (2011) mentioned, domestic violence has high costs that reach billions of pounds in some nations. Therefore, it is important to investigate the phenomenon

to identify its cause(s). This helps social institutions and social workers to know the causes of the violence and attempt to reduce (or eliminate) it in the future.

Domestic violence (also known as family violence) is abuse by one person (male or female) against another in a domestic setting (e.g. marriage). However, the literature shows that females are more likely to experience domestic violence than males (Kennedy, 2007; Briggs and Pepperell, 2009; Aghtaie and Gangoli, 2014). Thus, it is particularly important to investigate the phenomenon of violence against women.

It is also important to highlight that violence against women is more than a small scale phenomenon that only affects a small margin of people. It is rather, an epidemic that needs the attention of researchers and nations alike.

2.3.Domestic Violence in the Context of the Middle East and Saudi Arabia

Alhabib et al. (2009) conducted a systemic review of studies related to domestic violence. They found that 41% of the studies were conducted in North America; while 5.4% of the studies had been undertaken in the Middle East.

Islamic and Arab societies are different to western societies; in terms of the structure of the family, the status of women, culture and customs, as well as community (United Nations, 2006). Despite an increasing proportion of domestic violence being shown to occur by surveys conducted in Egypt, Palestine, Tunisia and Israel - Arab countries lack sufficient studies and empirical findings (Douki et al., 2003) to relay a true picture of the extent or depth of domestic violence that is omnipresent in such societies.

The increase of domestic violence cases in the Middle East and the scarcity of literature that studies the phenomenon of domestic violence in the Middle East makes future studies important.

2.4.Domestic Violence in the Context of Saudi Arabia

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (the Kingdom) is one of the most conservative nations worldwide (Wynbrandt, 2014). This is the case because it is the cradle of Islam, one of the largest religions in the world (Maisel and Shoup, 2009). Therefore, it possesses a unique culture that differs from the cultures of western countries (Neil and Jean, 2015).

The society of the Kingdom is family-oriented; the literature states that Saudis tend to communicate and socialise with family members (closed or extended family members). They also tend to marry women from the tribe as it is believed this helps the tribe to extend and strengthen itself.

The Kingdom is the cradle of Islam, and its King (King Salman bin Abdulaziz Al Saud) is the highest authority in the country and is considered the custodian of the two holy mosques (Akbaba and Özdamar, 2019). Moreover, Islam is considered the source of the Kingdom's values and beliefs, and one of the two factors that influence the culture of Saudi Arabia (Zuhur, 2011). Therefore, religion can impact the phenomenon of domestic violence positively or negatively, which makes this study valuable. The study investigated the phenomenon of domestic violence in the southern province of Saudi Arabia and identifies the position of Islam on domestic violence and its triggers.

3. Research Aim

This research aims to investigate the phenomenon of domestic violence against women in the southern province in Saudi Arabia to gain a better understanding of the phenomenon. It also seeks to identify the position of Islam on domestic violence perpetrated against women, and whether this position differs from the position of the version of Islam that is adopted in Saudi Arabia (i.e. Wahhābīsm).

The investigation will help the Saudi government and the Saudi society to combat the phenomenon in the future. The sub-questions that drive the aim of the research are as follows:

First question: what are the forms of violence that Saudi women can experience in their domestic environment?

Second question: what are the triggers of domestic violence in Saudi Arabia?

The following were hypotheses guiding the thesis:

First hypothesis: there is widespread violence against women in south Saudi Arabia and its causes are numerous.

Second hypothesis: the culture in Saudi Arabia is influenced by two drivers (tribal culture and the particular version of Islam adopted in Saudi Arabia); these drivers influence the phenomenon of domestic violence in both a positive or negative manner.

4. Research Objectives

Objective 1: Identify the triggers of domestic violence against women in the southern province of Saudi Arabia. And also identify the specific forms of violence perpetrated against women domestically in the southern province of Saudi Arabia.

Objective 2: Identify the position of Islam on domestic violence triggers and whether there is association between the triggers of domestic violence and the Wahhābī teachings.

Objective 3: Identify whether the clarification of religious teachings can help in combating the phenomena of domestic violence in the southern province of Saudi Arabia or not.

5. The Structure of this Thesis

The purpose of this first chapter is to provide an overview of the thesis (i.e. the problem statement of the study, the aim of the study; and the objectives of the study) and a summary of each chapter. The second chapter offers a literature review which provides an overview of the literature that reviews the domestic violence theory. The third chapter expands the literature review to include a review of the literature that addresses the status of women in Islam. The fourth chapter enlarges the literature review still further to include the literature that addresses the status of women in Saudi Arabia. The fifth chapter presents the research methodology used in the study to document the investigation of how the data collection process was carried in. The sixth chapter presents the primary data analysis of the study. The seventh chapter and the final chapter discusses the conclusions drawn from this study.

5.1. Chapter 1: Research Introduction

This chapter contains the drivers of the study, namely: the research problem, the aim of the study; the objectives of this study. It also covers a summary of the chapters that were included in this thesis.

5.2. Chapter 2: Domestic Violence

This chapter aims to review the literature on domestic violence to introduce the fundamental concepts and theories of domestic violence, which will help the study to comprehend the phenomenon of domestic violence in a clear manner.

5.3. Chapter 3: Position of Wahhābī Islam on Domestic Violence perpetrated against Women

The aim of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive overview of the status of women in the context of Wahhābī doctrine because it is this doctrine that is followed in Saudi Arabia. The chapter also provides a glimpse of the status of women before Islam.

5.4. Chapter 4: Women in the Context of Saudi Arabia

This chapter is devoted to women's status in Saudi Arabia. It will provide a review of the literature that discusses the issues that influence women's position in Saudi Arabia.

5.5. Chapter 5: Research Methodology

This chapter outlines the research methodology that was used to investigate the phenomenon of domestic violence in the southern province of Saudi Arabia, in order to understand the phenomenon and its triggers.

5.6. Chapter 6: Data Analysis

This chapter presents the outcome of the analysis of the surveys that were distributed to thirty-three Saudi women who were the victims of domestic abuse, all of which were selected from three protection institutions that are located in three different cities in the southern province of Saudi Arabia. From these surveys, this study investigated the phenomenon of domestic violence that women experience in Saudi Arabia through a dialogue between the primary data and the literature. From the investigation, the study identified the forms of violence that were used in the southern province of Saudi Arabia and the triggers of violence as well.

5.7. Chapter 7: Findings, Conclusions, and Recommendations

This chapter presents the summary of the study and its outcomes, and the framework of the study. The framework shows the triggers of domestic violence in the southern province. This

is followed by the study contribution to theory and practice, the study limitations, and, finally, recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER 1

2.DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

2.1.Introduction to this Chapter

This chapter aims to review the literature on domestic violence to introduce the fundamental concepts and theories of domestic violence, which helped the study to comprehend the phenomenon of domestic violence in a clear manner. Additionally, it helped the study to identify the conceptual framework that the study used to design the work and organise the outcomes of the investigation. To do so, this chapter includes six sections as follows: the first section (see Section 2.1) reviews the definitions of the term ‘domestic violence’, and selects the definition that is considered the most relevant to the aim of this study.

The second section (Section 2.2) identifies the various forms of violence that women experience at home. This section gives a comprehensive overview of the different forms of violence that have been identified internationally, which will help the study to identify any gaps between the international literature and the primary data.

The third section (Section 2.3) discusses the impact of violence on women. This section is relevant because it highlights the effect of violence on women when they experience violence and/or after the prevention of violence, which will help the study to compare the impact of violence on women in the international literature with the primary data in the data analysis chapter.

The fourth section (Section 2.4) identifies the theories that explain domestic violence. This section lists the key theories that provide a clearer understanding of the roots of domestic violence. This will help the study to identify the specific roots of domestic violence in Saudi Arabia.

The final section (Section 2.5) identifies the reasons for violence against women. By identifying the reasons that lead to violence against women, the study can compare the reasons for violence that were identified in the international studies and the reasons that were identified in the primary data.

The final section (see Section 2.6) presents the rationale for the selection of the conceptual framework that assist the study to design the thesis and the outcomes of the study.

2.1. Definition of Domestic Violence against Women

The term 'violence' covers a broad range of behaviour, such as physical harassment, intimidation, sexual assault, and verbal abuse (Reid and Council of Europe, 2003). Furthermore, the term 'domestic' does not indicate the location, but rather the 'relational' nature of violence (Harne and Radford, 2008). Therefore, the meaning of the term 'domestic violence' is linked to criminal behaviour against victims who are considered to be relatives of the perpetrator.

The literature on domestic violence states that there is no universally agreed definition of domestic violence (Gelles and Straus, 1988; Renzetti et al., 2011). Therefore, scholars tend to disagree on whether the definition must be broad or narrow (DeKeseredy and Schwartz, 2013). For instance, the World Health Organisation (WHO) narrows the definition of the term 'violence' to physical abuse. The WHO website defines violence as:

the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual against oneself, another person, or against a group or community that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation

The definition used by the WHO website limits the term 'abuse' to physical power, without taking into consideration verbal abuse or other forms of abuse or controlling behaviour. Therefore, the term is not fit for this study as it must cover broader grounds.

DeKeseredy and MacLeod (1997) provided another example of a narrow definition of the term 'violence.' However, they defined violence in a domestic setting, which makes it a better fit to the subject of this study. DeKeseredy and MacLeod (1997, P. 5) defines violence as:

misuse of power by a husband or intimate partner or ex-husband or ex-partner against a woman, resulting in a loss of dignity, control, and safety as well as a feeling of powerlessness and entrapment experienced by the woman who is the direct victim of ongoing or repeated physical, psychological, economic, sexual, verbal, and/or spiritual abuse

However, the definition that DeKeseredy and MacLeod (1997) provided is considered narrow because it does not take into consideration the other individuals who may use violence against women, such as fathers or brothers.

A more comprehensive definition of domestic violence is described by Durose et al. (2005) as it incorporates all types of violent crime, whether committed by a biological or legal relative. Durose et al. (2005, P. 4) stated:

family violence includes all types of violent crime committed by an offender who is related to the victim either biologically or legally through marriage or adoption. A crime is considered family violence if the victim was the offender's current or former spouse; parent or adoptive parent; current or former stepparent; legal guardian; biological or adoptive child; current or former stepchild; sibling; current or former step sibling; grandchild; current or former step or adoptive-grandchild; grandparent; current or former step- or adoptive-grandparent; in-law; or other relative (aunt, uncle, nephew)

The definition provided by Durose et al. (2005) gives a comprehensive meaning of the term 'domestic violence' (also known as family violence) because it considers all relatives and all forms of legal abuse. However, the definition of the term 'domestic violence' includes victims of both genders (female and male) alike; to fulfil the purpose of this study, the study will narrow the focus of Durose et al.'s (2005) definition by including victims who are identified only as female.

2.2.Forms of Domestic Violence against Women

2.2.1.Introduction

Domestic violence against women depends heavily on the context (i.e. context specific). In other words, domestic violence against women depends on various factors, such as economic, cultural, and social circumstances (Levitt and Novikov, 2007). Therefore, experiencing domestic violence can vary from one victim to another. For instance, the literature that focuses on intimate partner violence shows that victims of abuse can experience emotional, psychological, sexual, or physical violence (e.g. Hearn and Parkin, 2001; Saunders, 2002; Jackson, 2003). Alternatively, other literature shows that victims can experience economic abuse, such as forbidding the victim to access her personal income or other methods that keep her financially dependent on the abuser (e.g. Sackett and Saunders, 1999; Kane et al., 2000).

The review of the literature indicates four forms of violence that are perpetrated against women; these are: physical violence (subsection 2.2.1), emotional violence (subsection 2.2.2), sexual violence (subsection 2.2.3), and forced marriage (subsection 2.2.4). The following subsections are the outcome of the literature review of these four forms of violence.

2.2.2.Physical Violence

In his encyclopaedia, Parrillo (2008, P. 1000) defined physical violence as follows

Physical violence is the material manifestation of harmful aggression with the intent to injure others. Examples include beating, burning, bombing, torturing, raping, or shooting.

Physical violence is the most common form of abuse that women experience from men (Krug, 2002; Johnson, 2015) who know them (Lasch et al., 2010; Zastrow and Kirst-Ashman, 2012). Such abuse includes kicking, slapping, choking, or pushing (Dishion and Snyder, 2016). Most cases of violence against women start with hitting the victim once, however the act of abuse increases over time (Hanmer and Stanko, 1985; Jackson, 2007). In their book, Harne and Radford (2008, P. 3) summarised the different types of physical violence as follows:

Physical violence is represented in the 'Imagine' poster in its references to 'being punched, slapped, hit, bitten, pinched, kicked, pushed, shoved, burnt, strangled and beaten', as an illustrative but not exhaustive list. Although not specified there, it can involve the use of weapons and objects, which may be household items like knives, belts, scissors, furniture, hot irons, cigarettes or indeed anything that comes to hand.

The World Bank (2018) describes violence against women as 'a global pandemic,' and it provides several staggering numbers that are associated with physical abuse. For instance, intimate partners are responsible for 38% of murders of women worldwide (The World Bank, 2018). Globally, at least 35% of women have experienced physical violence or/and sexual violence (The World Bank, 2018). Therefore, it is important to identify the causes of physical violence at a national level and aim to combat it as much as possible.

2.2.3. Emotional Violence

The definition of emotional violence as stated by Jackson (2007, P. 411) is:

willful infliction of emotional anguish by threat, humiliation, intimidation, or other abusive conduct. Isolation, name-calling, being treated like a child, and abusive verbal attacks are examples of this form of abuse

Emotional violence/abuse is a complex phenomenon that shows itself in different behaviours, such as humiliation and verbal abuse (Coker et al., 2002). Emotional violence is considered by the survivors of violence as the most hard form of domestic violence (Harne and Radford, 2008). Examples of verbal abuse are: lies, embarrassing the victim of abuse in front of family members, threatening to hit the victim with objects or a weapon (Abrahams et al., 2006).

It is important to note that traditional researchers pay more attention to physical violence and show less interest in emotional violence because they believe that physical violence

causes more harm (Arias, 1999). However, an increasing amount of evidence suggests that emotional abuse causes damage beyond that which is caused by physical violence (Arias and Pape, 1999; Spertus et al., 2003). Therefore, studies should differentiate between emotional abuse and physical abuse (Vangelisti, 2009).

2.2.4. Sexual Violence

The WHO (2002, P. 149) defines sexual violence as:

any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, or acts to traffic, or otherwise directed, against a person's sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting, including but not limited to home and work

The definition by the WHO (above) is considered general. Therefore, the study will focus only on sexual acts which occur within the boundaries of a family/intimate relationship.

Sexual violence aims to use verbal pressure to make the victim consent to a sexual act; it also includes forcing a woman to be involved in sexual acts against her wish or deny her the right to accept or refuse unprotected/protected sex (Dobash and Dobash, 1980). Denying women the right to accept or reject unprotected sex can put her life at risk, exposing her to life-threatening diseases such as AIDS, and it also exposes women to sexual acts without her consent. In their book, Harne and Radford (2008, P. 4) summarised the aim of 'sexual violence' as follows:

Sexual violence is a wide term used to describe rape and the humiliating range of unwanted, pressured and coerced sex that may be experienced in domestic violence contexts (Kelly, 1988). Sexual violence is often linked to physical violence, often perpetrated immediately after a physical assault and commonly accompanied by verbal violence (Johnson, 1995).

Men were once viewed as the ultimate authority and the final decision-maker in the family. However, the power of wives has rapidly increased. Between the 1970s and 1990s, data about marriages showed an increasing acceptance of equal relationships in which men and women share discussions, house responsibilities, and wage-earning (Lang and Risman 2007). Before the 1970s, sexual abuse in marriage was acceptable and not considered illegal (Anglin and Mitchell, 2009). However, it became illegal in the late 1970s in the United States of America (Anglin and Mitchell, 2009), which gave women more power.

The UN AIDS page states that women who experienced violence are 1.5 times more likely to get AIDS, and twice as likely to experience depression, compared to victims who have never experienced partner violence (The UN AIDS, 2018). Women who experience sexual

abuse can also suffer other health problems such as stomach pain and sexually transmitted diseases (Cuevas and Rennison, 2016).

2.2.5. Forced Marriage

The Foreign and Commonwealth Office (2005) defines forced marriage as:

a marriage in which one or both spouses do not (or, in the case of some adults with learning disabilities, cannot) consent to the marriage and duress is involved. Duress can include physical, psychological, financial, sexual and emotional pressure (Foreign and Commonwealth Office cited in Gill and Anitha, 2011, P. 26)

Forced marriage is linked frequently to child abuse (Clark et al., 2007). It also known as a form of domestic violence, which becomes a factor for intimate domestic violence (Gill and Anitha, 2011). Herring (2017, P. 98) provided recent figures regarding forced marriages in the UK in the year 2015. He stated the following:

The Government's Forced Marriage Unit dealt with 1,220 cases of alleged forced marriage in 2015. 214 Of these, 80 per cent were women and 27 per cent involved people below the age of 18. Most cases involved members of south Asian communities. Forced marriage is a breach of human rights. Article 12 of the European Convention on Human Rights protects the right to marry. This includes the right not to be forced into a marriage against your will.

In the UK, there is a widespread belief that forced marriage is practiced within the UK's Muslim and South Asian communities (Samad and Eade, 2002; Razack, 2004), which consequently helps to fuel anti-Islam feelings in the country. Therefore, it is important for governments in western and Eastern countries alike to combat the phenomenon of forced marriage through the creation of hotlines and social institutions that youth can access in case they come under pressure to enter a forced-marriage relationship.

Additionally, governments must take initiatives to criminalise forced marriages and increase awareness through TV ads or school seminars to educate citizens about their rights in national law and what they should do if these rights were violated.

2.3. Impact of Domestic Violence on Women

All forms of domestic violence have a profound impact on the victim of abuse (Mooney, 2000). Female victims are at risk of reproductive health problems (e.g. unwanted pregnancies, sexually transmitted diseases, and sexual dysfunction), and/or behavioural and psychological problems (e.g. addiction, suicidal behaviour, depression, and anxiety) as studies indicate (e.g. Herman, 1992; Fergusson et al., 1996; Tollestrup et al., 1999).

Researchers (e.g. Garcia-Moreno et al. 2005; Niolon et al., 2017) reported that the effect of the injuries that victims suffer could last long after the abuse has ended. For instance, victims have experienced chronic pain such as pelvic pain, headaches, and back pain (Coker et al., 2005; Bonomi et al., 2007; Cuevas and Rennison, 2016), or greater and more severe pain may remain in the long-term (Humphreys et al., 2011). Moreover, victims of abuse may also suffer from debilitating pain (Wuest et al., 2008), a loss of appetite (Lindgren and Renck, 2008), gynaecological disorders such as vaginal bleeding/infection and sexually transmitted infections, or chronic pelvic pain (Campbell, 2002).

The literature indicates that intimate partner violence is the main cause of physical injuries (e.g. bruises, head injuries, gunshot wounds, or miscarriages) in women (Dutton et al., 2006). In their study, Heise and Watts (2011, P. 695) highlighted the outcomes of several international studies which show the scale of intimate partner violence as follows:

This study found that the lifetime prevalence for physical and sexual partner violence ranged from 15 per cent in a Japanese city to 71 per cent in an Ethiopian province (Garcia-Moreno et al. 2005). In Europe, several nationally representative surveys have been conducted but they all used different study designs and measures of partner violence. These studies estimate the lifetime prevalence of physical or sexual partner violence among women to be 32 per cent in Finland (Lundgren et al. 2002), 27 per cent in Norway (Nerøien and Schei 2008), 21 per cent in Switzerland (Gillioz et al. 1997) and 18 per cent in Portugal (Lourenco et al. 1997). The nationally representative survey of women in Germany, which is the foundation for this article's secondary analysis, found that 25 per cent of German women had experienced physical or sexual partner violence, or both, in their lifetime (Müller and Schröttle 2004).

The figures mentioned by Heise and Watts (2011) show that intimate partner violence is not just a small scale problem, but rather a global phenomenon that needs international cooperation as it deeply impacts women's health, as indicated in the literature.

Female victims of domestic violence tend to experience changes in personality, which puts them at risk as they become helpless in resisting continued harm (e.g. Herman, 1992; Sheehy, 2014). The perpetrator gains power over the female victim's body through deprivation of human basic needs, such as food, shelter, or sleep (Herman, 1992); this diminishes the victim's ability to take any action (Herman, 1992). The creation of a community support system can protect female victims experiencing trauma, especially if the abuse of the victim has started at an early age, which makes the victim more vulnerable from a psychological standpoint (Herman, 1992).

The literature that explores the association between violence and trauma indicate that women who have experienced violence suffer from a complex traumatic syndrome, which

includes idealisation of the perpetrator, anxiety, and depression (American Psychiatric Association, 1994).

Studies (e.g. O'Campo et al., 2006; Neroien and Schei, 2008; Dillon et al., 2013) show that harm experienced by domestic violence victims can go beyond physical abuse, namely: mental abuse, substance abuse, post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, and suicidal behaviour. However, depression (Sutherland et al., 2002; Dutton et al., 2006; Vos et al., 2006) and post-traumatic stress disorder are the most common mental health problems that female victims suffer from before and/or after the end of abuse (Sutherland et al., 2002; Dutton et al., 2006). Moreover, female victims of abuse are more likely to commit suicide than other women (Ellsberg et al., 2008; Devries et al., 2011), and domestic violence victims are more likely than other women to experience mental health problems as studies have indicated (e.g. Straus et al., 2009; Lindhorst and Beadnell, 2011; Dillon et al., 2013).

The empirical studies cited in this subsection show that domestic violence is associated with many mental and physical problems, which indicates clearly that future actions are needed, one of which is further research that studies different contexts to provide more answers and solutions to domestic violence.

2.4.Theories of Violence

2.4.1.Introduction

What causes a person to abuse a family member? More specifically, what leads someone to abuse a woman in the family? The answer to this question helps professionals and social workers to intervene to protect domestic violence victims and reduce future suffering. There are various theories that attempt to provide an explanation of human violent behaviours.

The literature on domestic violence identifies a number of different abusive behaviour and acts. For this reason, there is no single theory that can explain all behaviours of abusers. There are two approaches to explain violent behaviour; these are the macro approach and the micro approach (Teasdale and Bradley, 2016). The macro approach focuses on the external environment surrounding a person, such as social variables and constructs. On the other hand, the micro approach tends to focus on micro details, for instance, the character of the family, the abuser, and the victim.

This study has identified five theories that can explain violent behaviour (see Subsections 2.4.1; 2.4.2; 2.4.3; 2.4.4; 2.4.5).

2.4.2.Social Learning Theory

This theory maintains that violent behaviour is not inherited by a person; rather, it is learned. Furthermore, studies indicate that observed behaviour is more likely to be imitated (Edleson and Bergen, 2011).

The social learning theory is used to explain violence against women in an intimate relationship (Levinson, 1989). A male child learns how to behave by observing the behaviour of people around him, such as his father, which leads him to develop a similar moral and emotional approach (Hines and Malley-Morrison, 2005); this affects the way the male child behaves with his parent or others (Hines and Malley-Morrison, 2005). Consequently, if partners have acted violently with a male child or if the child has seen his father abusing his spouse, the child is more likely to adopt this behaviour towards his future intimate partner or other family members. The transfer of violent/abusive behaviours to children is known as ‘the cycle of violence’.

The social learning theory states that a child must possess the ability to observe the violent act, to remember this act, and to commit it. Moreover, the child must possess a reason to commit acts of violence.

2.4.3.Social Exchange Theory

This theory states that family conflict is the outcome of a person’s need to gain control over a family member through the use of violence (Danis, 2003). The abuser (most likely an adult male) uses violence in the relationship to control the behaviour of the victim (who is less powerful). Wives (victims) tolerate violence from their husbands for the sake of sustaining the relationship as they view marriage as a significant investment and divorce as an unrecoverable loss (Danis, 2003). The perception of society of men as the superior partner and women as the inferior partner also encourages violence against women (Ceccato, 2015), and that applies to all communities worldwide.

This theory maintains that the seeking of rewards and the avoidance of punishment regulates human behaviour (Burgess and Drais-Parrillo 2005). Therefore, men may use violence against women in the family because they think that there is no cost to the abuse; however, by using physical force with a family member, the abuser may risk criminal charges, divorce, or being beating (Pfouts, 1978).

Applications of this theory tend to focus on the objective of creating regulations, laws, and ways of enforcing them. This theory can be used to justify laws that punish criminal

acts, which could have the effect of reducing the number of future crimes. The social exchange theory suggests that the best way to fight domestic violence is by enforcing laws to punish abusers. This would send a clear message that the cost of abusing a family member is higher than any reward of control that the abuser hopes to gain by acting violently.

2.4.4.Feminist Theory

This theory views domestic violence as the result of a society that gives men the power to manipulate and control women (Cunningham et al., 1998). The outcome of giving this power to men is the creation of a condition of inequality between women and men (Cunningham et al., 1998). The state of inequality manifests itself in the form of a patriarchal society that hinders women from gaining their rights to participate fully in political, economic, and social systems (Cunningham et al., 1998).

It is worth noting that there are different definitions to the term ‘feminism’ (Renzetti, 2008), but it can be broadly defined as a set of theories that investigate women’s oppression and the ways to change this condition (Daly and Chesney-Lind, 1988).

The feminist theory views the community/society as the cause of domestic violence because it creates a system that gives men the ultimate power over women, and keeps women in an inferior position in society (Danis, 2003). For this reason, the theory sees the origin of domestic violence as a feature of the system rather than being due to individual factors that shape the behaviour of certain men (Danis, 2003).

The feminist theory states that in order to reduce the severity of the domestic violence problem, society must grant equal rights to women and men (Cunningham et al., 1998). For this reason, women must receive equal rights to work, the ability to change laws that create inequality and receive equal pay that enable women to be independent.

The theory asserts that a patriarchal society can be embedded in its structure and can easily pass from one generation to another, influencing the structure of societies in a way that favours men over women (Cossman et al., 2003).

The feminist theory faces criticisms for various reasons. For instance, the theory relies on one variable (patriarchy) to explain violence against women in a multivariate and complex world (Gelles, 1999). Moreover, the theory does not justify the differences across different cultures and time. Furthermore, it addresses violence against wives but does not explain the broad problem of domestic violence (Albers, 1999). For instance, feminist theory cannot explain violence between siblings, violence against children, or elderly abuse.

Feminism is an important movement because it highlights the key challenges that women face in the world, such as women's rights to abortion, and it has a significant role to play in the fight against domestic violence against women. However, the theory cannot provide answers to all cases of domestic violence.

2.4.5. Cultural Theory

Cultural theory provides a macro analysis of domestic violence (Kurst-Swanger and Petcosky, 2003). This theory looks at values and norms of society to comprehend the differences in domestic violence within and across cultures (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1982; Payne and Gainey, 2002).

Cultural theory aims to understand how norms and values of specific cultures transfer to the values and norms of families and, consequently, the way culture influences domestic violence (Flowers, 1994) because it is believed that domestic violence is the outcome of systems rather than individual pathologies (Straus et al., 1980; Wallace and Roberson, 2016). For this reason, there are several questions that need to be addressed. For instance, to what extent can we tolerate violence in our environment? Are some forms of violence more tolerable than others?

Subcultural theory states that society is divided into subgroups that develop certain values and norms to justify the use of violence (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1982; Downes, 2013).

Culture theory suggests some reasons why certain populations and groups in society are more prone to violence than other groups within the same society. For example, studies found that rates of violence are higher in lower socioeconomic groups, and the same observation was indicated among Latinos/Hispanics and African-Americans (Petersen, 1980).

2.4.6. Cycle of Violence Theory

The cycle of violence theory states that a child who grows up in a violent home may turn violent as well as they learn from their elders to behave violently. Jackson (2007, P. 286) summarised the meaning of the theory of cycle of violence as follows:

The Cycle of Violence theory is also known as the Intergeneration Transmission of Violence theory. This theory holds that violent behavior is learned within the family and bequeathed from one generation to the next. For example, if a child is raised in a family where there is abuse, the child may grow up to likewise become an abuser. According to the Cycle of Violence theory, the childhood survivor of a violent family thus develops a tendency toward violence as an adult.

Kubeka (2008) argued that children who experience violence will embrace several beliefs as follow: firstly, those who love you are those who beat you; secondly, those you love are those you beat; thirdly, violence can be used to obtain a desired end; finally, violence is permissible when other ways are not effective.

The theory explains violence against women through the transmission of violent behaviour from parents to children who will turn violent against their wives or other female family members. However, it is wrong to lay all the blame on what children learn in the family. For instance, many children who grow up in relatively non-violent families can turn out to be violent with their children and/or with their partners.

Additionally, children who grow up in abusive families can turn out to be non-violent adults, or a child can have an abusive father but still grow up to be non-violent because of the mother's influence on his behaviour. Jackson (2007) highlighted the cycle of violence theory's failure to address children who grow up in a violent house and become non-violent.

2.4.7. Ecological Model

Ecological model contains various levels of influences that work as an ecosystem method to keep the risk of violence against women (Brownridge, 2009). The model investigates this type of violence within a set of environmental contexts (Brownridge, 2009). The Ecological model is utilised in an effort to highlight, plan, or organise a dependent and coordinated method. A four level model (see the figure 2.1) has been presented and discussed in one of the world reports on health and violence (Krug et al., 2002). Moreover, the model provides a framework for comprehending the interplay of various factors (i.e. individual factors, relational factors, social factors, political factors, cultural factors, and environmental factors), and It also provides main points for intervention and prevention (Powell et al., 1999). The framework includes four levels as follows (see also Figure 2.1):

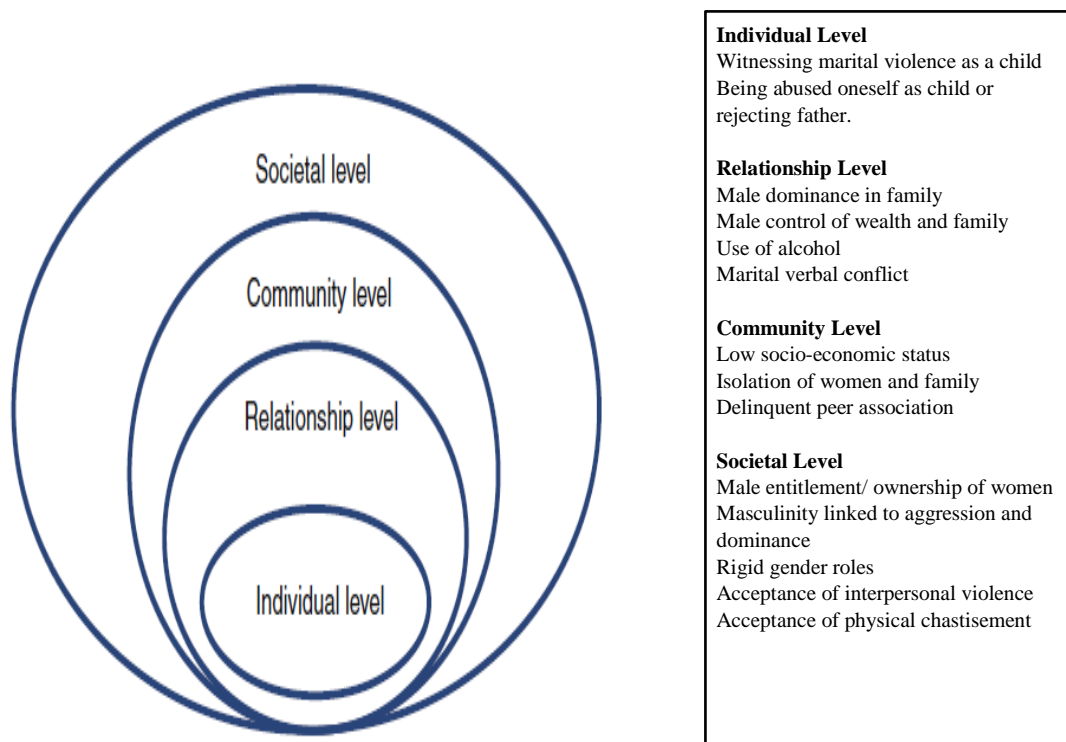


Figure 2.1: Ecological Model

Individual level (Ontogenic/Personal History): At this level, personal history and biological factors are likely to shape and influence individual to become an offender (Krug et al., 2002). This refers to an individual’s development and how the individual brings his/her development to the other system (levels). To prevent individuals from becoming offenders, measures are taken to design cognitive and social behaviours and skills. An intervention approach aim to counselling, training and therapy (Powell et al., 1999). In their book, Renzetti et al. (2011, P. 15) summarised the aim of Individual level as follows:

This level refers to a person’s individual development and what such development brings to the above three levels (i.e. Relationship level, Community level, and Societal level)

Relationship level (Microsystem): this level refers to the type of relationship with intimate partners, peers, and family members, that they are embedded at the present. The focus of this level is to identify factors that increase the possibility of risk as an outcome of relationships and shape behaviour and also shape individuals’ behaviour, and various experiences (Krug et al., 2002). In their book, Renzetti et al. (2011, P. 15) summarised the aim of Relationship level as follows:

This refers to the relationship in which violence takes place..

Community level (Exosystem): this level refers to community characteristics and various institutions in which social relations can take place. This includes neighbourhood within which the families of the abusers function. It addresses the formal and informal networks that link the broader culture with intimate relationships, reinforce behaviours and beliefs, and influence values of communities and norms (Krug et al., 2002). This includes relationship between community and the system, social support, social services, workplaces, and schools. Efforts at community-level efforts are normally designed to influence the policies, system, and climate in a specific setting (Powell et al., 1999). In their book, Renzetti et al. (2011, P. 15) summarised the aim of community level as follows:

This concept refers to informal and formal social networks that connect intimate relationships to the broader culture.

Societal level (Macrosystem): this level includes societal norms, attitude, and border cultural belief regarding specific values. It also includes gender relation in intimate relationships that can trigger the abuse of women. This level focuses on the larger society that contains all the social or economic policies that design or sustain tensions and gaps between different groups of individuals (Krug et al., 2002). At this level, efforts include collaboration between many partners to influence policies and laws linked to violence against women or to gender inequality. This level demands efforts to comprehend social norms that reinforces and promote abuse while designing change strategies. It is likely to be influenced by the policies and laws enforced and promulgated (Powell et al., 1999). In their book, Renzetti et al. (2011, P. 15) summarised the aim of Societal level as follows:

This refers to broader cultural factors, such as patriarchal attitudes and beliefs about gender relations in intimate relationships.

2.5.Triggers of Domestic Violence Against Women

2.5.1.Introduction

The literature on domestic violence clearly shows that domestic violence is not a rare phenomenon that only appears in small-scale contexts (Choudhuri, 2007; Okpaku, 2014). In fact, it is a systemic, recurrent (Misra, 2007), and structural manifestation of social control (Misra, 2007; Asay et al., 2013). No single factor can explain the existence of the domestic violence phenomenon (Lee, 2019). Rather, there are various interrelated factors, such as

cultural factors and institutional factors (Harne and Radford, 2008; Lee, 2019). It is not easy to explain the phenomenon of domestic violence through these factors alone, as the causes of the phenomenon may be deeply-rooted in the inequalities between the two genders (Asay et al., 2013). Moreover, existing traditions and customs can reinforce inherited inequalities and discrimination, which is considered a manifestation of the patriarchal society.

It is important to note that the factors that trigger domestic violence can interact with domestic violence in a two-way relationship, namely: the factors that trigger domestic violence are the same factors that can be the results of domestic violence. For instance, poverty can lead to domestic violence, and in turn domestic violence can lead to poverty. Therefore, the relationship between the triggers of domestic violence and the phenomenon of domestic violence itself is considered a complex one. It is important to note that domestic violence occurs most likely in low-class communities; however, it does appear across all societies and classes. Therefore, it is important to focus on curing the cause(s) rather than curing the effect(s) of domestic violence. The following subsections contain the causes/triggers of domestic violence that have been identified from the relevant literature.

2.5.2. Addiction

The use of drugs/alcohol can trigger violence against women; for instance, substances can be used as a reason of exercising control over a family member/partner, or they spark conflict over the use of drugs/alcohol, or they involve an attempt on the abuser's part to force his partner to take drugs with him (Klostermann and Fals-Stewart, 2006; Straussner and Fewell, 2011).

Studies indicate that there is a causal link between the use of alcohol/drugs and violence against women (e.g. Fergusson et al., 2005; Zinzow et al., 2009; Reingle et al., 2013; Gonzalez et al., 2014). Although the literature on domestic violence identifies an association between alcohol use and violence (e.g. Reingle et al., 2013; Ozcan et al., 2016), it is possible that substance users are justifying their violent behaviour or the severity of it through the use of drugs/alcohol or any other substance (Larry and Bland, 2008; Murray and Graves, 2013).

It is worth noting that the use of substances and their corresponding violent behaviours could also be the effects of a deeper problem caused by a mental disorder. Moreover, the use of alcohol/drugs is not the sole cause of violence; the literature shows there are cases of family violence reported that were not caused by alcohol/drug addiction because the abusers were not addicted to or under the influence of any substance. (Mahapatro et al., 2012).

2.5.3. Self-Control

Self-Control is, defined as:

the ability to alter one's thoughts, emotions, and behaviors or to override impulses and habits, allows one to monitor and regulate oneself to meet expectations. These expectations can be imposed by society or by oneself, and include laws, norms, ideals, goals and other standards. - (Vohs and Baumeister, 2016, P. 42)

Poor self-control is another factor that increases the risk of violence against women (Finkenauer et al., 2015; Finkenauer et al., 2018). Individuals with high self-control are happier, healthier, and more able to maintain stable relationships (De Ridder et al., 2012; Hofmann, et al., 2014). To the contrary, individuals with poor self-control have poorer mental health and tend to be underachievers (Moffitt et al., 2011), drug abusers (Tangney et al., 2004), and violent towards lose relations (Finkel et al., 2009).

