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Gendered Space in the Leisure Landscapes of a Modernising Islamic State

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in Landscape Architecture

at
Lincoln University
by
Majed Mohammed Mustafa

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Abstract of a thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Landscape Architecture

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by

Majed Mohammed Mustafa

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is the birthplace of Islam and has a religious role and obligation in the Islamic world. Since the discovery of oil in 1936, Saudi Arabia has undergone rapid modernisation. The rise in oil prices in 2004 has made the country enjoy unprecedented revenue, which has led to increasing governmental spending and an increase in per capita income. This has encouraged the public and private sectors to create leisure spaces for domestic tourists. However, the development of new leisure spaces has faced strong opposition and criticism from the religious establishment, which views the new modern leisure spaces as a threat to the local culture that could encourage non-Islamic forms of social activities, and undermine the traditions of segregation between the two genders that currently shape the traditional Saudi society.

This research is focused upon a better understanding of how globalisation and modernisation have shaped leisure spaces in a country where gender segregation is fundamental to the culture. It aims to understand how gender relationships are expressed in the new modern leisure spaces in Saudi Arabia. Determining the different characteristics of gender segregation in leisure spaces and landscapes will contribute to the development of more culturally sensitive and sustainable leisure strategies, and will enhance and improve the management of leisure landscapes.
The study uses a qualitative research approach in different settings within two case study regions in Saudi Arabia. It identifies the different types and characteristics of gender segregation in leisure landscapes. The findings revealed that the domestic sphere of gendered relationships is being reinvented and re-expressed as family-based, quasi-public leisure landscapes. The study also indicates that the new leisure spaces are liminal enclaves that are re-embedding new practices from the global society into a conservative society.

**Keywords**: Leisure spaces and landscapes, participant observation, gender segregation, gazing, institutions, performance, and liminal space.
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Chapter 1 Introduction

A recent video clip posted on YouTube and a Hashtag on Twitter and other social networking sites, showing large numbers of young men following and harassing a small group of young females in one of Saudi’s new shopping centres (Dhahran Mall) has attracted widespread media attention:

“The eastern region police confirmed that an investigation is underway into the incident involving the assault on a group of females by a large number of men in Dhahran Mall, and it will soon announce the result of the investigation and will bring the involved to justice. A spokesman from the mall confirmed that they have provided the police with footage from the mall’s CCTV to assist in the investigation.” (نفيدينان, 2013).

The incident highlights the way that the new semi-private public spaces in malls have brought a new set of social issues and problems and have created tensions in gender relations.

The rapid spread of new leisure spaces and landscapes such as shopping malls in Saudi is changing the relationship between people in general and in particular the relationship between the genders. The growing material wealth in Saudi society and its relationship to leisure is being experienced differently by the different genders (Le Renard, 2008). Economic advancement is providing more opportunities to consume, and opportunities to spend money and these have created demands for more leisure spaces which challenge traditional rules and expectations. The market response has been to introduce new types of Western spaces and products. New malls provide indoor air-conditioned spaces for both
shopping and leisure activities, and these new leisure spaces have changed the dynamics between modernity and tradition and have created new issues for gender segregation (Fuccaro, 2001; Le Renard, 2008).

The new spaces have liberated and empowered women to some degree in terms of their mobility (Al_Mukhtar, 2010; Le Renard, 2008; Wynn, n.d.) and by providing new leisure and consumption opportunities. On the other hand, the new spaces have also marginalised young men by denying them access to some public and privatised-public spaces, which will be explained in Chapter 4, 5, and 6 (Al_Mukhtar, 2010; Le Renard, 2008; Wynn, n.d.). New patterns of activity are emerging, and issues and problems that have been encountered in the new leisure spaces and the lack of regulations to manage gendered spaces have, in turn, persuaded the religious establishment to attempt to influence their management, which has created further tensions.