If a male is able to control his behaviour, this can help him to avoid conflicts with his female family member (Howells et al., 2004). Otherwise, lack of self-control may increase the chances of domestic violence. Having a low-quality relationship is more likely to lead to poor self-control (Miller et al., 2011), which can produce aggressive behaviour (Denson et al., 2011), intimate partner violence (Finkel et al., 2009), and distrust (Righetti and Finkenauer, 2011). Therefore, self-control can decrease the chances of domestic violence among family members.

2.5.4. Family

There is a role that women often play in the family, which is to offer care for family members in the house; this includes caring for the sick, which is often a heavy load on women's shoulders (Brown et al., 2000). The literature shows that a correlation exists between the number of children and the occurrence of domestic violence (Allen, 2012). Having more children results in a smaller share of resources per person, which can increase the level of stress on the family head, and therefore increases the possibility of violence being used (Renzetti et al., 2011).

Studies that explore the impact of children on marriages show that the level of marital satisfaction drops among couples after childbirth, this could be due to a decrease in the amount of time a couple has to pursue their interests (Brown et al., 2000). It is also the case that every additional child is likely to increase the workload of parents, and therefore the possibility of conflict grows (Haughton and Haughton, 1995). Traditional families in Saudi

Arabia tend to view women as responsible for children, and therefore, any unacceptable behaviour from the children will be blamed on the mother (Geffner et al., 2013). The literature furthermore indicates that there is an association between family type (e.g. size, type of family, and the sex of the children) and domestic violence (Geffner et al., 2013).

2.5.5. Religion

Religion is a critical factor in people's lives as it promotes a specific philosophy that guides individuals in how to live (Ram, 2004). Many individuals are influenced by religious beliefs, traditions, and holy texts (Alkhateeb et al., 2003).

In the context of domestic violence, religion can sometimes be used to justify violence, or it can be used to control domestic violence and to provide a source of healing for abused women (Nason-Clark et al., 2017). It is important to note that beliefs and values are commonly acquired by individuals through religious institutions (Alkhateeb et al., 2003). Therefore, religions have the power to influence societies in a negative or positive manner.

The literature on domestic violence shows that monotheistic religions (i.e. Judaism, Christianity, and Islam) tend to condone male domination in the family (Ahmed, 2009). However, religious figures can play a vital role in contesting violence against women and also providing spiritual treatment of its victims (Ahmed, 2009). Nonetheless, the misinterpretation of some of the religious texts or verses may lead individuals to commit domestic violence against women.

2.5.6. Honour Killing

'Honour' killing is an extreme act of violence that results in the murder of a female member of the family/community (Meetoo and Mirza, 2007). In cultures where honour is an essential value, men are frequently agents of that honour. Therefore, once the family's honour has been destroyed by a female member of the family, there is an urge for immediate action to restore the family's honour (Department of Justice - Canada, 2017). In various countries in the world, women are murdered in order to protect the honour of the family. The literature has identified several causes for a male member of the family to murder his female relative (Meetoo and Mirza, 2007; Shīkh et al., 2018).

Certain cultures consider honour killings as less serious felonies than other murder cases because the concept of honour killings is embedded in the culture and has a long-standing tradition (Fluehr-Lobban, 1998; Cohan, 2010). A study conducted in Turkey on honour

killings shows there is little social stigma associated with honour killings (Gezer, 2008). The team that conducted the study visited forty-four prisons and interviewed hundred and eighty perpetrators of honour killings. Of these cases, 100% say they do not feel any regret (Gezer, 2008).

In recent times, there have been both economic and cultural changes in women's status. Women who live in patriarchal cultures and have gained financial independence from their families risk clashing with their male-dominated culture (Onur Ince et al., 2009; Petherick and Sinnamon, 2016). It is important to note that there have also been cultural and economic changes in men's status as they gain more education and possess a better quality job, which helped men to reduce their antipathy to women. It also helps some societies to reduce the effect of patriarchal cultures that were embedded in the overall system.

Studies argue that the shift in responsibilities of women cause male family members to behave in a violent manner in order to regain control/power (Onur Ince et al., 2009). There are reasons that lead a male family member to commit an act of honour killing against one of his female family members, for instance, seeking a divorce, refusal of an arranged marriage, homosexuality, or being victims of rape (Daigle, 2017).

2.5.7. Child Marriage

In some traditions (e.g. Latin America and South Asia), child marriage remains acceptable. This type of marriage is commonly accepted in some societies where girls are viewed as a burden, or when the family wants to ensure the daughter's financial security (Stark, 2017). Child marriage is considered a form of violence, whether the child consents to the marriage or not because such marriages do not take into consideration the physical and health conditions of children, especially young girls, who may suffer tremendously (Vogelstein, 2013).

In many countries, the legal age of marriage is higher for males than for females. For instance, the legal age of marriage for females is 16 years or below (World Health Organization, 2005). Child marriages put young wives into situations for which they are not prepared. Additionally, young girls will not have bargaining power and consequently are more likely to experience one form (or more) of domestic violence (World Health Organization, 2005).

A survey conducted by the International Centre for Research on Women in India found that girls who were married at a young age (below 18 years of age) are twice as likely to

experience physical violence as females who were married at an older age (Brysk, 2018). Young girls are three times more likely to experience sexual violence and will not be allowed to participate in future decisions regarding aspects of their personal lives (Bergner, 2008).

Globally, more than seventy million females were married before they reached the age of 18. Young brides tend to show signs of post-traumatic stress (e.g. severe depression and feelings of hopelessness) and sexual abuse. Moreover, child marriages can increase the chances of teenage pregnancy (Lee-Rife et al., 2012).

2.5.8. Occupation Type/Status

Occupation type is considered a significant indicator of an individual's position in society (Mishra, 2000; Ram, 2004). Studies indicate that individuals performing lower status jobs were more likely to resort to domestic violence to vent their economic-related stress (Gelles and Cornell, 1990; Russell, 2010). Studies also show that women are more likely to experience domestic violence when they are unemployed (Riger and Staggs, 2004), or possess low socioeconomic status (Tokuc et al., 2010), because they have fewer economic resources than women from other economic classes (Cools and Kotsadam, 2017), which leads them to become more economically dependent on their partners (Davis & Greenstein, 2009).

The loss of work may lead to reduced financial stability in women and, consequently, disempowerment; this puts unemployed women at a higher risk of violence (Levinson, 1989; Russell, 2010) and in a weaker position to negotiate or contribute to decisions regarding the family's future (Naved, 2013). It is important to note that women from all economic and social levels can experience any form of domestic violence, but women who belong to a low economic class are more likely to experience it than other women (Cools and Kotsadam, 2017).

The literature suggests that women from all classes can experience domestic violence because perpetrators tend to use violence to regain a position of power over women when resources are absent (Atkinson et al., 2005). In other words, the use of violence against women can be an alternative to providing resources, which are traditionally used to gain power.

2.5.9. Neighbourhood

Economically disadvantaged neighbourhoods have a denser population and living conditions that are considered poor in comparison with affluent neighbourhoods, and where social incivilities are visible (Hattery, 2009). Men who live in such areas are more likely to either be unemployed or possess a low-level job; either will not provide him with the status of a traditional man who provides for the financial needs of his family (Ragavan et al., 2006). For this reason, such men tend to use violence as an alternative way of imposing dominance (DeKeseredy et al., 2003). The lack of economic resources in disadvantaged neighborhoods often leads residents to experience social isolation, which can spark anti-social behaviour such as domestic violence (Ragavan et al., 2006; Raghavan and Cohen, 2013).

2.5.10. Male Ideology about Marriage

The literature suggests that a male ideology can contribute to the increase/decrease of domestic violence against women. In other words, if a man views marriage from a traditional lens (i.e. women should stay at home and men are the only breadwinners), this view can increase the chance of conflict between partners in a modern society, and therefore, it increases the chances of the female partner experiencing violence. This could be the case if the female partner shares the household earnings while the male partner holds a traditional idea of marriage (Atkinson et al., 2005). When the male possesses traditional views, he tends to use violence against his female partner as a substitute of his lack/shortage of resources; this view is supported by more recent literature (Dong, 2017).

2.5.11. Education Level

Education expands the minds of individuals and prompts them to gain further knowledge regarding matters in their surrounding environment. Education also enhances individual skills for solving family conflicts and differences (Kishor, 2000). Moreover, education is shown to be a tool of empowerment for women because it gives women the ability to collect and process information from the external environment (Kishor, 2000); this allows women to gain further knowledge regarding the external environment and understand how to deal with it.

The literature on domestic violence identified an association between a low level of education in women and domestic violence (Naved, 2013). Therefore, women with higher levels of education are less likely to experience domestic violence (Mahapatro et al., 2012);

they can also utilise education in times of need. Moreover, education gives women the ability to know and use their rights; therefore, they will be less likely to experience domestic violence (Indian Council of Medical Research, 2009). It is worth noting that an unbalanced level of education can lead to domestic violence against women, namely: women may experience domestic violence if they have a higher/lower education level than their partners (Cools and Kotsadam, 2017).

2.5.12. Communication

Many studies claim that poor communication skills are the cause of domestic violence (e.g. Ludermir et al., 2010; Shuib et al., 2013; Walker et al., 2015). The lack of effective communication between partners increases the chances of conflicts and therefore the occurrence of domestic violence (Semahegn and Mengistie, 2015). The literature suggests that communication can occur as an intervening variable between causes of domestic violence and risk factors (Khan, 2015). This implies that the enhancement of communication skills can decrease the possibility of conflict and, therefore, decrease the chances of the occurrence of domestic violence (Ghimire et al., 2015). It is important to identify that good communication skills build respect between partners, which maintains a healthy relationship between a married couple (Walker et al., 2015).

The literature cited above indicates that it is important to develop good communication skills because a lack of such skills can have an indirect and direct influence on the chances of domestic violence occurring.

2.6. Conceptual Framework of the Thesis

2.6.1. Rationale for the Selection of the Conceptual Framework

The fourth section of this chapter contains a presentation of the different theories that aim to explain the phenomenon of domestic violence. Each of these theories has contributed to the comprehension of the domestic violence phenomenon. However, some of the theories are more productive than others.

The domestic violence phenomenon is a complex phenomenon that can be influenced by various factors. These factors can be personal, economic, political, or cultural. Therefore, the conceptual framework must have the ability to address many factors on a number of levels and draw a connection between these levels if necessary to explain the domestic violence phenomenon; this allows the study to open the horizons of interpretations and exploration of

the phenomenon, which will prevent the study from limiting itself to the interpretations of other theories that may view the domestic violence phenomenon from one factor only. Additionally, the conceptual framework was used to help the study provide a structural method of collecting and communicating the findings.

To fulfil the aim of this work, the study has adopted one of these theories. The theory that was adopted is the ecological theory. This theory can capture multiple factors that operate on various levels (Heise, 1998; Dutton, 2006), and the model is considered flexible and can be altered to match the topic that a study aims to investigate (Brownridge, 2009). Ecological theory aims to comprehend human behaviour and understanding people within their environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). It also conceptualises abuse/violence as a multifaceted phenomenon (Dasgupta, 2001).

The conceptual framework captured various factors that were associated with violence against women in the literature. However, the conceptual framework may not include all of the factors related to violence against women as they were not identified in the literature that the study reviewed to identify the triggers/factors that led to the exercise of domestic violence. In their book, Renzetti et al. (2011, P. 15) summarised the benefits of the use of the ecological model as follows:

Ecological models are appealing to many researchers because they direct attention to different levels of analysis and to a broad range of factors that contribute to violence against women (Dasgupta, 2002; Dutton, 2006). Moreover, these models are flexible and can be modified to fit the topic being studied and the scholar's personal style (Brownridge, 2009; Heise, 1998).

The framework aims to explain the interaction between individuals and their social environments (Dutton, 1994), and it contains four different levels as follows: individual level, relationship level, community level and societal level.

Although the theories on domestic violence that were identified in the literature review have helped the researcher to understand the phenomenon of domestic violence, the selection of the ecological framework to structure this work did not exclude the possibility that other theories may support, deepen the understanding, or even construct one or more of the outcomes of the study. For this reason, the study will address relevant theories that can explain domestic violence as necessary. This is to ensure that the study can thoroughly explore the domestic violence phenomenon in the southern provinces of Saudi Arabia and understand it in the best way possible.

2.6.2.The Association Between the Conceptual Framework and the Research Methodology

Addressing the variety of conceptual frameworks (e.g. social learning theory, social exchange theory, and feminist theory) has helped the study to understand the phenomenon of domestic violence against women and its triggers in a deeper manner. However, the study has selected the ecological model to organise the outcomes of it. The study has selected this framework for the reasons that follow: firstly, the various components of the ecological conceptual framework propose different kinds of information (e.g. age and education level) and interactions (e.g. gender roles). The information needed may be gathered through the use of different methods (e.g. interviews, surveys, or both) to capture different data (i.e. qualitative data, or quantitative data, or both).

Secondly, the ecological framework possesses the ability to investigate a broad phenomenon, such as domestic violence (Kingry-Westergaard and Kelly, 1990). The ability of the ecological framework to investigate widespread phenomenon makes it ideal for this thesis and its investigation.

Finally, the literature review shows that domestic violence can be triggered by different factors, some of which can be individual or cultural. Therefore, the ecological framework is the best fit for this study to ensure that it can address and contain the different factors that belong to various levels.

2.6.3.Designing of the Present Thesis

The location and nature of the investigation can determine the methods that are considered the most appropriate for a study (Peat, 2002). This study took place in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, which shaped the process of this investigation through the presence of regulations and standards that investigators must follow. Therefore, it was critical to determine the approach of the investigation of a complex phenomenon (i.e. domestic violence) that investigates a specific population (Saudi women) who are located in the southern province of Saudi Arabia.

Taking into consideration the focus of the thesis, the design of the work was influenced by the complex nature and sensitivity of this study. Moreover, the nature of the investigation led the researcher to collect two sets of data (qualitative and quantitative). The review of the theories on domestic violence (one of which is the ecological theory) has helped the researcher to investigate the work while taking into consideration any ethical issues. For

instance, the researcher already knew after reading the literature that victims of domestic abuse need their identity to be protected. Therefore, the study did not mention any personal data that may lead to revealing the identity of any of the victims.

2.7.Previous Studies and Findings of These Studies

Domestic violence is not an issue that is specific to a particular country. All countries suffer from this problem, and Saudi Arabia is no exception. However, there is a lack of statistical evidence in this field, maybe because delving into family affairs is regarded as a taboo in the country of Saudi Arabia (Kechichian, 2013).

A few cities have some empirical documentation in terms of surveys and qualitative research studies; these cities include Riyadh, Jeddah, Makkah, Madinah, Taif and Alahsa. At the same time, other cities lack any form of study in the field of domestic violence. These cities are mainly the southern cities of Abha, Najran and Jizan, which will be the forms of attention in this research. Studies that have been conducted previously in Saudi Arabia have included both qualitative and quantitative research. However, most of these studies have focused on the issue of violence as a social problem alone, and the researchers did not take into consideration the religious side.

AlKateeb (2005), in her book titled *Domestic Violence Against Women in Riyadh city in the Undergraduate Studies Research Center for Girls*, aimed to shed light on the issue of domestic violence and the factors that may give rise to it, as well as the relationship between the phenomenon of domestic violence and social variables such as educational level, individual income and accommodation.

AlKateeb (2005) used the analysis method, based on cases of violence that required medical attention and were referred to Riyadh Hospital and the Centre of Social Counselling during the year 2005. She collected around 102 cases from the hospital and 47 from the centre and analysed them. She also interviewed some doctors in the hospital to understand and to be able to depict the extent of the problem. She differentiated two types of violence: violence from men towards women and violence from women towards themselves.

The results indicated 96 cases of attempted suicide in the hospital during the first nine months of 2005. In addition, there were 133 women who came to the hospital due to violence, 102 of which were Saudi women whilst 31 cases were of different ethnic nationalities. However, the researcher did not distinguish or categorise types of domestic violence against the victims; she only used the concept of violence for all her results.

She noticed that the number of domestic violence cases increased during summer holidays as well as at the beginning of the school term. Due to an increased financial burden, incidence of domestic violence tended to go up during this period; for example, most Saudi families prefer to postpone important events, such as weddings and other family gatherings, to the summer holidays, which tends to add to the financial difficulties of the summer vacation.

By the same method, AlRadean (2008) conducted a survey among 267 women (who utilised the health care centres) to collect information about the most typical types of domestic violence, and ascertained that financial difficulty was the core reason behind the abusers legitimising their domestic violence. The results of the study indicated that prevalence of social, financial and verbal violence tended to be rampant as compared to physical and sexual violence. However, a notable shortfall of the questionnaires distributed to the participants is that the questions focused on the opinions of the participants rather than their experience of domestic violence.

In Riyadh city, AlFaiz (2007) conducted a study entitled "Saudi women facing physical, psychological and sexual violence in terms of spreading forms and causes of violence against women". The questionnaires for this study were distributed to 219 women. Results showed that 95.9% of the participants had experienced psychological violence. This was the most common form of abuse, while sexual violence on the other hand was not so rife; the figure for this type of violence was 6.8%.

A study entitled "Patterns of domestic violence that are practised against married women who are employees" in Naif Arab University for Security Sciences was conducted in the city of Riyadh, but was limited to married women who are working in the field of education, health and banks (AlShehri, 2013). The purpose of the study was to establish the extent of the spread of psychological, physical and economical violence against married women, and further to explore the factors and reasons, as well as the effects, of violence. Were the tool that the researcher used and distributed amongst 300 women to reach the aim of the study. Most of the participants held a high educational qualification; 87.1% of them had both a bachelor's and a master's degree.

The results indicated that financial violence is the most prevalent type of violence by 2.2%. The study also noticed that domestic violence tended to be more widespread amongst women with lower educational qualifications, as compared to those who have high

education. Traditional factors such as masculine culture and a misunderstanding of Alqawamah ('to be responsible') were the most prevalent factors that led to violence (2.8%), followed by psychological factors of 2.5%. Similarly, the study "Patterns of abuse that are common among Saudi wives in Makkah" (Alsobban, 2009) was conducted by using a random sample in Makkah. The study confirmed that psychological violence occurred more often than physical violence in the case of Saudi women.

Badawi (2017) conducted a study titled "Domestic Violence against Women in Saudi Society: a field study among battered women in Riyadh city". His study aimed to identify the forms of violence against women who are in the Social Protection Institution in Riyadh, as well as to identify the causes of violence from the victims' perspective. 48 women participated in the survey, and the results indicated that women who are aged between 25-35 are most likely to be victims of violence. Moreover, women with low educational qualification are more likely to be abused compared to those who have a high level of education.

The latest study that aimed to explore the prevalence and types of violence against women in Saudi Arabia, as well as to explore the correlation between the domestic and social determinants, is "Social determinants of domestic violence among Saudi married women in Riyadh, kingdom of Saudi Arabia" (Alquaiz et al., 2017). This study was a part of a large survey about Saudi women in relation to health status (Women in Saudi Arabia health examination survey, wishes).

There were 1,883 married women who participated in the survey which was conducted in 18 primary health care centres and 13 private institutions in Riyadh. There were important results in this study that showed that domestic violence that occurred by husbands is a frequent problem in Saudi Arabia, where the lifetime of the violence rate stood at 43%.

Controlling behaviour was the most reported type of violence cited in this study (36%), as this is considered an acceptable behaviour in patriarchal cultures. Moreover, the percentage of physical abuse was surprisingly low in this study. The researchers suggested that this might be due to the consideration of domestic violence as a private matter among Saudi society.

The researchers concluded that social conditions and traditions such as early marriage, lack of awareness of women's rights, forcing women to marry and depriving women of their

rights to education and work play an important role in causing domestic violence against women in Saudi Arabia.

This study may be useful for the current study to provide a good background of the prevalence and types of domestic violence in Riyadh for comparison with the results of the current study. However, it may not be rational to compare the results of the previous study due to the limitation of the study being undertaken in only one city of Saudi Arabia, as each city has different traditional features and social conditions.

The city of Jeddah has attracted many researchers to undertake research studies in relation to domestic violence against women ,such as, the study “Violence against women: a cross-cultural perspective” conducted by AlMosaed (2004). This study discussed the phenomenon of domestic violence against women in Arabic countries with a focus on Saudi society; the researcher chose Jeddah to be the area of investigation for the case study. She aimed to highlight the perspective of Saudi society on domestic violence as well as the effect of gender, education, religious convictions and economic and social status on the cases of violence.

There were 230 men and women who participated in the study from various age groups, marital status, educational and economic levels. The results indicated that 75% of the sample highlighted that use of physical punishment is a normal tool for discipline among Saudi families. 30% of the sample of men had abused their female members and 41% of the female sample revealed that their female relatives had suffered from violence. The most striking finding in the study was that almost half of the sample (48%) would not criticise the abusive actions of men towards women. This means that the act of domestic violence against women may be accepted among people in Jeddah city.

Fageeh (2014) conducted a study named “Factors associated with domestic violence: a cross-sectional survey among women in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia”. This study focused on the factors related to violence against women in Jeddah. There were 2,301 participants of women from the outpatient and inpatient departments of three hospitals in Jeddah: King Abdulaziz University Hospital, King Abdulaziz Oncology Medical Center and King Fahd General Hospital.

Unmarried women and those who were under the age of 15 or older than 70 were excluded from participating in this study because the study aims to focus on married women who are between 16 and 70 age. However, this study was not limited to Saudi women alone but

included both Saudi and non-Saudi women, with 58.3% of the sample encompassing Saudi women, while 41.7% were expatriates of Yemen, Palestine, Egypt and Somalia.

The sample of the study also included Muslim and non-Muslim women. The results of the study suggested that emotional violence was the most common form of violence that the women were subjected to; 34% of the sample suffered from emotional violence, whereas 29% experienced physical abuse. In addition, the results revealed that illiterate women and those who had only finished primary and secondary school education were more likely to be abused (64.6%), compared to those who had achieved higher education (35%).

Moreover, the women who were married to men with a low level of education were more likely to be abused, as were the women who were dependent financially on their husbands. However, the results of this study may not perfectly reflect Saudi society as the sample included both Saudi and non-Saudi women. Therefore, the results may not be generalised for Saudi society as a whole.

A study by Alzahrani, Abaalkhail and Ramadan was conducted to estimate the prevalence of intimate partner violence among women who attended the primary healthcare centres (PHCCs) in 2016. Questionnaires were used to collect data and were distributed to 497 Saudi women with higher educational backgrounds.

The results portrayed many similarities to Faqeeh's study mentioned above. Both studies were similar in indicating that women who were married to partners with low educational levels were more likely to be abused. In this study, women who were unemployed were less likely to be abused in contrast to working women, and this result is inconsistent with Faqeeh's study (in the above) and Al Dosary's study which will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

AlDosary conducted a study titled "Health Impact of Domestic Violence against Saudi Women: a Cross Sectional Study" (2016). In this study, he collected the data through an online survey website from 421 women who completed the survey.

The important facet of this study is the indication that most domestic violence takes the form of sexual abuse and was found increasingly among women who were not working. The results of this study also indicated that there is a significant correlation between domestic violence and women who suffered from depression, insomnia and somatic symptoms. However, AlDosary's study concentrated on the health impacts of domestic violence against

women, whilst this current research explores the correlation between domestic violence and Islamic laws.

Another study was conducted among women in Eastern Saudi Arabia by King Faisal University in collaboration with the Ministry of Health (Afifi et al, 2010). This study aimed to identify the prevalence of domestic violence in Al-Ahsa, and its impact on married women's health.

A sample of 2,000 randomly selected married women were the participants of this study. Questionnaires and interviews were the main methods utilised before analysing the results. The results of this study indicated the prevalence of violence; psychological violence was the most common form of violence among the participants, followed by physical and then sexual violence. 41.4% of the women preferred to be patient and silent about violence rather than asking for help or at least telling their family or relatives for fear of being divorced, which might lead to transferring custody of the children to their father as well as financial dependence on the abuser.

These results are supported by another study named "The phenomenon of domestic violence among a sample of students in the University of King Faisal, Al-Ahsa, Saudi Arabia" (Al-Mushref, 2003). About 40% of the sample had experienced verbal and physical violence from their father and brother. The researcher used the survey method among 202 students in the university.

It is clear that this study was not limited to married women only, but included non-married women as well. However, it can be argued that the results of this study may not have been free from bias and probably lacked objectivity because of sensitivity of the location as the survey was conducted among student in university.

In conclusion, taking into account the studies that have been done on domestic violence in Saudi Arabia, an area that still needs to be analysed and discussed is the relationship between domestic violence and culture in Saudi Arabia and the role of Islam in protecting women. Despite the traditions in the south of Saudi Arabia being strict and mostly against women, this region lacks statistical studies to address this issue and differentiate between Islamic law and customs and traditions. Therefore, this study will base its research on conducting a survey in the south of Saudi Arabia and explore the forms and reasons of domestic violence there. The analysis of the results will attempt to discover whether the

reasons for violence are related to Islam or cultural traditions and how Saudi men are applying the Islamic law with regards to their behaviour toward women.

2.8. Summary of this Chapter

This chapter has included six sections. The first section discussed the meaning of the term domestic violence, and the review of the literature showed that some of the definitions are narrow while the others are broad. The study selected one of the broad definitions, which covers all types of violent crimes.

The second section outlined the four types of violence that women suffer from; these forms are: physical violence, emotional violence, sexual violence, and forced marriage. It is important to note that physical violence is the most common form of violence. However, traditional studies paid more attention to physical violence than other forms of violence, not giving the right weight and importance to other forms of violence.

The third section gave a comprehensive view of the impact of domestic violence on women. The review of the literature shows that women who suffer from domestic violence can experience effects such as reproductive health problems and psychological problems. Moreover, studies also show the effect of injuries can persist even after the abuse has ended.

The fourth section presented the theories that can explain violent behaviour. The review of the literature shows that there are six theories that can explain violent behaviour, as follows: social learning theory (violence is a learned behaviour), social exchange theory (consequences of violence can increase or decrease the violent behaviour), feminist theory (violence is the cause of a social structure that puts men in a superior position and women in an inferior position), cultural theory (cultural norms can promote or prevent violence), cycle of violence theory (violence is a cycle that takes the behaviour from the old generation to the new generation), and ecological model (domestic violence is caused by multiple factors that belong to multiple levels).

The fifth section listed the reasons for violence. The literature review revealed eleven factors; one (or more) of these factors can lead to violent behaviour.

The final section identified the theory used as the core of the study conceptual framework, namely: the ecological framework as its conceptual framework because it is considered flexible and can capture various factors that belong to different levels.

CHAPTER 2

3.POSITION OF WAHHĀBĪ ISLAM ON DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

3.1.Introduction to this Chapter

The aim of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive overview on the status of women in Wahhābī Islam to introduce the position of Wahhābīsm on the key triggers and forms of domestic violence and determine whether the position supports the triggers, as well as the forms of abuse, or not. This chapter helps the study to identify the position of Wahhābīsm on the issues associated with domestic violence and whether or not they influence Saudi society.

In this chapter, there are four sections as follows: the first section (see Section 3.1) provides a glimpse of the status and condition of women before the birth of Islam in the Arab region. The section also outlines the key sources of women's status, namely tribal and family tradition and norms.

The second section (see Section 3.2) highlights the sources of Islamic law. This section is important because it shows the resources that Muslims take into consideration when forming their views on any issues that relate to their lives or religious beliefs and practices.

The third section (see Section 3.3) gives a comprehensive overview of the status of women in Wahhābī Islam. This section includes the rights that Muslim women have, which were only granted to women after the birth of Islam.

The fourth section (see Section 3.4) examines domestic violence against women and why it remains a challenge in the present day. This section also discusses whether or not the occurrence of domestic violence against women is associated with the teachings of Islam.

3.2.Women's Status Before Islam in the Arab Region

To understand women's status in Islam, it is essential to consider the way women were treated before the birth of Islam (al-Hibri, 1982). Before the birth of Islam, Arabs lived in small communities (i.e. tribal communities) that possessed different cultures, values and customs (Adnan, 2004; Coulson, 2017). For this reason, the position of Arab women also differed from one community to another (Adnan, 2004; Coulson, 2017).

Women were treated with high respect in some of the tribes/communities that lived in the peninsula. In these tribes, women were treated in the same manner in which they treat men (Adnan, 2004). For example, women could speak for themselves, own property, hold leading positions in the community, and ask for a divorce if they were poorly treated by their husbands (Ahmed, 1992; Ibn Habīb, 2013; Ibn Hishām, 2013).

However, women were mistreated in other tribes. In these tribes, for instance, women could not own property, and they were under the ultimate authority of men (Al-Ṭabarī, 2009). Moreover, they were exposed to abusive behaviours (Kramarae and Spender, 2004), including emotional and physical abuse in marriage or the family (Beck and Keddic, 1978), and women were not free to choose whom they could marry (Al-Isfahānī, 2010).

Two factors influenced the way women were treated before Islam; these were the threat of disgrace and poverty (Al-Ṭabarī, 2009; Kafaji, 2011). During harsh times (when the resources are scarce), women were mistreated (Al-Ṭabarī, 2009) because they were viewed as second class citizens. This was the case as they were considered less productive than men and, therefore, were seen to be a greater burden on their partners or families (Adnan, 2004). Essentially, women were treated as slaves and could lose their basic rights, such as owning property (Ahmed, 1992; Al-Ṭabarī, 2009).

Additionally, tribal wars were frequent in the Middle East, which led to a high level of violence against women. In tribal conflicts, men were responsible for protecting their tribe, women included, from external threats (Engineer, 2008). However, women were a common target because they could be either sold as slaves or exchanged for ransom, and if the tribe did not pay ransom and bring back the women, the tribe would lose its honour (Engineer, 2008). The meagre financial contributions women could make, and the possibility of women being taken as prisoners of war, made the birth of girls less desirable than boys.

Favouring boys over girls led to various abusive acts towards women in some pre-Islamic Arab communities, the most extreme form of this abuse being ‘female infanticide’ (Jawad, 1998). Committing female infanticide was commonly accepted and practised in the Middle East before Islam (Ibn-Ḥallikān, 1961; Al-Bukhārī, 2002). However, such abusive acts later came to be heavily condemned in Islam (Jawad, 1998; Al-Ṭabarī, 2009), with the Qurān (i.e. the holy book of Muslims) criticising the views Arabs held about women before Islam. The verses quoted (below) describe the way in which the birth of a new girl was viewed by her family members; the Qurān (Surat Al-nahl, 16:58) states:

when the birth of a girl is announced to one of them, his face grows dark and he is filled with inward gloom. Because of the bad news, he hides himself from men: should he keep her with disgrace or bury her under the dust? How ill they judge

These verses provide an insight into the culture in the Middle East before Islam; fathers used to feel depressed and ashamed when hearing that their newborn baby is female, to the extent that some of them used to bury their daughters alive (Jawad, 1998). This act was condemned by Islam, and the Qurān emphasises the point that female infanticide is bad (Al-Qurṭubī, 2003).

The negative attitude towards women and newborn females in the Middle East led to many abusive acts in the household (Engineer, 2008). The aim of marriage at the time was to increase the number of tribal members and, therefore, the tribe's strength (Adnan, 2004). At the time, there were no common rules that governed the marriage relationship between couples (Engineer, 2008). For instance, there were no rules that dictated marriage, divorce, rights, or how many wives a man could marry, all of which led to humiliation and manipulation of women in the context of marriage (Engineer, 2008).

Before Islam, Arabs adopted four types of marriages as follows (Shah, 2006): first, marriage by capture, which was practiced during wartime (Al-Bukhārī, 1997). These women were the property of men and they were taken as slaves with no rights whatsoever. The second type of marriage practiced was marriage by purchase. In this type of marriage, a man purchased his wife from her family by offering commodities or money (Adnan, 2004). Due to this marriage tradition, the number of infanticide cases dropped among Arabs, because it increased the value of females as they could be sold and ultimately contribute to the income of the family (Adnan, 2004; Segujja, 2015). Third, people practiced marriage by inheritance. This type of marriage occurred when a man died and his wife could be inherited by others (Ibn al-Athīr, 1979; Shah, 2006). In other words, when a man died, his wife became the property of someone else, who could then either sell or marry her. Fourth, there was also a type of marriage that men used to practice when they travelled (Ibn al-Athīr, 1979). In this type of marriage, the husband had to give his wife some money and women tended to live in the family house; in addition, children belonged to women (Shah, 2006). None of the aforementioned types of marriages provided women with the right to divorce (Adnan, 2004). Consequently, women could suffer in their marriages without any right to demand divorce; husbands were the only ones who possessed the right to divorce.

Moreover, it is important to note that in these four types of marriages, men could divorce their wives as many times as they wanted and continue to stay with them (Ibn Habīb, 2013). Therefore, men held all advantages while women had none. Furthermore, there were no rules regarding when women could marry another man, or when they could split permanently from their husbands (Al-Iṣfahānī, 2010). Furthermore, for women to have a dowry, her father must pay back the money that the husband paid (Shah, 2006).

In this case, women had no right to receive any alimony (Adnan, 2004). Therefore, husbands were under no obligation to support their ex-wives after the divorce was done. In addition, a man could force any of his female family members (e.g. daughters, wife, or slave) to go into prostitution in order to contribute to the family income (Al-Ṭabarī, 2009). The norms and traditions of the time contributed to the suffering of women as these practices degraded them (Adnan, 2004). It also prevented them from preserving their dignity and basic rights, such as the right to select future husbands or to divorce (Adnan, 2004). The commonplace culture of the time also led some women to believe that they had brought misfortune to their tribes or families and it was therefore justifiable for the men to treat them badly (Al-Ṭabarī, 2009).

From the review of the relevant literature highlighted in this section, the study has concluded that before the rise of Islam, women were not equal. However, there was the common notion that women were not equal to men and they could be a source of misfortune, shame, and bad luck. Therefore, women were likely to be treated badly to the point that abuse of women or killing newborn females was deemed permissible. However, women's status changed after the birth of Islam.

3.3.Sources of Islamic Law

In Islam, there are four essential sources of Law, and the primary source of Islamic Law is the 'Holy Qurān'. Rehman and Breau (2007, P. 82) introduce the Qurān as follows:

The Qurān is the primary source of Islamic law since it is, in the view of Muslims the very word of God. The Qurān consists of revelations made by God to the Prophet Muhammad over a period of approximately years. The Qurān consists of chapters or sura (plural suras), of greatly varying length and diverse subject matter. The chapters are further divided into verses or ayat (plural ayaat).

The second source of Islamic Law is 'Sunna'. Rehman and Breau (2007, P. 82) describe Sunna as follows:

The second source of Islamic law is the Sunna or traditions of the Prophet Muhammad. The Sunna consists of compilation of the Prophet Muhammad's actions, sayings and opinions during his lifetime. The general belief of Muslims is that the Qurān and Sunna form the two primary sources of Islamic law. Sunna, however, does not rank as high as the Qurān but is considered an important source in the interpretation of Qurānic verses. The memorisation and transmission of the Sunna in a literary form is characterised as hadith. The term hadith with a meaning 'occurring, taking place' represents the 'report' of Prophet Muhammad's Sunna.

The third source of Islamic law is 'Ijmā'. Rehman and Breau (2007, P. 82) outline Ijmā' as follows:

The third source of Islamic law is ijma, or agreement of jurists among the followers of the Prophet Muhammad in a particular age on a question of law. F. Hassan, 'The Sources of Islamic Law' (1982) 72 Proceedings of the American Society of International Law at p. 67 contends that although third in the hierarchy of sources of law, ijma forms the major portion of Islamic jurisprudence. Ijma, as a source of law, is supported by the Qurān and Sunna.

The final source of Islamic law is 'Qīyās'. Rehman and Breau (2007, P. 82) explain Qīyās as follows:

The fourth source of Islamic law is qiyas, translated as analogical deduction. Analogy can only be employed if no guidance is available on the point under discussion in any of the other three sources of law.

The four sources provided the foundations of all types of Islamic law, including family law.

3.4. History of Sharia

Sharia is defined as the following (Daniels, 2017, P. 1):

Sharia (Arabic: Sharī'a) is a lexical item with multiple meanings, a core metaphor, and a conglomerate of cultural models. In a theological sense, it refers to Islamic law and ethical norms, the all-encompassing Way sent by God in the Qur'an and exemplified in the practices of the Prophet Muhammad.

One of the key aims of Sharia is justice. In other words, Sharia aims to protect five key values: religion, life, family, intellect, and property (Ferrari, 2015). Sharia laws derived from four key sources as follows: Quran, Hadith (Sunnah), Consensus (Ijma), and analogical reasoning (qiyas); each law in Sharia can use one or more of these sources (Morgan, 2010). Sharia is a critical part of the Islam, as the concept of justice is important for Muslims and the regulatory justice system (Kamali, 2008). Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh) is the legal standard in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, whereas other Muslim states have adopted a law system that derived from western countries, such as France or Britain (Marshall, 2005).

Additionally, the country practices Islam under the Wahhābī lens that dates to the early years of establishing Saudi Arabia (Vassiliev, 2013). Additionally, the practices of Islam adopted in Saudi Arabia derived from what known as ‘Wahhābīsīm’, a strict branch of the Hanbali school (Commins, 2006).

3.5. The Relationship Between Wahhābīsīm and Saudi Arabia

The term ‘Wahhābīsīm’ derived from the name of the initiator of the movement (Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhāb) that started in Najd, the central area of Saudi Arabia (Campo, 2009). The movement aims to purify religion from accretions that were not stated or mentioned by the prophet Muhammad (Commins, 2006). The movement of ibn Abd al-Wahhāb started with the destruction of tombstones and holy places, and massive propaganda to support that aim and the Wahhābī movement (Vassiliev, 2013).

Additionally, it forced certain laws and applied them in the region (Vassiliev, 2013). In one incident, the supporters of the movement stoned a woman to death as a punishment for committing the immoral act of fornication with a strange man (Wynbrandt, 2014). The act of Ibn Abd al-Wahhāb and his supporters against the woman led to him being sent into exile (Wynbrandt, 2014). Ibn Abd al-Wahhāb settled in a region called ‘al-Diriyya’ where he formed an alliance with its prince (Muhammad ibn Saud).

The prince and Ibn Abd al-Wahhāb became two forces, the prince forming the military force and Ibn Abd al-Wahhāb being the religious force (Vassiliev, 2013). After the alliance was established, the local prince agreed to increase the tax over locals, which goes against Sharia and made Ibn Abd al-Wahhāb less popular among the locals (Wynbrandt, 2014). The alliance between the two men was made by an oath and marriages between the families of the two parties (Pool, 2008). Although the majority of the Muslims inside and outside of the kingdom do not identify as Wahabi and do not follow in the footsteps of Ibn Abd al-Wahhāb, the Wahhābī ideology remains the controller of many aspects of religious thinking and dictates the daily practices and codes that Saudis must follow.

3.6.The Views of Wahhābī Clerics on Issues Associated with Women

3.6.1.Introduction

In this section, the study presents the views of Wahhābī clerics (see Appendix 8 to read the autobiographies of the clerics the study cited in this chapter) on the issues associated with the rights of Muslim women. This leads to a better understanding of the views of Islam in the context of Wahhābīsīm regarding these issues, which will then demonstrate whether the views support the rights of women or not.

It is important to discuss women's rights because they are closely associated with women's status. In other words, the more rights women possess, the higher status they can hold in society. For instance, when women have the right to work and to access education, they become less dependent on others, which allows them to gain more power and, consequently, they are less likely to be abused.

3.6.2.Equality Between the Two Genders

The Wahhābī clerics view men and women differently; namely, women are considered second class citizens that must follow the lead of men in a patriarchal society (Mernissi, 1991). The Wahhābī clerics claim they view men and women as equals but researchers compare the views of Saudi clerics on women to the gender apartheid applied by the Taliban (e.g. Lodi, 2011; Ngunjiri et al., 2015). The Wahhābī clerics have constructed views about women that they consider respectful, however others see these views as almost phobic of women (Mernissi, 1991; Kurzman, 1998).

Many Saudis do not agree with the negative view of Wahhābīsīm as they think this view was constructed in the West and aims to destroy Islam (DeLong-Bas, 2004), or at least aims to destroy the Wahhābī clerics' interpretation of Islam (DeLong-Bas, 2004). However, various researchers argue that Saudi women are treated as second-class citizens (e.g. DeLong-Bas, 2004; Valentine, 2015).

For instance, shīkh Al-Munajjid (one of the respected clerics in Saudi Arabia) answered a question regarding equality between men and women in the Qurān. The question that shīkh Al-Munajjid received is as follows (Abdul-Rahman-A, 2003, P. 70):

Question: Is there a mention of the equality of women in the qur'an?

And the answer of shīkh Al-Munajjid is as follows (Abdul-Rahman, 2003-A, P. 72):

Those who say that Islam is the religion of equality are lying against Islam. Rather Islam is the religion of justice which means treating equally those who are equal and differentiating between those who are different.

The fatwa of shīkh Al-Munajid gives clear distinction between equal treatment and just treatment. He thinks that women should not be treated the same as men. Rather, they should be treated in a just manner. The fatwa of shīkh Al-Munajid can be easily misused, as it can be interpreted in different ways. Equality between females and males means equal opportunities (e.g. access to education, work opportunities). However, just treatment of females can be interpreted differently based on the institution/individual views on what the term ‘just’ means.

But can it be considered a just treatment to allow men to have control over women, for instance? Or to encourage men to take their female relatives out of school after they finish elementary school? The fatwa is not clear and may lead men to perpetrate abuse in the name of a just act.

Additionally, equality of rights does not mean equality of treatment. For instance, females and males must possess equal rights to education. However, certain females or males may have certain conditions or circumstances (illness, location, etc.) that lead them to be given different treatment.

3.6.3. Male Guardian (Mahram)

In the Kingdom, every Saudi woman (despite her social or economic status) must seek the permission of her ‘Mahram’ (i.e. male guardian, most likely a relative) for any decision like opening a bank account, working, travelling, marrying, or studying (Handrahan, 2001). Moreover, Saudi women are forbidden to take any decision on behalf of their children no matter how trivial (Zuhur, 2011). The patriarchal society provides Saudi men with rights over women in various aspects of civic life, but the men also have many duties. A special report by the United Nation defined the role of the ‘legal guardianship’ as follows:

Mahram, or the legal guardianship of women by a male, is practised in varying degrees and encompasses major aspects of women’s lives. The system is said to emanate from social conventions, including the importance of protecting women, and from religious precepts on travel and marriage, although these requirements were arguably confined to particular situations. (Erturk, 2009, P. 10)

It is important to note that the tradition of seeking a guardian’s approval is not a written law (Handrahan, 2001). Rather, it is one of the demands that are enforced by the customs of

certain institutions and officials, such as banks and hospitals (Handrahan, 2001). Therefore, many initiated grievances or official transactions are abandoned because officers believe that women must have guardian authorisation to proceed in any transaction or grievance (Erturk, 2009).

For instance, the CRLO committee received a question from a Muslim woman who asked whether she can go out of the house to a gathering of dhikr in which Muslim women discuss religion together. The question that the Permanent Committee for Scientific Research and Legal Opinion (CRLO) committee received and the answer are as follows (Abdul-Rahman-B, 2004, P. 202-203):

Question:

A woman is asking: what is the ruling on my going to the mosque or to a gathering of dhikr in a Muslim's house for da'wah or to learn, without my father's permission? If he knew about it he would stop me from going, but eemaan (faith) wears out just as clothes wear out, and I need to renew my faith because I am in an environment that is filled with munkaraat (undesirable things). Is it permissible for me to go in secret or what?

Answer:

Praise be to Allaah.

Before marriage, a woman is under the guardianship of her father, so it is not permissible for her to go out of the house except with his permission, whether it is to go to the mosque or elsewhere, because obedience to one's father is obligatory so long as it does not involve disobedience towards Allaah. We advise you to listen to broadcasts from the Al-Qur'aan Al-Kareem station, because there is much knowledge and sound teaching to be gained from it. They have a program called "Noor 'ala'l-Darb (Light on the Way)" in which a group of scholars answer questions from listeners. May Allaah help you to do all that is good and grant you a sound understanding of Islam.

It is important to note that the fatwa states that a Muslim female must follow the orders of her guardian. The orders can include not going out for very long time, or leaving school, or not applying for work. The overwhelming power that the clerics give the guardian can lead to the suffering of many women.

3.6.4. Level of Education Muslim Women Can Pursue

Women's education is vital to the advances of society. The CRLO committee received a question regarding a practice among some Saudi women who choose to pursue higher education and refuse to get married before they finish their education. The question the CRLO committee received is as follows (El Fadl, 2001, P. 554):

Question: There is a widespread practice among women and their fathers to refuse to marry someone who proposes to her so that she may finish her high school or college education, or until she studies for a few years. What is the ruling on this issue and what is your advice for one who refuses marriage? Some women reach thirty years of age or more without marrying.

The CRLO committee answered the question by stating that pursuing education over marriage goes against the teachings of the Prophet Mohammed. However, they stated that it is permissible for Muslim women to pursue education while they are married and they can write that condition into the marriage contract if they want. The CRLO committee stated the following (El Fadl, 2001, P. 554):

counsel my Muslim brethren who are guardians over women to let women finish their education or teaching. Women have the option of including a condition in the marriage contract stating that she may stay in school until she completes it, or that she remains a teacher for one or two years after marriage

However, The CRLO committee stated that women should give priority to children in case they have decided to have children after marriage. The CRLO committee stated the following (El Fadl, 2001, P. 554):

as long as she is not busy with her children. There is nothing wrong with this.

The committee also stated that women should be satisfied with elementary education as it is not necessary to go beyond that. The CRLO committee stated (El Fadl, 2001, P. 554-555):

for a woman to progress through university education, which is something we have no need for, is an issue that needs examination. What I see [to be correct] is that if a woman finishes elementary school and is able to read and write, and so she is able to benefit by reading the Book of God, its commentaries, and Prophetic ḥadīth, that is sufficient for her. This is so unless she excels in a field that people need, such as medicine or its like, and as long as this study involves nothing prohibited, such as the mixing of the sexes and other things.

Additionally, the CRLO committee were asked another question regarding women's employment and the committee answered as follows (Abadeer, 2015, P. 137):

God Almighty . . . commended women to remain in their homes. Their presence in the public is the main contributing factor to the spread of fitna [strife]. Yes, the Shari'ah permits women to leave their home only when necessary, provided that they wear hijab and avoid all suspicious situations. However, the general rule is that they should remain at home.

The fatwa of the CRLO committee (above) gives a clear direction to Muslim women to stay at home and to go out only if necessary. The fatwa of the committee can be used as a weapon that aims to control women who live in Saudi Arabia. The fatwas that were

mentioned in this subsection give power to male guardians by which they can easily limit the access of Muslim women to the public sphere.

3.6.5. Nature of Work that Muslim Women Can Pursue

The Wahhābī clerics argued that the key and natural role of Muslim women is to be a housewife. In other words, Muslim women must focus their efforts on staying at home, marrying, having children, and then ensuring that these children are raised properly.

The CRLO committee mentioned in one of their fatwas that Muslim women are allowed to work. However, the nature of the jobs they can pursue must not be far from the nature of house work (i.e. cooking and laundry). The fatwa of CRLO cited in Al-Atawneh (2010, P. 101) is as follows:

Query

What is the verdict regarding women's work outside the home and in what areas are they allowed to work?

Response

There is no controversy around the right of women to work. The controversy, however, exists around the area and nature of her occupation. A woman's occupation is supposed to centre around the homemaker's role, such as: cooking, baking bread, laundry, and other household chores. Women are allowed to work in areas similar to those found in the home, such as: teaching, sewing, weaving, knitting, etc., whether as an occupation or buying and selling, on condition that this does not lead to a contradiction with the Sharī'a, such as being alone in the company of a male stranger (khalwa), since this may cause corruption (fitna), and on condition that her occupation does not prevent her from fulfilling her familial duties.

The CRLO committee limits the role of women outside the house environment because the fatwa did not take into consideration the variety of work roles the labour market offers. For instance, working in malls, or office environment, where men and women can mix and share the same space, which may have negative outcomes over women's chances of having jobs to support themselves if needed.

3.6.6. Muslim Women Working Alongside Men

The Wahhābī clerics argue that women and men must not work together in the same space. For instance, Shīkh bin bāz was asked about whether God permits women and men to work together as follows (Al-Musnad, 1996, P. 313-314):

Question 290: What is Islam's view of women working alongside men?

And Shīkh bin bāz answered the question as follows (Al-Musnad, 1996, P. 313-314):

Response: It is known that when women go to work in the workplaces of men this leads to mixing with men and being in private with them. This is a very dangerous matter that has dangerous consequences and negative results. It is in clear opposition to the texts of the Shariah that order the women to remain in their houses and to fulfil the type of work that is particular for her and upon which Allah has fashioned her nature, which is far from the place where she will mix with men.

From this fatwa, it is clear that Shīkh bin bāz views mixing between the genders in the working environment problematic as it has dangerous consequences. If the Muslim women in Saudi follow the fatwa of Shīkh bin bāz, then they will not be able to work in most of the companies operating in the private sector as to do so would force private companies to devote isolated areas for women in which they can work, thereby posing a challenge for most companies with limited budgets.

After Shīkh bin bāz discuss the bad outcomes of mixing the two genders together in the workplace, he stated at the end of the fatwa that the natural role of women is to stay at home as there is so much to be done in the house already. Shīkh bin bāz stated in his fatwa the following (Al-Musnad, 1996, P. 317):

There are enough jobs for women in their houses, in teaching positions and other places related to women that make it unnecessary for her to take on jobs in the workplace of men.

The fatwa of Shīkh bin bāz can lead many Saudi women to leave work and stay at home. Moreover, it may lead the male guardians of Saudi women to prevent their women relatives from working in companies that do not have an isolated area for women.

The Wahhābī clerics prevent any kind of mixing between the two genders, even if the mixing is between children. They view mixing between children at school as prohibited because it can lead to sinful acts. Shīkh bin bāz stated the following (Al-Musnad, 1996, P. 61-62):

I have come across what the newspaper al-Madinak printed in Issue #3898, dated 2-30-1397 AJHL, written by one calling herself Nura bint Abdullah, under the title, "Face to Face." In sum, Nura is saying that she had a meeting with a number of women, including the female Dean of the College of Education in Jeddah, whose name is Faiza, Nura mentions Faiza's surprise that there are no female teachers teaching boys in the elementary level, even to the fifth grade. Nura supported Faiza's views in that article for a number of reasons. Personally, with thanks to Faiza, Nura and their colleagues for the concern about the teaching of our young boys and for their welfare, I find it an obligation upon myself to point out that their suggestion is filled with evil and harmful consequences. Having women teach boys at the elementary level means that they will have to mix with boys who are at puberty or adolescent stages, this is because some of the boys do not complete the elementary stage until they are already in adolescence, and some have already completed puberty. This is because, when a boy reaches ten

years old, he is considered an adolescent. He naturally becomes inclined toward women. Someone like him can even get married and do what men do. And there is another matter, having women teach the boys will lead to mixing between the two sexes. That will then continue until the next level.

This statement by Shīkh bin bāz (above) holds an extreme view on the mixing of the two genders. Such a view leads to a dysfunctional society in which women and men are alienated from one another. Women are half of the Saudi Arabian society, and the separation between the two genders leads to miscommunication and misunderstanding between the two genders. Wahhābī clerics tend to view the mixing of the two sexes as problematic. However, the mixing between the two sexes in the two holy mosques is permitted. There, men and women can coexist in the same space. The same practices have existed since the time of the Prophet and there was no issue with it at all. Shīkh bin bāz was asked regarding the clothes that women can wear if they want to perform Hajj/Umrah, and he stated the following (Al-Musnad, 1996, P. 153):

it is best for her to enter the ihram in clothing which is not beautiful and will not attract the one who sees it. This is because she is going to be mixing with men, so her clothing must not be such that it tempts the looker, It should not be beautiful but should be customary and not a temptation.

Shīkh bin bāz understands that mixing between the two sexes happens at the holy mosques. Moreover, men and women are near each other, especially at the time of Hajj or Ramadan because Kaaba is so crowded during these times.

Wahhābī clerics argue that it is not permissible for women to ride cars with strangers, such as taxi drivers or private drivers. In one of his fatwas, Shīkh ibn Jibreen answered a question related to women who ride with private drivers as follows (Al-Musnad, 1996, P. 207-208):

Privacy is a general concept that applies to the house, car, market and so forth, When the two are in private, they are not safe from talking about private matters or what stirs the desires. Even though many men and women have a fear of Allah and piety, and they hate sin and evil, Satan enters between them and makes sins look like light matters and opens the door to getting around the law. Therefore, remaining away from such deeds will be safer and more protecting.

The extreme interpretation of the term “privacy” that Shīkh ibn Jibreen applied did not take into consideration that taxi drivers or private drivers use public roads to drive their customers; it also did not take into consideration the time needed to deliver these women to their destinations, which tends to not be long enough to establish any kind of interaction between drivers and their customers. Moreover, Wahhābī clerics did not take into consideration the age of the women, or their intentions for hiring personal driver or ordering

a taxi. Some women do not have male guardians to take them out, or their male guardians are busy and do not have an appropriate amount of time to drive them.

Furthermore, Wahhābī clerics argued that a Muslim female should not interact with her brother-in-law, because he is not considered a close enough relative to the lady.

3.6.7. Forcing Muslim Women to Marry Men They Do not Like

The Wahhābī clerics do not support forced marriage. Rather, they think that both bride and husband must enter the marriage only if both consent to the marriage. In one of his fatwas, Shīkh bin bāz stated the following (Al-Musnad, 1996, P. 167):

Question 157: Is it allowed for a father to force his daughter to marry a specific man that she does not want to marry?

Response: Neither the father nor anyone other than the father may force a woman who is under his guardianship to marry a man that she does not want to marry. In fact, her permission must be sought.

Shīkh bin bāz further stated (Al-Musnad, 1996, P. 168):

The father must seek her permission if she is nine years of age or above. Similarly, her other guardians may not marry her off except by her permission. This is obligatory upon all of them. If one is married without permission, then the marriage is not valid. This is because one of the conditions of the marriage is that both partners accept the marriage. If she is married without her permission, by threat or coercion, then the marriage is not valid.

The answer (above) of Shīkh bin bāz states clearly that consent is an important factor in any marriage, and the absence of it will make the marriage not compliant with Sharia. However, Shīkh bin bāz argues that the age gap is not important, and the age of the bride is also not important as the age of the last bride of the Prophet (Aisha) was 9. Shīkh bin bāz stated the following (Al-Musnad, 1996, P. 168):

The only exception is in the case of the father and his daughter who is less than nine years of age. There is no harm if he gets her married while she is less than nine years old, according to the correct opinion. This is based on the Messenger of Allah marrying Aisha without her consent when she was less than nine years old, as is stated in authentic Hadith.

The view of Shīkh bin bāz (above) shows that he supports child marriage, which encourages male guardians to engage their daughters to be married at a very early age.

Shīkh bin bāz did not take into consideration the differences between the culture and norms that existed during the Prophet's time and the culture and norms that exist today.

Moreover, Shīkh bin bāz did not take into consideration the responsibilities that modern women have, which are totally different than the responsibilities of women during the Prophet's time. The complexity of today's era is beyond the abilities of 6/9 years old children.

In the modern era, women need to possess appropriate knowledge to take care of the house, their children and their husbands, which is something 9-year-old children will not be able to do. The modern era is complex and hard to cope with, and even mature adults can barely handle it. In other words, child marriages are not appropriate in today's time.

Shīkh bin bāz also stated that there is one case in which the father can marry off his daughter without her permission, which is when the daughter's age is less than 9 years old. Shīkh bin bāz stated that (Al-Musnad, 1996, P. 168):

The only exception is in the case of the father and his daughter who is less than nine years of age. There is no harm if he gets her married while she is less than nine years old, according to the correct opinion.

According to the fatwa of Shīkh bin bāz, fathers are allowed to marry off their daughters without any permission if they are below the age of 9, which means that a father can give permission on behalf of his daughter and allow the marriage to go through even if his daughter is one year old.

3.6.8. Sexual Abuse

Islam condemns relative's sexual abuse. Sexual abuse is a betrayal of the abused relative, whether he has abused a female or male relative. The website 'islam-qa.com' answered the next question as follows (Abdul-Rahman-A, 2004, P. 163-164):

Question:

My children's father has been jailed for child sexual abuse. Does he still inherit from them, should they die before him? Does he retain any of the rights of a father?

Answer:

Praise be to Allaah.

This criminal father who has betrayed his trust should be advised and called to Allaah, and reminded of the meeting with Him, and should be told how evil it is to do this action which contradicts the idea of fatherhood. For the children are part of the man, so how can a man feel desire towards his own children?! Inna Lillaahi wa inna ilayhi raaji'oon ("Truly, to Allaah we belong and truly, to Him we shall return" – said when faced with a calamity).

If advice and reminders are of no use with him, then he must be stopped and punished severely, to deter him and others like him from doing such abhorrent and repulsive acts.

This great evil does not mean that he loses his right to kind treatment and upholding the ties of kinship, so long as there is no danger of falling into any haram actions.

(...)

So his children have to treat him kindly and honour him, but they must also be extremely cautious in their dealings with their father. None of them should stay with him on his or her own. If one of his children dies, he has the right of inheritance, like any other father and child.

You should make a lot of du'aa' for him, praying that he may be guided and enabled to repent, for hearts are held between two of the fingers of the Most Merciful and He turns them however He wills.

And Allah knows best.

The committee clearly stated in the fatwa that sexual abuse is not tolerated at all and relatives who commit such a sin must be punished for their sins. The committee also considers this kind of sexual abuse as an act of betrayal as it goes against the nature of fathers who must protect their children from experiencing this form of abuse.

3.6.9. Physical, Verbal and Emotional Abuse

Shīkh Al-Munajjid was asked a question regarding physical, emotional and verbal abuse. The question that Shīkh Al-Munajjid received is long and it is as follows (Abdul-Rahman-C, 2004, P. 59-60):

Question:

I am a 22 year old Muslim born female in America. I have been married to my husband. I married him because I thought that he was a good Muslim brother who cared about spreading Islam and helping to raise the Kalimah of Allah -swt- by helping Muslims. I wanted to break off the marriage when we were still engaged about 4 years ago because he was saying mean things to me, hurting my feelings, and emotionally abusive. But he promised that after we got married he would be nice to me and that his harshness was the result of him having a bad job. Since Muslims are supposed to keep their promises, I believed and trusted him, and agreed to marry him. Since being married, he has gotten worse and has been physically abusive, even punching me and choking me. My parents finally found out about 8 months ago. I left him to my parents' house at that time for a few weeks. They convinced me that I should give him another chance because any other man I would marry would probably be even worse. They say that all of the other divorced women end up with worse husbands and situations. He came back apologizing and promising to change his ways of saying hurtful things, being picky, and to stop the abuse. The agreement was that I would go back to him to see if he really has changed. After going back to him, he only changed for a short while. He has been verbally and emotionally abusive. He has been physically abusive to a small degree. He has pushed me lightly and smacked me lightly. Since this is how his abuse started when we first got married from light to harder and harder, I decided a couple of months later that he has not changed and told my parents that.

The question above shows that the victim of abuse has suffered abuse for a very long time. It also shows that she was being subjected to more than one form of abuse (i.e. physical, emotional, and verbal abuse). The abuser (the husband in this case) was consistent in his abusive behaviour. Therefore, the victim wanted to leave him and asked the question above to know the position of Islam on this matter of abuse. Shīkh Al-Munajjid answered the question as followed (Abdul-Rahman-C, 2004, P. 60-62):

Answer:

The husband should realize that he is a shepherd and is responsible for his flock. Allaah has enjoined upon him to treat them in a good and proper manner and to treat his family kindly.

In the segment of the fatwa above, the shīkh mentioned it is important to recognise that men are the leaders of the house and they must act kindly towards other family members. The shīkh also stated (Abdul-Rahman-C, 2004, P. 60-62):

Part of that good and kind treatment means not beating one's wife in a severe manner and not insulting or cursing her. He should realize that this is a violation of the trust with which Allaah has entrusted him.

The segment of the fatwa above mentioned that the guardian must not treat his female relatives or wife in a negative manner. However, in the segment, the sheik mentioned the guardian must not beat his 'wife in a severe manner'. The problem of this segment of the fatwa is it condemns the 'severe' beating, which implies (unintentionally maybe) that non-severe beating is fine. For this reason, such fatwas must be carefully crafted to ensure that potential abusers may not take them as an excuse to exercise abuse. Afterwards, the shīkh addressed the case of the victim and advised her to file a divorce against the abuser. The shīkh stated (Abdul-Rahman-C, 2004, P. 60-62):

In your case, my sister, Allaah is testing you by means of a man whose behaviour and attitude are bad. Based on what has been mentioned in the question, it is permissible for you to ask for a divorce (this is what is called khula'), because living with this man and anyone like him is something that is unbearable. Perhaps Allaah will compensate you with someone better than this man. If you cannot find another husband, then staying without a husband in your parents' house, where you will be cared for and respected, will be better for you than staying with this man, so long as you do not fear that you will be tempted or will fall into haraam things. But if you fear that you may be tempted, then being patient and bearing worldly troubles by staying with this man will be better for you than having to bear the punishment of Allaah.

The reasons for which it is permissible for a woman to seek divorce (khula') from her husband

The segment of the fatwa above stated clearly that if a female is mistreated by her husband, she can divorce him (khula) and stay with her family. It is important to note, however, that the fatwa does not address women who have no families at all, nor does it suggest what they should do in case they have no one to turn to. For this reason, the nature of fatwas must change and address social alternatives that can deal with domestic abuse, such as protection institutions.

In another fatwa, Shīkh bin bāz was asked the following question (Al-Musnad, 1996, P. 213):

***Question 195:** I have been married for about 25 years, I have numerous sons and daughters, I always face difficulties from my husband. He humiliates me in front of my children, close relatives and others, He never gives me any credit. The only time I feel rest is when I leave the house, although he does pray and he fears Allah. Please guide me to the best path I should follow.*

In the question above, it can be noted that the women have suffered from abuse for a very long time, and she has been patient with the abuser and his behaviour for years. He has been verbally and emotionally abusive to the point that the victim can no longer handle it.

The Shīkh bin bāz provided the victim of abuse the following answer (Al-Musnad, 1996, P. 213-214):

***Response:** It is obligatory upon you to have patience and to advise him to act in the best way. Remind him of Allah and the Hereafter. Perhaps he will respond and return to what is correct. Perhaps he will give up his evil behaviour. If he does not, the sin is upon him and you will get a great reward for your patience and bearing his harm. It is sanctioned for you to supplicate for him in your prayer and at other times, that Allah may guide him to what is correct, bless him with proper behavior and protect you from his evil and the evil of others*

In the first segment of Shīkh bin bāz's response, he stated that the woman must have more patience towards her abuser, and she must advise him to change his behaviour. The issue of this fatwa is that it did not address the core of the problem and try to solve it, namely the fatwa did not mention the ways in which the abuser can change his behaviour (such as through seeing a psychologist, social worker, or provide any solution that can help address the core of the problem, which is the behaviour of the abuser). Furthermore, rather than doing so, Shīkh bin bāz advises the victim to be patient with her abuser. The Shīkh bin bāz further stated the following (Al-Musnad, 1996, P. 213-214):

You also should take account of yourself and be steadfast in your faith, You should also repent to Allah for whatever you have done in the past of evils and mistakes with respect to the right

of Allah, the right of your husband or others' rights. Perhaps he has been given this control over you because of some sin that you have committed

In this segment of Shīkh bin bāz's fatwa, he mentioned that the problem of the victim may come from her past sins and she must ask for God's forgiveness. This kind of fatwa will not solve the core of the problem because the problem is deep and lasted for a very long time and need professional care and help. Moreover, it encourages the abusers to abuse their victims and strengthens the patriarchal system that already exists in the Saudi tribal culture.

3.6.10. Addiction

Shīkh Al-Munajid was asked whether drug use is permitted or not. The question the shīkh received is as follows (Abdul-Rahman-B, 2003, P. 149):

Question:

Dear Sir,

For a Muslim, is it allowed to use drugs like cocaine? Here in Columbia 70 % of the people use it. When I want to become a Muslim, must I stop it? I am waiting for your answer.

Shīkh Al-Munajid answered the question as follows (Abdul-Rahman-B, 2003, P. 150):

Answer:

As regards the issue of drugs, no doubt you would expect this great religion to forbid everything that is harmful and to permit everything that is beneficial, and not to allow man to lose his mind and go crazy, doing all kinds of foolish things without any awareness and destroying his body. This is what happens when people take drugs and prevent themselves from thinking about or worshipping Allaah. This poison opens the door to hostile aggression, and destroys religion, lives, minds, honour and wealth. And so no wise person can doubt that drugs are totally forbidden. We fully understand that addiction is no straightforward matter and that recovery is no simple process, but this should not prevent you from entering Islam and embracing the way of truth with which Allaah has sent His Prophet Muhammad (peace and blessings of Allaah be upon him).

From the fatwa (above), it is clear that Shīkh Al-Munajid forbids the use of drugs and Muslims must not use them as they lead down a road of destroying oneself. Moreover, he thinks that drug addicts must seek help and not surrender to his/her addiction and negative habit. These fatwas are important because they help combating drugs and consequently domestic violence.

3.6.11. The Meaning of the Term ‘Qaūāmah’

Shīkh bin bāz stated that men were granted the Qaūāmah (the right of the man upon the woman resulting from the duties imposed upon him to her) over women for two reasons; the first is duty and the second is elevation. He stated the following (www.alifta.com):

Male Qaūāmah (the right of the man upon the woman resulted from the duties imposed upon him to her)

He said that the male Qaūāmah over women is a form of duty and not an elevation.

A: This is a mistake and should be said that men's Qaūāmah over women is both a duty and an elevation, Since Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) says, Men are the protectors and maintainers of women, because Allah has made one of them to excel the other, and because they spend (to support them) from their means. Hence, Allah (Glorified be He) makes it clear that He has granted men Qaūāmah over women due to two points: First: The favor of men over women in general. Second: Men's spending from their means (to support women) through what they pay of Mahr (mandatory gift to the bride from her groom) and other expenditures.

The fatwa (above) shows that Shīkh bin bāz has stated that Qaūāmah is elevation and duty: the duty of supporting the female and the natural advantage that God gives men over women.

In another fatwa, Shīkh Al-Munajjid was asked by a young Muslim woman about a man that may propose to her and her parents may refuse to accept his proposal. The question of the young lady is as follows (Abdul-Rahman-A, 2003, P. 57):

I have been talking to a guy that I have very strong feelings for, and now we are thinking of taking it to another level which is marriage. The only problem is that my parents don't agree. They feel that he is not worth of me and they feel that he will not treat me right! They have no valid reason other than the fact that a lot of times they see us arguing as it's normal. I really love this guy and I am scared that when he comes and ask's for me my parents wont agree. What is the quaran's ruling on this?.

The question of the young lady (above) shows that she has feeling for the man who wants to propose to her. The question also shows that the lady has a good level of familiarity with the man to the point that she spoke to him frequently, and both may disagree on certain issues/topics, which is a common matter that may occur between any couple or two people who are in any type of relationship (e.g. marriage, friendship, partnership).

Shīkh Al-Munajjid, however, thinks the lady must understand that she needs the permission of her guardian; without this permission, the marriage will not be legal. Shīkh Al-Munajjid begins his answer as followss (Abdul-Rahman-A, 2003, P. 57):

It is not permissible for a woman – whether she is a virgin or previously married – to get married without the permission of her guardian.

Shīkh Al-Munajjid also mentioned that families tend to know the best for the lady more than the lady herself. Shīkh Al-Munajjid stated the following Abdul-Rahman-A (2003, P. 57):

*The family – customarily and usually – is able to know what is best for their daughter and who is best suited to marry her, because usually girls have little knowledge and experience of life and what is best for them, and they may be deceived by some nice words, and be ruled by their hearts rather than by their heads.
Hence a girl should not go against her family’s opinion, if they are known for their religious-commitment and wisdom.*

However, Shīkh Al-Munajjid stated that if the guardian rejects a suitable man, then the lady can mention this to the Islamic judge and he can transfer the guardianship to someone else. Shīkh Al-Munajjid stated the following (Abdul-Rahman-A, 2003, P. 57-58):

But if a woman’s guardians reject husbands for no valid reason, or if their criteria for choosing a husband are not acceptable by the standards of sharee’ah – such as if they prefer a rich evildoer over one who is religiously committed and of good character – then it is permissible for the girl to refer the matter to the qaadi (sharee’ah judge) to annul the guardianship of the one who is not letting her get married, and pass that role to someone else.

The segment of Shīkh Al-Munajjid fatwa (above) assumes that females will always be under the oversight of a guardian that tell them what to do or who to marry. Shīkh Al-Munajjid also thinks that religion is a key criterion by which a female should reject or accept a potential husband. But Shīkh Al-Munajjid did not take into consideration many criteria by which a Muslim women can reject or accept a potential husband. For instance, education level, harmony between the couple, mutual mindset regarding future plans, etc. Successful relationships nowadays rely on more than religiosity level of one criterion that is isolated from the personality and identity of potential husbands. Shīkh Al-Munajjid continued his fatwa as follows Abdul-Rahman-A (2003, P. 58):

But this is not applicable in this case, because what is stopping the family from agreeing to this husband is what they think is in the best interests of their daughter, and this has to do with the character and attitude of the husband.

The segment of the fatwa (above) shows that Shīkh Al-Munajjid thinks that the family knows what is best for the daughter more than the daughter herself. For this reason, the opinion of the daughter doesn't matter. In short it is dismissive of the woman’s view and thus diminishes her.

The literature that discusses the meaning of the term ‘Qauāmah’ highlights the significance of this term. It is considered significant because it is mentioned in the Qurān

verse (4:34) that regulates the relationship between Muslim men and women. In this verse, the men are considered ‘Qaūāmah’ 'ala’ (guardians over) their women. The Qaūāmah mentioned in the verse are based on two conditions: first, preference and secondly, financial support for the women. If a man has failed to provide the two conditions, then he consequently fails to fulfil the characteristics of the Qaūāmah over the female (Al-Hibri, 1982).

The first condition implies that men possess a Qaūāmah position over women because of God’s preference. This preference is manifested in terms of the amount of inheritance that males tend to have, which is twice the amount of inheritance that females tend to receive (although females can inherit more money than males in certain cases) (Wadud, 1999).

The second condition is related to financial support. The Qaūāmah position that men hold also springs from the financial responsibilities that men must fulfil (Hassan, 1999). Therefore, there is a correlation between men’s privilege and responsibility. In other words, Muslim men have a privileged position over women because they possess most of the wealth (that they gain from work or inheritance), and Muslim men must share their wealth with women and also protect them (if needed); by doing so, Muslim men can hold this privileged position that leads them to bear a large responsibility as a consequence of it (Barlas, 2002).

The verse (4:34) in the Qurān shows clearly that the privileged position of men over women is conditional and also materialistic (related to the support of women). However, some men tend to hold the view that the Qaūāmah of men over women is unconditional because they view women as inferior to them and possessing a lesser position than men (in reason and strength). This interpretation does not hold a strong position as the verse (4:34) does not mention or imply that the privileged position of men springs from their intellectual capabilities or genetics. Rather, it is purely materialistic. Al-Hibri (1997, p. 32) summarised the meaning of the term ‘Qaūāmah’ as follows:

The Complex Phrase was revealed in an authoritarian/patriarchal society that the Prophet was attempting to civilize and democratize. Consequently, it should be viewed for what it really is. It is a limitation on men which prevents them from assuming automatically (as many did then) oppressive authoritarian roles with respect to women. At most, the Complex Phrase tells them that they can guide and advise only these women they support financially and then only when certain conditions obtain. The rest of the ayah does not change this analysis if one takes a fresh non-patriarchal look at it.

Although, the Wahhabi clerics have an interpretation of the term Qaūāmah. This interpretation is not common among other scholars of Islam. Therefore, the conclusion that

can be drawn is that *Qaūāmah* is not intended to be a negative, or better, a privileged term that places men in a dominant position over women. Rather, it grants men a position of responsibility and provides women a source of protection and support. It is important to highlight this fact because the verse can be misinterpreted and used as an excuse to abuse women.

3.7.Reasons for Domestic Violence Despite its Prohibition by Islam

The fatwas of *Wahhābī* clerics do not promote violence against women in a direct manner (See Subsection 3.5.8). On the contrary, the interpretations of Islam (in many Muslim countries) support and protect the rights of women and promotes equality between married partners (al-Hibri, 1997). Despite this, in Muslim countries many women suffer from restrictions and abuse. Furthermore, the challenges that women face differ from one country to another because each country's laws and governments are not the same.

Although Muslim countries hold the same key principles, they can differ in the details underlying these principles. The violation of women's rights is due to the influence of tradition and culture and the way in which both are interpreted in Islam (al-Hibri, 2001). It is also important to note that jurisprudence takes tradition and culture into consideration, and the more jurisprudence is influenced by tradition and culture, the more likely women will suffer from abuse (al-Hibri, 2001). For instance, the appearance of certain family structures in some Muslim countries/societies is influenced more by culture than by Islam; despite the influence of culture, the outcome of Islamic laws is viewed as the outcome of the teachings of Islam itself (al-Hibri, 2001). The prioritisation of culture over Islamic teaching led to the formation of many laws that resulted in the abuse and suppression of many women's rights in society (al-Hibri, 2001).

The political leaders of Islamic countries, who contribute to the interpretations of Islam, may also contribute to the differences in women's rights in each country (Anwar, 2004). Muslim politicians may restrict scholars from applying *Ijtihad* (Al-Hibri, 1997) and interpret the Islamic law to fit their pragmatic needs (Anwar, 2004), which has led to the creation of many national laws that do not comply with Islamic law (Anwar, 2004). For example, several Muslim countries allow women to drive, while other countries ban women from driving; this is based on *Ijtihad* of the scholars of the country. The ban on women driving is based on a strict view of Islamic law through the use of *Ijtihad*. The use of strict

interpretation of Islamic teachings can produce abusive laws against women, such as restricting women's free movement, forbidding women from accessing work or education, or restricting the role of women in society or family (Norani, 2006). Muslim politicians/leaders can justify their views by claiming that they are necessary to reduce societal problems and that these decisions will protect women's morality (Norani, 2006). But in reality, one notices that most of these views were meant to control women rather than 'protect' women and their morality.

It is important to note that to improve women's status in Muslim societies, women must view their rights from an Islamic perspective (to find the texts and interpretations that support women's rights). Therefore, to enjoy their freedom, they need to make their arguments based on Islamic laws rather than culture or tradition (Norani, 2006).

3.8. Summary

The first section reviewed the literature that discusses the status of women before the rise of Islam. The review of literature showed that women did not hold many rights at that time. Therefore, the status of women varied from one community/tribe to another. In some tribes, women were treated similarly to men, but were treated badly in others.