The Saudi government itself has become an intermediary by attempting to introduce new rules for managing gender segregation in the new leisure spaces in accordance to the Islamic religion and the local culture. Recent governmental intervention in enforcing spatial and design guidelines for malls in Riyadh in response to pressure from the religious establishment and social organisations (Alriyadh, 2010; Okaz, 2010) is one attempt to ease tensions that have arisen between tradition and modernity. The tensions extend beyond Saudi nationals as these leisure spaces are also used by expatriates and migrant workers, and by the increasing number of domestic, regional and international tourists arriving as part of the government’s tourism strategy. The relationship between the design and management of modern urban leisure spaces and gender relationships is therefore an important focus of social change in Saudi Arabia and a critical understanding of the phenomenon is essential to urban design and planning.

Urban development in Saudi Arabia has gone through different stages. The first stage of modern urbanisation started in the late 1950s (Eben Saleh, 2002;
The second stage started in the 1970s with an accelerated urbanisation process through governmental implementation of a series of five-year development plans (Eben Saleh, 2002). This stage also included the demolition of traditional and heritage urban spaces. The third stage started in the 1990s and progresses at the turn of the new millennium with the introduction of Western urban and leisure spaces (Neyazi, 2008), and it is this most recent stage that is the focus of this thesis.

### 1.1 Study Objective and Research Questions

This thesis is focused on understanding the phenomenon of gender segregation in new public and semi-public leisure and tourism settings in Saudi Arabia. Therefore, the objective of the research is:

- To identify and interpret the characteristics and significance of gendered spatial relationships in new public and quasi-public leisure settings in Saudi Arabia.

The study developed three sets of questions to achieve the research objective:

1. How are gender relationships expressed in the new modern leisure spaces in Saudi Arabia?
2. How are modern leisure spaces in Saudi Arabia being managed in respect to gender relationships?
3. What are the theoretical, methodological and practical implications of the research findings?

### 1.2 Theoretical Approach

The theoretical framework of analysis is to interpret leisure space as socio-culturally constructed space, shaped by four theoretical lenses: institutional actions, social and spatial performance, gazing, and liminality. The theoretical lenses are briefly introduced below and then expanded upon in chapter two. Institutions have a strong role in managing and gendering leisure spaces, where
institutional approaches influence the power relationships between the two
genders, and the social performances of men and women. The institutional lens
will investigate how the new leisure and landscape spaces in a society that
enforces strict gender segregation have dealt with the new set of issues and
challenges for managing leisure spaces. A perspective on social and spatial
performance helps to interpret visitors’ activities in a range of different spaces
and under different management approaches. This theoretical lens also provides
how male and female behaviour and performance are influenced by several
interrelated factors. The phenomenon of gazing has been widely recognised as a
critical influence on social behaviours and performances of individuals and
provides a third theoretical perspective. Finally liminality provides the basis for
understanding the process of socio-cultural construction of the new modern
leisure spaces and landscapes in Saudi Arabia.

These four theoretical lenses explore the new leisure and tourism spaces in
highly gendered areas with the aim to develop a framework that can guide the
design and management of leisure spaces to achieve wider Saudi acceptance.

1.3 Research Strategy and Methodology

The research adopts an interpretive strategy using case studies and qualitative
methods. The investigation is then conducted into two types of leisure and
landscape spaces: semi-public spaces (malls and shopping centres), public-
designed spaces (parks and seafronts), in modern Saudi settings located in two
contrasting regions, based upon a case study design. The research uses four
methods of investigation. The first is documentary analysis of landscape data and
strategies. The second is participant observation of activity in leisure spaces
(malls) and domestic tourism landscapes, to record, analyse and review the
gender relationships. The third method involves face-to-face interviews with key
professional informants to investigate the implications of gender segregation in
the design and management of leisure spaces. The fourth method employs focus
groups with users of the new leisure spaces and landscapes, to gain insight to their experiences and opinions on the new leisure spaces.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

Chapter two provides a historical background of public spaces of leisure landscapes in Saudi Arabia. Then it introduces the key concepts that underpin the thesis and their use in the theory of leisure landscapes. The main aim of this chapter is to identify theoretical lenses that will help in understanding how gendered spaces are being used and experienced by visitors and will aid in analysing the findings as well. In developing a theoretical framework, the areas requiring research will be identified.

Chapter three explains the case study design, methodology, and research strategy. It combines pilot studies, key informant interviews, participant observation, and focus groups. In developing the methodology, various methods will be critiqued leading to the specific design of this research methodology.

Chapter four provides a historical background and case study contexts for the two regions: Jeddah and Dammam.

Chapters five to eight present the findings from the case studies. Chapter five considers the management of semi-private gendered space within malls and gendered spatial segregation. Chapter six discusses visitors’ performances in the new gendered spaces. Chapter seven provides insight into the visitors’ experiences of the new leisure spaces, and chapter eight provides the findings in seafronts which include visitors’ experiences and performances in privatised and public spaces. The analysis of the case study data is further considered through the perspective of the four lenses: institutions, social performance, gazing, and liminality.

Finally, chapter nine discusses the research findings. This discussion is framed around answering the three research questions.
Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is structured around three themes that articulate the context of socio-cultural construction of gendered space: gender in Islam, modernity as a force of change and gendering of space. The aim of the chapter is to review and identify concepts that help to understand how people use and experience gendered spaces in privatised-public spaces and public landscapes in a modern contemporary Islamic society (Saudi Arabia); how people are adapting such spaces to their needs; and how the spaces are both shaping and being shaped by the local culture.

The chapter is organized into four sections. The first section starts by a brief history of urban leisure spaces in Saudi Arabia, then reviews the traditional relationships between male and female in Islam by exploring the concepts of gender segregation in Islam and Islamic societies, and the concept of the domestic and public sphere. The second section provides a context for public, semi-public and leisure spaces, with particular focus on the theories of modern space, private-quasi-public spaces, and the empowerment of users of the modern spaces. The third section looks into the gendering of space through everyday activity, with particular focus on the role of institutions in gendering spaces, social performances, the influence of the gaze and the presence of the flâneur on social performances and management approach, and phenomenon of liminal spaces. The final section synthesises key aspects of the framework as four theoretical lenses upon the process of socio-cultural construction of gendered spaces, which are used in the subsequent analyses of field data: institutional roles, social performances, gazing, and liminality.
2.2 Islam and Traditional Relationships

This section provides a background to the traditional relationships between male and female in leisure spaces and in Islam, the phenomenon of gender segregation and how it led to the creation of domestic and private spheres. It also provides an insight into how different Islamic societies implement gender segregation socially and spatially. It concludes by providing a briefing of the gender relationships in modern Saudi Arabia.

2.2.1 History of Urban Leisure Spaces in Saudi Arabia

The traditional shared outdoor leisure spaces (the focus of this thesis) that were popular for Saudi families prior to the development and modernisation of the country used to be the waters edge, orchards, farms, and shrubby patches in desert areas around the skirt of the city (Al-Hathloul, 1999; O. S. Bahammam, 1995). Urban spaces existed in some cities such as Jeddah but in the form of open courts inside residential neighbourhoods which acted as playgrounds for boys and festival grounds for males only (Neyazi, 2008).

In the early 70s, urban leisure spaces started to emerge in the form of public gardens and that also marked the development of the seafront in Jeddah. Bahammam (1995) in his investigation of the urban recreational patterns of Saudi families at outdoor leisure concluded that modern public gardens have changed the local culture by introducing new lifestyle possibilities that have paid little attention to gender segregation. He argues that the construction of public gardens has resulted in introducing new designs and activities that have ignored the needs of the local communities such as visual and physical privacy for families. The significance for this thesis is that the new public gardens were managed and designated for women's and family's needs by enforcing strict rules of gendering which restricted entry to single men into gardens without being accompanied by a female relative (O. S. Bahammam, 1995).
The development of seafronts in the 1970s also created different types of space that could provide different types of privacies, which were suitable for families. The early public seafronts did not have clearly marked zones for single men and families, and the traditional rules of gendering were followed without verbal communication between the visitors of the space [see Chapter 8]. Al-Abdullah (1998) provides an insight into the unspoken gendering rules in the Dammam seafront. He classified visitors into three groups: a single family, a group of two or more families and a group of single men. He noted that females sat on the seafront with their backs to the sidewalk and street. If the group consisted of several families, women tended to sit with their backs to the men within the group. Areas that had little lighting were more desirable for families for the purpose of visual privacy.