The second section highlighted the four sources of Islamic law from which Muslims draw all their views. The literature review showed that Islam relies on four essential sources: the Holy Qurān, Sunna, Ijmā', and Qīyās.

The third section examined the position of Wahhābī Islam on the triggers and forms of abuse, which shows that the views of Wahhābī clerics did not support women's rights. To the contrary, the fatwas of the clerics support abusers and provide them with excuses to deprive women from their basic rights, such as education and work.

The fourth section addressed the issue of domestic violence against women in Islamic countries. The review of the literature showed that domestic violence can occur for various factors, for instance cultural factors or because of the misuse of political power.

CHAPTER 3

4. WOMEN IN THE CONTEXT OF SAUDI ARABIA

4.1. Introduction to this Chapter

This chapter is devoted to women's status in Saudi Arabia. It provides a review of the literature that discusses the Saudi culture that influences the statutes and position of women in Saudi Arabia. This chapter is important because the culture of Saudi Arabia is a hybrid of two key factors, namely: Wahhābī doctrine and tribal norms and tradition. Therefore, it is important to address the local norms and tradition to understand the position of Wahhābī doctrine in a clearer manner. The chapter highlights the status of women through five sections as follows. The first section (see Section 4.1) presents some of the key figures that are associated with Saudi citizens and Saudi women.

The second section (see Section 4.2) analyses these figures, which is key to understanding the status of women in Saudi Arabia.

The third section (see Section 4.3) highlights the important cultural influences by which Saudi women hold their status and value.

The fourth section (see Section 4.4) discusses the condition and status of women in Saudi society in the present day.

The fifth section (see Section 4.5) outlines the protective acts that Saudi Arabia has implemented in recent years. This section is important because it addresses the development of laws against abusing women.

4.2.Important Saudi Arabian Figures

Table 4.1: Demographics

Population	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 28,571,770
Age Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 0-14 years: 26.1% (male 3,825,242/female 3,631,967) • 15-24 years: 18.57% (male 2,842,818/female 2,462,061) • 25-54 years: 46.86% (male 7,559,248/female 5,829,656) • 55-64 years: 5.03% (male 783,673/female 653,404) • 65 years and over: 3.44% (male 498,830/female 484,871) (2017 est.) • Immigrants make up 37% of the total population, according to UN data (2017).
Religion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Muslim (official; citizens are 85-90%)
Sex ratio	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 0-14 years: 1.05 male to 1 female • 15-24 years: 1.15 male to 1 female • 25-54 years: 1.31 male to 1 female • 55-64 years: 1.21 male to 1 female • 65 years and over: 1.05 male to 1 female • Total population: 1.19 male to 1 female (2016 est.)
Median Age	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Total: 27.5 years • Male: 28.2 years • Female: 26.7 years (2017 est.)
Total fertility rate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2.09 children born/woman (2017 est.) • Country comparison to the world: 106
Education Expenditures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 5.1% of GDP • country comparison to the world: 68
School Life Expectancy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Total: 16 years • Male: 17 years • Female: 15 years (2014)
Unemployment in youth aged 15-24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Total: 28.5% • Male: 19.7% • Female: 56% (2015 est.) • Country comparison to the world: 29
Labour Force	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 12.34 million • Note: about 80% of the labour force is non-national (2017 est.) • country comparison to the world: 48
Unemployment Rate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 5.6% (2016 est.) • Note: data are for Saudi males only (local bank estimates; some estimates are as high as 25%) • country comparison to the world: 79

Source: The CIA World Factbook 2018-2019

4.2. Analysis of the Figures Included in Table 4.1

The age structure of the Kingdom shows that almost half of Saudi citizens (i.e. 25-54 years: 46.86% (7,559,248 male and 5,829,656 female) are of working age. The Kingdom is also considered a young country (i.e. the median age of Saudi citizens is 27.5 years). However, the unemployment rate among Saudi citizens is high. The CIA Factbook (2018-2019, P. 715) highlights the struggle of unemployment in the Kingdom as follows:

Saudi Arabia is encouraging the growth of the private sector in order to diversify its economy and to employ more Saudi nationals. Over 6 million foreign workers play an important role in the Saudi economy, particularly in the oil and service sectors; at the same time, however, Riyadh is struggling to reduce unemployment among its own nationals. Saudi officials are particularly focused on employing its large youth population, which generally lacks the education and technical skills the private sector needs.

As stated in the CIA Factbook (2018-2019), the unemployment rate among Saudi citizens is high in comparison with other countries (i.e. the unemployment rate of Saudi Arabia compared to the rest of the world ranks at 79th) and the key contributor to this challenge is a low percentage of youth who possess higher education degrees. By looking at the figures in the Factbook, it can be noted that Saudi women receive less education in comparison to Saudi men. Saudi women tend to leave school at a relatively earlier age (15 years) than Saudi men (17 years), as the Facebook figures show.

Saudi women represent almost half of the Kingdom's population (i.e. sex ratio of the Saudi citizens is: 1.19 male/female). However, the unemployment rate of Saudi females is much higher (e.g. the unemployment rate of Saudi females that are between 15-24 years is 56%) than Saudi males. The low rate of education and the high rate of unemployment among Saudi females make them dependent upon Saudi males.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's spendings on education are low (i.e. education expenditures are 5.1% of GDP) in comparison with other countries (i.e. it ranks 68th across the world). The low rate of investment in education in Saudi Arabia limits the Saudi citizens from competing in the labour market in high skilled jobs, leaving many of them either working in low-paid jobs or unemployed.

4.3.The Status of Islam in Saudi Arabia

The review of the literature associated with the culture of Saudi Arabia shows that the Kingdom has centuries-old traditions (Commins, 2006), mainly derived from Arab tribal civilisations and the Wahhābī movement (Commins, 2006), which is a fundamentalist view of Islam that arose in the eighteenth century and remained the predominant view of Islam in the Kingdom (Zuhur, 2011).

The adoption of Wahhābīsm was one of the essential drivers of culture that led to the enforcement of certain sets of behaviours and dress codes that individuals must follow, and they are enforced socially and legally if necessary (Valentine, 2015). In her book, Hatina (2009, P. 224) addressed the influence of religion on the Saudi culture as follows:

tribalism, in addition to religion, has played a central role in forming major cultural and social norms, alongside the ruling Saudi ideology, for more than two centuries, since the historic alliance between Muhammad Ibn Sa`ud and Muhammad Ibn `Abd al-Wahhābī in 1745

The teachings of Wahhābī version of Islam are present and dominate daily life in Saudi Arabia.

4.4.Culture of Saudi Arabia

This study will focus on how the drivers of culture in the context of Saudi Arabia (Wahhābīsm and tribal tradition) have influenced the treatment of Saudi women.

It is important to note that the application of Islam can differ from one country/region to another. Cesari and Casanova (2017, P. 15) addressed this point clearly as follows:

The commonly held picture of Muslim women is of the black-clad, secluded women of Saudi Arabia. However, this is akin to looking at the condition of Christian women through the lens of Amish communities in the United States. The Saudi interpretation of Islam is a modern construction that deviates from the tradition of Islam. It fails to take historical and cultural context into consideration and pushes women back into the tribal condition that was the norm during the time of the Prophet Mohammed. There is nothing in the Islamic tradition that prevents women from working, getting an education, or partaking in public social and political life. In fact, many times, the interpretations within the religious traditions have been ahead of the cultural norms and traditions common before Islam: for example, women cannot inherit lands in the Berber zones of North Africa—while such a custom contradicts Islamic rules. At the same time, the social and political advancement of women lags behind in most of the Middle East and North African countries.

The quote (above) is important because it shows that historical and cultural context is important and therefore must be taken into consideration; and the failure in doing so of doing so may lead to the application of a version of Islam that differs from the traditional version that can be found in most of the countries located in the Middle East.

4.5. Condition of Saudi Women

The condition and rights of women in Saudi Arabia are derived from some of the views of Wahhābī on how women must be treated, as well as tribal tradition and customs (Naegeli, 2014). The Kingdom is one of the countries located in the Arabian Peninsula, which is the ancestral home of nomadic and patriarchal tribes; the view is that there has to be a separation between men and women, and 'honour' is the centre of their values and traditions (Valentine, 2015).

Women in Saudi Arabia are segregated from men who prevent any meaningful participation of both sexes in the public sphere (Zuhur, 2011). This segregation in public areas and workplaces with few exceptions, such as hospitals is monitored by the Saudi religious police (i.e. the Commission for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice) (Cordesman, 2009). Any unlawful mixing between men and women may lead to the arrest of the people involved because unlawful mixing is considered a criminal act (Zuhur, 2011). Moreover, officials may demand the presence of male guardians if the woman is fully covered or fails to show proof of identity (Erturk, 2009). The status of the guardian makes it difficult for women to issue a legal complaint against him (Erturk, 2009).

4.5.1. Gender and Social Status

In the context of Saudi Arabian culture, women who have more children can hold higher social status than other women (Simons, 1998). However, the achievements of children and the degree to which they are close to the mother also counts (Zuhur, 2011). Therefore, childless women in Saudi may end up divorced or her husband will marry another woman (Zuhur, 2011).

According to the CIA Factbook (2018-2019), the fertility rate of Saudi women is 2.09 children per woman. In the present day, it is normal for Saudi women to stay single and pursue a career, yet marriage still remains the norm in Saudi society (Alwedini, 2016). Conservatives believe that the role of Saudi women is in the house and they should not pursue any career beyond their traditional role, of being a wife and a mother (Zuhur, 2011).

The women in Saudi Arabia suffer from many restrictions that limit their roles in society. However, they do not necessarily possess a lower status than men (Al-Sudairy, 2017). Rather, it depends on additional aspects, such as social location (Al-Sudairy, 2017). In Saudi communities, the two genders are viewed as complementary to one another and the differences between the two genders are biological (Ashrof, 2005).

The traditional view that conservatives hold is women in Saudi are not fit to work in certain jobs. However, the view has gradually changed as women have argued against this belief (Cordesman, 2003). Nonetheless, women accept that they must remain segregated from men and must wear clothes that comply with the demands of clerics in Saudi Arabia (Cordesman, 2003).

4.5.2. Male Guardian (Mahram)

In the Kingdom, every Saudi woman (despite her social or economic status) must seek the permission of her 'Mahram' (i.e. male guardian, most likely a relative) for any decision like opening a bank account, working, travelling, marrying, or studying (Handrahan, 2001). Moreover, Saudi women are forbidden by Saudi law to take any decision on behalf of their children no matter how trivial (Zuhur, 2011). The patriarchal society provides Saudi men with rights over women in various aspects of civic life, but the men also have many duties. A special report by the United Nation defined the role of the 'legal guardianship' as follows:

Mahram, or the legal guardianship of women by a male, is practised in varying degrees and encompasses major aspects of women's lives. The system is said to emanate from social conventions, including the importance of protecting women, and from religious precepts on travel and marriage, although these requirements were arguably confined to particular situations. (Erturk, 2009, P. 10)

It is important to note that the tradition of seeking a guardian's approval is not a written law (Handrahan, 2001). Rather, it is one of the demands that are enforced by the customs of certain institutions and officials, such as banks and hospitals (Handrahan, 2001). Therefore, many initiated grievances or official transactions are abandoned because officers believe that women must have guardian authorisation to proceed in any transaction or grievance (Erturk, 2009).

4.5.3. Family/Tribe Honour

It is important to highlight that the concept of family honour and guardianship are closely related. The concept of family honour includes the protection by males of females of the family (Mackey, 2002). The male provides for the women of the family and, in turn, the women's honour reflects on him. Since the honour of males is affected by that of the females under them, a male is expected to control the behaviour of females related to him (Mackey, 2002). Therefore, if females lose their honour in the eyes of the community, the man will be

believed to have lost control of his females. Therefore, the lost/threats to chastity are considered direct threats to the honour of the guardian.

Honour killing has a direct link with family/tribe honour. If a guardian loses his honour because of a female of his family, he may punish the female to cleanse his honour. The punishment can be death in extreme cases (Valentine, 2015). The suspicion of a female's wrongdoing might be enough for her to be punished in the name of family/tribe honour (Valentine, 2015).

In the year 2007, a young Saudi woman was killed by her guardian (her father) for chatting with a stranger on Facebook (McElroy, 2008). This case attracted the attention of the media, and caused conservatives to call for the government to ban social media websites, such as Facebook, because these websites instigate lust, and consequently cause social strife (McElroy, 2008).

4.5.4. Hijāb

The term 'Hijāb' refers to a traditional Islamic costume whereby a female must cover her head. The Qurān states:

O Prophet, tell your wives and daughters and the believing women to draw their outer garments around them (when they go out or are among men). That is better in order that they may be known (to be Muslims) and not annoyed (Kheirabadi, 2004, P. 77)

The concept of Hijāb in the Kingdom differs from other Muslim countries in the region because it is the only country that views Hijāb as covering all parts of the body except the hands and eyes (Hefner, 2011). The Hijāb is mandatory for women who choose to live in Saudi Arabia. Hijāb is a cover for the head, and 'bāyah' (i.e. women's garment) is a cover for the body. The bāyah is a black cloak which covers all the body except the head. Women in other Muslim countries wear Hijāb that covers their faces (Niqāb), while others choose to show their faces (Hefner, 2011).

4.5.5. Sex Segregation

Sex segregation keeps women in the Saudi family (e.g. mother, wife, daughter, and sister) from communicating with strange men because men have extreme concern for family honour and purity (Commins, 2012). Therefore, communication between men and women is rare and limited to families who have western education (Samovar et al., 2012). Women who

are seen socialising with a non-relative man can be harassed by religious police; they can even be charged with prostitution, fornication, or adultery (Sandhu, 2014).

Most Saudi homes have two entrances, one for males and another for females. Male guests enter the home from the male entrance only (McNeill, 2000). For male guests, to enter the women's section of a Saudi home is a breach of Saudi family honour. There is a secluded area in Saudi houses for women that is called a 'Ḥarīm'. Private areas in Saudi homes are associated with women while public areas (e.g. living room) of the house are associated with men (McNeill, 2000). Moreover, Saudi houses have high walls that surround the house, and the windows are covered with curtains to protect the women of the family from the public (McNeill, 2000).

Additionally, segregation between the two sexes is expected in the public sphere. In public areas, women are expected to cover up (that is, wear Ḥijāb and 'bāyah) outside their homes (Bradley, 2005). Therefore, businesses are expected to create an area for females if they hire women. The same rule of segregation also applies to parks, restaurants, and beaches (Sandhu, 2014). For instance, restaurants have two sections, one for families and another for males with no females present (most likely single males); additionally, in the family section, there is a separate area for each family to stay in, which is separated from the other families (Sandhu, 2014).

The segregation rule has exceptions in a few public areas, such as medical colleges, hospitals, or banks. The number of workplaces that have adopted a mixed-gender concept have increased (Rajasekar and Beh, 2013), especially since the late King Abdullah was crowned. Nevertheless, workplaces with mixed-gender areas are not very common (Rajasekar and Beh, 2013).

4.5.6. Education

Female literacy in Saudi Arabia, according to the latest statistics, is at 91.1% (The CIA World Factbook, 2018-2019). However, the percentage of males who are literate is 97% (The CIA World Factbook, 2018-2019). The recent percentage of literate women is considered extremely high in comparison with the percentage in the year 1970, which was 2% (Fakhro, 1990). More than 50% of working women have a college/university degree. However, the quality of education is lower for females than males. Furthermore, the textbooks or curricula are updated more frequently for men, the facilities are better, and they have more qualified teachers.

The key educational policy for females specifically is:

The purpose of educating a girl is to bring her up in a proper Islamic way so as to perform her duty in life, be an ideal and successful housewife and a good mother, ready to do things which suit her nature such as teaching, nursing and medical treatment (cited in Hamdan 2005, p. 44)

The policy also states:

women's right to obtain suitable education on equal footing with men in light of Islamic laws (Metz, 1993, P. 98)

Saudi females tend to view education as the most critical area for Saudi women's rights reform.

4.5.7.Mobility

Saudi women must show permission from their male guardian (most likely a male relative) in order to travel freely, even inside the Kingdom (Valentine, 2015). However, women tend to leave home without a guardian and tend to come into contact with strangers when they conduct business or shop (Nazir and Tomppert, 2005).

Saudi women were previously not allowed to drive in the Kingdom. In the year 2017, the law changed and Saudi women can now own and drive cars in Saudi Arabia. However, Saudi women still need the permission of their guardian to drive freely in the Kingdom.

Saudi women are not encouraged to use public transportation (e.g. taxi or bus) as it is forbidden because it is a case of 'Khalwa' (i.e. a female who stays in an isolated area with a non-relative male, resulting in illegal mixing). However, the government does not prevent women from using public transportation for pragmatic reasons. Saudi women possess very limited access to trains and buses. Also, where this is allowed, women must use a different entrance to the transportation than that used by men and the female entrance is at the back of the transportation. However, most buses that operate in big cities (e.g. Riyadh and Jeddah) do not allow women to use their buses at all.

4.5.8.Family Code

4.5.8.1.Marriage in Saudi Arabia

In the year 2005, the religious authority issued a law that banned forced marriage (Lamrabet, 2016). However, all marriage contracts remain between the father of the bride and the husband-to-be (Zuhur, 2011). It is important to note that Saudi females or males are not allowed to marry non-Saudi individuals unless official permission is granted (Zuhur, 2011).

Furthermore, Saudi men can practice polygamy in the Kingdom; Saudi men can marry up to four wives (Yamani, 2008). However, he must support his wives in an equal manner, but this practice is in decline as statistics show.

4.5.8.2.Children

In the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, there is a law that states the minimum age of marriage (Bano and Kalmbach, 2011). Religious authorities have identified this age for females as nine years and boys as fifteen (Ibp, 2015). However, religious authorities believe the guardians of the girl (i.e. most likely to be the father) can marry off his daughter despite her age. However, the consummation of the marriage will be delayed until she reaches puberty. A report from the United Nations stated that 16% of teenage females in Saudi Arabia were/had been married.

In the year 2009, the Human Rights Commission of Saudi Arabia condemned child marriage. The commission stated that child marriage is:

a clear violation against children and their psychological, moral and physical rights

The commission also recommended the age of marriage to be raised to seventeen for girls and eighteen for boys.

4.5.8.3.Parental Authority

According to Saudi law, the custody of children belongs to their father who possesses sole guardianship (Beckerle, 2016). In the case of divorce, the children are more likely to be awarded to the father (Hashemi, 2008). However, the women can be granted the right of custody if the children are very young (Hashemi, 2008), but the custody right will change as soon as the children reach the age of seven.

4.5.8.4.Inheritance Issues

Muslim women are able to inherit from other family members. However, the Qurān mentions that males should inherit double the share that females inherit. Nonetheless, there are cases in which the calculations may lead females to inherit a larger portion. For instance, a female can receive the same share that her brother receives in certain cases. In her book, Wadud (1999, P. 87) addressed the complexity of the inheritance process as follows:

Although the initial Qur'anic statement, in verses 4:11-12, makes 'the share of the male ... equivalent to the portion of two female (siblings)', a complete look at this same verse

enumerates a variety of proportional divisions between males and females. In fact, if there is one female child, her share is half the inheritance. In addition, the consideration of parents, siblings, distant relatives, as well as offspring is discussed in a variety of different combinations to indicate that the proportion for the female of one-half the proportion for the male is not the sole mode of property division, but one of several proportional arrangements possible.

In the context of Saudi Arabia (or other Islamic countries), some females may also be deprived of their share of inheritance (Owen,1996) because of their dependence on another male family member (e.g. husband, father or brother). Women can also be deprived of their share of inheritance if they marry outside of the tribe (Sandhu, 2014).

4.5.8.5. Sexual Violence and Trafficking

Under Sharia law, rapists are punished. However, the Law does not possess a penal code that criminalises rape. Therefore, the punishment can range from flogging to execution.

Women may be subject to harassment by Muṭaw‘īn (religious police); women in Saudi Arabia can also be subject to physical punishment and arbitrary arrest. In a case cited by a UN report, two religious police were accused of molesting a female. However, the charges were dropped on the grounds that religious police hold immunity from prosecution. In addition, victims of sexual assault are often punished for being alone with an unrelated male.

4.6. The Protection from Abuse Act in Saudi Arabia

4.6.1. The Issuance of the Protection from Abuse Act

In the absence of laws that criminalise domestic violence, societies may face several challenges (Harne, 2008). For instance, domestic violence cases can be treated as a crime only when the victim presses charges against the abuser. Otherwise, the case will fall under family law and will be treated as a family dispute. Although family law can be effective in cases related to economic, social and emotional abuse, applying family law to cases of physical violence may have implications for both the children and victims' right to be protected (Kaur and Garg, 2008).

If victims of domestic violence press charges in the court of law, judges may view the case as husband and wife, or female with a family member, rather than a victim and perpetrator case that must be dealt with according to criminal law (Beckerle, 2016). In such cases, the victims do not receive fair trial because the key aim of the judge will be to protect the family relationship rather than holding the abuser accountable for his criminal actions (Terrill, 2015). When prioritising family relationships, judges may be reluctant to apply a long prison

sentence or harsh punishment and may dismiss the case because they think that applying such punishments will increase the problem and may create additional problems in the household (Tonnessen, 2016).

Additionally, the punishment of the abuser may vary from one Saudi court/region to another (Terrill, 2013). This is the case because the crime of domestic violence is not codified in the Kingdom (Silvestri Crowther-Doweyand, 2016). Therefore, Ta'zīr judges possess total power to decide and rule in these cases. For this reason, victims may not be able to predict the punishment that the abuser may receive (Tonnessen, 2016). The punishment may range from pledging not to commit the same crime again to receiving several lashes. It is important to note that the use of family law to solve domestic violence disputes can be effective when the violence is emotional or economic (Tonnessen, 2016). However, the use of family law may not be as effective in cases of physical violence or if victims of abuse may have a future physical risk (Alhabdan, 2015).

When the abuse case is related to emotional violence, the judge may prevent future abuse by issuing a divorce or demand the abuser to write a pledge that he will not abuse his partner in the future and will respect her (Salhi, 2013). In cases related to economic abuse, the judge can demand the abuser to provide an appropriate standard of living to his wife and children and/or family members; this includes financial support and proper living arrangements (Salhi, 2013).

Other cases include social abuse, such as a father/brother preventing a daughter/sister from getting married. In these cases, the judge may transfer the custody of the victim from the present custodian to herself, or to any trustworthy family member who can help her to complete her marriage.

Physical abuse cases are more serious and must be treated in a speedy and efficient manner because a long ruling process can be harmful to the victims of abuse. For instance, judges may process a domestic violence case in a slow manner, hoping to reconcile the wife and husband to prevent the divorce. When the victim asks for a divorce, the judge may require her to provide reasons for the divorce, which women most likely are not able to provide. In divorce cases, the victims of domestic violence (e.g. women and children) may then suffer needless acts of abuse (Zuhur, 2011). When the divorce is ruled, the judge will determine the custody of children and maintenance (Zuhur, 2011). However, the judge may separate the divorce case and the case of custody, which may lead the victim to issue a new case to

demand custody over the children. The separation of the case of divorce and custody may put the children at risk of abuse as they will need to remain with the abuser for the duration of the case (Zuhur, 2011).

It is important to note that when cases of physical abuse are treated under the family law, abusers will not be punished for injuring or hurting the victim. The outcome of this is losing track of the key issue in a domestic violence case, which is the violence itself, and it increases the assumption that domestic violence is not a crime. The social exchange theory suggests that the absence of real punishment for violence may lead to an increase in violent acts towards women in the home (Danis, 2003). Therefore, it is important to create consequences for domestic violence and domestic abuse in order to have better control over it in the future.

4.6.2. International and Local Acts against Domestic Violence

The Kingdom has committed itself to adopt several treaties that regulate human rights in the country. The treaties provide equal treatment for all citizens, prevent any form of discrimination, and also create an obligation for the government to address all aspects related to human rights violations.

In the year 1996, the Kingdom also signed the ‘Convention of the Rights of the Children’ (CRC). The convention aims to eliminate any form of child abuse, whether it is physical abuse, sexual abuse, or neglect (Elliott, 2007). Moreover, it introduced legislation to prevent the mistreatment of children.

In 2001, the Kingdom signed the ‘Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women’ (CEDAW), which contains articles that ensure discrimination against women will be combated and eliminated (Human Rights Watch, 2008).

Generally, CEDAW aims to prevent any form of discrimination against women, which encourages governments to eliminate any act/form of discrimination perpetrated against women, whether in the private or public sphere, and ensure that equality between the two sexes is applied in such a way that both receive equal opportunities in the labour market (Human Rights Watch, 2008). The signed agreement commits the Kingdom to putting the articles of the treaty into practice and to send a report about the progress achieved every four years (Human Rights Watch, 2008).

After the commitment of Saudi Arabia to the CRC and the CEDAW agreements, many human rights reports criticised the Kingdom for not committing to the issue of children's and women's rights and the prevention of abuse in the country; in other words, there is a gap between laws implemented in the Kingdom and what the agreements call for. For this reason, the Kingdom has aimed to reduce this gap by establishing new departments, including government agencies, and civil society organisations (Smith, 2008). Among these organisations are the protection committee, the Saudi Human Rights Commission, and the National Society for human rights. All these established departments aim to protect human rights in the Kingdom (Smith, 2008).

In the year 2004, the Ministry of Social Affairs established thirteen committees with the aim of social protection. The thirteen committees recruited family social workers and provide investigations to the committees (USA International Business, 2005). The committees provide hot-lines and receive all calls related to domestic violence. They also aim to create a safe environment for abuse victims by providing shelters where they can stay until the issues with their families are resolved (USA International Business, 2005). The victims can access these committees through an order from the National Society of Human Rights.

In 2004, the National Society of Human Rights department was established, followed by the Saudi Human Rights Commission department which was established in 2005 (Human Rights Watch, 2005). These two departments aim to protect human rights in the Kingdom. The tasks of both departments include providing annual reports regarding the cases they receive, the type of violence the victims experience, spreading knowledge in the communities they operate in regarding their rights through the creation of workshops and programs, and helping victims to raise their cases in court (Human Rights Watch, 2005).

In the year 2008, the government of Saudi Arabia established 'social protection units' (a Saudi version of a women's shelter) and ordered the protection units to be placed in the large cities of the Kingdom. In the same year, the Prime Minister also requested from the government a draft in which they address domestic violence and the ways in which the government will combat it in the future (International Religious Freedom, 2010). The efforts of the Prime Minister were coupled with the efforts of several royal foundations. For instance, the King Khalid Foundation and the King Abdulaziz Centre for National Dialogue both led projects that aim to increase awareness and educate the population regarding domestic violence (International Religious Freedom, 2010). In the year 2013, the Kingdom

launched a major campaign against domestic violence under the title ‘No More Abuse’ (Danforth, 2016).

To summarise, the establishment of protection communities and human rights departments by the Kingdom is considered a significant step in the right direction to implement the international agreements that aim to prevent women and children from abuse. However, the agreements are not yet fully practised and more initiatives must be taken to ensure that domestic violence is reduced or eradicated in the future.

4.6.3. Sexual Harassment Acts in Saudi Arabia

The Shūra Council, that discusses the laws of the Kingdom, issued a law that protects Saudi women from assault or harm. In the beginning, they sparked a discussion regarding sexual harassment, and after a lengthy debate on the sexual harassment law, the law was replaced in 2013 by a law that protects women from abuse (UNDP, 2018). This act limits the scope of sexual harassment law in cases of sexual abuse (UNDP, 2018). However, negative views of the sexual harassment law led to its cancellation.

The conservatives demanded the abandoned of the sexual harassment law for three reasons (Alhabdan, 2015) as follow: firstly, the conservatives think the law is influenced by western culture; secondly, cases of sexual harassment are rare in the Kingdom as the two sexes do not mix in public areas or even at the workplace; finally, there are certain departments in the government that handle these cases and can provide suggestions regarding the ways to prevent sexual assaults against women.

The conservatives argued that taking sexual harassment cases to the court of law will create a conflict with one of the Saudi government agencies (i.e. the Commission for the Promotion of Virtue and Prevention of Vice); this agency has the authority to deal with these cases (Zuhur, 2010). The agency deals with all sexual harassment cases in confidence (Zuhur, 2010). Moreover, they follow the Wahhābī teachings to deal with these cases. For this reason, issuing a new law that deals with sexual harassment may not be effective and will create conflict with other government agencies (Zuhur, 2010).

The conservatives also suggested additional methods to decrease the cases of sexual harassment. They suggested that women should have guardians when they go out in public, the two genders should be banned from mixing in public or the workplace, and women must dress according to Wahhābī law when they leave home. When women follow these prescribed methods, they should remain protected from any sexual harassment attempts or

any other assaults as well. Critics of the previous methods have argued that these methods deny women the right to be protected despite the circumstances.

The arguments of the conservatives are not consistent with either human rights or Wahhābī law. Nevertheless, the arguments of the conservatives led to the abandonment of the sexual harassment law. The dismissal of this law led the Shūra Council then to consider a new law (Protection from Abuse Act). This law was neither rejected nor challenged like the sexual harassment law, because the law includes a specific kind of relation between the victims and the abuser. Usher (2013) highlighted this matter on the BBC News website:

Saudi Arabia's cabinet has approved a ban on domestic and other abuse for the first time. The new law sets penalties for all forms of physical and sexual abuse, both at home and in the workplace. These include penalties of up to a year in prison and fines of up to \$13,000. The law will also provide shelter for victims of domestic abuse.

However, the title of the act does not clearly describe that it is linked to domestic violence, which makes it less effective in combating domestic violence because it does not send a clear message that there is a law to prevent such abuse and while criminalises domestic violence. There are additional problems in the act, such as the punishment of the abuser, the treatment of abuse as a criminal case, and also the definition of abuse.

4.6.4.Challenges in the Protection from Abuse Act 2013

There are three essential elements that are included in the domestic violence act as follows: firstly, the relationship between the victim and the abuser (Dempsey, 2006); secondly, the location of the crime (Dempsey, 2006); and thirdly, the frequency of abuse that aims to exercise control and power (Mulligan, 2009). The definition and the title of the act have failed to highlight two significant elements of the crime (pattern of abuse and location of the abuse); these three elements must be highlighted for this crime to be considered a domestic violence case.

Regarding the location of the crime, the title of the act did not highlight it sufficiently, namely: the act did not state that the crime is related to domestic violence. Rather, the title can be interpreted as an act that is related to violence between two strangers (Burke, 2007). Moreover, the definition of abuse included in the act and the definition of domestic violence do not match (Burke, 2007).

The definition outlined in the act includes the protection from any form of abuse to people who have some sort of relationship with the abuser (Pritchard, 2008). The first article

mentioned that crimes can fall under this act if they are committed by someone who possesses responsibility or authority over another person who they are related to, whether this responsibility is linked to maintenance relationship, warranty, guardianship, consequentiality living (Pritchard, 2008). The description stated in the previous passage takes into consideration domestic violence as it includes acts of violence between the abuser and abused if they are familiar with one another (Pritchard, 2008). However, the act did not state/mention that the act is related to situations that are 'domestic'. Since the act did not refer to the location of the criminal act, people may think that the legal system is not prepared to deal with family affairs as a public matter (Pritchard, 2008).

It is critical to indicate the location of the crime to distinguish between public crimes and domestic violence (Dempsey, 2006). The location also highlights that the government can interfere in family affairs if necessary (Dempsey, 2006). Therefore, issuing a law that combats domestic violence is essential because it will raise awareness in the public that when homes are not safe and family members are abusing one another, the government can interfere to protect the victims of abuse (Dempsey, 2006). In western countries, attention was paid to the matter of domestic abuse in the titles of acts. For example, in the year 1995, New Zealand issued the first law in the world that combats domestic violence (Pritchard, 2008); in the year 2009, the act was amended by 'the Domestic Violence Amendment' (Pickering, 2010).

The use of the term 'domestic violence' in the title of the act issued by New Zealand is significant for three reasons (Dempsey, 2006): firstly, it highlights that domestic violence is a criminal act that is punishable by law. The title of the act will shift the attention of judges to the relationship between the abuser and the victim of abuse, which makes judges consider the safety of the abused person and, therefore, provides the necessary protection for the abused person. Secondly, the act focuses on violence in a domestic setting, which makes it unique in nature. Therefore, the nature of this act requires an unique procedure, law, prosecution and punishment. Thirdly, the use of the term 'domestic violence' in the title may draw the attention of the public and prevent future acts of domestic violence.

The term 'domestic violence' is used in the Arabic Language, and it is used in the Kingdom to indicate the type and the location of the crime (Ennaji and Sadiqi, 2011). The Saudi National Society for Human Rights uses the term 'domestic violence' when they discuss the relevant crime categories (Ennaji and Sadiqi, 2011). For example; the Ministry of Social

Affairs has used the term domestic violence when the Ministry wants to report or discuss relevant cases they have dealt with (Ennaji and Sadiqi, 2011). Identifying the location alone may not lead to the realisation of the nature of the crime. Rather, it must be linked with a pattern of control and power. The act has failed to recognise that the abuse is a pattern of frequent conduct, which is considered the core of the criminal act (Tashkandi and Rasheed, 2009). For this reason, the act would be more effective if it addressed the pattern of abuse as one of its elements (Tashkandi and Rasheed, 2009).

To summarise, the abuse act in Saudi Arabia did not state the location of the crime or the pattern of control and power. Rather, the act includes the relationship between the abuser and the victim of abuse. The protection act should mention three key elements (the relationship between the abuser and the victim, the pattern, and the location). To address only one of these three elements may lead the act to lose some of its application and will be unable to combat all domestic violence cases. The failure to sufficiently highlight the location and the pattern of violence leads to an inefficient system of punishment that may not effectively protect women from abuse.

4.7. Summary of this Chapter

This chapter has discussed the literature associated with women's status in Saudi Arabia. To do so, the chapter provided five sections as follows: the first section (see Section 4.1) presented some of the key figures that are associated with Saudi citizens, and in particular Saudi women, and these figures show that women's status has advanced from the previous century to the present day. However, the status of women is not in the position that it must be, as was addressed in the second section (see Section 4.2).

The third section (see Section 4.3) highlighted the key cultural sources from which the status of women derives, namely religion and tradition. It is important to highlight these sources of culture because they provide a better understanding of what can play a role in the construction of women's status in the Kingdom.

The fourth section (see Section 4.4) analysed some of the factors that reflect the status of women in the Kingdom, such as mobility and child custody.

The final section (see Section 4.5) presented the protection acts that were developed in the Kingdom to combat domestic violence in general and violence against women specifically. The act against abuse has been developed over the past 40 years, which provides women with increasing power and supports the improvement of their status in the Saudi community.

5.RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1.Introduction to this Chapter

This chapter outlines the research methodology that was used to investigate the phenomenon of domestic violence in the southern province of Saudi Arabia, in order to understand the phenomenon and its triggers. The chapter consists of fourteen sections as follows: the first section (see Section 5.1) presents an introduction to the design of the research; the second section (see Section 5.2) explains the rationale for the use of qualitative methods for the investigation process; the third section (see Section 5.3) provides the rationale for the use of a case study approach; the fourth section (see Section 5.4) presents the rationale for the use of multiple cases rather than the use of a single case; the fifth section (see Section 5.5) explains the rationale for the use of semi-structured interviews in the research; the sixth section (see Section 5.6) outlines the population of this research; the seventh section (see Section 5.7) explains the rationale for the use of snowball sampling for the process of identification of the study sample; the eighth section (see Section 5.8) details the process that was used to conduct interviews with the social workers in the protection institutions; the ninth section (see Section 5.9) outlines the process that was used to distribute the surveys on the victims of abuse in the protection institutions; the tenth section (see Section 5.11) presents the data analysis process; the eleventh section (see Section 5.12) presents the coding process; the final section (see Section 5.13) highlights the ethical issues of the study.

The literature of domestic violence shows that abuse against women is a global challenge that needs international cooperation. However, the reasons for domestic violence can differ from one country/community to another because context plays a significant role in the matter: namely, differences of culture, norms, or traditions. Therefore, it is important to distinguish between contexts and investigate them separately.

5.2.Design of this Research

The design of the research determines its failure or success; the success of the research relies on the strictness of the research methodology that has been selected (Scandura and Williams, 2000). Furthermore, the tactics of the research methodology must be aligned with the research question which the study seeks to answer (Morse and Richards, 2012). Therefore, defining the research question is critical as it is considered the first step, followed by

determining the best research design that the study can apply (Yin, 2009). Research design is described by Parahoo (1997, P. 142) as:

a plan that describes how, when and where data are to be collected and analysed

This research aims to investigate the phenomenon of domestic violence against women in the southern province of Saudi Arabia, and to identify the factors that trigger violence in Saudi households. It also aims to identify the position of Islam regarding domestic violence against women and the factors that trigger it to investigate whether Islamic law supports this type of violence or not, as well as whether it supports the triggers of domestic abuse.

The research that has been devoted to domestic violence against women in the Middle East (especially in Saudi Arabia) is slight when compared to global initiatives. It is also important that the researcher did not identify any study that investigated domestic violence against women in the southern province of the Kingdom. Therefore, the investigation of this phenomenon (abuse against women) in that context (the southern province of the Kingdom) is considered new and original, and the pursuit of new research is important because it brings additional meanings and knowledge (Robson, 1993).

The next step is to decide if the study will use qualitative or quantitative methods. Qualitative methods are appropriate when the researcher must comprehend a phenomenon (Morse and Richards, 2012). Moreover, qualitative methods allow the research to explore a new phenomenon and, from this exploration, complete an in-depth study and analysis of data, which identifies relevant themes that help in the understanding of the phenomenon (Morse and Richards, 2012); this fits the nature of the research. Mason (2002, P. 1) addressed the explanatory nature of qualitative research as follows:

Through qualitative research we can explore a wide array of dimensions of the social world, including the texture and weave of everyday life, the understandings, experiences and imaginings of our research participants, the ways that social processes, institutions, discourses or relationships work, and the significance of the meanings they generate

Therefore, qualitative methods were used in this study in order to develop a rich understanding of the domestic violence phenomenon in the southern province of Saudi Arabia.