Both studies, which were conducted in the 1990s, concluded that the leisure landscape in Saudi Arabia was controlled by explicit rules in relation to privacy, and highlight that two types of privacies existed in Saudi Arabia in regards to the public sphere: privacy between the two genders and family privacy (Al-Abdullah, 1998; A. S. Bahammam, 1986; O. S. Bahammam, 1995).

2.2.2 Gender in Islamic Society

The Islamic religion plays a major role in determining the relationship between women and men in Islamic societies (Offenhauer, 2005). The Islamic Shrai’ā1 sanctions the construction of gender relations in Islam. Space and place are important agents in the construction of gendered relationships. Therefore, it was crucial for Islam to make a clear distinction between the domestic (private/house) sphere and the public sphere. Understanding the gendering of the domestic sphere provides a useful introduction to the phenomenon of gender segregation.

1 Islamic law drawn from the Noble Qur’an and the life of Prophet Mohammed. (Peace be upon him).
The Noble Qur'an describes the domestic sphere (house) as the place for women, which can be read in the Surah Al-Ahzab:

“And stay in your houses, and do not display yourselves like that of the times of ignorance (before Islam).” (al-Ahzab, 2000)

This guidance from the Qur'an makes a clear ruling that encourages the limitation of women's mobility beyond the home. Men on the other hand, are associated with the public sphere; therefore, they are asked to seek permission before entering the domestic sphere (house) as can be read in the Surah An-Nur, which is stated to instruct Muslim men:

“O you who believe! Enter not houses other than your own, until you have asked permission and granted by those in them; that is better for you, in order that you may remember (27) And if you find no one therein, still enter not until permission has been given. And if you are asked to go back, go back, for it is purer for you. And Allah is all-Knower of what you do” (An-Nur, 2000)

The limitation on men entering other people's houses is clear evidence of the importance and respect for the domestic sphere (house) and its privacy, which again enforces spatial gender segregation between men and women.

Gender segregation into the two spheres has also transformed the organisation of private living spaces within the house (O. S. Bahammam, 1995). There are secluded and private open spaces and multiple entrances to provide segregated paths for women and men. The front rooms of the house become a public domain (male), and the middle of the house is a private domain (female/family). In contemporary Islamic societies, the concept of privacy/segregation may differ by
age, sex, income level, marital status and the level of adherence to Islamic laws (Shrestha, 2000). For example, older women are expected to be stricter in applying gender segregation than younger women as they tend to be more religious. This gendering of the domestic sphere is favoured across a wide range of Islamic countries (Sicker, 2000). The rules of gender segregation between men and women and their activities are also carried outside of the house and into the wider society. Men and women who are not related are expected not to mix together and to maintain spatial and visual privacy at all times.

However, the phenomenon of gender segregation has been altered and influenced by Western colonisation of Islamic and Arabic countries over the past two centuries, which has introduced new social rules and lifestyles, (Sicker, 2000). In particular, the different histories of colonisation have reinforced the way that the phenomenon of gender segregation varies between different contexts. The level of segregation between individuals and societies differs according to the ethnic groups, religious doctrines, levels of modernisation (Western influence), and an individual’s commitment to a particular religious group. The rules of gender segregation also vary between different Islamic countries.

2.2.3 Gender in Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabia is one of the countries that implement strict rules of gender segregation (see section 4.2.3 for more details about Islam and Saudi). In Saudi Arabia, segregation means complete physical and visual segregation (Abu-Lughod, 1987; Osman, 1996). Saudi society regards segregation as a way to prevent physical contact between males and females, and as well as protect visual privacy by establishing sight-line distance rather than physical distance. In contrast, in more progressive societies such as Egypt, Jordan, and Morocco, Western influence has altered and changed the concept of gender segregation to a great extent.
The level of segregation between individuals and societies also differs according to ethnic groups, religious doctrines and an individual’s commitment to a particular school of thought (Islam has four schools of thought). For example, the Hanbaly Doctrine (المذهب الحنبلي) which is widely followed in Saudi Arabia believes gender segregation means complete physical and visual segregation (Abu-Lughod, 1987; Osman, 1996). The followers of the Hanbaly Doctrine apply strict rules of gender segregation that demand physical segregation to prevent any possibility of visual or sound contact between males and females. In other schools of thought this level of segregation is less apparent. This can be seen in several Islamic countries that follow other schools of thought where segregation is less enforced. In the United Arab Emirates (UAE) for example, gender segregation only exists in public schools, while Kuwait segregates the two genders in public schools and at some social events.

In many Islamic countries former European colonisation has made the society more exposed to other cultures and familiar with Western culture in particular. This is not the case in Saudi Arabia, which has never been colonised (الخضر, 2011). The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia enforces strict gender segregation in all parts of life where interaction could take place between men and women. Gender segregation is maintained in Saudi Arabia both spatially and temporally. This leads to spatial arrangements that are very different from other Islamic societies, where gender segregation is minimal in public spaces. In Saudi Arabia, women are not allowed to mix or associate with men that are not their Mahram (i.e. with men who are not related to them) and female employment is restricted to women-only environments (Le Renard, 2008; Offenhauer, 2005).

The term single man/men in the thesis refers to the male status in the space under investigation; an adult male who is not accompanied by a female (at the moment at the space) regardless of his marital status or his age is considered a Mahram. In Islam means men who are related to a woman and marriage between them is forbidden. It includes father, grandfather, brother, son, uncle and nephew. Brother-in-laws and cousins are excluded.
single man. For example, a father or a married man can be considered a single man in a public space if a female does not accompany him. One the other hand, a single man can be considered a family man in a public space if a female (regardless of her age) accompanies him. Family therefore means any group of people that is accompanied by a woman. For example a man and a woman together are considered to be a family, single female or group of females are also considered as a family in the space.

Gender segregation in Saudi is maintained at two levels: segregation between male and female, and segregation between single men and families, in respect of both domestic and public spheres. Strict segregation between males and females is maintained in smaller enclosed spaces that are similar to the domestic sphere, such as schools and universities, workplaces, and gyms (Le Renard, 2008). These places and spaces are managed in a way similar to the domestic sphere where females are allowed to have more freedom. Therefore, the presence of the two genders in the same space is strictly prohibited. Segregation between bachelor males and families is also enforced in larger spaces that are treated as public spheres such as malls, parks, beachfronts, restaurants and cafés. In these social settings, which are the focus of this thesis, social interaction between male and female is limited to next of kin and discouraged between men outside of the family circle (AbdulAlhaq, 2004; Al-Farsy, 1990; Osman, 1996).

Segregation of public and private-quasi-public spaces is articulated across the whole urban system. Spatial segregation in Saudi Arabia has typically allowed one gender to be present in the space and has restricted entry for the other gender (Le Renard, 2008). This segregation has been facilitated by wealth from oil revenue and cheap labour, which has helped Saudi Arabia to maintain its strict Islamic values. The high revenue from oil has allowed for the creation of two spheres which are composed of parallel spaces and activities; one for men and another for women.
In private-quasi-public spaces such as shopping centres, amusement parks, festivals grounds, cafés, and restaurants are arranged and designed to provide different degrees of gender segregation, and both physical and temporal segregation is maintained through limiting access at certain times and to particular spaces. For example, some malls and shopping centres manage gender segregation by allocating some days for families only, when single men are not allowed (see chapters five and six). Restaurants and parks on the other hand, in most cases manage segregation by creating two separate sections for single men and for families (Le Renard, 2008).

This changing expression of public and private spheres in Saudi leisure spaces is a crucial part in the process of modernising the Saudi landscape.

**2.2.4 Islamic Feminism**

Badran (2005) reflects on two modes of feminism in the Middle East that contribute to the knowledge of gender power issues in this part of the world. The author argues that the ‘secular feminism’ movement has demanded full power equality between males and females in the public sphere, but settled for hierarchical gender roles in the family, thus privileging male authority in the domestic sphere. However, the ‘Islamic feminism’ movement has based their demands on reading of the Qur’an, which affirmed equality between both genders, and hence leads to demands for social justice by applying gender equality in both the public and private sphere. However while Islamic feminism is an important agent in shaping the gender relationships within the Islamic world more generally, this feminism movement has not spread to or found any significant ground in Saudi Arabia. Moreover, secular feminism considered to be religiously forbidden.
2.3 Modernity as a Force of Change

Modernity transforms and changes culture and styles of living and has modified and changed the relationships between the two genders generally and in Saudi Arabia. This section illustrates how modernity has become a force of change by reviewing concepts of space of modernity and privatisation of public spaces, and concludes by exploring concepts that highlight how spaces could empower its users.