5.3.Rationale for the Use of Qualitative Methods

The aim of this study is to understand the phenomenon of domestic violence in the southern province of Saudi Arabia. To achieve this aim, qualitative methods have been selected to research this phenomenon. Qualitative methods suit this research best for several reasons as follow: firstly, the primary data is in the form of words (Cooper and Schindler, 2014). Secondly, the study seeks to understand the perceptions/views of women who were victims of domestic abuse. Therefore, qualitative methods suit this research best because it permits the capturing of the perceptions/views of participants (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011). Thirdly, the aim of this research is to seek better understanding of the domestic violence phenomenon, and qualitative data suits this aim best as it is used in exploring new phenomena (Harvey and Myers, 1995). Moreover, qualitative methods capture deep knowledge from which can be produced detailed and comprehensive results (Denzin, 2009).

5.4.Rationale for the Use of a Case Study Approach

A case study approach has been selected for this research for several reasons as follows: firstly, the study seeks to understand a contemporary phenomenon (domestic violence) in the context of the southern province of Saudi Arabian. Therefore, a case study suits this research best. In his book, Yin (2014, p. 16) defined a case study approach as follows

an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident.

The definition above shows that a case study investigates a contemporary phenomenon, which means this approach fits the research best. Secondly, a case study can deal with complex phenomena (Yin, 2009). Therefore, it is appropriate for this research because domestic violence is a complex phenomenon. The aim of the case study approach is to investigate a phenomenon by asking questions (e.g. 'why' and 'how') in order to examine the phenomenon in a comprehensive manner (Berg, 2008).

5.5.Rationale for the Use of Multiple Case Studies

The research that adopts a case study approach either selects a single case or multiple cases (Whitworth and Cheatham, 1988). A single case is used when the case is viewed as unique or critical, which makes the case worthy of additional investigation and analysis (Whitworth and Cheatham, 1988). Therefore, a single case is a critical addition to a well-developed theory (Yin, 2003). However, it is important to note that a single case study increases the

margin of error of the research (Patton, 2002) because the investigation relies on one case alone.

A multiple case study is used when the research needs to replicate the same scenarios in multiple settings for the sake of comparing scenarios with each other. In their book, Saunders et al. (2016, P.187) explained that the case study is probably the most flexible of research strategies or research design, as it allows the researcher to keep the holistic characteristics of actual life events as well as investigating numerical/empirical data. Multiple cases can be incorporated within the case study strategy. The *raison d'être* of multiple cases focuses on the possibility of findings being replicated across cases. Cases are selected according to predicted results and on the basis that each case will produce the pre-conceived result. Yin (2014) terms this realised result as “literal replication”. The researcher then selects an alternative set of cases where the context is purposefully chosen to be distinct. The effect of this variation on the anticipated results is analysed by the researcher. Yin (2014) terms this realised predicted variations as “theoretical replication”. Yin proposes that a combination of multiple case strategies and a smaller number of cases can be chosen to predict literal replication and another group of cases can be selected for theoretical replication predictions. If the researcher finds that all results tally with predictions, this would clearly support the propositions put forward.

For the sake of fulfilling the aim of this research, a ‘multiple-case’ approach was adopted to study the phenomenon of domestic violence in the southern province of Saudi Arabia. The use of a multiple-case approach reduces the research errors through the comparison between the cases, and identifies themes from the primary data.

5.6.Rationale for Semi-Structured Interviews

Qualitative interviews seek to explain a scenario, create correlations, or create classifications (Stake, 1995). Therefore, straightforward answers, such as ‘no’ or ‘yes,’ are not essential in qualitative research. Saunders et al. (2016, P.303) explained the aim of semi-structured interviews that the semi-structured interview entails a list of concerns and a few leading questions, which tend to vary from one interview to another. This allows the interviewer to exclude some of the questions in certain interviews, dependent upon the organizational context setting, with regards to the research topic. Conversely the researcher may see the need to reconnoiter the research question and objectives and have additional questions ready for use.

This research used semi-structured interviews to study the phenomenon of domestic violence in the southern province of Saudi Arabia for the following reasons: firstly, interviews are the main method of collecting data in qualitative research (Cooper and Schindler, 2014).

Secondly, the victims of domestic violence are under serious threat and, consequently, the collected data is considered sensitive. For this reason, semi-structured interviews fit the nature of the research more than other methods. Therefore, semi-structured interviews are suitable because they allow for direct communication with some of the participants: namely, the employees of the shelters that host the women who are victims of abuse (Braun and Clarke, 2013).

Thirdly, the research constructed a grounded theory from the primary data (i.e. a theory is grounded in the data). For this reason, semi-structured interviews suit this research best (Braun and Clarke, 2013).

5.7.The Population and Sample of this Study

The following subsections (see Subsection 6.7.1 and 6.7.2) will present the population and the sample selected from this population. The population represents the demography of the people from which the sample was selected.

5.7.1.The Population of this Study

The population of this study is women who have been victims of domestic abuse in the southern province of the Kingdom. This population was selected in order to help the researcher to answer the research question, which seeks to investigate a certain phenomenon (domestic violence against women) in a certain context (the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia). To access this population, the researcher established communication with social protection institutions that are the official places women who have been victims of domestic violence can go to seek help.

There are no official figures for percentages that indicate the number of women who experienced domestic violence in the southern province of Saudi Arabia. However, there is a study that was conducted during the year 2012 have giving an indication regarding the size of the phenomenon of domestic violence in Saudi Arabia. The study was the largest of its

kind and it included Saudi citizens of both genders, young and old, and belong to different regions and cities of Saudi Arabia. The outcomes of the study are as follows Peterson and Schroeder (2016 , P. 7):

results suggest that nearly three-quarters of Saudi men and women interviewed believe that domestic violence occurs in the country, just 49 percent believe it is a widespread problem. Sixty-eight percent of participants believe that Saudi Arabia needs to develop regulations protecting women from domestic violence. Ninety-seven percent of respondents reported receiving no training on domestic violence, with 69 percent indicating a desire to attend such trainings.

Only 22 percent of respondents stated that their agency had policies and procedures in place to deal with cases of domestic violence in their workplace. Of that 22 percent only 41 percent of employees reported seeing or reading these policies with 68 percent reporting that they had not seen these policies. Over three quarters (77 percent) said that there were no procedures in place that they knew of in their agencies

The numbers above indicate that almost half of the participants (49%) think that domestic violence is a widespread problem, which makes it a problem that needs attention.

5.7.2. Sample of this Study

The sample of this study was selected from three social protection institutions that are located in three different cities. There were 33 women who participated in this study by answering the survey; their ages ranged from 15 - 45 years old. Additionally, semi-structured interviews were conducted with eight women who work in the three institutions (Abha, Jizan and Najran); these women were either managers or social workers.

5.8. Rationale for the Use of the 'Snowball Sampling' Approach

The study used a 'snowball sampling' approach to select the sample for various reasons as follows: firstly, the selected population (the southern province of Saudi Arabia) was not readily accessible to the researcher because the sample is located in three different cities, and the researcher did not live in the three cities before the start of the research. Therefore, the snowball sampling approach is suitable for this study (Lune and Berg, 2017). In the snowball sampling approach, the old participants tend to recommend new participants (Yin, 2016); this is because it is assumed that the early candidates can provide recommendations that lead the research to identify new candidates (Miller and Brewer, 2003).

The Snowball approach is especially useful for researchers who are interested in the investigation of sensitive topics, remote populations and various types of deviance. Snowballing is most effective when the population is unknown and sparse and when it

becomes exigent to select subjects or samples for research (Lee, 1993. Lune and Berg, 2017).

Moreover, The idea behind snowballing research strategy is to first, locate or identify and interview a small sample of people with common concerns, for the purpose of data collection. The initial sample of people is then requested to nominate potential data sources, i.e. other people who would be able to participate in the research studies (Lune and Berg, 2017).

Secondly, the population targeted by the study (Saudis in the southern province of Saudi Arabia) is conservative, because Saudis do not like to share any knowledge about themselves (Hertog, 2010). Therefore, suggestions from the early participants helped the study to identify additional participants who wanted to take part in this study. The conservative nature of the population of this study, as well as the lack of physical accessibility on the researcher's part to the population, led this study to choose the snowball approach to select the population sample. Saunders et al. (2016) identified the following steps to deploy the snowball approach:

Snowball sampling technique in research is one of two techniques in which the respondents volunteer as opposed to being selected. This technique is customarily used when it becomes difficult for the researcher to locate participants specifically needed for research, for example trying to locate people who are working and claiming unemployment benefit; in such circumstances the researcher would need to:

1. Contact a few prospective respondents in the research population
2. Request the already identified cases to nominate further cases.
3. Put in further requests to new cases to nominate possible respondents.
4. The researcher can cease snowball sampling activities when attempts to secure further cases are exhausted, or the sample is abundant, or adequate enough, for the researcher to carry out analysis and is able to draw conclusive results, which can lead to informed decisions being made for a particular organization.

The most acute problem with the snowball sampling strategy is probably the difficulty in securing the initial contacts. Once the initial contacts have been recognized, further respondents for the research population are cited by the initial contacts, the new cases then go on to identify further possible cases for the research population, hence the snowballing effect. The bias for samples created via the snowballing sampling technique is very

significant and apparent due to the homogeneous nature of the sample (Lee 2000); since the respondents will be similar to one another. The problem of bias is repeated with each new batch of respondents as all respondents are referred by one another. However it needs to be stressed that despite the huge problem of bias, snowballing is probably the only technique that the researcher is able to use, when faced with the problem of identifying difficult populations (Saunders et al. 2016)

The selected sample represents various cities in the southern province of Saudi Arabia. It also encompasses different types of victims of domestic abuse. For instance, participants included women who have different backgrounds in education, age, and marital status to ensure that various perceptions are captured so that the outcomes of the analysis represent reality as much as possible.

5.9. Process of Conducting Interviews with the Social Workers

The interviewer (that is, the researcher) has investigated the phenomenon of domestic violence against women to identify the factors that influence this phenomenon through the conducting of semi-structured interviews using the steps that follow.

First step: the interviewees confirmed (via phone) the time and place of the interview prior to the visit to the protection institution. This was done to ensure that the participants have selected suitable times and places to conduct the interviews, which are considered sensitive.

Second step: on the day of the interview, the interviewer ensured the participants were happy with the same arrangements, which is important because the interviewees may share sensitive data. Therefore, the interviewees should confirm that the arrangements are suitable. The interviews were conducted between December 2015 and February 2016 and lasted between 25 and 35 minutes, and all the interviews were recorded (the interviewer asked each participant for permission to audiotape the interviews before they started) so that each interview could be transcribed afterwards.

Third step: the interviewer met with the participants at the time that both parties agreed upon. The meeting started by providing a brief introduction to the background of the research, the goal of the interview, and the expected results of the interview. Moreover, the interviewer shared the form (see Appendix 9), which helped the participant to gain further information regarding the interview process. The participant could choose to withdraw at any time if she wished to do so.

Fourth step: the interviewer asked predetermined questions that were set ahead of time by the researcher (see Appendix 3). However, some additional questions were asked in accordance with the participants' answers. A semi-structured interview was used to collect more detailed information about a topic in a conversational way. Corbetta (2003 p. 270) explained:

the interviewer is free to conduct the conversation as he thinks fit, to ask the questions he deems appropriate in the words he considers best, to give explanation and ask for clarification if the answer is not clear, to prompt the respondent to elucidate further if necessary, and to establish his own style of conversation

The questions in the interviews differed in nature from one another, a strategy which was used to meet the goals of the study. For instance, the structural questions were prepared in order to understand the relationship between domestic violence against women and customs and traditions of Saudi society. Meanwhile, the descriptive questions were used to allow the participants to talk about victims' stories that the workers have witnessed or know about from work experience (see Appendix 1).

The questions did not necessarily focus on current cases of victims but involve previous cases of violence, in order to gain more detailed information about the causes of domestic violence and their relation to traditions and customs in Saudi society. For instance, the initial question in the interview was regarding the participant's occupation and the duration of her work in the institution.

Most of the participants had a complete picture about the causes of violence that the victims underwent, whether these were current or previous cases, and they had conducted investigations with both the victim and the abuser. Thus, it was a unique and valuable chance to hear from them and understand their opinions about the common reasons for domestic violence and the justifications that the abusers give. Moreover, most of them were from the same city and they knew about the local societal traditions. This may help to achieve the research aim, which is about the role of traditions and customs in incidence of violence against women. Taking notes was used in addition to tape recording in order to write down any important notes that may not be clear in the recording.

It is important to note that the questions for both social workers and victims of abuse were created before the researcher conducted the interviews with the social workers. However, the questions that devoted to the victims of abuse were updated after the conduct of the

interviews with the social workers. The updated was necessary to help the researcher to collect data that will help her to achieve the aim of the study.

5.10.Process of Distributing Surveys to the Victims of Abuse

The distribution of the surveys (See Appendix 2) was at the second stage of data collection (between February 2017 to March 2017), after conducting interviews with the social protection staff. The distribution of the surveys at this stage has helped the researcher to finalise the questions asked in the surveys, in order to understand the causes of domestic abuse.

The surveys were distributed to 33 women who had been victims of domestic violence and had been helped by the institution. Before the distribution of the surveys, the victims were asked by the workers in the institution to read the consent form carefully before giving their consent to participate in this study. This was important because the interviewer did not communicate with the victims directly. Rather, the communication was done by the institution staff to keep the identity of the victims anonymous for safety purposes.

The researcher tried to choose a time to complete the survey that was convenient for the participants (i.e. avoiding times for meals, sleeping and lessons, for instance) and advised them to feel free to stop answering the surveys whenever they wanted.

After the completion of each survey, the interviewer checked immediately whether it was completed fully or not, which allowed the researcher to ensure that each survey was completed fully and with the relevant answers to the questions of the survey.

5.11.Data Analysis

To make sense of qualitative data is a critical challenge because the volume of the collected data in qualitative research is enormous. The analysis of qualitative data, therefore, is important because it reduces the volume of the raw data, which translates the raw data into meaningful information. From the analysis of the primary data, the study identified the patterns/themes from which a theory could be constructed to answer the research question (Patton, 1990).

To answer the research question, the study identified, from the raw data, the empirical patterns that construct the research theory (Ryan et al., 2002). This assisted the researcher in enhancing her understanding of the phenomenon (Ryan et al., 2002), namely the domestic violence in the southern province of Saudi Arabia and its triggers. From the raw data, the

research identified patterns that led to the identification of the triggers of domestic violence in Saudi Arabia through the use of grounded theory.

Grounded theory is one of the techniques used to analyse data in qualitative research and, consequently, form a theory that is grounded (embedded) in the primary data (Bryman and Bell, 2007). Grounded theory is not constructed from a well-developed theory (Bryman and Bell, 2007). Rather, grounded theory is derived from empirical data that has been collected and represents reality (Bryman and Bell, 2007). Therefore, grounded theory provides insight(s) and, thus, a deeper understanding of the phenomenon (Bryman and Bell, 2007).

Sutton (1987) utilised grounded theory to analyse the primary data of ‘dying’ enterprises, from which a model was produced to present the process of dying enterprises. Sutton (1987, P. 547) summarised the use of grounded theory as follows

The method of data analysis used here draws on recommendations by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Miles and Huberman (1984). The method entailed continuous comparison of data and model throughout the research project. I began the research by developing a rough working framework based on the existing literature, conversations with colleagues, and pilot interviews. I travelled back and forth between the emerging model and evidence throughout the data gathering and writing. In doing so, some elements suggested by the literature and prior intuitions could be grounded in evidence, while others could not. Other elements proposed at the outset or suggested by a subset of cases were retained but were modified considerably to conform to the evidence.

The researcher employed the following phases, highlighted by Sutton (1987): **first phase** - literature was identified that highlights domestic violence against women and its triggers, to compare the triggers of domestic violence in the southern province of Saudi Arabia with the international literature (See Subsection 2.5).

Second phase - the researcher captured the primary data through the use of audio-tape and survey. The audiotape method was used for semi-structured interviews with the social workers, and the survey method was used to collect data from the victims of abuse. The audio tapes were then transcribed to be read by the researcher afterwards.

Third phase: the researcher constantly reviewed the collected data to ensure familiarity with it. This was also done to ensure that the researcher could identify all the themes and patterns of data that can be used to answer the question of the study.

Fourth phase: from the data analysis, the triggers of domestic violence were identified and the study presented the position of Islam on these triggers.

Fifth phase: the research presented the triggers of domestic violence in the study framework in the final chapter.

5.12.Coding Process

Coding is a key component in the grounded theory approach. In his book, Bryman (2012, P. 568) mentioned the key role of coding in grounded theory as follows:

Coding is one of the most central processes in grounded theory. It entails reviewing transcripts and/or field notes and giving labels (names) to component parts that seem to be of potential theoretical significance and/or that appear to be particularly salient within the social worlds of those being studied and/or that appear to be particularly salient within the social worlds of those being studied.

The code process stated by Strauss and Corbin (1998) was the one that the study followed in the data analysis. The researcher did several rounds of coding to create a link between the content of the transcripts and surveys and the meanings embedded in them. The review revealed a set of triggers for domestic violence against women in the southern province of Saudi Arabia. The coding process followed in this study was as follows

First stage - the transcripts and surveys were read during the data collection phase and after the end of the phase to develop a strong level of familiarity with the primary data.

Second stage - the reading of the primary data sources was done to develop a good level of understanding of it, and led the researcher to identify the key themes embedded in the raw data. At this stage, the research highlighted the themes identified with broad codes that represent the two key areas in the literature of domestic violence (see chapter 2), namely: forms of violence (the code for forms of abuse is: FV) and the reasons for violence (the code for reasons for violence is: RV).

Third stage - the second stage was followed by reading the relevant fragments of data again and give these fragments narrower codes. These codes give a clearer understanding of fragments. For instance, the codes that used to highlight the fragments related to the forms of domestic violence are as follows:

- 1.The broad code that used to identify the forms of violence is ‘FV’, and the narrow codes of the four forms of domestic violence are as follows:
 - 1.1.Physical (the code is FV_P);
 - 1.2.Emotional (the code is FV_E);
 - 1.3.Sexual (the code is FV_S);
 - 1.4.Forced marriage (the code is FV_FM).

The second round of coding was followed by another review of these codes to ensure that the codes fit the fragments of data and to add additional codes that represent new meanings (if necessary).

Fourth stage - the fragments of data that were identified under the same code were gathered and isolated from the original text to ensure that relevant fragments are mentioned in the appropriate place of the data analysis chapter.

Fifth stage - the coded fragments were gathered under the same theme and the framework of the study was developed.

Table 5.1: Example of the Coding Process

Coding Stage	The Fragments of the Primary Data
<p>First Stage - Broad Code (FV)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Example of Fragments Under the Broad Code (FV)</u></p> <p><i>He abuses me physically with all kind of ways from both my father and husband. My father hits me always and always threatened me with murder. The threats continued with my husband as he also hit me and told me that he has no respect for me - Case T</i></p> <p><i>My father burned and hit my siblings and me. He constantly burns my body in different areas and burns the body of my little siblings. He has also raised weapons, such as knives in front of us more than once and threatened to kill me and my siblings. He also shocks me, and he hits everyone at the house whether old or young, it does not matter - Case P</i></p> <p><i>My husband used to insult me a lot with all kinds of dirty words. He used to curse my dead father as well - Case L</i></p> <p><i>The abuse started at the beginning of the marriage; it started when we moved and shared the same house when we got together. Every time he did not like something, he directly raised his voice and became angry, to the point he could curse or even worse. Some days are worse than others, and some days I wish I had never been born in the first place. - Case BB</i></p>
<p>Second Stage - Narrow Codes</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Example of Fragments Under the Narrow Code - Physical Violence (FV P)</u></p> <p><i>He abuses me physically with all kind of ways from both my father and husband. My father hits me always and always threatened me with murder. The threats continued with my husband as he also hit me and told me that he has no respect for me - Case T</i></p> <p><i>My father burned and hit my siblings and me. He constantly burns my body in different areas and burns the body of my little siblings. He has also raised weapons, such as knives in front of us more than once and threatened to kill me and my siblings. He also shocks me, and he hits everyone at the house whether old or young, it does not matter - Case P</i></p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>Example of Fragments Under the Narrow Code - Emotional Violence (FV P)</u></p> <p><i>My husband used to insult me a lot with all kinds of dirty words. He used to curse my dead father as well - Case L</i></p> <p><i>The abuse started at the beginning of the marriage; it started when we moved and shared the same house when we got together. Every time he did not like something, he directly raised his voice and became angry, to the point he could curse or even worse. Some days are worse than others, and some days I wish I had never been born in the first place. - Case BB</i></p>

5.12.Ethical Issues

Holloway and Brown (2016, P. 57) mentioned six principles that a researcher must consider and then address to ensure that his/her research is ethical and these principles are:

The Framework for Research Ethics of the Economic and Social Research Council of Britain (ESRC, 2010:3) established six key principles, concerned with:

ensuring “integrity, quality, and transparency”;
supplying full information about the aim and uses of the research;
ensuring confidentiality and anonymity;
organizing voluntary participation free from coercion;
avoiding harm to participants;
guaranteeing the independence of the research and researcher.

These ethical guidelines apply to all research, but there are some that particularly concern qualitative research and have different implications for its conduct

The research principles mentioned in Holloway and Brown’s (2016) book were employed as follows: firstly, the participants were informed of the goal of the interview and the study; secondly, the victims of abuse were protected by allowing the social workers to interview them and hide their identity in the study; thirdly, the participants were explained in a clear manner that they have the power to withdraw at any point of the interview without needing to justify the reason; fourthly, the researcher provided ethical forms for participants that outline their right to choose whether to participate or not and to leave the interview without justification if any of them wishes to do so; fifthly, the primary data that the researcher collected was used for one aim only, which is to answer the research question; finally, the identities of the participants were kept anonymous for safety purposes.

5.13.Summary of the Chapter

This chapter began with an introduction to the research design, which derives from the aim and objectives of the thesis (see Section 5.1).

The second section (see Section 5.2) showed that the study sought to understand the views of participants, that the investigation is in a specific context, and that the study seeks to deepen the knowledge of the reader and deliver detailed outcomes/findings.

The third section (see Section 5.3) presented the reasons for the use of the case study approach, namely that the phenomenon is a contemporary and complex one within a real-life context.

The researcher had no control over the circumstances that exist in the environment in which the investigation took place. Therefore, the study selected multiple cases as the best

approach to investigate the phenomenon by gathering multiple raw data from different scenarios and comparing them to reduce the margin of error (see Section 5.4).

The fifth section (see Section 5.5) provided the rationale for the use of semi-structured interviews. The investigation involves cases of domestic violence; therefore, the content of the collected data is sensitive. For this reason, the researcher used direct communication as a method to collect data from social workers. Additionally, the social workers used surveys to collect the data from the victims of abuse that existed in the protection institutions during the data collection period. The study drives the theory from data, and interviews are the best tool to collect such data.

The sixth section (see Section 5.6) presented the population of this study from which it selected the sample (see Section 5.7).

The eighth section (see Section 5.8) discussed the method that was used to select the sample (snowball). The use of snowball sampling suits this study because part of the sample was selected prior to the data collection process, and the other part was recommended by this first sample.

The investigation from which the primary data was gathered was completed in a systematic manner that was introduced in two sections (see Sections 5.9 and 5.10).

The next section (see Section 5.11) presented the systematic process of analysing data, which occurred in several phases.

The research used a specific coding process (see Section 5.12) by applying several stages. Afterwards, the study addressed the ethical issues (see Section 5.13) that could have influenced the investigation and the ways in which they were handled.

CHAPTER 4

6.DATA ANALYSIS

6.1.Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of the primary data that was collected from the protection institutions located in the southern province of Saudi Arabia. This chapter contains two key sections. One is devoted to the primary data that was quantified from the surveys (see Section 6.1); the second key section presents the qualitative data that the study extracted from the surveys (see Section 6.2). It is important to note that the study was conducted in three different locations at three different protection institutions, and the data collection continued until the researcher reached the point of data saturation.

The primary data that represents the victims of abuse was supported by the views and comments of the social workers. In addition, in some cases, the comments of the social workers emerged to create a new subsection (e.g. Subsections 6.2.2.6 and 6.2.2.7).

6.2.Analysis of the Quantified Data of the Surveys

This section presents the data that was collected at three protection institutions located in three different cities in the southern province of Saudi Arabia. The method used was surveys that the researcher distributed to 33 Saudi women who had been victims of abuse. The outcome of the surveys collected is as follows.

6.2.1.Age

Table 6.1: Age Groups

Age (Years)	Frequency
Younger than 20	7
20-29	18
Older than 29	8

Source: Data Collected from the Victims of Abuse

Table 6.1 shows that most of the victims were young, namely under the age of 29, which represents almost the same average age of women in Saudi Arabia, namely: 27.5 years (CIA Factbook, 2018-2019). According to international literature that has investigated domestic violence, there is a link between age and occurrence of domestic violence.

The literature of domestic violence states that forced marriage is linked to child abuse (Clark et al., 2007). Moreover, the literature indicates that child marriage is one of the triggers of domestic violence (see Subsection 2.5.6). Women who get married at a young age are more likely to experience domestic violence than women who get married at an older age (see Subsection 2.5.6). The reason for this is that young women are more likely to lack the power of bargaining skills (negotiate) with their husband, which old women are more likely to have.

In the context of Saudi Arabia, women who have many children are more respected than women without kids (Zuhur, 2011), especially if the children are old (Zuhur, 2011). This suggests that women who are older and have many children have higher status than other women, which gives these women status higher in Saudi society than others.

Additionally, Wahhābī clerics in Saudi Arabia do not view child marriage as a problem that the Saudi society must combat (see Subsection 3.3.6). Rather, they think it is a good act as it follows in the footsteps of the Prophet, who married his last wife when she was less than nine years old. Therefore, it is not prohibited to marry children, according to Saudi clerics (see Subsection 3.3.6). The Wahhābī clerics do not take into consideration the context of time before they produce fatwas regarding marriage affairs. In the present era, Saudi females must have a certain level of education and maturity to be able to cope with the complexity of the external environment. Such changes to the external environment of Saudi Arabia between the time of the Prophet and the present era were not addressed by the Wahhābī clerics and therefore may lead Saudi females to make decisions that may affect them negatively in the future.

The implication of such fatwas (see Subsection 3.3.6) can have a negative effect on the Saudi women as some Saudi citizens may take such fatwas as an excuse to marry off their female children at a very early age, which may be detrimental to any future plans that include education or work. Furthermore, the clerics of Saudi Arabia are not taking into consideration the stark difference between the Prophet's time and the modern world. At the time of the Prophet, life was simple and the roles of both women and men were simpler and

limited. Marriages at an early age were accepted by the society that existed at the time of the Prophet Mohammed, but times are different nowadays and societal rules from long ago do not necessarily have a place in the modern world.

6.2.1. Marital Status and Children of the Victims

Table 6.2: Marital Status

Marital status	Frequency
Single	10
Married	9
Divorced	14

Source: Data Collected from the Victims of Abuse

Table 6.2 shows there is no big difference between the frequency of the three marital status types (i.e. single, married, and divorced), which implies that marriage status is not a factor that triggers domestic violence against women. The society of Saudi Arabia is patriarchal and encourages male dominance over women (Doumato, 2010), which leads to the oppression of women despite their marital status as explained by feminist theory (see Subsection 2.4.3).

In the context of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the most common type of marriage is arranged marriages (Al-Hakami and McLaughlin, 2016), which tend to occur between members of the same tribe in order to strengthen their numbers (Zuhur, 2010). In arranged marriages, the decision is made by the bride and the husband (Renzetti et al., 2011). However, there are both cultural and social pressures that force the bride or the husband (or both) to consent the marriage (Al-Hakami and McLaughlin, 2016). In other words, it is true that the consent of the bride and the husband is an important part of Islamic marriage, but this consent can be the outcome of the cultural pressure that forces females at a certain age or the outcome of pressure exercised by families.

It is worth mentioning that male guardians hold the power to marry off their female relatives at an early age (Zuhur, 2010), which is considered a form of domestic violence against women (See subsection 2.2.4). The dominant position of Saudi males can lead male guardians to engage in negative behaviours, and such excessive use of power can manifest in

the form of abuse (Doumato, 2010). Furthermore, the Wahhābī fatwa tends to give men extra power that can be easily misused. The Wahhābī clerics tend to encourage all marriages, even if they are at a very young age (see Subsection 3.3.6). Such fatwas can give a superior position to male guardians that may lead them to misuse it, because it is easy for guardians to convince their female relatives to marry when they are young.

In the Saudi community, women who are divorced can experience family pressure to get married again, and divorced women can feel isolated and may be forced to stay at home if they do not agree to get married again (Zuhur, 2010). Unfortunately, some of the Wahhābī clerics have negative views on divorce and divorced women (see Subsection 3.3.9). For instance, when Shīkh bin bāz was asked regarding a case of abuse that lasted for 25 years, he stated that the victim must be patient. The answer Shīkh bin bāz gave is as follows (see Subsection 3.3.9):

***Response:** It is obligatory upon you to have patience and to advise him to act in the best way. Remind him of Allah and the Hereafter. Perhaps he will respond and return to what is correct. Perhaps he will give up his evil behaviour. If he does not, the sin is upon him and you will get a great reward for your patience and bearing his harm. It is sanctioned for you to supplicate for him in your prayer and at other times, that Allah may guide him to what is correct, bless him with proper behavior and protect you from his evil and the evil of others.*

In Shīkh bin bāz's answer, it is clear that marital patience is given higher priority than the safety of the abused woman, a notion that grants further power to the abusers, and misery and suffering to the victims. It is clear that cases of abuse must not be handled by clerics who lack a basic understanding of the problem. Rather, the clerics should refer these cases to social workers who are trained and able to deal with them.

Further to this, single women in Saudi Arabia are under the custody of a male guardian in the family, and the guardian tends to hold overwhelming power over his female relatives to the point where he can control their mobility and workability, and his permission is needed for most governmental transactions (Zuhur, 2010). According to Wahhābī clerics, Muslim women must not leave the home without the permission of her guardian (see Subsection 3.3.4). This kind of power places women under the control of men in Saudi Arabia to the point that they may not allow them to leave the house at all. It also leads women to lose some rights as an outcome, such as the right of education. This power can, in addition, lead a male guardian to use force to control his female relatives as an exercise in domination.

It is important to note that, according to the literature (see Subsection 2.5.11), a lack of higher education among men leads to a lack of good communication and problem-solving

skills, which in turn increases the chances of domestic abuse because men who lack proper communication skills tend to use violence out of frustration.

Table 6.3: Children

Children	Frequency
Yes	11
No	22

Source: Data Collected from the Victims of Abuse

Table 6.3 shows that 70% of the victims included in this study are without children. Table 6.2 shows that 10 of the victims (30%) included in this study were single, and the other victims are either married or divorced. Most of the divorces were early divorces, which explains the large percentage of women who are childless.

The literature on domestic violence states that there is a link between the number of children a woman has and the risk of experiencing domestic violence (Martin et al., 1999; Allen, 2012). An increase in the number of children tends to leave the family with less time and resources for other family members, which may lead to increased frustration in the married couple (Martin et al., 1999; Ellsberg, 200) and, consequently, a higher likelihood of violence being used in order to release this frustration (Renzetti et al., 2011).

Studies that explore the effect of children on marriages show that the level of marital satisfaction goes down after childbirth, which is considered a result of a decrease in the amount of time the couple has to pursue their interests (Brown et al., 2000). It is also noted that every additional child is likely to increase the parents' workload and, therefore, the probability of conflicts occurring (Haughton and Haughton, 1995).

The findings in the literature that the phenomenon of domestic violence is more likely to appear with each additional family member can be correlated with some of the cases of abuse that were included in this study. For instance, one of the victims stated that she was part of a large family as she is the mother of sixteen children (see Table 6.4) from the same mother (i.e. Case X). The victim in Case X stated the following:

I suffered with him a lot, as he beat me constantly - me and my children (i.e. 16), and he also kept marrying more women and conceived many children by them. He also forced me to take care of his kids, and I was treated as a family maid who was

responsible for the kids and their father. Above that, he hit me and the children in a barbaric manner.

The victim of Case X also stated:

My children and myself were living in a small section of the house that is in bad condition. There are animals that live in better conditions than the one we had in his (the abuser's) house.

The comments (above) from the victim of Case X indicate the poor conditions that she had to live in. Although the abuser (the father) earned more than 10,000 SR per month (\$2,800), he has many children, which puts him under significant financial pressure. Additionally, the abuser is a drug addict, which also adds to his financial burden. The financial burden and drugs can lead him to be aggressive and exercise physical and emotional abuse to release this frustration and pressure. However, not all of the victims in the study have children, which shows that children are not necessarily a factor that triggers the phenomenon of domestic violence.

Table 6.4: Number of Children

Number of children	Frequency
One	3
Two	3
Three	1
Four	2
Six	1
Sixteen	1

Source: Data Collected from the Victims of Abuse

Table 6.4 shows that women in the study who have children tended to have three children or less. However, there are four cases in which the women had more than three children, which is higher than the average fertility rate of children in Saudi Arabia of 2.09 (The CIA Factbook, 2018-2019).

In the context of Saudi Arabia, women who have many children tend to have higher status in the society because every additional child will increase the number of individuals of the

tribe (Zuhur, 2011), thereby strengthening the tribe. However, the international literature states that every child added to the family could increase the frustration of the parents (Brown et al., 2000). Each additional child will also deplete the family resources, which may further increase the parents' frustration as they can neither devote time for themselves nor provide the finances to support the family in a comfortable manner (Martin et al., 1999). Therefore, even though women with many children may hold higher status in Saudi society and the tribe, the lack of resources may put financial pressure on the family, which tends to increase the level of stress and frustration and, consequently, the possibility of domestic violence.

The conclusion that can be drawn from this information is that the phenomenon of domestic violence is complicated and the triggers of the phenomenon can be socio-economic, especially in a capitalist society like Saudi Arabia (Commins, 2015).

6.2.2. Level of Education

Table 6.5: Education Level of the Victims

Level of Education	Frequency
None	2
Primary	9
Secondary	19
High school	3

Source: Data Collected from the Victims of Abuse

Table 6.6 shows that most of the victims who were included in this study did not attain higher education. Rather, more than 90% of them did not reach high school (the victims quit school before they reached 15 years old). The literature states that school life expectancy for Saudi females is 16 (see Subsection 4.1), which is above the age that the majority of the victims were when their education finished (see Table 6.5).

One of the social workers stated that the significance of education differs from one family to another. The social worker stated the following:

Society differs on the issue of education, some view education as an essential right of women while others think of it as a luxury and girls do not have to take any further education than elementary or mid school. - SW6

The social worker also stated that, although the education may differ from one family to another, the rate of educated women is higher than it used to be in the past. She stated:

more women are educated and know about the protection institutions like ours. - SW6

The view of other social workers on education is the same, namely that it differs from one family to another. Another social work stated:

Depends on the family, some family views education as essential matter and women must be educated as much as men, while other families view education as a secondary thing and women must stay at home and get married. - SW7

The international literature highlights the influence of education on domestic violence (Naved, 2013). A lack of education decreases the communication and problem-solving skills of a person (Kishor, 2000). Therefore, the chances of domestic violence may increase. The lack of these skills among partners increases the chances of conflict between them. Moreover, the literature also states that women who have higher education are less likely to experience domestic violence (Mohapatra et al., 2012).

The lack of higher education among the victims and the patriarchal culture that exists in the Kingdom gave the guardians of these victims significant power over them. The extreme power of the guardians tends to put Saudi women in a vulnerable position with little chance to combat any form of domestic abuse or report it.

Additionally, the literature states that women with higher education are more likely to acquire good communication skills. Therefore, the chances of experiencing domestic violence among Saudi women are high as the average age of females who stop their education is 15 years (The CIA Factbook, 2018-2019), which is younger than the typical age of high school completion (17/18 years). Furthermore, the Wahhābī clerics view women's education as a non-essential matter. For instance, the CRLO committee stated that Muslim females can leave school after they finish elementary school because the natural and right place for women is the home (see Subsection 3.3.3).

Additionally, it is important to note that mixing between women and men is prohibited by Saudi clerics (see Subsection 3.3.5). The clerics' views can have turned Saudi society into one that is gender segregated; that is, women and men cannot mix publicly unless they are

relatives. This can have negative implications for women’s education because, in other words, men cannot teach Saudi females directly. Rather, females can either be taught by women or visiting male lecturers, who teach through a camera that is connected to a room of female students to avoid being in the same room with female students.

Table 6.6: Abusers’ Level of Education

Abuser's level of education	Frequency
None	1
Primary	7
Secondary	9
High school	11
Undergraduate	3
Postgraduate	2

Source: Data Collected from the Victims of Abuse

Table 6.7 shows that the education level of the abusers is also relatively low, namely most of them hold a high school degree or less. The literature states that school life expectancy for Saudi males is 17 (see Subsection 4.1), and most of the abusers possess either high-school degree or less (see Table 6.6).

As mentioned earlier, the international literature states that there is an association between the level of education and violence, namely that less education can increase the chances of the appearance of domestic violence (Naved, 2013). A lack of higher education will most likely leave individuals with poor communication and problem-solving skills. The collected data shows that the level of education for both victims and abusers is relatively low (See Table 6.6 and Table 6.7), therefore supporting the connection between education and abuse that was highlighted in the literature. With that said, the data analysis shows that the education of men is higher than women (see Table 6.5 and 7.6). It is important, therefore, to provide women and men with equal rights, one of which is the right to education because good education can give women opportunity to know more about their rights and become more independent financially if they need to do so.