2.3.1 Space of Modernity

“Modernity is a shorthand term for modern society or industrial civilization. Portrayed in more detail, it is associated with (1) a certain set of attitudes towards the world, the idea of the world as open to transformation by human intervention; (2) a complex of economic institutions, especially industrial production and a market economy; (3) a certain range of political institutions, including the nation-state and mass democracy.” (Giddens & Pierson, 1998, p. 94).

Giddens and Pierson (1998) introduce modernity as a term that refers to the quality and character of a society. They argue that globalisation and modernity have created extended relationships between local and distant cultures, which provide a dynamic for changing lifestyles. Modernisation is described as a continuous process of institutional restructuring; therefore, private institutions tend to associate themselves with globalised institutions which could lead to the abandonment of the local culture and the adoption of new rules of gendering and culture (Giddens, 1994; Massey, 1994). The driving force for institutions to associate themselves with or adapt to a globalised model is to compete in their local market with other institutions for share of the market. Therefore, these institutions are vulnerable to change and to the influence of globalisation forces as modernisation progresses.
Institutions in general and private institutions in particular play major roles in the process of modernisation and globalisation of society and spaces by introducing new sets of culture and experiences to societies. Urry (1996) makes three relevant observations that relate to the increase in institutional roles and influence over culture and space in modernity. First, the advancement in communication has accelerated the transformation process of nations and places into globalised spaces thus undermining the coherence of individuals and societies, and has increased the control of global institutions. Second, the increase in institutional roles and control has transformed the process of socialising and designing of local spaces. Third, economic considerations control and influence the creation and transformation of new modern spaces with little or no consideration of social and political factors. In this thesis the focus is upon the role of local institutions such as religious institutions and mall managements rather than upon the macro scale economy and communication.

Globalisation has also accelerated the process of privatisation of public spaces, which led to the increase in the role of private institutions in constructing, managing, and transforming leisure and landscape spaces. Private institutions are major players in managing, shaping and influencing the socio-cultural construction of private spaces (Urry, 1996). The transfer of ownership of public spaces into the hands of private institutions has given them more power to alter and change the local culture and dictate social performances inside their premises. In addition, institutions which are male dominated are stronger in influence in gendering the space and could lead to the restriction of women’s leisure (Aitchison, 2003). This can be detected more in patriarchal societies where males dominate public institutional structures that could have a greater influence in shaping and changing the gendering roles and disadvantaging females (Aitchison, 2003; Hawkesworth, 2009). The possibly informal institutions found in the structure of family life can also influence the social relations and practices of the two genders in public spaces (Bird & Sokolofski, 2005), where males (father & husband) tend to place constraints on female’s leisure options (Shaw, 1994).
Institutions also introduce new experiences and spaces through the process of dis-embedding and re-embedding practices between different societies and locations (Giddens, 1994) as documented below (Giddens, 1994). Giddens claims that globalisation and modernisation have strengthened the process of dis-embedding and re-embedding as a consequence of increases in economic exchange and advancement in electronic communications. The process of dis-embedding and re-embedding is expected to accelerate and to be acceptable practice as a result of the spread of the new social media such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, smart TVs, and smart phones. Giddens’ metaphor of ‘dis-embedding and re-embedding’ provides meaning to the process of adapting and embracing new cultures and activities within a conservative society such as Saudi Arabia. Dis-embedding refers to the lifting out of social experiences and meanings from the local context and setting where they were constructed, and re-combining them across time and space and then re-embedding them into another society (Giddens & Pierson, 1998). For example, malls and leisure spaces in the West have been socio-culturally constructed, negotiated and re-negotiated, and then erected in response to several factors including gendering rules. These spaces have been dismembered and re-embedded again (pushed back) into a new society and culture, which might have a different context and gendering rules. The re-embedding of new forms of lifestyle, social experiences and settings by institutions will subsequently lead to the emergence of new spaces and settings that have the tendency to transform and alter the experience of existing spaces, social norms and performances of individuals.

Economic prosperity in Saudi Arabia has created a high demand for modern leisure spaces, and the high percentage of the population (60%) under the age of 25 (Central Department of Statistics and Information, 2007) has created a high demand for tourism and recreational activities. Quasi-public spaces such as malls, shopping centres, restaurants, cafés and seafront leisure spaces emerged in the Saudi urban fabric and fast became favourite destinations for families, women, and young men. As a consequence of modernity, public spaces in Saudi Arabia transformed into new modern leisure spaces that are ranging far beyond
The management of the new leisure spaces have changed the gender rules in favour of women and has made women to feel empowered by the new spaces. Men on the other hand started to feel they are being dis-empowered. As a result of gender empowerment, the paradigm of the private sphere and public sphere has been altered. Women's access to the public sphere has increased, which has resulted in the gradual decline of the frontiers between private and public spheres.

The transformation occurs at three different levels: the institutional level, spatial level and social level. At the institutional level, institutions have started to introduce and change the legislation and rules of gendering. One example is the restriction on single men entry to privatised public spaces such as malls and leisure spaces. The other example is the new decree that was issued in 2012 by the Government of Riyadh City, which removed the ban on the presence of single men in malls (Al-Arabiya, 2012). The decree has granted single men access to malls and shopping centres and made their presence legitimate. The religious authority showed less support for this decree. At the spatial level, mall management started to introduce new modern spaces that became acceptable to visitors, and forms of modern spaces that are more appealing to the wealthy members of society. These upmarket spaces have become popular meeting places for the younger generation as well (Traveler VIP, 2013). At the social level, as the demand for modern spaces has increased, it has started to become acceptable for females to visit mixed-gendered spaces. Moreover, the increase in females’ financial capability has allowed them regular access to these types of spaces (Le Renard, 2008).

As modernity has improved communication (Giddens & Pierson, 1998), the issue of gender segregation has been debated over social media networks.
Advancements in electronic communications have allowed Saudis to gain access and exposure to other scholarly opinions and debates about the phenomenon of gender segregation in other Islamic societies. The accessibility to Islamic *fatwas*\(^3\) regarding gender segregation through the Internet, has provided Saudis with material from different contemporary Islamic religious scholars who interpret the nature of gender segregation differently, and oppose opinions to the current phenomenon of gender segregation in Saudi Arabia (Alwatan Newspaper, 2010). Consequently the historical role of gender segregation has become challenged and questioned, and is a controversial issue in modern Saudi society.

At the same time, technology has allowed for greater services such as electronic surveillance. Giddens uses the concept of ‘surveillance’ which is drawn from Foucault to describe how information systems are constructed to form new systems of administrative power. Surveillance has allowed institutions to have constant observation and control of everyday activities, which has meant the assertion of power and authority (Foucault, 1977). The advancement in technology has provided institutions with greater control and the means to maintain order and security in the new privatised spaces by the use of electronic surveillance. Electronic surveillance is widely used in privatised public spaces such as malls, shopping centres and leisure spaces, and it goes hand-in-hand with the presence of security guards to ensure and correct the gendering rules.

2.3.2 *Privatisation of the Public Sphere*

Globalisation has led to the transfer of ownership and management of public spaces into the hands of private corporations (Day, 1999; Freidus & Romero-Daza, 2009; Giddens, 1991). This has implications for those societies who practise gender segregation in public spaces. and a key feature of modernity related to gender segregation is the privatisation of public spaces (Day, 1999; Voyce, 2006). Traditional public spaces started to be transformed into private spaces with their conversion into downtown department stores in the late 70s in

\(^{3}\) *A fatwa* is an Islamic religious ruling issued by a recognised religious authority.
the USA (Crawford, 1992 cited in Day, 1999). A large body of literature criticises privatised public spaces for their emphasis on consumption, leisure, security, and control of visitors' behaviour and performances through design and regulations (Freidus & Romero-Daza, 2009).

Malls and shopping centres [the focus of this research] are the most popular form of privatised public spaces and will be referred to as quasi-public space. These quasi-public spaces are the new modern leisure spaces in Saudi Arabia where spaces are gendered, negotiated and reconstructed.