6.2.3. Employment Status

Table 6.7: Employment Status of the Victims

Employment status	Frequency
Employed	1
Not employed	32

Source: Data Collected from the Victims of Abuse

Table 6.7 shows that all the victims were unemployed, except for one case, and the unemployment of the victims makes them dependant on the abusers. The official rate of unemployment for Saudi females is 31%, which is considered massive (Fadaak and Roberts, 2019). However, the rate of unemployment among the victims of abuse that were included in this study was even higher than this (see Table 6.7), which perhaps indicates a connection between female unemployment and occurrence of abuse.

The international literature states that women who are unemployed are more likely to experience violence than women who work (Riger and Staggs, 2004). In contrast, women who are employed are not dependent on their family members. Nonetheless, women in Saudi Arabia can experience abuse whether they are employed or not, which is the outcome of the patriarchal culture that dominates the Kingdom (Doumato, 2010). However, unemployed women are financially dependent, which makes them more vulnerable than employed women; consequently, unemployed women are easier to dominate and abuse. As stated earlier, all the victims are unemployed except in one case (See Table 6.7), which shows that unemployed women are in a vulnerable position.

The culture that has been embedded in the Saudi Arabian system puts male guardians in a dominant position, meaning that Saudi women must obtain the permission of their guardians for many core decisions (Handrahan, 2001), such as the permission to work. However, it is not mandatory to do so according to Islam, women do not need the permission of a male guardian to obtain education or work (See the Qurān, Sūrat an-Nisā', 4:7). Despite this, the dominant position of male guardians has been supported by the fatwas of Wahhābī clerics of

Saudi Arabia (see Subsection 3.3.3) as they believe that the natural place for women is the home. Furthermore, they believe it is enough for women to leave school after they finish elementary school as this is enough to enable them to read the Qurān and religious texts (see Subsection 3.3.3).

Additionally, the clerics of Saudi Arabia view women as inferior to men, and women must seek the permission of their guardians if they want to leave the house (see Subsection 3.3.2). Moreover, if women would, they are not allowed to work alongside men in the workplace (see Subsection 3.3.5).

These views of Saudi clerics provide a block to women who would otherwise wish to study and work, keeping them in a submissive position to their male guardians who are able to abuse their power. Therefore, many women may suffer as a consequence of these teachings.

Table 6.8: Employment Status of the Abuser

Employment status of the abuser	Frequency
Yes	11
No	22

Source: Data Collected from the Victims of Abuse

Table 6.8 shows that 66% of the abusers were unemployed. Unemployment can increase the chances of domestic violence because the stress of the situation may lead the abuser to engage in more negative behaviour.

The international literature shows that men who hold low job status or are unemployed tend to live in less prosperous areas (Russell, 2010). This increases the level of family stress and, consequently, the possibility of violence in the household as a way to release the stress and frustration. However, in the data there are still 11 cases of abusers being employed, which seems to indicate that employment status is not the only factor that drives abusers to commit violence against their victims.

Table 6.9: Abuser's monthly income (Saudi Riyal)

Abuser's monthly income (Saudi Riyal)	Frequency*
---------------------------------------	------------

2,000-5,000	3
6,000-10,000	1
Over 10,000	0
I don't know	7
Governmental Support	7

Source: Data Collected from the Victims of Abuse

Table 6.9 shows the monthly income of the abusers. As indicated above, out of the 11 abusers who are earning money, 7 of the victims do not know the salary of their abusers. Of the incomes that are known, three cases are very low (2,000 (\$ 500) – 5,000 SR (\$ 1,300)) while there is only one case with a relatively high salary (5000 SR or higher). The literature that addresses the youth of Saudi Arabia provides the salaries of Saudi governmental jobs (Fadaak and Roberts, 2019). The lowest salary of governmental grades ranges between \$ 800 (3,000 SR) and \$ 1,304 (4,890 SR) (Fadaak and Roberts, 2019). Therefore, the salaries of the abusers are considered low as they are the equivalent to the lowest grade of any government job.

Several issues can be noted from Table 6.9 above. The first issue is regarding the number of victims who do not know the salary of their abusers. In the case of these victims, it is clear that the abusers do not share some essential information about themselves with their victims (i.e. normally such information tends to be shared between average couples/family members). This suggests that there might be a lack of trust between the abusers and their victims, or the abusers do not view their victims as equals. Therefore, they keep some (or all) of the patriarchal culture of Saudi Arabia that gives a power to withhold any information, despite the sensitivity or criticality of the information, this is something that feminist theory addresses (See Subsection 2.4.3). Additionally, this is also justified by fatwas of local religious figures, such as Shīkh Al-Munajjid (islamqa.info, 2011). Shīkh Al-Munajjid stated that a Muslim man is permitted to hide the amount of his salary from his wife if he thinks that she spends a lot of money, or if the man wants to help his parents, or if he wants to save some money for the future (islamqa.info, 2011). The problem with this fatwa is that the stated conditions are very broad and can be misused. For instance, the husband may use this fatwa as an excuse to hide his actual earnings from his wife and force her to reduce her

spending on what he may consider to be inessential, when his wife can see that it is essential and necessary.

The second issue that can be noted from Table 6.9 regarding the salary of the abusers. There are three abusers who earn less than 5,000 SR, which implies that these abusers hold low-status jobs and, therefore, probably also have a lower social status. It also means that these abusers are likely to be living in economically disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

The international literature states that economically disadvantaged neighbourhoods have a more dense population and low living conditions that are considered poor in comparison to affluent communities, and they are a place where social incivilities are more visible (Hattery, 2009). Men who live in such areas are more likely to either be unemployed or hold low-level positions; neither will provide him with the status of the traditional man who provides financial support for his family (Ragavan et al., 2006). For this reason, such men may use violence as a means of imposing their dominance (DeKeseredy et al., 2003). Furthermore, the lack of economic resources in disadvantaged neighbourhoods leads residents to experience social isolation, out of which springs unsocial behaviour, such as, domestic violence (Raghavan and Cohen, 2013).

The third issue is related to the case of the abuser who earns a salary of more than 5,000 SR. The salary of this abuser implies that he holds a better job than the other three cases of abuse whose salaries are known by the victims. It also means that the wages of this abuser (5,000 SR or more) are close to the average Saudi salary (Al-Subhi, 2017).

The key outcome of this subsection is that in seven cases, women did not know how much their abusers income, which suggests that the abusers did not care to share essential information with the victims. Moreover, the data shows that salary is not considered a factor that triggers violence because the abusers do not belong to a certain group of income.

6.2.4. The Abuser's Relationship with the Victims

Table 6.10: Relationship with the Victim

Relationship with the victim	Frequency
Father	14
Brother	9
Husband	7
Uncle	3

Source: Data Collected from the Victims of Abuse

Table 6.10 shows that more abuse cases are associated with male relatives (i.e. father, brother, or uncle) than husbands, although the international literature from the World Bank states that intimate partners are responsible for 38% of the murders of women worldwide (2018).

The findings presented in Table 6.10 show that domestic violence is prevalent in the local culture that allows Saudi males to abuse their female relatives from an early age. For this reason, more than 60% of the victims have reported that they witnessed violent behaviour at early age (see Table 6.13).

The issue of male dominance in Saudi Arabia and the fatwas that support this was addressed previously in the dissertation and in the literature that addresses the position of Wahhābī clerics on the issues related to domestic violence against women (see Subsection 3.3.3 and 3.3.5).

6.2.5. Smoking and Drug Use of Abusers

Table 6.11: Does the Abuser Smoke?

Does the abuser smoke?	Frequency
Yes	22
No	11

Source: Data Collected from the Victims of Abuse

Table 6.12: Does the Abuser Take Drugs?

Does the Abuser Take Drugs?	Frequency
Yes	14
No	19

Source: Data Collected from the Victims of Abuse

The two tables above (Table 6.11 and Table 6.12) show that most of the abusers are smokers (see Table 6.11) and 40% of them are drug users (see Table 6.12). The literature mentions that there is an association between drugs and violence. However, the research did not suggest that there is an association between smoking and violence.

The literature highlights drug abuse as one of the triggers of domestic violence. However, the studies mention that drug abuse in itself does not lead to domestic abuse. Rather, the investigation of the cases of domestic abuse showed that most drug addicts do not abuse their female relatives because of drugs. Instead, drug abusers use drugs as an excuse to abuse. The use of substances can trigger violence against women, for instance, it can be used as a reason to exercise control over a family member/partner, or a conflict emerges over the use of drugs/alcohol, or the abuser attempts to force his partner to take drugs with him (Straussner and Fewell, 2011). Studies indicate that there is an association between the use of alcohol/drugs and violence against women (e.g. Reingle et al., 2013; Gonzalez et al., 2014). However, it is possible that substance users are justifying their violent behaviour or the severity of it through the use of drugs/alcohol or any other substance (Larry and Bland, 2008; Murray and Graves, 2013).

It is worth noting that substance use and violent behaviours can be the effects of a deeper problem caused by a mental disorder. Moreover, the use of alcohol/drugs is not the only cause of violence; the literature shows that there are cases of family violence reported in which alcohol/drug addiction did not cause the domestic abuse because the abusers were not addicted or under the influence of any substance. (Mahapatro et al., 2012).

As stated above, the international literature shows a correlation between addiction and domestic violence, which is consistent with the findings of the primary data because the study shows that about 40% of the abusers are drugs addicts. Moreover, the study identified addiction as one of the causes of domestic violence (See Subsection 7.2.5.5). Additionally, more than 80% of the abusers are addicted to smoking, which, on top of the addiction problem, adds a financial burden to abusers.

The position of Saudi clerics on this issue is very clear; the clerics do not support the use of any drugs or smoking as well, as both were proven to be bad for health and wealth (see Subsection 3.3.10). It can also lead people away from God (see Subsection 3.3.9).

6.2.6. Other Violent Behaviours of the Abusers

Table 6.13: Witnessing Abuse of Women in Your Household During Childhood

Witnessing abuse of women in your household during childhood	Frequency
Yes	18
No	15

Source: Data Collected from the Victims of Abuse

Table 6.13 shows that almost 75% of the victims who participated in this study stated that they witnessed the abuse of women in the family during their childhood. This indicates that violence against women is deeply rooted in the culture of the family, leading to the suffering of women in the family for more than one generation.

The social learning theory states that children tend to learn from the behaviour of parents in the household, so the child will likely turn out to be violent if he witnessed violent behaviour during childhood (See Subsection 2.4.1). This theory can explain the behaviour of the abusers in this study because abusive behaviour can be learned and inherited from one generation to another (See Subsection 2.4.1).

Table 6.14: Abuser's Use of Abusive Behaviour Outside the Home

Abuser's use of abusive behaviour outside the home	Frequency
Yes	13
No	20

Source: Data Collected from the Victims of Abuse

Table 6.15: Has the Abuser Had Trouble with the Police?

Has the abuser had trouble with the police?	Frequency
Yes	9
No	24

Source: Data Collected from the Victims of Abuse

The two tables above (Table 6.14 and Table 6.15) show that around 30% of the abusers tend to use violence outside of the house environment (see Table 6.14) and almost the same percentage have had trouble with the police (see Table 6.15). The outcomes of Table 6.14 suggest that many abusers feel comfortable with exerting their abusive behaviour outside of the home, which may be due to this sort of behaviour being normalised in the culture as stated in the literature, and it can be exercised in and outside the house environment (See Subsection 2.4.3). However, around 70% of the abusers who tend to use violence in the home environment are not violent outside of the home, which suggests that the patriarchal culture is embedded in the society it is exercised at home more than the outside area.

Table 6.16: Abuser's Extortion of the Victim's Money

Abuser's extortion of the victim's money	Frequency
Yes	20
No	13

Source: Data Collected from the Victims of Abuse

Table 6.17: Does the Abuser Give the Victim Money and Provide for Her?

Does the abuser give the victim money and provide for her?	Frequency
Yes	12
No	21

Source: Data Collected from the Victims of Abuse

Table 6.16 shows that abusers tend to use financial abuse as well as other forms of abuse. More than 60% of the abusers extorted money from the female victims as a sign of domination.

The international literature on domestic violence identifies economic abuse as one of the forms of abuse that men exercise against women (e.g. Sackett and Saunders, 1999; Kane et

al., 2000). Male guardians in Saudi Arabia can use economic abuse to dominate/control their women, especially since men are given more control over the household finances.

It is important to note that the economic abuse the victims in this study experienced is more severe than the economic abuse that the international literature addresses. In international research, the victims of economic abuse are prevented from receiving money that male relatives earn (Kane et al., 2000). In the case of the victims who participated in this study, the victims are the ones who owned the money, and the money they made was taken away from them.

Furthermore, most of the abusers did not provide financial support for the victims Because they were unemployed, which confirms the fact that economic abuse is manifested in the form of preventing women from accessing their own money, rather than accessing cash provided by the abuser.

6.2.7. The Culture of Abuse Embedded in Society

Table 6.18: Society’s Acceptance of the Abuse of Women

Society’s Acceptance of the Abuse of Women	Frequency
Yes	24
No	9

Source: Data Collected from the Victims of Abuse

Table 6.18 shows that the majority of victims think that the society of the southern province of Saudi Arabia accepts the abuse of women.

Communities adopt specific values and traditions that may allow for women to be abused, and it can be viewed as normal/acceptable even by some of the females of that society. This supports the view that the violence women experience in the southern province of Saudi Arabia is the outcome of cultural and tribal values that were embedded in the patriarchal system and adopted by the culture of the society.

In the Saudi community, it is acceptable for a woman to be dominated by her male guardian. Furthermore, it is acceptable to prevent her from exercising her fundamental rights, such as making her decisions by herself (Handrahan, 2001). This patriarchal culture is supported by the Saudi conservatives who think Wahhābīsm justifies such practice

(Commins, 2015). However, there were 9 cases in which the victims do not think that abuse of women is acceptable in the community, which shows that there are families or areas in the southern province of Saudi Arabia that accept women abuse more than others.

Table 6.19: Has the Victim Tried to Leave the House After Experiencing Abuse?

Has the victim tried to leave the house after experiencing abuse?	Frequency
Yes	13
No	20

Source: Data Collected from the Victims of Abuse

Table 6.20: Hesitation Before Contacting a Social Care Centre

Hesitation before contacting a social care centre	Frequency
Yes	11
No	22

Source: Data Collected from the Victims of Abuse

Table 6.21: Feeling Safer in the Social Care Centre than at Home

Feeling safer in the social care centre than at home	Frequency
Yes	33
No	0

Source: Data Collected from the Victims of Abuse

The three tables above (Tables 6.19 , 6.20, and 6.21) shed light on the process the victims went through to leave the abusers and seek help in the protection centres.

Table 6.19 demonstrates that most of the women surveyed who experienced domestic violence did not try to leave the house after the abuse. There are various reasons that could explain this, for instance fear of the abuser, lack of proper knowledge regarding how to

reach/communicate with protection centres, and lack of knowledge of the rights Saudi women have. The interviews that were conducted with the victims highlighted these three reasons.

Although Table 6.20 shows that most of the victims did not try to leave the house of the abuser when they experienced abuse, most of the victims stated they did not hesitate when they decided to seek help from the social care centre. This suggests that most of the victims were not initially aware of the help that the protection institution provides. However, as soon as the victims did become aware of the abuse, they came to the conclusion that they needed help and they did not hesitate to seek help when they were able to.

With that said, 30% of the victims did hesitate before they sought help (see Table 6.20). This hesitation can be explained through various reasons. For instance, some of the victims received many threats from their abusers who told them not to seek external help. There was also the fear of social judgement that looks negatively on women who demand a divorce or seek external support from others than family members or the government to protect them from the abuse of relatives and partners, as the literature indicates.

The last table (see Table 6.21) shows that all women who moved to the protection centres were happier and felt safer in the centres. Therefore, it is important to note that protection centres are a vital part of society that must receive further support from the Saudi government and local communities because it provides safe space for women who are in need.

The informal chats with the staff of the protection institutions revealed that there are victims of domestic abuse who arrive at the institutions and stay for a while, but leave after a period of time. The victims either find ways to establish new lives away from their abusers or the victims go back to their houses again. However, the protection institution will allow the victim to return if the institutions think the victim will be safe and the abuser has changed his behaviour (or is willing to work on his behaviour).

6.2. Analysis of the Qualitative Data

6.2.1. Introduction

The international literature identified five different forms of abuse that women experience: physical abuse, emotional abuse, verbal abuse, force marriage, and sexual violence.

The following subsections will present the outcomes, regarding each of these five types, of the surveys that were given to the social workers in the protection institutions to be answered by the victims of abuse.

6.2.2. Forms of Violence Experienced by the Victims

6.2.2.1. Physical Abuse

Physical abuse is the most common form of abuse that women experience, according to the literature on domestic abuse. Moreover, it is the most frequent form of violence that women in the protection institutions have experienced. The outcome of the surveys shows that more than 24 victims of abuse have suffered physical abuse (at least one time). However, some of the cases were more serious than others. For instance, in two cases the abuser threatened the victims with lethal weapons, such as guns or knives. The two victims said the following:

I was kicked with feet, hit with hands and also threatened with a weapon (i.e. knife) - Case O

He hit me with sticks frequently, and also threatened me with weapons, such as knives and guns as well - Case Q

In one case, the abuser threatened to kill the victim; she stated:

He abuses me physically with all kind of ways from both my father and husband. My father hits me always and always threatened me with murder. The threats continued with my husband as he also hit me and told me that he has no respect for me - Case T

My father burned and hit my siblings and me. He constantly burns my body in different areas and burns the body of my little siblings. He has also raised weapons, such as knives in front of us more than once and threatened to kill me and my siblings. He also shocks me, and he hits everyone at the house whether old or young, it does not matter - Case P

The cases referred to above are among the most serious cases of physical abuse because they are life-threatening cases. However, there are other cases of physical abuse that are considered excessive to the point where they can develop over time to become a life-threatening case. There are many cases in which the abusers had used tools, like sticks and electric cables. Although these tools are also used to exercise their domination, they usually lead to less physical harm than knives or guns. However, the experience of abuse can be far more damaging than the tools themselves. The following are some of the comments that were reported by the victims in which the abusers have used tools against the victims. However, they were less damaging than the use of weapons or knives:

He beat me with anything that his hand could reach. He hit me with sticks and electrical cables on many occasions. He also threatened me with electric cables before - Case B

I experienced beating with all kind of tools, such as wires and cables - Case H

They beat me with sticks - Case D

He beat me with many things, whatever comes into his hand, like sticks or he can throw anything his hands can reach (e.g. shoes and chairs) - Case C

In other cases, the physical abuse is less damaging as the abuser does not use weapons; rather, he uses his hands and feet for abuse. In some cases, for instance, the victims stated:

He (the abuser) slapped me, kicked and beat me many times. The idea of being with him in the same room was terrifying to the point that I used to spend more time in the kitchen or bathroom to avoid any communication with him. Especially when I knew that his mood was not good because the physical abuse starts typically from this point - Case S

He slapped me and kicked me with his feet many times; he used to do so when we sat down together and for trivial reasons sometimes. It was hard to predict his actions and to know when the kicks would start, but they could, at any giving time - Case Y

The cases above show that women can experience physical abuse with the use of abusers' hands and feet. Although the physical harm of the two last cases is less extreme than other cases in which a weapon is used, it can be hard to predict the long-term damage that the physical abuse causes. Most cases of violence against women start with hitting the victim once, however the act of abuse increases over time (Jackson, 2007).

The World Bank (2018) described violence against women as 'a global pandemic,' and it provided several staggering numbers that are associated with physical abuse. For instance, intimate partners are responsible for 38% of murders of women worldwide (the World Bank, 2018). Globally, 35% of women have at least experienced physical violence or/and sexual violence (the World Bank, 2018). Therefore, it is essential to identify the causes of physical abuse at the national level and aim to combat it as much as possible.

The Wahhābī clerics addressed physical abuse in one of the fatwas they issued (see Subsection 3.3.9). They stated that one must not beat his wife in a 'severe' manner. This fatwa is ambiguous and lacks clarity as it may imply that one can beat his wife but not to the point of severity. The challenge in fatwas is to craft a fatwa in a way that makes it clear because a lack of clarity can empower abusers or provide them with additional powers that did not exist.

6.2.2.2. Emotional Abuse

Emotional abuse is another form of domestic violence that occurs in Saudi Arabia. This form of abuse tends to be in the form of verbal abuse. For instance:

My husband used to insult me a lot with all kinds of dirty words. He used to curse my dead father as well - Case L

I never felt happy or comfortable at home. There was always tension from the verbal abuse and the curses that he repeated whenever he was not happy or had a bad day at work. The insults could go all day, and I wished it would all stop in one way or the other - Case P

The abuse started at the beginning of the marriage; it started when we moved and shared the same house when we got together. Every time he did not like something, he directly raised his voice and became angry, to the point he could curse or even worse. Some days are worse than others, and some days I wish I had never been born in the first place. - Case BB

Emotional and psychological abuse can appear in other ways. In some cases, for instance, men prevent the victims from visiting or staying with other family members:

My uncle (the abuser) prevents me from visiting my mother; he also does not provide for me most of the things I need, even the basics. He also prevents me from pursuing further education and applying for any job - Case A

My husband did not allow me to see my family in Yemen. And he said that I would never be allowed to see my children if I travelled to see my family, to the point that many of my family members had died without the ability to see any of them - Case Q

He prevented me from seeing my daughters, which to me is the most valuable thing in life - Case T

In other cases, the abuser locks the victim at home and does not allow her to go out of the house. For instance:

They prevented me from seeing my children and locked me in the house all the time - Case C

He prevented me from feeling safe all the time. I was always feeling scared and under some sort of danger. I can't feel relaxed until he leaves the house. He locks me in the house and makes us feel bad all the time. - Case X

He turned our lives to hell and fear. He also locks my siblings and me at home all the time - Case W

The women suffer from isolation, which increases their frustration. The isolation can be so severe that the victim is not allowed to see any of her relatives for many years (e.g. Case X - the case of the woman from Yemen who could not see her family).

The international literature highlights that emotional abuse is a form of violence. The literature states that emotional violence/abuse is a complex phenomenon that appears in different behaviours, such as humiliation and verbal abuse (Coker et al., 2002). Examples of verbal abuse are lies, embarrassing the victim of abuse in front of family members, and threatening to hit with objects or the use of a weapon (Abrahams et al., 2006).

It is important to note that traditional researchers give more attention to physical violence and show less interest in emotional violence because they believe that physical violence causes more harm (Arias, 1999). However, an increasing amount of evidence suggests that emotional abuse causes damage beyond the damage caused by physical violence (Arias and Pape, 1999; Spertus et al., 2003). Therefore, studies should differentiate between emotional abuse and physical abuse (Vangelisti, 2009) and that is why this study asked victims about both.

Some of the fatwas issued by Wahhābī clerics may be considered to support emotional abuse (see Subsection 3.3.9). For instance, Shīkh bin bāz advised a woman who had been under emotional abuse for 25 years. In his answer, he stated that the victim must remain patient and advise her abuser to change his behaviour. The Shīkh further added that the sins the victim committed in the past may have led to the abuse she experiences in the present so she must repent to God and ask him for forgiveness. The fatwa of the Shīkh will not help the victims because it will leave the women in the same condition and without the help of any professionals who can deal with cases of domestic abuse, such as social workers who are trained to deal with abusive cases and behaviour.

6.2.2.3. Sexual Abuse

There was only one type of sexual abuse reported by the victims in this study, namely the occurrence of incest. In this form of sexual abuse, the victim is abused sexually by a close male relative (e.g. father, brother, uncle).

In one case, for instance, the victim stated that her brother raped her and he wanted his sister to be a prostitute for his friends. For example, the victims reported the following:

Yes, he (the father of the victim) did. He continually pretends I am his wife and weirdly touches me. He also said many times that I am his property and he can do whatever he wishes with me, even kill me - Case B

My brother takes drugs, and he raped me and wanted me to be a prostitute for his friends - Case L

My father has sexually harassed me, he touched me more than once in an inappropriate manner, and he always looked at me with a weird look - Case M

He (the father of the victim) takes drugs, and he also used to give me drugs. After doing so, he always looked strangely at me and touched my legs. He also kept keenly looking at my body all the time. - Case T

In the international literature, sexual violence aims to use verbal pressure on the victim to consent to a sexual act; it also includes forcing a woman to be involved in sexual acts against her wish or deny her the right to accept or refuse unprotected/protected sex (Dobash and Dobash, 1980). Denying women the right to accept or reject unprotected sex not only exposes women to sexual acts without their consent, but it can put their lives at risk by exposing them to life-threatening diseases such as AIDS.

In the past, men were considered the ultimate authority and the final decision-maker in the family. However, the power of wives has rapidly grown. Between the 1970s and 1990s, data about marriages showed an increasing acceptance of an equal relationship, where men and women share discussions, house responsibilities, and wage-earning (Lang and Risman 2007). Before the 1970s, sexual abuse i.e. husbands (and wives) were entitled to expect to have sexual relations in marriage was acceptable in western society and not considered illegal (Anglin and Mitchell, 2009). However, it became illegal to cover sex in marriage in the late 1970s (Anglin and Mitchell, 2009), which gave women more power.

The Wahhābī clerics made it clear that sexual abuse of relatives is prohibited in Islam and also against human nature (see Subsection 3.3.7). They also stated that the abuser must not remain with the victims as they will be under the threat of remaining victims of abuse (see Subsection 3.3.7), which shows that sexual abuse is not tolerated in any way and can have serious consequences of sexual abusers.

6.2.2.4. Forced Marriage

In the context of Saudi Arabia, the male guardian holds supreme power over his female relatives, to the point that he can control the mobility, education, and marriage choices of the women in his family. The supreme power of the male guardian is a temptation for him to abuse this power and add pressure on his female relatives regarding certain decisions, one of which is choosing who to marry. The pressure on women may also derive from the culture or society she lives in (e.g. society can identify a certain age for marriage, therefore, women can be considered due for marriage if her age exceeds it).

This subsection presents some of the comments made by the victims of abuse in Saudi Arabia which illustrate different cases of forced marriage. Many of the comments made by the victims share common elements, namely that the male guardian tends to force his female relative to marry an unsuitable male who the girl does not like or consent to marry.

One of the victims stated that she was forced to marry a man so her father could receive and keep her dowry. The victim reported the following:

My father wanted to take my dowry (which was enormous). My father took the dowry for himself and told me that I must stay with my husband and never ask for a divorce, and if I did not obey him, he would hit me and lock me at home alone and isolated - Case G

In another case, the victim's father forced her to marry her cousin to keep the family blood strong:

They prevented me from choosing my husband. Rather, they forced me to marry my cousin because this is the tradition of our tribe - Case R

There were also other cases of forced marriage for different reasons. For instance, one of the victims stated she was forced to marry a person she did not like in order to keep her family happy. The victim stated the following:

I was forced to marry a person that I didn't like. I did so because the person is the child of my father's friend, and my father wanted to marry the sister of his friend (the father of her husband). Therefore, it was a conditional marriage, that is, it was a swap between the woman my father has married and me (the victim) - Case Y

In addition, there were cases in which women were forced to leave their husbands because the father of the victim had personal issues with her husband:

My father won't let me go back to my husband. He kept me at his house and does not want to let me go back to my husband and he kicked my husband out - Case V

Furthermore, there were cases in which the male guardian prevented his female relative from marrying for financial reasons. For instance, one of the victims mentioned that she was kept at her father's house by force so the father could maintain a grip on the financial support of the social security. The victim stated the following:

He prevented me (the abuser) from getting married so he could keep receiving the financial support from the social security - Case K

It is evident from the cases in this subsection that forced marriage is one of the forms of domestic violence that the male guardians in Saudi Arabia use against their female relatives.

The international literature that addresses the issue of forced marriage states that forced marriage is frequently linked to child abuse (Clark et al., 2007). Forced marriage is also known as a form of domestic violence, which often leads to exercising other forms of domestic violence (Gill and Anitha, 2011).

The Wahhābī clerics do not condone forced marriage. However, they do support child marriage (see Subsection 3.3.6), and child marriage is linked with forced marriage (see Subsection 2.2.4). Therefore, the clerics may encourage forced marriage in an indirect manner.

6.2.3.Reasons for Violence

The victims were asked about the reasons that led the male guardians to exercise violence. From the answers, the study identified several reasons that led the guardians to use force.

6.2.3.1.Patriarchal Culture

The patriarchal culture manifests in two different ways. The first is in the personal views of the abusers who see women as the inferior sex, and the second is in the exercise of domination that aims to control the victims (whether the abuser believes women belong to the inferior sex or not).

The analysis of the primary data shows that the negative opinions/views of the guardian regarding the victim can encourage him to abuse his female relative. One of the factors that led the guardians of the victims to think this way, according to the victims, was their attitude – for example, if the victim does not obey orders, she is perceived as bad, and the guardian will do whatever it takes to gain control over the victim. The victim in Case A stated:

*He (uncle - the abuser) hates my mother, my sisters and myself. My uncle continuously instigates my father and tells him that my mother and I are bad. Moreover, we do not obey orders and we rebel. My uncle also prevents me from the pursuit of any job. When I was living with my mother, I used to work. However, this changed when I arrived at my father's house as he stated that women do not work. Instead, they stay at home -
Case A*

There were a few similar cases in which the male ideology/view of women as inferior led to the use of violence against women:

They abuse me physically in all kind of ways, both my father and husband. My father hits me always and always threatened me with murder. The threats continued with my husband as he also hit me and told me that he had no respect for me - Case T

He cursed me with all sort of bad words, he did so in front of his family sometimes and gave little attention to my feelings. I sometimes feel that I am not a human to him and he does not think of me as a person who deserves his respect and proper treatment - Case AA

He always curses and insults me and he always calls me names; and almost never addresses me respectfully with my name - Case Q

My brother is a drug abuser and he neither negotiates nor tries to understand my point of view at all. My brother raped me and the incident left my husband very angry to the point that he did not want me in his home anymore. My husband kept reminding me that my family never respected me and always hit me. Therefore, I was lucky that he (the husband) took me in so that I was no longer under the abuse of my family - Case L

The international literature states that male ideology can contribute to the incidence of domestic violence against women. In other words, if a man views marriage through a traditional lens (i.e. women should stay at home while men are the only breadwinners), such a perspective increases the chance of conflict between partners and, therefore, it increases the likelihood that the female partner will experience violence (Atkinson et al., 2005).

There are some countries (e.g. Nordic countries) in which males use violence against their females relatives/partners even though these countries are considered pioneers in the issue of supporting gender equality, as the recent literature highlighted (Gracia and Merlo, 2016). Therefore, abusers can exist in any country whether the country takes women rights seriously or not.

The patriarchal culture can also lead the abuser to exercise violence in order to gain control over the victim. In one case, the victim stated that the abuser tends to exercise control because he likes to control his female relatives and has no sympathy for others or care about them. Instead, he wants to have anything he wants without taking others into consideration. The victim stated the following:

He (the abuser) is authoritative and enjoying control and domination. He is also a jealous person who likes to possess everything that others own and would love to control everyone around him. - Case B

There were a number of other cases of abuse that were triggered by the abuser's desire to control the victim. For instance:

He wants to control our lives, and he is the reason that my mother was divorced - Case E

He hates me and does not like to see me at all. Moreover, he likes to exercise domination - Case F

He is an authoritative figure and full of hatred towards us - Case R

My father is an abusive man who does whatever he likes. He told me that I would marry the son of his friend so he could marry the sister of his friend. And when I stated that I did not want to marry him, he said that I would marry him, because my father has already given his word to the man and that I had no option in the first place - Case Y

The literature that discusses the status of women in Saudi Arabia mentioned that the Kingdom is located in the Arabian Peninsula, which is the ancestral home of nomadic and patriarchal tribes that see a separation between men and women, and honour is the centre of their values and tradition (Valentine, 2015). The patriarchal culture allows men to dominate women and places them in a superior position to women, which leads Saudi men to think that Saudi women must be obedient to them. Therefore, undesired behaviours from women will not be tolerated and may lead Saudi men to exercise any form of violence to gain control over their women, which will deter their women from any undesired behaviour.

The fatwas that support male domination in Saudi Arabia show that the position of Wahhābī clerics on the issues related to domestic violence is against women; for instance, Wahhābī clerics assert the dominant position of male guardians regarding women's movement to/from the house, as well as other decisions (see Subsection 3.3.2).

6.2.3.1. Status of Women

Another reason that can be associated with violence is divorce. Divorce itself may not be a direct cause for abuse, however there is a negative stigma that follows divorced women in tribal communities. A divorced woman is considered a burden to her family in some tribal cultures. Therefore, this view may lead to the abuse of divorced women. The victims stated:

He accused me many times that I took his money and other things that I do not know anything about. He also hates the fact that I am divorced - Case D

He hates me because I am a divorced woman. He wants me to get married again, which will force me to stay with the second husband and never come back again - Case I

They forced me to divorce from my husband although I love him and want to be with him - Case H

He prevented me from seeing my divorced mother. Moreover, I was forced to be married for the second time after my first divorce. My second husband did not provide

me with any of my rights as a woman. I was divorced from my second husband after living with him for 10 years. On top of all that, I didn't even receive my divorce papers - Case J

The social workers also stated that there is a stigma surrounding divorced women in Saudi Arabia. For instance:

sadly to say, society looks down on divorced women and the family of divorced women will harass them until they get married again. The institution has witnessed several cases of abuse like this throughout the years. - SW1

It (society) looks down on divorced women, sadly, as most of the people in our society view divorce as a scandalous act. - SW6

Yes, society treats divorced women badly, because society does not condone divorce and thinks divorced women are more likely to be involved in suspicious relationships. - SW8

Divorce is an undesired condition for women in Saudi society because divorced women will carry a social stigma for the rest of their lives (Zuhur, 2011). Moreover, they will be the least desired for men who wish to marry because Middle Eastern men prefer to be involved with women who were not married before (Zuhur, 2011). Therefore, the status of divorced women in Saudi Arabia will be lower than the status of other women in Saudi Arabia because they will be viewed as a financial burden. This may lead frustrated male relatives of the divorced women to exercise some form of violence against these women.

The fatwas of Saudi clerics tend to support the right of women to demand divorce in case of physical or emotional abuse (see Subsection 3.3.9). However, there are other fatwas who ask women to be patient in cases of abuse, and the clerics also ask women to repent their sins as they may be the source of the challenges they face in their lives (see Subsection 3.3.9), thereby placing the responsibility for the abuse on the women rather than their abusers.

6.2.3.2. Restraining the Income of the Victim

Another factor that can lead to domestic violence is finance. In one of the cases, the victim was forced to marry a man she did not like so that her father could keep her dowry. A male guardian is able to keep his female relative's dowry after her marriage, which is a practice that can occur in tribal communities but is not supported by Islam. The victim stated:

My father wanted to take my dowry (which was enormous). My father took my dowry from me and kept it for himself, and he told me I must stay with my husband and never ask for a divorce, and if I did he would hit me and lock me at home alone and isolated - Case G

There are other cases in which money was a reason for abuse. For instance:

He wants to keep my financial support from social security - Case K

I have a social security card, and then I got married, I moved outside the home and took it with me, my father became angry and decided to lock me up when I came to visit him. Therefore, I couldn't see my husband at the time and even now - Case V

The international literature on domestic violence identifies economic abuse as one of the forms of abuse that men exercise against women (e.g. Sackett and Saunders, 1999; Kane et al., 2000). Male guardians can use economic abuse to dominate/control their women.

It is important to note that the economic abuse the victims in this study experienced is more severe than the economic abuse that the international literature addresses. In international research, the victims of economic abuse are prevented from receiving money that male relatives tend to provide (Kane et al., 2000). In the case of the victims that participated in this study, the victims are the ones who worked, and the money they made was taken away from them.

Most of the abusers do not provide financial support for the victims, which confirms the fact that economic abuse is manifested in the form of preventing the women from accessing their own money, rather than accessing cash provided by the abuser.

The Wahhābī clerics tend to condemn any form of abuse, whether the abuse is physical, emotional, or verbal (see Subsection 3.3.9). Since the withholding of a victim's income is considered a form of abuse, then it can be added to the list of abuses that are not supported by Saudi clerics.

6.2.3.3. Addiction

Alcohol is also identified as a factor that may lead to domestic abuse. In one of the cases, the victim associated her abuse with the excessive use of alcohol. The victim stated:

One of my brothers abuses alcohol, which makes him lose control over his temper and hit me sometimes because of trivial matters. Both of my brothers want to control me - Case H

There are other cases of abuse in which the victims think that alcohol or drugs abuse are the triggers of domestic violence. For instance:

My brother is a drug abuser and he neither negotiates nor tries to understand my point of view at all, and because of this abuse of drugs, he tend to be violent and shove me or hit me with his hand or anything his hands can reaches. - Case L

He doesn't like us; rather, he wants himself and his interest and benefit. He is also obsessed with drugs and spent his money on them. When he takes drugs, his attitude towards us changes and he can become a very violent person - Case P

He said that I am not his daughter. Rather, I am the outcome of adultery as my mother is a dirty woman. Therefore, he hates me and always seeks revenge on my mother through me. Let alone his abuse of drinking.

My husband has psychological problems, he is my cousin, and I was always afraid of sleeping while he is around as he has a loud voice - Case T

The use of substance can trigger violence against women, which is in-line with what the the international literature (Klostermann and Fals-Stewart, 2006; Straussner and Fewell, 2011).

The position of Saudi clerics is that they do not support the use of any drugs (see Subsection 3.3.10). This is the case because they view addiction as a dangerous habit to health that can also has negative consequences on someone's spiritual life (see Subsection 3.3.10).

6.2.3.4. Psychological Problems

Psychological problems can also trigger domestic violence, as the victims stated. For instance, one of the victims mentioned:

I never knew the cause of this abuse. I could be hit without any good reason, or it could be trivial reasons. Moreover, I am the only person in the family who experienced abuse, and no one else has the same experience - Case M

There were other similar cases among the other victims. For instance:

My father does not like us (the victim and her other family members). I think he has mental problems, which led him to oppress us. Moreover, he has an anger management problem; he can be very violent whenever he becomes angry. He instead spends time with his friends as he likes them more than us - Case O

My father hates my mother because he has doubts about her and whether she is in a relationship with another man or not - Case N

He hates me and I think he has psychological problems - Case Q

My father is a drug abuser and has anger problem as well - Z

He has psychological problems, and he is selfish as well. He did not show us love and compassion as he prefers his mates over us - Case W

I think he has psychological problems. He used to say to us that he hears us speaking while we are asleep, implying that he can see what the normal eye can't see - Case J

The analysis of the primary data shows that psychological problems can trigger domestic violence against women. Psychological problems can also lead individuals to take drugs, which they then use as an excuse to trigger domestic violence. Therefore, it is important for social workers to evaluate the psychological health of the abusers to see whether it is the root cause of the abusive behaviour or other trigger.

6.2.3.5.Age

The statements below are the comments of the social workers. They argued that age is a challenge that can lead to conflicts between different generations. Some of the social workers' statements are as follows:

Different opinions (between abusers and victims), views, and the age gap between the victims and abusers can also spark differences and consequently, conflicts that lead to abuse. Moreover, addiction can also lead to violence. - SW1

It can, tradition can restrict girls from education after a certain age. It also forces girls to marry at a certain age to certain people, from the tribe or relatives. However, there are families that broke free from the restrictions of tradition and ensure that their daughters are receiving good education. - SW5

Age gap can be a problem and challenge between married couples, when two married couples belong to different generations, they tend to think differently and have different priorities and interests, which leads to clashes that end with abuse and violence. - SW8

Saudi clerics do not view age as a problem or challenge to married couple. Rather, they think that the age gap is not an issue in marriage and that girls must not reject a man because of his age (see Subsection 3.3.6). However, Saudi clerics are not taking into account the fact that age difference could lead to abuse of women, which is unfair.

6.2.3.6.Tradition

Tradition has been identified by the social workers in the protection institutions as a trigger for abuse. Tradition can have a negative influence on women of Saudi Arabia. For instance, women in certain families or areas can be looked down at as the inferior sex, or tradition sometimes forces women to marry their relatives. Some of the social workers' comments are as follows:

I think so, sadly. The view of women in tradition as submissive creatures that must follow orders and not criticise or question any others. Moreover, there are many little towns and villages that follow old traditions that prevent women from going out, and also prevent them from education and work. This also occurs in cities, but at a lesser rate. - SW1

In our society, girls marry their cousins in many cases. However, girls nowadays possess different expectations in life. They may not like to marry in a traditional way or to have the same lifestyle that their parents had. Therefore, they will reject following this lifestyle, which may lead to conflicts and abuse . - SW3

It can, yes. Tradition can force some girls to behave in a certain way, or marry a certain person. For instance, there are cases in which girls are forced to marry their cousins, which leads them to be in unpleasant situations. Moreover, tribal culture dominates society, and this culture puts many restrictions on women, which makes the young girls or even women frustrated and sometimes rebel. - SW4

It can, tradition can restrict girls from education after a certain age. It also forces girls to marry also at a certain age to certain people, from the tribe or relatives. However, there are families that broke free from the restrictions of tradition and ensure that their daughters are receiving good education. - SW5

Tradition is one of the influences on Saudi culture. Therefore, it is important to address the issues in the Saudi tradition that trigger abuse (see Subsection 4.4).

6.2.4. Abusers Justify Abuse Through Verses of Qurān

The victims stated that some of the abusers use the Qurān or religious teachings to justify their abuse. The following cases are examples of such statements:

Yes, he did (say I have religious right to do what I like). He said that I am a man and he is the only one who will support me and no one else can do so as he is my guardian who the Qurān gives him the right to do whatever he likes, and if someone else's tries to interfere between us, he will make sure that the person that will interfere will regret it. - Case C

He mentioned that the elder brother (refereeing to himself) is the one that controls everything in the household (Qawam). He is older than me and he is the man of the house. Therefore, he has the permission from God to do as he pleases - Case F

Yes. He said that if I (the victim) go to the judge to seek help, then the judge will neither help nor support me, because the judge will know that you (the victim) are on the wrong and I (the abuser) are on the right. I (the abuser) have the right to beat you if I want as it was permitted in the Islamic law to do so. I bought you with my money - Case L

Yes, he did. He did state that the Qurān permit him to do whatever he likes with if I disobeyed him - Case N

He did tell me more than once that God give him the right to lead the house and to do whatever it takes to make sure that everyone is inline. However, he (the abuser) doesn't read Qurān., and he knows nothing about another religion nor Qurān - Case P

*No, because he doesn't read Qurān and do not understand what religion really states -
Case T*

The statements of the victims that are presented above show that abusers have used the Qurān or religion to justify their abusive behaviour. Some of them stated that they used religion as an excuse to be abusive. However, some of the statements show that the abusers do not have a good understanding of Qurān or even read it. This demonstrates that while some of the abusers do not have a basic knowledge of the Qurān, others know but may misinterpret the verses of the Qurān.

The social workers argued that there is no correlation between the Qurān or religion and women's abuse. Some of these statements are as follows:

I don't think there is a correlation between the cases (of abuse) I witnessed and Islam. To the contrary, some of the cases of abuse were reported by local religious figures who were approached by the victims. - SW1

I don't think so, I can't recall any case in which the cause of abuse is religion. - SW2

I don't think so. However, we witnessed cases in which men can justify their abusive behaviour based on religion, which can be caused by poor understanding or knowledge of religion. - SW3

No, I don't think so. I think violence springs from the tradition and the norms of society that are not consented by new generations of women any-more. - SW7

In fact, verses in the Qurān suggest that men are guardians that must not abuse the power that they were given as a gift from God, and that the power is mostly limited to financial and mental support of women (see Subsection 3.3.11).

6.2.5. The Way Society Views Victims of Abuse that Enter Protection Institutions

Tradition and social norms can be negative to issues that society must support, such as protection institutions that provide care and protection for women who were under abuse and want to have an alternative solution that protect them. However, the local communities in the southern province of Saudi Arabia have negative thoughts regarding protection institutions.

The social workers that participated in this study argued that local communities have negative thoughts regarding protection institutions. Some of the social workers comments are as follow:

The community (the Saudi community) views women as the inferior sex, and the community acts as a punishment unit rather than supporting unit to women who act in

a way that society does not condone, and one of these acts is to enter protection institutions in case it is needed. - SW1

Community can be harsh on women who seek protection. Moreover, community do not view these women as victims sadly. families can also reject victims who seek the help of protection institutions as it is viewed as a scandalous act. - SW2

community can view everything through the lens of tradition. And any behaviour that is not confirmed by tradition may cause a clash between society and those who are not following the tradition. - SW4

It is important to spread awareness among local communities of the southern province of Saudi Arabia. The awareness can lead these protection institutions to be accepted in the local communities and also help more victims to seek help, which helps Saudi Arabia to possess healthier society in the long term.

CHAPTER 5

7.FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1.Summary of the Data Analysis

7.1.1.The Key Triggers of Domestic Violence in Saudi Arabia

The analysis of the primary data collected by the study has revealed that there are six key triggers for domestic violence in Saudi Arabia: male ideology, exercising domination, women's status, restraining the income of the victim, addiction, and psychological problems. The following is the outcome of each factor.

7.1.1.1.Patriarchal Culture

Patriarchal culture is one of the key triggers of domestic violence in Saudi Arabia. The patriarchal culture is manifested in two different ways. The first is in the way some men view women as an inferior sex (male ideology), and the second way that patriarchal culture manifests is in the way that men exercise domination.

Male ideology may differ from one country/culture to another. Therefore, it can play a role in the way men view the world as well as how they see women. The culture can influence the male view of women in either a positive or negative manner. In the context of Saudi Arabia, for instance, the male view of women is driven by two key sources: tribe culture and religion. Before the birth of Islam, the status of women used to fluctuate from one tribe to another. That is, some tribes treated women as equal to men, while in other tribes women were ascribed a lower status than men. It would all depend on the norms and traditions of the tribe.

The tribal culture that still exists in Saudi Arabia derives from the idea that women are inferior to men and women need to be subordinate to them, following orders without objection. Male relatives (especially male guardians) hold great power over their female relatives; this encourages them to view women of the family as subordinate to them, and can make them feel justified in exercising violence if a female relative shows any sign of rebellion.

The second way that patriarchal culture manifests is in the way that men exercise domination. The primary data reveals there are cases in which men use violence to maintain

domination. It is important to note that exercising domination differs from male ideology because exercising domination stems from the individualistic desire to be in control. In other words, exercising domination was not justified by culture, the misinterpretation of verses from the Qurān, or the view that women are subordinate to men. However, there are some fatwas that support male domination in Saudi Arabia. For instance, Muslim women should not go out without seeking the permission of their guardian (see Subsection 3.3.2). The presence of these fatwas could lead some men to believe that it is acceptable to exercise domination as a male guardian, because it is their right to do so.

7.1.1.1. Women's Status

The analysis of the primary data shows that women's status in Saudi Arabia can be a trigger for domestic violence.

Status in Saudi Arabia can differ from woman to woman, and many factors contribute in determining the social status of women. For instance, women with many male children may have a higher social status than women with only one or two children. In addition, women who do not have any children hold a lower social status than women who have children. The rationale for this is that women who have many children will strengthen the tribe and make it more powerful as the male children will increase the number of tribe members.

Additionally, women who are divorced may have a lower social status than married women. Moreover, old women who have never been married will also rank lower than women who were married.

The primary data shows that many victims of domestic abuse were abused because of their marital status, namely the victims were divorced. The literature shows that women who are divorced tend to hold a lower status because they are considered a burden on their families. This perspective on divorced women encourages men to dominate them and exercise any form of abuse to control the victims or direct their behaviour.

Despite the stigma of divorce that is present in the culture, the fatwas of Saudi clerics tend to support the right of women to demand divorce in the case of physical or emotional abuse (see Subsection 3.3.9). With that said, some clerics have also asked the victims of abuse to be patient and repent from their sins as they may be the source of the challenges they face in their lives (see Subsection 3.3.9). These contradictory notions held by clerics are, needless to say, confusing in the face of real abuse, and it is unclear whether clerics are supporting abuse against women or not.

7.1.1.2. Restraining the Income of the Victim

The primary data analysis shows that abusers tend to exercise domination to restrain the income of the victims (this subsection aims to show that Saudi males can use violence against their female relatives so they can take their money or belonging. In other words, there is the study made a distinction between the use of violence to limit the income of the victim and the use of male income as a form of violence).

The literature identified economic abuse as one of the forms of violence that men tend to exercise against women. Women who don't work may rely on men to support them financially. For this reason, men tend to dominate women and control their behaviour. Furthermore, if women do not follow the orders and demands of their male relatives, then they can experience various forms of abuse, one of which is economic abuse.

In the context of this study, some of the victims have experienced economic abuse. However, the economic abuse they suffered is even worse than that addressed in the literature. The literature states that women who are financially dependent on men may suffer economic abuse to control them, but in the context of this study, the victims were the ones who worked or received government support and were forced to give up their money to their abusers.

As mentioned, the Wahhābī clerics tend to condemn any form of abuse (see Subsection 3.3.9). Therefore, since the restraint of a victim's income is one of the forms of abuse, it can be assumed that Saudi clerics do not support this form of abuse.

7.1.1.3. Addiction

The analysis of the data shows that there is an association between domestic abuse and drugs, which is in-line with the literature.

The literature shows that there is an association between addiction to drugs and domestic violence. However, some studies have argued that drug addiction is not a trigger of abuse. Instead, it is an excuse to commit domestic abuse.

The victims were asked to provide the reasons, from their perspective, that led to them being abused, and they identified addiction as a reason for abuse. The victims tended to believe that there is association because they saw a negative change in the behaviour of the drug abusers. However, drug abuse may not be a direct cause of violence. Instead, the cause of abuse is related to psychological issues that are deeper than the use of drugs alone, as the literature suggests.

The position of clerics in Saudi Arabia is that they do not support the use of any drugs (see Subsection 3.3.10). Addiction is a dangerous habit and can destroy one's health and wealth, and it also has negative consequence over someone's spirituality and health (see Subsection 3.3.10). Therefore, it can be said that this form of abuse does not have its roots in Islam or religious texts, and it is a problem that would require outside experts (i.e. counsellors) to resolve.

7.1.1.4. Psychological Problems

The analysis of the primary data shows that the victims of abuse identified the mental condition of the abusers as one of the triggers of domestic violence. They argued that this is the case because of unjustified hatred towards them, or lack of self-control, or outbursts of anger that the abusers displayed on many occasions.

The international literature review revealed that a lack of self-control is one of the triggers of domestic violence. Additionally, the literature identified a connection between a low-quality relationship between abusers (husbands) and their victims (wives) and a lack of self-control. However, the literature argued that low-quality relationships can lead to abuse in intimate relationships more than family relationships.

The fatwas of the clerics support the right of women to ask for divorce if they feel it is needed and they want to leave an abusive relationship (see Subsection 3.3.9). However, cultural forces may influence women to remain in abusive relationships because divorce has a stigma that lowers Saudi women's status in society (Zuhur, 2011).

7.1.2. Age

Age can trigger abuse between generations. If there is a large gap between the female and her parents or husband, then the female may hold views or have needs that are in conflict with her partner or parents.

In Saudi Arabia, clerics do not view age as a problem or challenge. Rather, they think that an age gap is not an issue and that girls should not allow it to become a barrier between her and the man that wants to be her husband (see Subsection 3.3.6).

7.1.3.Tradition

Tradition is one of the triggers of domestic abuse because it may have a negative influence on women of Saudi Arabia. For example, women in certain families or areas can be viewed as the inferior sex, or they are expected to follow orders without questioning them, or their choice of husband is limited to a group of males that are part of the family or tribe, etc. Therefore, tradition can have a negative impact on women and lead women to be abused as a consequence of enforcing certain practices that derived from tradition.

7.1.4.Correlation between Islam and Domestic Violence

The analysis of the primary data shows that there is no correlation between domestic violence and Islam. The victims who were included in this study did not view Islam as the sources of violence. On the contrary, the victims argued that the lack of religious discipline or/and knowledge could cause abusers to exercise the abuse.

Additionally, the literature that addresses the role of Islam in family law states that Islam gives many rights to women and allows them to take control of their lives by providing them the right to divorce their husbands in some cases. Islam also gives women the right to work, education, perform prayer at the mosque, or go the market without the need for a male guardian's permission. However, women may lose some of these rights under the Wahhābī version of Islam (for instance, see the fatwas presented in Chapter 3).

7.1.5.Correlation between Quantitative Data and Domestic Abuse

The primary data gathered in the study shows that there is no correlation between domestic violence and Islamic teachings. On the contrary, the victims of abuse tend to state that the abusers are not committed to prayer and they describe the abusers as not religious at all. Moreover, there was one case of abuse in which the victim stated that she tried to reach out to the Imam of the local mosque for help, demonstrating that religious figures are not considered as enemies or untrustworthy.

7.1.6.Correlation between Qualitative Data and Domestic Abuse

7.1.7.Forms of Abuse

The analysis of the primary data shows that four key forms of abuse were exercised against the victims in this study: physical violence, emotional abuse, sexual abuse, and forced

marriage. The following subsection will provide a summary of these different forms of abuse.

7.1.7.1. Physical Abuse

The analysis of the primary data shows that physical abuse was the most common form of abuse that the victims reported. This is in-line with the literature, which also stated that physical abuse is the most common form of domestic abuse. However, the experiences of the victims in the study varied from life-threatening cases to milder forms of physical abuse. With that said, the emotional and psychological damage may be equally profound for all cases of physical abuse, depending on the victim's feelings and the outcome of the experience of abuse.

The international literature stated that abuse is mostly exercised by people who know the victim. Moreover, the literature also states that physical abuse is a worldwide phenomenon that needs an international approach to understand it and combat it properly.

The clerics in Saudi Arabia have addressed the issue of physical abuse (see Subsection 3.3.9). They stated that a man must not beat his wife in a 'severe' manner. However, the term 'severe' is ambiguous as it may lead men to think they can beat their wives but not to the point of severity. This ambiguity can be said to further encourage an abuser's power and right to abuse their relatives, so long as they stop before it becomes 'severe.'

7.1.7.2. Emotional and/or Psychological Abuse

The analysis of the data shows that emotional abuse is one of the forms of abuse that the victims have experienced. Some of the cases reported that they were verbally abused. For instance, some of them mentioned that they were humiliated or called dirty names. Moreover, some of the cases stated that they were psychologically abused. They felt this way because they were locked in the house without any freedom to leave with/without the abuser. The primary data shows that the victims have suffered from this form of abuse.

The outcomes of the primary data analysis are in-line with the literature. The literature stated that emotional abuse is one of the forms of abuse and it tends to involve humiliating or embarrassing the victim in front of her family members.

It is important to note that most of the classic research did not pay a lot of attention to this form of abuse because traditional research considers physical abuse to be the most damaging.

Statements by Wahhābī clerics may support emotional abuse (see Subsection 3.3.9). For instance, Shīkh bin bāz advised a woman who had been under emotional abuse for 25 years. In his response, the Shīkh stated that the victim must repent of her sins because she may have committed sins in the past that led her to experience abuse. The fatwa of Shīkh bin bāz shifts the responsibility for the abuse from the abuser to the victim, and may lead some men to think that they have done nothing wrong in inflicting abuse because their victim deserved it. Therefore, Wahhābī clerics who issue fatwas that support emotional abuse should be held accountable for any abuse that inflicted on women as an outcome of such fatwas.

7.1.7.3. Sexual Abuse

The analysis of the primary data shows that there are cases in which the victims were subjected to sexual abuse. However, the sexual abuse reported by the victims is linked to male relatives (incest) rather than intimate partners. Sexual abuse varies from one case to another. For instance, in one case, the victim suffered rape from her brother, while in another case the victim was touched inappropriately by her father. These cases do not share the same level of physical trauma; however, psychological damage can be enormous in both cases.

The Wahhābī clerics made it clear that sexual abuse of relatives is prohibited in Islam and also goes against human nature. They also stated that the abuser must not remain with the victims as they will be at risk of remaining victims of abuse (see Subsection 3.3.7).

7.1.7.4. Forced Marriage

The analysis of the primary data shows that there were cases in which the victims have suffered from their male guardian's abuse in the form of forced marriage. For instance, there was a case of abuse in which the victim was forced to marry a man she did not like because her father wanted to keep her dowry. In another case, the victim was forced to marry her cousin to keep the family blood strong and to ensure that the tribe remained strong in the future.

The international literature states that forced marriage remains an issue. For instance, the UK government mentioned that 1,220 cases of forced marriage were identified in the year 2015 alone (Herring, 2017). The Wahhabi clerics do not condone forced marriage. However, they do support child marriage (see Subsection 3.3.6), and child marriage is closely linked with forced marriage (see Subsection 2.2.4). Therefore, the clerics may encourage forced marriage in an indirect manner.

7.1.8. Correlation Between the Quantified Data and Domestic Abuse in Saudi Arabia

7.1.8.1. Age

The analysis of the primary data shows no strong correlation between domestic abuse and the age of the victim. However, international literature stated that women who get married at a young age are more likely to experience domestic abuse than women who get married at an older age.

In the context of Saudi Arabia, men have more power than women, and a male guardian can determine the future of his female relatives. For instance, he can decide whether his female relatives can work or not, whether they can receive an education, or whether they can do any government transaction or not. Furthermore, the overwhelming power of men over women is not bound to a certain age; guardians can control their female relatives until the end of their lives.

The overwhelming power of Saudi men over Saudi female relatives can be explained by the feminist theory, which states that men possess power over women that derive from the culture which has its foundations in the patriarchal system of the country. The patriarchal system in Saudi Arabia drives the culture that encourages men to take control over their women, and disobedience of these orders can result in any form of discipline that the male guardian wishes.

7.1.8.2. Marital and Children Status of the Victims

The analysis of the primary data shows that the marital status of the victims is not a direct influencer on domestic violence. However, women with different marital status may also have a different social status.

In the context of Saudi Arabia, divorced women tend to have a lower social status than other women as it is an undesired social status, even considered a stigma on women in the Kingdom.

Marriages in the Kingdom are most likely arranged marriages. In arranged marriages, the decision is made by the parents on behalf of the bride and, for the most part, the husband, and the parents tend to decide the future of the son/daughter without taking into consideration their views.

Additionally, most marriages in Saudi Arabia occur among the same tribal members in order to strengthen their numbers; this tribal tradition often leads to forced marriages. Forced marriages can increase the emotional gap between the married couple. Therefore, these marriages will often fall apart or violence can be triggered out of frustration. The marital status of Saudi women can influence their social status. However, the overwhelming power of the male guardian can play a big role in the way in which his female relatives are treated.

The analysis of the primary data also shows that most of the victims have no children. However, the number of children women have influences their social status. The more children a woman has, the higher her social status is, and each additional child that a woman has will give her a higher social status. This is the case because each additional child will provide more power and resources for the tribe, which makes the tribe more powerful.

7.1.8.3. Level of Education

The analysis of the primary data shows that the majority of the victims and their abusers did not attend any form of college.

International literature does not associate education to domestic violence. However, the level of education can influence the chances of domestic violence. A lack of education, for instance, may influence the person's ability to communicate his/her thoughts in a clear manner.

The level of education of both victims of abuse and their abusers, therefore, can influence their ability to communicate or solve problems, which can increase the possibility of conflicts and, consequently, the likelihood of domestic violence occurring.

7.1.8.4. Employment Status of the Victims and their Abusers

All the victims who participated in this study, except one case, were unemployed, which means that the victims are financially dependent on their abusers. Being dependent on their abusers tends to put the victims in a vulnerable position. However, in the context of this study, more than 65% of the abusers are also unemployed. Unemployment tends to create tension and frustration, which may lead to violence to release their frustration.

In the context of Saudi Arabia, male guardians hold an overwhelming amount of power over their female relatives, which can lead to the abuse of these women whether they are employed or unemployed. The power that male guardians have is driven by the patriarchal

culture that is embedded in the system which has been passed down from one generation to another.

In the context of Islam, however, women have the power to decide whether they want to work or not, or whether they wish to pursue an education or not. Islamic teachings promote education for both women and men and, therefore, Islam tends to view education as a desirable pursuit.

Additionally, there were cases in the study in which the abusers had jobs of low-level status, that is, jobs that do not pay well and tend to force the job holder to live in less fortunate areas. This can increase the stress level of the family, which can lead to frustration and consequently violence.

7.1.8.5. Relationship of the Abuser with the Victims

The analysis of the primary data shows that most of the abusers were close relatives of the victims. This differs from findings in the international literature, which stated that domestic abuse is mostly the outcome of intimate relationships.

The outcome of the primary data analysis in this subsection shows that the tribal culture adopted in Saudi Arabia shapes how men treat women; it also shapes the nature of power that men tend to possess over women.

7.1.8.6. Smoking and Addiction of Abusers

The analysis of the primary data shows that 40% of the abusers are drugs addicts, and most of the abusers are addicted to smoking as well. The international literature mentions that there is an association between drugs and violence; however, the research does not suggest there is an association between smoking and violence.

Nonetheless, the analysis of the primary data shows that most of the drug addicts tend to be smokers as well. Drug addiction can coincide with domestic violence, but the literature states that drugs are not a direct cause of domestic violence. Rather, drugs are an excuse for it.

It is worth noting that the use of substances and violent behaviours can be the effects of a deeper problem caused by a mental disorder. Moreover, the use of alcohol/drugs is not the only cause of violence; the literature shows there are cases of family violence reported where alcoholic/drug addiction does not cause the domestic abuse because the abusers were not addicted or under the influence of any substance.

7.1.8.7. Violent Behaviour of the Abusers Outside the House

The analysis of the primary data shows that 75% of the women who were included in this study witnessed domestic violence at an early age, which could be explained with social learning theory. The social learning theory states that children tend to learn from the behaviour of parents in the household, so a child will often turn out to be violent if he witnessed violent behaviour during his childhood. This theory explains the behaviour of the abusers in this study because abusive behaviour can be learned and passes from one generation to another.

The analysis of the primary data also shows that around 30% of the abusers tend to use violence outside of the house environment, and almost the same percentage have had trouble with the police. The outcomes of this analysis suggest that violent behaviour is rooted in the culture that the abusers are part of, and it can be exercised in and outside the house environment. However, around 70% of the abusers who tend to use violence in the house environment are not violent outside of the house environment, which suggests that most forms of abuse are not condoned by the general culture.

This behaviour is explained by the feminist theory, which suggests there is a patriarchal culture embedded in the system that society has adopted. The patriarchal system which is embedded in the culture allows men to dominate women and treat them as second-class citizens. This may lead men to behave differently in the house than outside of it because the patriarchal system tends to affect women negatively more than men.

Additionally, the data analysis shows that abusers tend to use financial abuse as well. More than 60% of the abusers extorted money from female victims as a sign of domination. The international literature on domestic violence identifies economic abuse as one of the forms of abuse that men exercise against women. Male guardians can use economic abuse to dominate/control their women.

Most of the abusers in the study do not provide financial support for the victims, which confirms the fact that the economic abuse is manifested in the form of preventing women from accessing their own money, rather than accessing cash provided by the abuser.

7.1.8.8. The Culture of Abuse Embedded in Society

The analysis of the primary data shows that the majority of the victims think that the society of the southern province of Saudi Arabia is accepting of violence against women. The literature states that communities adopt specific values and traditions that may allow women

to be abused and it can be viewed as normal/acceptable, even by some of the women of that society. This is what seems to be happening in the southern province of Saudi Arabia, that is, the outcome of cultural and tribal values that were embedded in the patriarchal system and have been adopted by the culture of the greater society.

In the Saudi community, it is acceptable for a woman to be dominated by her male guardian, and it is acceptable to prevent her from exercising her fundamental rights, such as making her decisions by herself. However, nine of the victims in the study do not think that abuse of women is acceptable in their community.

Additionally, the analysis of the data shows that most of the victims did not try to leave the house of their abuser. There are various reasons for this, which were highlighted in interviews with the victims; for instance, fear of the abuser, a lack of proper knowledge regarding how they can reach/communicate with protection centres, and the knowledge of the rights that Saudi women have.

Although most of the victims did not try to leave the house of the abuser when they experienced abuse, most of the victims stated they did not hesitate when they decided to seek help. This suggests that the victims of abuse did not know that protection institutions exist, and as soon as the victims become aware of the existence of such institutions, they did not hesitate of seeking help when they could do so.

7.1.8. Correlation between Islam and Domestic Violence

The analysis of the primary data shows that there is no correlation between domestic violence and Islam. However, the fatwas of Wahhabi clerics can be misinterpreted or can give overwhelming power to men, which the abuser can use as an excuse to exercise power.

The victims who were included in this study did not view Islam as the sources of violence. On the contrary, the victims argued that a lack of religious discipline or/and knowledge could cause abusers to exercise the abuse.

Additionally, the literature that addresses the role of Islam in family law states that Islam gives many rights to women and allows them to take control of their lives by providing them the right to divorce their husbands in some cases. Islam also gives women the right to work, education, perform prayer at the mosque, or go to the market without the need for a male guardian's permission. However, Islam encourages women to let their husbands know when they're going out for the sake of sustaining harmony in the relationship, which could indirectly create situations in which women are vulnerable to abuse.

7.1.9. The Framework of the Study

The analysis of the data shows that there are factors that can influence domestic violence that belong to different ecological levels (See Figure 7.1):

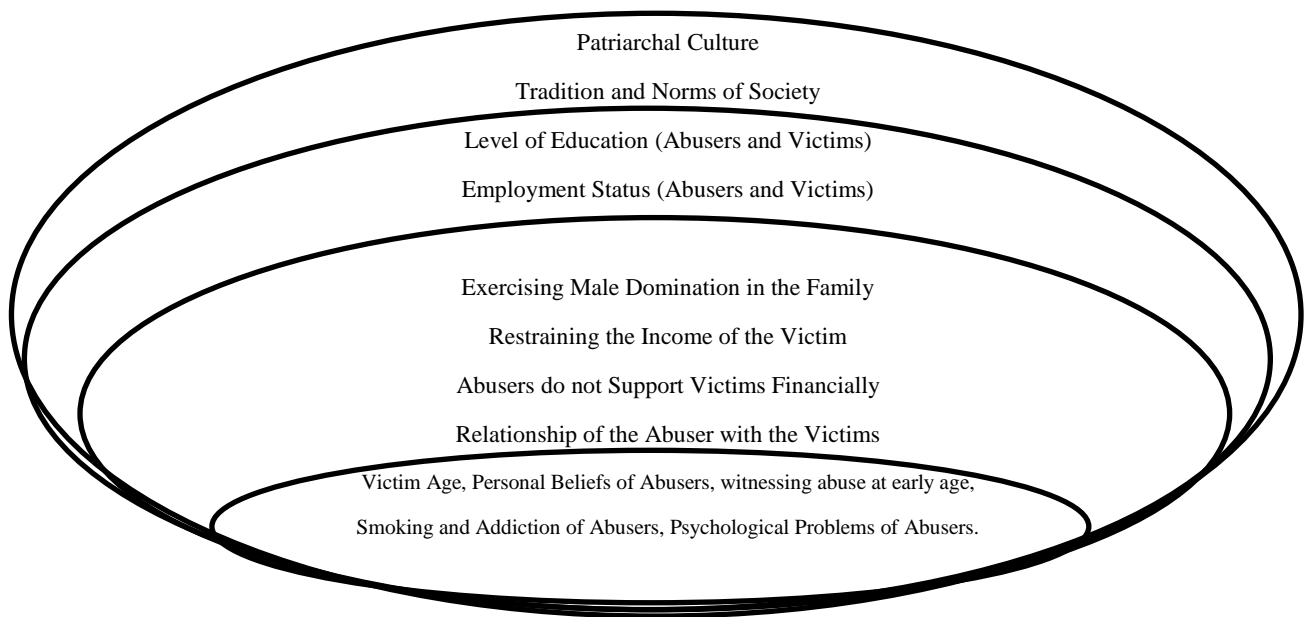


Figure 7.1: Ecological Framework Linked with the Study's Outcomes

7.2. The Outcomes of the Data Analysis

First outcome: there is no single trigger or factor that causes the phenomenon of domestic violence in the southern province of Saudi Arabia. Rather, it is a combination of a few factors.

Second outcome: there is no direct association between domestic violence and religious teachings. However, some of the fatwas of Saudi clerics may give overwhelming power to guardians that could easily be misused.

The work draws this conclusion for two reasons; firstly, most of the victims stated that the abusers are not religious. Rather, they are far from religion and their comprehension of religion is very poor. Secondly, the majority of the victims did not report that religion was

used as a justification for domestic violence. In fact, some of the victims have sought the support of religious figures in their neighbourhoods.

Third outcome: many of the victims and their abusers are not well educated, namely they did not finish elementary education. This has two implications; firstly, as stated before, the lower education of both victims and abusers means that both probably lack the appropriate tools to communicate and to resolve conflicts. Thus, there is an increase of frustration between the two parties, and a higher likelihood of violence being used to release this frustration.

Secondly, both parties, the victims and the abusers, may not have the right knowledge and understanding of the rights both parties possess. Thus, the abuse of the victims occurs as a consequence.

Fourth outcome: most of the abuse that the victims of the study experienced was committed by close male relatives (fathers, brothers, and uncles). However, the literature states that most domestic violence occurs between intimate partners. These differences in findings might be the case due to a few reasons: firstly, the tribal culture allows the abusers to exercise forms of abuse of the female victims from an early age because the male guardian has overwhelming power over his female relatives. In other words, the system does not prevent female abuse from occurring. Rather, Saudi females are at the mercy of all their male relatives, not just their husbands, which enables some Saudi males to commit abuse.

Fifth outcome: all the victims (except one case) were not employed, which increases the vulnerability of the victims and their dependency on the abusers. The lack of education, the patriarchal system, and the tribal culture can lead to the abuse of Saudi women.

Sixth outcome: the violent behaviour of the abusers is most likely to appear in the home only. This behaviour implies that the violence that is exercised by the abuser tends to be around his female relatives, a sign these abusers may look at their victims as inferior to them and the abusers can treat them in any way they want. The behaviour can be explained by the feminist theory, which claims that the patriarchal culture put males at the top of the system, which allows men to abuse women.

Seventh outcome: every single victim of abuse in the study has stated that she felt safer at the protection institution, which makes the role of these institutions highly important in Saudi society.

Eighth outcome: the phenomenon of abuse of women in the southern province of Saudi Arabia can be explained by feminist theory. In feminist theory, the culture that allows abuse of women is embedded in the system that was inherited from one generation to another. The fatwas of Saudi clerics (who are men only) and the tribal tradition that exists in Saudi Arabia gives most of the power to men and take it from women. Therefore, it is important to even the power to ensure that society is balanced and the two genders can have equal chances to progress in the future.

7.3.Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, there are a number of recommended actions that the Saudi government should take to combat the phenomenon of abuse against women.

First recommendation: Because the level of education can have an impact on occurrence of domestic violence, the first recommendation is to ensure that Saudi women complete at least a high school education. This would guarantee that Saudi women can gain the minimum knowledge to allow them to deal with the external and internal environments, namely: the home environment and the working environment. This would also educate women about their rights and possibly provide essential information to help prevent the occurrence of domestic abuse.

Second recommendation: Following on from the first recommendation, the second recommendation is that the education system should provide guidelines that allow women to know their legal rights. It is crucial for Saudi females to know their rights and to know if their rights were violated or not, this would help Saudi females to gain more power, and therefore help these females and communities in the southern province of Saudi Arabia to combat the phenomenon of domestic violence.

Third recommendation: the governmental system must provide Saudi women with more rights than they currently have. This would include allowing Saudi women to work, travel, or pursue higher education without needing the permission of their male guardian. The overwhelming power that men have over women in Saudi Arabia gives Saudi men the opportunity to abuse women's rights, and if Saudi women will not gain more rights, then they may not become independent of their male guardians if they need to do so, and therefore male guardians will remain with power that could be easily misused.

Fourth recommendation: Social institutions and women protection centres, alongside the government, must raise awareness in the Saudi Arabian population regarding the

phenomenon of domestic violence (i.e. forms of domestic violence, women's legal rights, and ways to combat domestic violence) through television advertisements, billboards, YouTube channels, or other media that can reach the majority of the Saudi population.

The rise of the Saudi population awareness regarding domestic violence, and how women can access protection/help from both government and social institutions, can help women who are experiencing domestic abuse. Publicising the ways in which women can seek advice and help will send a clear message to males who use violence against women that abuse is a phenomenon that will no longer be tolerated by society or the government alike.

Fifth recommendation: The women protection institutions and government must distribute brochures which outline the rights of women according to Islam. This would increase the understanding of both victims and abusers regarding the unacceptability of domestic abuse against women, and the consequences of such abuse. This may protect women from future abuse either by encouraging them to seek help at an early stage or prevent any abuse by educating potential abusers about the consequences of domestic abuse of women.

Sixth recommendation: the government of the Kingdom must increase the age of marriage to 18 years. The fatwas of Wahhabi clerics support child marriage, which creates many unbalanced marriages in which the female can be very young (13 years old or less) and vulnerable to potential abuse.

Seventh recommendation: Dowries in Saudi Arabia can be extremely high. The dowry of a bride can reach up to million riyals (around 250,000 dollars). There are cases in which the dowry remains with the female's guardian, which leads to females abuse, as Saudi females can be used as commodities that will be given to the highest bidders. Therefore, the Saudi government should give limit the dowry to a certain number that must not be exceed, as the dowry can be used as a tool of abuse.

Eighth recommendation: Divorced women in Saudi Arabia can have lesser social status than other women in the society. Therefore, exceptional support must be given to this spectrum of women (e.g. give divorced women priority in work, give divorced women priority in financial aid, raise social awareness regarding divorced women and the negative social stigma that leads to abuse of women) to ensure they will be provided with the right level of support.

Ninth recommendation: Further investigation into domestic violence in Saudi Arabia must be conducted in order to better understand the phenomenon. This study has shed some light on the situation, but there are limitations (see below), so further research is required in order to fill these gaps.

7.4.Limitations of the Study

The study has several limitations as follows:

First limitation: the study limited its sample to women who were in the protection institutions and did not use the perspectives and opinions of other women. For this reason, further studies can be devoted to women who live in the southern province of Saudi Arabia who did not need to seek protection or under threat of abuse.

Second limitation: the study was limited to three protection institutions that are located in three different cities. Therefore, further investigation into different cities and protection institutions can add further knowledge and value.

Third limitation: the study was restricted to the victims' views without taking into consideration the views of the abusers. Therefore, further investigations may wish to capture the point of view of the abusers and their reasons that led them to abuse their female relatives.

Fourth limitation: the study was limited to domestic violence against women. Therefore, further investigation is needed to investigate violence against women in the external environment, such as the work place or in shopping centres.

Fifth limitation: this study was limited to the views of the victims only regarding the psychological and emotional violence that they experienced. Therefore, further investigation is needed to capture the views of professional doctors regarding the short-term and long-term damage that result from domestic violence against the victims.

7.5.Contribution of this Study to Knowledge

This study contributes to knowledge in various ways; **firstly**, this study has investigated the phenomenon of domestic violence against women in the southern province of Saudi Arabia and identified the triggers of this phenomenon, and no other research to date has done this.

Secondly, this study has identified the position of Wahhāb on domestic violence in the literature, namely that Islam does not permit either the male guardian or the husband to abuse his authority to exercise violence against female relatives. Rather, the authority is

granted to them to ensure that their family members are well protected. However, some of the fatwas can be misused or misinterpreted in a way that gives more power to men, a power that can be easily measured.

Thirdly, this study provides an insight into the ways in which the victims of abusers were abused, namely the forms of abuse, and the ways in which these forms were exercised.

Fourthly, this study provides an insight into the condition of women in the protection centres, which gives a clear understanding of the benefit of these protection centres and the importance of further investment into these institutions in the future.

Finally, this study recommends some ways in which the Saudi government can combat the phenomenon of domestic violence against women, which may help Saudi women to lead better and healthier lives in the future.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview Questions for Staff Who are Working at the Social Protection Institution (English)

Dear

First of all, I would like to thank you for your kindness to participate in this research which is titled (the position of Islam on violence against women with particular to south of Saudi Arabia). This study aims to critically discuss the position of Islam on violence against women and to identify the difference between Islamic law and laws which are based merely on the customs and traditions. In addition, this thesis focuses on domestic violence against women and highlights the hidden types of domestic violence and its causes in order to find out possible solutions to tackle or at least to reduce this problem.

Interviewer:

Position of Interviewee:

Date:

Time:

1. What is your current work position and how long have you been in this position? How many women are here currently as a result of domestic violence?
2. What is the role of this organisation or shelter house?
3. How many victims of domestic violence come here monthly?
4. What is the age of the oldest and youngest of those women?
5. What is the forms of domestic that victims suffer from?
6. Which person is likely to have caused them harm in most of cases?
7. From your work, what are the common causes of domestic violence?
8. From your point of view, which conditions and customs help to support domestic violence against women?
9. What kinds of reaction do you see in the perpetrators of domestic violence when you try to resolve the problems?
10. What is the role of society in occurrence of violence?
11. From your knowledge, what are the worst cases you have seen here?
12. What is the longest case that had stayed here, and why?
13. In the cases of resolving the problem between women and their abusers, did women return to this institution again?

14. Do you continue to provide care and ask about those victims when they return to their homes? If yes, why?
15. In cases of severe violence, are you legally required to call the police?
16. In your opinion, are there religious causes of domestic violence?

Appendix 2: Questionnaire for Victims (English)

The position of Islam on Violence against Women, with Particular Reference to South of Saudi Arabia

The aim of this surveys is to look at the causes and forms of domestic violence against women.

Please participate in this survey by answering the questions from your own experience.

Note: You have every right to stop answering and withdraw from the study at any time. You can ignore any question that you do not want to answer and move to the next one.

1. Your information:

A. Age: _____

B. Marital status: Single Married Divorced Widowed

C. Do you have children? Yes No

If yes, how many? _____

D. Are you working? Yes No

E. What is your educational level?

Primary Secondary High school Undergraduate

Postgraduate No Education

F. Your house is: rented owned

2. Information about the abuser:

A. What is the relationship between you and the person who hurt you?

- Husband
- Father
- Brother
- Uncle
- Other: _____

B. Do they smoke? Yes No

C. Do they use drugs? Yes No Don't know

D. Do they work? Yes No

E. What is their educational level?

- Primary Secondary High school Undergraduate Postgraduate
No Education

F. What is their income?

2000-5000 riyals

6000-10000 riyals

More than 10000 riyals

Don't know

G. Do they suffer from health problems (e.g. diabetes, blood pressure)?

Yes No

If yes, please give details _____

H. Do they suffer from mental health problems (e.g. depression, serious psychiatric problems)?

Yes No

If yes, please give details _____

3. Your experience:

A. What types of abuse have you suffered? *(Please tick all that apply)*

Physical abuse

Psychological/emotional abuse

Sexual abuse

Verbal abuse

Financial abuse

B. If you suffered physical abuse, please give details

C. If you suffered psychological/emotional abuse, please give details

D. If you suffered sexual abuse, please give details

E. If you suffered verbal abuse, please give details

F. If you suffered financial abuse, please give details

G. Did you ever witness violence towards women in your household when you were a child? Yes

No

If yes, please give details

H. Is your abuser ever violent toward people outside of home?

Always often seldom never

I. Have they ever been in trouble with the police?

Always often seldom never

Why do you think he hurts you?

4. Specific issues:

A. What is the attitude of your abuser towards your education?

J. Why does he have this attitude?

K. How do you feel about the educational opportunities you have been given?

L. How would you describe your abuser's attitude towards religion?

M. Could you explain what *Alqaūāmah* means, which is mention in the Qur'an, 4:34 (**men are qawāmūn over women**)?

N. Did your abuser ever use this as a reason to hurt you? If yes, please explain what reason they gave

O. Did your abuser ever give any other reasons for hurting you related to religion? Is yes, what reasons did they give?

P. Does your abuser take any money from you? If yes, please give details

Q. Does your abuser give you any money? If yes, please give details

R. Does your abuser spend money on you? If yes, please give details

S. In your community, how would you describe the role of women?

T. In your community, what is the level of violence towards women?

U. Is violence towards women accepted by the community? If yes, why do you think this is?

5. The Social Protection Institution:

A. How did you find out about the Social Protection Institution?

A. How did you get to the Social Protection Institution?

B. Did you hesitate before deciding to come to the Institution?

Yes No

If yes, why? _____

A. Do you feel safer at the Social Protection Institution? If yes or no, why is this?

C. What do you want to do, which now you are not able to do? *(List as many things you want to do as you like)*

If you want to add any comments or additions, please add them in the following box:

Thank you for your time and cooperation in completing this survey.

Appendix 3: Interview Questions for Staff Who are Working at the Social Protection Institution (Arabic)

أسئلة المقابلة للعاملين في دار الحماية الاجتماعية

عزيزي/تي

بادئ ذي بدء ، أود أن أشكرك لتطلفك بالمشاركة في هذه المقابلة والتي هي جزء من متطلبات بحثي والذي هو معنون بـ (موقف الإسلام من العنف المنزلي ضد المرأة، جنوب السعودية كحالة دراسية). يهدف هذا البحث إلى مناقشة وتوضيح موقف الإسلام من العنف و تحديد الفرق بين تعاليم الشريعة الإسلامية وبين ما يطبق وبالأخص القوانين التي تستند على العادات والتقاليد. بالإضافة إلى أن هذه الدراسة تركز على العنف المنزلي الذي يعتبر من أخطر أنواع العنف إذ أن تأثيره لا يقتصر على المُعنف فقط وأسرتة بل يمتد أثره السلبي إلى المجتمع بأسره. كما يهدف هذا البحث لدراسة أسباب العنف المنزلي لبيان العلاقة بينه وبين العادات والتقاليد أكثر منها للإسلام وسوف تساعد نتائج هذا البحث بإذن الله لتوضيح الموقف الحقيقي للإسلام من العنف ضد المرأة والذي قد شوه من قبل الغرب ومن قبل من يستخدمون العنف باسم الدين. وأخيراً، هذا البحث سوف يسهم في معالجة هذه المشكلة أو على الأقل تخفيفها خدمة مني لنساء المسلمين عامة ولنساء بلدي السعودية خاصة.

منصب الضيف :

التاريخ:

الوقت:

١. ماهو منصبك الوظيفي؟ وكم مدة عملك في هذا المجال في الدار؟
٢. حدثيني عن دور هذه المؤسسة ؟
٣. كم ضحية عنف تقريباً تأتي للدار شهرياً؟
٤. كم عمر أكبر وأصغر معنفة أتت هنا إلى الدار ؟
٥. ما أنواع العنف المنزلي التي تتعرض له المعنفات؟
٦. من هو المُعنف المسئول عن هذا العنف غالباً؟
٧. من مجال عملك، ما هي أسباب العنف المشتركة أو الشائعة؟
٨. ماهي العادات والتقاليد المنتشرة في المجتمع هنا والتي هي من وجهة نظرك قد تكون سبباً للعنف ضد المرأة، اذكر أمثلة لما تقول؟
٩. ما ردة فعل المُعنف عند محاولة إصلاح ذات البين بينه وبين من عنفها؟
١٠. برأيك هل للمجتمع المحيط بالأسرة دور في خلق هذا العنف؟
١١. من معرفتك ، ما هي أسوأ حالة عنف أتت للدار؟ لماذا؟

١٢. ما أطول حالة عنف استمرت في الدار؟ وما الأسباب؟
١٣. بعد حل المشكلة بين الطرفين، هل عادت المرأة للدار مرة أخرى؟ وهل هي بنفس الأسباب؟
١٤. هل تستمرون برعاية المعنفة والسؤال عنها بعد خروجها من الدار؟
١٥. إذا كانت حالة العنف سيئة وخطيرة جداً، هل تقومون في هذه الحالة بالاتصال بالشرطة وعرض حالة المعنفة عليهم؟
١٦. هل هناك أسباب دينية تتعلق بالعنف المنزلي؟

Appendix 4: Questionnaire for Victims (Arabic)

موقف الإسلام من العنف المنزلي ضد المرأة
جنوب المملكة العربية السعودية كحالة دراسية

الهدف من هذه الدراسة هو بيان موقف الإسلام من العنف المنزلي ضد المرأة من خلال النظر في أسباب وأشكال العنف ضد المرأة، ودراسة حقوق المرأة ما بين الشرع والتطبيق. و معرفة اذا كانت أسباب العنف تعكس ماجاء في القرآن والسنة من تشريعات وأحكام تخص المرأة وحقوقها سواء حقوقها المالية أو الزوجية أو التعليمية.
شارك من فضلك في هذه الإحصائية عن طريق الإجابة على الأسئلة من تجربتك الشخصية.
ملاحظة: سوف يتم التعامل مع البيانات والإجابات التي سوف تتدلى هنا بكامل السرية والخصوصية ولن يتم الاطلاع عليها إلا من قِبل الباحثة والمشرف الدراسي فقط. بإمكانك تجاهل أي سؤال لا تريد الإجابة عليه.

أ. المعلومات الأساسية:

1. العمر _____
2. الحالة الاجتماعية : غير متزوجة متزوجة مطلقة أرملة
3. هل لديك أطفال ؟ نعم لا
إذا كانت الإجابة بنعم، فكم عدد الأطفال ؟ _____
4. هل تعملين ؟ نعم لا
5. ما هو مؤهلك التعليمي ؟
ابتدائي متوسط ثانوي جامعي دراسات عليا
غير متعلمة
6. بيتك هو : إيجار ملك

ب - معلومات عن المُعنف:

1. ما علاقة المُعنف بك؟

- زوج
 أب
 أخ
 عم
 ابن
 غيرهم _____
١. هو مدخن؟ نعم لا
 ٢. يتعاطى المخدرات أو أي نوع منها؟ نعم لا
 ٣. يعمل؟ نعم لا
 ٤. مؤهله التعليمي؟
 ابتدائي متوسط ثانوي جامعي
 دراسات عليا غير متعلمة
٥. دخله الشهري؟
 ٢٠٠٠ - ٥٠٠٠ ريال
 ٦٠٠٠ - ١٠٠٠٠ ريال
 أكثر من ١٠٠٠٠ ريال
 لا أعلم
٦. يعاني من مشاكل صحية (كمرض السكر، ضغط الدم...)؟
 إذا كانت الإجابة بنعم، الرجاء إعطاء تفاصيل أكثر؟
 نعم لا

٧. هل يعاني من اضطرابات أو مشاكل صحية عقلية (كالإكتئاب ، مشاكل نفسية)؟
 نعم لا
 إذا كانت الإجابة بنعم، الرجاء إعطاء تفاصيل أكثر؟

ج- تجربتك الشخصية:

١- ما نوع العنف الذي تعانين منه؟ مع ذكر أمثلة توضيحية لهذا العنف (الرجاء الإشارة لكل الأنواع الذي تعرضت لها)

- عنف جسدي
 - عنف نفسي / عاطفي
 - عنف جنسي
 - عنف لفظي

□ - عنف مالي

٢. إذا كنتِ قد عانيتِ من العنف الجسدي، أعطي أمثلة من فضلك:

٣. إذا كنتِ قد عانيتِ من العنف النفسي/العاطفي، أعطي أمثلة من فضلك:

٤. إذا كنتِ قد عانيتِ من العنف الجنسي، أعطي أمثلة من فضلك:

٥. إذا كنتِ قد عانيتِ من العنف اللفظي، أعطي أمثلة من فضلك:

برأيك لماذا يفعل ذلك؟

٦- هل سبق وأن شاهدتِ عنف ضد المرأة في المنزل عندما كنتِ طفلة أو في مرحلة الطفولة؟

□ نعم □ لا

إذا كانت الإجابة بنعم، أذكر أمثلة على ذلك

٧- هل قد صدر من هذا المُعِين عنف ضد آخرين خارج المنزل؟ □ نعم □ لا

٨- هل سبق وأن حصل له مشكلة مع الشرطة؟ □ نعم □ لا

د- تجربتك الشخصية:

١- ما موقف المُعِنِف من حقك في التعليم؟ لماذا يتخذ هذا الموقف؟

2- ما شعورك تجاه الفرص التعليمية التي حصلت عليها؟

3- كيف تصفين حال المُعِنِف الديني؟

4- اشرح المقصود من القوامة والتي ذكرت في الآية ٣٤ من سورة النساء (الرجال قوامون على النساء)؟

5- هل سبق وأن استخدم المُعِنِف كلمة القوامة كسبب لتعنيفك وايدائك؟ إذا كانت الإجابة بنعم، الرجاء ذكر الأسباب التي أعطاهها المُعِنِف؟

6- هل سبق وأن برر المُعِنِف ما يفعله من عنف تجاهك بأي أسباب أخرى تكون متعلقة بالدين؟ إذا كانت الإجابة بنعم، ماهي الأسباب التي ذكرها؟

7- هل المُعِنِف يأخذ من مالك بدون إذنك؟ اذكر التفصيل

8- هل يعطيك المُعنفُ حقوقك المالية ويصرف عليك؟ الرجاء الإجابة بالتفصيل

9- كيف تصفين دور المرأة في مجتمعك؟

10- ما مستوى العنف ضد المرأة في المجتمع الذي تعيشين فيه؟

11- هل العنف ضد المرأة مقبول في مجتمعك؟ إذا كانت الإجابة بنعم، برأيك لماذا هو مقبول؟

12- هل تركتي أو حاولت ترك المنزل عندما تعرضت للعنف
إذا كانت الإجابة بلا ، فلماذا ؟

نعم لا

د- دار الحماية الاجتماعية

١. كيف استطعت الوصول لدار الحماية الاجتماعية؟

٢. هل ترددت قبل اتخاذك القرار للذهاب لدار الحماية ؟
إذا كانت الإجابة بنعم ، فلماذا ترددت؟

نعم لا

٣. هل تشعرين بالأمان هنا في الدار أكثر من المنزل؟ ولماذا؟

٤- ماهي الحقوق التي تردين الحصول عليها والتي حرمتي منها؟ (اذكري كل ما تودين الحصول عليه من حقوق)

إذا كنتِ تريدين إضافة أي تعليقات أو إضافات، الرجاء لا تترددي في كتابتها في المربع في الأسفل:

شكراً جزيلاً لوقتكم وشاركتكم في إكمال هذا الاستبيان ..

Appendix 5: Transcription of Interviewee X (English)

As-Salamu 'Alaikum wa Rahmatu Allahi wa Barakatuh

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Firstly, I would like to thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview, which is a partial requirement of my research work, which is entitled 'The Position of Islam on Domestic Violence Against Women'.

Question Number	The Question	The Answer	Comments
1	What is your current work position and how long have you been in this position?	Director of Organization for Caring for girls, and I'm also a member of the Protection Committee	
2	What is the role of this organisation or shelter house?	In Al-Bahah region, there is no protection house, but there is a charitable organisation that is a shelter for female victims of violence. It is supervised by female employees.	
3	How many abused women are currently under the care of your organisation?	Two cases. The first is not an abused woman, but she took refuge in the house because she has no relatives to support her. The second is a victim of violence by her mother and brothers.	
4	Can you tell me more details about this case?	She is a 38-year-old divorced woman whose children live with their father. She worked as a teacher for 17 years. She has been abused by her mother and brothers for a long time; her father is dead. When she tried to report the abuse 10 months ago, her family prevented her from going to work and isolated her from any external social contact, fearing that she would run away or report the abuse. She was also physically abused.	
5	Roughly, how many victims come to the shelter monthly?	We cannot say "monthly", because the number of cases is small. In 3 years, since 1435 [2013-14 CE], there have been only 13 cases.	

6	What are the ages of the youngest and oldest victims you have had?	<p>The oldest is a 50-year old married woman who was abused by her husband. Her husband is used to frequently marrying and divorcing women. He asks her to look after his children from his divorcees. When she started to complain and refused, he started abusing her in various ways, such as depriving her of her marital rights, depriving her of food, and once he switched off the lights [and left her in the dark]. In addition, he exposed her to verbal and physical abuse. After 6 years of going back and forth between the shelter and him, she filed for divorce, and she got divorced.</p> <p>The youngest victim of violence is a 5-year-old child. She was abused by her mother. The cause was a mental health issue.</p>	
7	What types of abuse are female victims exposed to?	At the forefront comes physical abuse, followed by deprivation of education, then psychological and verbal abuse, such as not allowing the abused woman to get married or go outside the house.	
8	Who is often the abuser in these cases?	Husbands, then brothers, and then fathers.	
9	What reasons do the abusers give for the abuse?	Abusers do not consider their actions abuse, but education and discipline. Abusers describe their victims as rebellious, unwilling to listen to advice, or stubborn.	
10	From your experience, what are the most common reasons for the abuse?	<p>There are common reasons among the cases of abuse that come to the protection institution. And the percentage refers to the number of cases that possess the reason. However, one case can possess one reason or multiple these common reasons).</p> <p>In 80% (of the cases) ignorance, tradition and customs (considered the reasons for abuse).</p> <p>In 70% (of the cases) drugs (considered the reasons for abuse).</p> <p>In 50% (of the cases) mental health issues (considered the reasons for abuse).</p> <p>P.S. a case can either have one of these common factors or more.</p>	

11	Can you tell us the stories of female abuse victims who have come to the shelter and the reasons for their abuse?		
12	In your opinion, what are the customs and traditions in Al-Bahah region that could cause violence against women?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Women cannot seek/find jobs if they are not married. - The marriage of underage girls to old men. - Deprivation of education, especially in Tihamah, where people consider finishing primary school education to be enough for girls. 	
13	Can you give us real-life examples of cases of abuse that the shelter has dealt with where the main reason for the violence was the traditions and customs of the society in which the abused lived?	<p>About a year ago, there was a case of a father who had seven daughters. When the girls reached year 4 in school (that is, 10 or 11 years old) he would accept marriage offers and demand a very high dowry, around 100,000 Saudi Riyal, even from old men. His aim was financial.</p> <p>We had another case where a relative of the victim informed us of a father who wanted to marry his daughter, who was in year 6, to a 70-year-old man so that he could pay his own debts.</p>	
14	In your opinion, are women aware of their own rights?	Yes, a high percentage of women are now totally aware of their rights, which is why there is an increase in the number of reports to the shelter.	
15	From your work experience, what rights are women deprived of that you are working to spread awareness of?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Education rights - The right to decide whom to marry or even how to bring up their children. We have had women who have come to complain that their opinions of how to bring up their children are marginalised. Unfortunately, children are also brought up in this way, so they refuse to listen to their mothers. 	
16	How do you describe the rights of divorced women in Al-Bahah?	Unfortunately, divorced women in this society are looked down upon. They are deprived of their rights, abused by their fathers and brothers, and may even be deprived of going outside their house. The reason for the latter is that they may bring shame to the family and be the focus of attention from others.	

17	What is the position of society on women's education and their right to work?	The society here is diverse. There are educated families that encourage their daughters to continue their education. There are even many women who work outside this area without any objection from their families. But in Tihamah, which is a deprived area, women frequently suffer from deprivation of education and work.	
18	Do abused women accept mediation attempts and show eagerness to return to their family homes?	Yes, strongly.	
19	What is the reaction of abusers when you try to mediate between them and their victims?	It varies. Some people accept our intervention, but other families totally refuse any intervention and refuse the return of the abused woman after she has left the house. They consider her leaving the house a dishonour to the family.	
20	In your opinion, does the society surrounding the family have a role in creating this violence?	Yes, if the violence is perpetrated by the brothers of the victim, the father may keep quiet, even if he is not happy about it. This is due to his fear that the family will get a bad reputation.	
21	How do abused women feel about the opinion of society about them after going to the shelter?	Women have become more aware of the role of the shelter, that is why they no longer fear the opinion of society towards them after leaving the shelter. This is especially so because the shelter provides them with educational and awareness -raising training courses.	
22	From your experience, what was the worst case of abuse and what was the reason for it?	It was a 38-year-old woman. She got divorced three times from three different men. Her father used to beat her so savagely that she stayed in hospital for a month with 90% of her body showing signs of beating.	
23	What were the reasons for this violent beating?	Ignorance. The father was old and uneducated. In his opinion, women had no rights. As she was divorced, he treated her as a servant and demanded for her to serve his wives, as her mother was deceased. He also deprived her of her children and refused to let her ask for custody of them. She was university educated in a rare discipline, but he refused to let her apply for a job because she was divorced and may bring shame on him.	

24	What were his justifications for this abuse?	That she was stubborn, rebellious, and unwilling to listen to him.	
25	Have you had cases where, after mediation and solving the problem between the two sides, the woman has come back to the shelter?	Sometimes, but not often.	
26	Do you follow up and continue to look after the abused women and check on their wellbeing?	Yes.	
27	In your opinion, are there religious reasons for domestic violence?	Not at all; on the contrary. Ignorance of the religious rights of women falls far behind the deprivation of the basic rights of women. Also, misunderstanding the concept of 'obedience' makes many men show off and use their muscles and power.	
28	Have you ever had an abused woman come to the shelter whose abuser was a practicing religious person?	Never.	

Thank you so much, respected teacher, for accepting to contribute to this work. May Allah reward you.

Appendix 6: Transcription of Interviewee X (Arabic)

السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ. بادئ ذي بدئ أود أن أشكرك لموافقتك بالمشاركة في هذه المقابلة والتي هي جزء من متطلبات بحثي والذي هو بعنوان موقف الإسلام من العنف المنزلي ضد المرأة.

الملاحظات	الإجابة	السؤال	رقم السؤال
	مديرة مؤسسة رعاية الفتيات وعضوة في لجنة الحماية	ما هو منصبك الوظيفي؟ وكم مدة عملك في هذا المنصب؟	١
	لا يوجد بمنطقة الباحة دار للحماية ولكن يوجد جمعية خيرية هي ملجأ للمعنفات وموظفات دار الفتيات يشرفن على الحالات	حدثيني عن دور هذه المؤسسة أو الدار؟	٢
	حالتين الحالة الأولى لا يمكن القول بأنها معنفة لأنها لجأت للدار لعدم وجود عائل لها فهي مقطوعه من شجرة. الحالة الثانية معنفة من قبل أهلها (أمها وأخوانها)	كم امرأة معنفة حالياً في الدار؟	٣

٤	<p>ممكن تذكرين قصة هذه المعنفة بالتفصيل؟</p>	<p>هي امرأة مطلقة عمرها ٣٨ سنة وأطفالها مع والدهم، تعمل معلمة منذ ١٧ سنة وحسب قولها فهي تعاني من العنف من فترة طويلة من أمها وأخوانها حيث أن الاب متوفي . وعندما حاولت الإبلاغ عن التعنيف من ١٠ شهور قام أهلها بحرمانها من وظيفتها وعزلها عن المجتمع الخارجي كلياً خوفاً من هروبها أو التبليغ عن العنف وقد تعرضت أيضا لعنف جسدي.</p>
٥	<p>كم ضحية عنف تقريبا تأتي إلى الدار شهريا؟</p>	<p>لا نستطيع أن نقول شهريا لان حالات العنف قليلة. من ثلاث سنوات تقريبا من عام ١٤٣٥ الى اليوم سجلت ١٣ حالة فقط</p>
٦	<p>كم عمر أكبر وأصغر معنفة أتت هنا إلى الدار؟</p>	<p>أكبر معنفة لامرأة في الخمسين معنفة من زوجها حيث أنه رجل مزواج يتزوج ويطلق ويطلب منها تربية أولاده اللي من زوجاته اللي طلقهم وعندما ضاقت بها ورفضت أصبح يستخدم أساليب تعنيف كحرمانها من حقوقها الزوجية وحرمانها أحيانا من الاكل ومره اطفأ النور عليها وتعنيف لفظي وجسدي كان يضربها وبعد ٦ سنوات من التنقل من دار الحماية ثم العودة له ومن ثم الإبلاغ للدار طلبت الطلاق وفعلا تطلقت وأصغر معنفة لطفلة عمرها ٥ سنوات والتعنيف كان من الام وكان السبب نفسي</p>

٧	ما أنواع العنف المنزلي التي تتعرض له المعنفات؟	يأتي في المقدمة العنف الجسدي ثم يليه الحرمان من التعليم ثم يأتي العنف النفسي واللفظي كحرمانها من الزواج أو من الخروج
٨	من المعنف المسؤول عن هذا العنف غالباً؟	الزوج ثم الأخ ثم الاب
٩	ماهي المبررات التي قدمها المعنف لتبرير ما قام به من تعنيف؟	المعنف لا يعبر مايفعله تعنيف بل تربية وتهذيب يقول أنها متمرده أو لا تسمع الكلام أو عنيدة
١٠	طيب، من مجال عملك ما هي أسباب العنف المشتركة أو الشائعة؟	٨٠% جهل وعادات وتقاليد ٧٠% مخدرات ٥٠% مرضى نفسيين
١١	ممكن تذكرني لنا أمثلة لقصص معنفات أتوا للدار وماهي الأسباب وراء تعنيفهن؟	
١٢	ماهي العادات والتقاليد المنتشرة في منطقة الباحة والتي هي من وجهة نظرك قد تكون سببا للعنف ضد المرأة؟	البنات ماتتوظف خاصة إذا لم تتزوج تزويج البنات الصغار القاصرات من رجال كبار في السن حرمان البنات من التعليم خاصة في منطقة تهامة يرون ان البنات اذا حصلت على المرحلة الابتدائية فهو كافي.

	<p>قبل سنة تقريبا كان الاب عنده سبع بنات وكانت مجرد توصل البنات لمرحلة رابع ابتدائي أي عمرها ١٠ سنوات أو ١١ سنة يزوجها ويبلغ في مهرها لمية ألف ريال حتى لو كان الرجل كبير في السن فقط لأجل المال.</p> <p>وهناك حالة أخرى وهي أن أحد أقارب الضحية بلغ عن أب بيزوج بنته اللي تدرس سادس ابتدائي برجل في السبعين من عمره فقط لتسديد دينه</p>	<p>ممكن تذكيرين قصص واقعية لحالات عنف أتت للدار وكان السبب الرئيسي لهذا العنف هو العادات والتقاليد للمجتمع الذي تعيش فيه المعنفة؟</p>	١٣
	<p>نعم . شريحة كبيرة من النساء الان على وعي تام بحقوقهن ولأجل ذلك زادت البلاغات للدار.</p>	<p>من وجهة نظرك، هل هناك وعي من المرأة تجاه حقوقهن؟</p>	١٤
	<p>حقها في التعليم</p> <p>حقها في ابداء رأيها سواء في زواج أو حتى في تربية أولادها . تجينا أمهات يشتكين من تهميش آراءهم أو حقهن في تربية أولادهن وللأسف الأبناء يتربون على هذا ويصيرون يرفضون السماع لامهاتهن</p>	<p>من واقع عملك، ماهي حقوق المرأة المسلوبة منها والتي تنادين بها؟</p>	١٥
	<p>للأسف المرأة المطلقة في هذا المجتمع يُنظر لها نظرة دونية فتحرم من حقوقها وتعنف من الاب والاخوان وقد تمنع من الخروج بحجة أن لا تأتي لهم بالعار فتكون محط الأنظار</p>	<p>كيف تصفين حقوق المطلقة في مجتمع منطقة الباحة؟</p>	١٦

١٧	ما موقف المجتمع من تعليم المرأة وحققها في العمل؟	المجتمع هنا يختلف فهناك عوائل مثقفة وتشجع بناتها على إكمال تعليمهن بل حتى ان كثير من البنات يتوظفن خارج المنطقة ولا يوجد أي رفض من الامل. بينما في منطقة تهامة وهي منطقة فقيره والمرأة فيها دائما تعاني من حرمانها من التعليم أو الوظيفة
١٨	هل تتقبل المعنفة محاولات الإصلاح وتتسوق للعودة إلى المنزل؟	نعم وبقوة
١٩	ما ردة فعل المعنف عند محاولة إصلاح ذات البين بينه وبين من عنفها؟	تختلف فيه أشخاص يتقبلون فكرة أن الحماية تتدخل وفيه أسر ترفض رفضا مطلقا للتدخل وترفض عودة المعنفة بعد خروجها للدار ويعتبرونه عار
٢٠	برأيك هل للمجتمع المحيط بالأسرة دور في خلق هذا العنف؟	نعم لان الاب أحيانا اذا كان العنف من قبل الاخوه يكون الاب غير راضي لكن خوفا على السمعة يسكت
٢١	ما شعور المعنفة تجاه نظرة المجتمع لها بعد دخولها الدار؟	أصبحت المرأة على وعي ودراية بدور الدار لذلك لم تعد تخشى من نظرة المجتمع لها بعد خروجها من الدار . خاصة أن الدار تقيم دورات توعوية وتثقيفية لهن.
٢٢	من معرفتك ما هي أسوء حالة عنف أتت هنالك؟ وما أسبابه؟	لامرأة عمرها ٣٨ سنة كانت مطلقة ثلاث مرات من ثلاث رجال فكان أبوها يعنفها بشكل وحشي لدرجة أنها تنومت بالمستشفى لمدة شهر كامل حيث أن ٩٠% من جسدها كان به آثار ضرب

٢٣	ما أسباب هذا العنف؟	الجهل فقد كان الاب كبير وغير متعلم وفي نظره ان المرأة مالها حقوق ولأنها مطلقة فكان يعاملها مثل الخادمة ويطلب منها خدمة زوجاته حيث أن أمها متوفية وقد حرمها من أولادها أيضا ورفض طلبها بحضانة اطفالها وكانت المرأة جامعية وبتخصص نادر ولكنه رفض التقديم على وظيفة لانها مطلقة ويخاف أن تجلب له العار
٢٤	ماذا كانت مبرراته لهذا التعنيف؟	أنها عنيدة ومتمردة ولا تسمع الكلام
٢٥	بعد حل المشكلة بين الطرفين هل قد حدث وأن عادت المرأة للدار مرة أخرى؟	أحيانا ولكن ليس كثيرا
٢٦	هل تستمرون برعاية المعنفة والسؤال عنها؟	نعم
٢٧	برأيك هل هنالك أسباب دينية تتعلق بالعنف المنزلي؟	لا أبدا بل إن الجهل بأمور الدين ومحافظ للمرأة من حقوق جعل الكثير يحرم المرأة من أبسط حقوقها. كما ان الفهم الخاطئ لمفهوم الطاعة جعل كثير من الرجال يستعرض بعضلاته وبسلطته
٢٨	هل قد سبق مثلا وأنت معنفة للدار وكان المعنف مثلا ملتزم دينيا؟	لا أبدا
	يعطيك العافية استاذتي الفاضلة واشكرك لقبول المشاركة وجزاك الله خيرا	

Appendix 11: Consent Form

Information sheet

As a part of my research, I have to undertake the survey in order to ascertain the frequency and the forms of domestic violent acts which are committed against Saudi Arabian women. This may present avenues for discussion of possible solutions in accordance with Islamic laws which aim to address this problem and minimize its potential impact. The possible solutions will draw on the principles of justice and morality within the context of Sharia; as well as the role of human rights organisations both international and local in solving this problem.

This study will involve questionnaires that will be distributed to battered women and staff in The Social Protection institution. The participation is voluntary and all participants are fully free to withdraw at any time without giving any reasons. I will deal with the participation by completely confidential. Names of participants both battered women and staff will not be asked. In addition, the data will be kept confidential for the duration of the study. The results will be presented in the thesis. They will be seen by my supervisor, a second marker and the external examiner. The thesis may be read by future students and the study may be published in a research journal.

If you agree to take part in this study, please sign the consent form overleaf.

If you need any farther information, you can contact me:

Name: Salha Aseere

Mobile number:

Email address: /

RESEARCH CONSENT FORM (COPY)

Name of Researcher(s) <i>Salha Nassr Aseere</i>
Title of study <i>The position of Islam on violence against women with particular reference to south of Saudi Arabia</i>

Please read and complete this form carefully. If you are willing to participate in this study, ring the appropriate responses and sign and date the declaration at the end. If you do not understand anything and would like more information, please ask.

- I have had the research satisfactorily explained to me in verbal and / or written form by the researcher. **YES / NO**

- I understand that the research will involve: questionnaires and interviews, the interview will be recorded on audiotape in order to translate it and analyses. That will take around *(30 mins)* **YES / NO**

- I understand that my participation is voluntary and I am free to withdraw at any time without having to give any reason. **YES / NO**

- I understand that all information about me will be treated in strict confidence and that I will not be named in any written work arising from this study. **YES / NO**

- I understand that any audiotape material of me will be used solely for research purposes and will be destroyed on completion of your research. **YES / NO**

- I agree to take part in the above study. **YES / NO**

I freely give my consent to participate in this research study and have been given a copy of this form for my own information.

Signature:

Date:

Appendix 12: Autobiographies of the Wahhābī Clerics

- Shaikh ibn bāz (Al-Musnad, 1996, P. 8)

Abu Abdullah Shaikh Abdul-Aziz bin Abdullah bin Abdur-Rahman Aal-bāz was born in the city of Riyadh in Dhul-Hijjah 1330H. He memorized the Qur'an in his early age and then he acquired knowledge from many of the great scholars of the Kingdom. Some of his teachers were Shaikh Muhammad bin Abdul-Latif Aal-Shaikh, Shaikh Salih bin Abdul-Aziz Aal-Sahikh and the eminent Shaikh Muhammad bin Ibrahim Aal-Shaikh who, in his time, was the Mufti of Saudi Arabia. Shaikh ibn bāz accompanied the eminent Shaikh and learned from him for about ten years. Thus he gained his religious education from the family of Imam Muhammad bin Abdul-Wahab. Afterwards Shaikh ibn bāz was appointed as a Justice and he worked for fourteen years in the judiciary until he was deputed to the education faculty. He remained engaged in teaching for nine years at Riyadh Islamic Law College, Riyadh Religious Institute. Then he was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Islamic University, Al-Madinah; but shortly afterwards, he was made the Chancellor with all the administrative powers.

Later he was appointed President of the General Presidency of Islamic Research, Ifta, Call and Propagation, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Presently he is the Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia.

He is also the President of many Islamic Committees and Councils, the prominent among these are: Senior Scholars Committee of the Kingdom, Permanent Committee for Islamic and Educational Research, the Founding Committee of Muslim World League, World Supreme Council for Mosques, Islamic Jurisprudence Assembly Makkah; and the member of the Supreme Council of the Islamic University at Al-Madinah, and the Supreme Committee for Islamic Propagation.

He belongs to the Hanbali School of jurisprudence but his verdicts are based on the arguments from Qur'an and Sunnah.

- Shaikh ibn Jibreen (Al-Musnad, 1996, P. 9)

Abdullah bin Abdur-Rahman Al-Jibreen is the member of the General Presidency of Islamic Research, Ifta, Call and Propagation, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. He received his education from the great scholars of the Kingdom including the eminent Shaikh ibn Baz. He participates in various seminars and religious forums for the purpose of the propagation of the call to Islam. He also delivers special lectures for the same cause. He has compiled many books and pamphlets on various Islamic topics.

Shaykh Muhammad Saalih al-Munajjid (islamqa.info)

Birth:

Shaykh al-Munajjid was born on 30 Dhu'l-Hijjah 1380 AH

Education:

He attended elementary school, middle school and high school in Riyadh.

Then he moved to Dhahran in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, where he completed his university studies.

His shaykhs:

He attended the circles of:

Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azeez ibn 'Abdillah ibn Baaz

Shaykh Muhammad ibn Saalih al-'Uthaymeen

Shaykh 'Abdullah ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmaan al-Jibreen.

The teacher from whom he learned the most by studying under him was Shaykh 'Abd ar-Rahmaan ibn Naasir al-Barraak.

He learned the correct recitation of Qur'an from Shaykh Sa'eed Aal 'Abdillah.

Other shaykhs from whom he learned include:

Shaykh Saalih ibn Fawzaan Aal Fawzaan, Shaykh 'Abdullah ibn Muhammad al-Ghunaymaan, Shaykh Muhammad ould Sidi al-Habeeb ash-Shinqeeti, Shaykh 'Abd al-Muhsin az-Zaamil, and Shaykh 'Abd ar-Rahmaan ibn Saalih al-Mahmood.

The one from whom he learned the most in question-and-answer sessions is Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azeez ibn 'Abdillah ibn Baaz (may Allah have mercy on him), with whom he had a close relationship that lasted for fifteen years. He is the one who encouraged him to teach and wrote to the Centre for Da'wah and Irshad in Dammam, advising them to cooperate with him in offering lectures, khutbahs and classes. Thanks to Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azeez ibn Baaz, he became a khateeb, imam and lecturer.