Day (1999) claims that institutional management of quasi-private-public spaces in modern urban cultures aims to control and intervene in day to day management of the spaces by the use of security guards, surveillance cameras, and management styles of regulation as a way of targeting and discouraging undesired visitors. Controlling visitors' behaviour (performances) to maintain compliance and predictability has resulted in a passive environment, and discrimination against unwanted visitors (Arslan, Sezer, & Isigicok, 2010). These management actions have resulted in removing rights that previously existed in public spaces (Day, 1999). Consequently, the privatised spaces have created an architecture of segregation (Davis, 1992), which discriminates against low income and working-class people by excluding them and restricting their access. Mall managers in Saudi Arabia appear to have followed similar practices. Malls tend to control access to their premises and control the gendering rules (see section 2.2.1 Gender and Islamic Society) making it critical to examine and investigate their role in order to gain insight into the modernisation of Saudi urban spaces.

Crawford (1992) notes that quasi-public spaces tend to target narrowly defined segments of the population, which are determined by age, gender, and financial status. Crawford explains how customers are being analysed to determine their spending and shopping habits in order to maximise profits. He claims that managers of quasi-public spaces view female visitors as potential recreational
shoppers who might be willing to spend money in recreational activities and on their clothing. This has led to a significant difference in the percentage of women versus men who go to shopping malls, as is seen in all Saudi malls (Red Sea Mall key informant, 2011). This has even encouraged operators of quasi-public spaces to promote consumption to women through products and spaces that are appealing to them.

As women have been historically restricted to the private space of the house, whereas men have been associated with public spaces, some scholars have emphasised the vulnerability of women in public spaces. Frank and Paxson (1989) believe that as a result women favour privatised spaces such as malls and shopping centres over traditional public spaces because of the increased security in privatised spaces. A number of researchers have found that shopping malls are places that provide a safe and relaxing environment for visitors to enjoy protection from harassment and threats (Abaza, 2001; Arslan et al., 2010; Le Renard, 2011, 2013; Varman & Belk, 2012). Safety and security is maintained in these spaces by the management’s strong rules, electronic surveillance, and security guards. These quasi-public spaces also provide women with the opportunity to gain access to leisure and recreational spaces which in public spaces used to be limited by their home and child-care responsibilities (Day, 1999; Gradner, 1989; Henderson, Baileschki, Shaw, & J., 1996). Furthermore, the restrictions of gendered social norms that limit women’s behaviour in public spaces appear to be enforced far less in quasi-public spaces inside malls and shopping centres (Freidus and Romero-Daza 2009). These privatised spaces seem to permit visitors to display new performances that are different from the dominant culture and this raises the significance of new privatised and semi-public spaces as places of social transformation. The social transformation also encourages the presence of diverse and new performances especially when the space provides new sets of gendering rules and then becomes a ‘liminal’ space. This is examined further below (section 2.4.4).

Quasi-public spaces which are economically motivated started to emerge as a new form of modern landscapes in Saudi Arabia in the past 20 years (Al-But'hie
such as malls, shopping centres, recreational centres, cafés, seafronts, and theme parks or pay-playgrounds. The new private-quasi-public spaces have replaced the functions of traditional spaces such as squares, souks (marketplaces) and other public spaces including holding national celebrations and social events (Neyazi, 2008; Voyce, 2006). The change in function of privatised public spaces has changed the power relationships between people who manage, visit and use the space.

2.3.3 Empowerment

Globalisation and modernisation are often linked with the ideas associated with the spread of democracy and equality, including allowing women to challenge male economic dominance (Giddens & Pierson, 1998). The consequential empowerment of women in patriarchal societies has gained support from government and non-profit organisations which aim for gender equality, restoration of power imbalances, and equal rights for women (Abu Kharemh, 2012; Center of Arab Women for Training and Research, 2009), thus providing women with more autonomy to manage their lives and become active members in their societies (Abu Kharemh, 2012). Massey (1994) draws on an extensive range of sources to illustrate how modernity has changed females’ lives in urban areas by empowerment and disassociation of women from domestic spheres as well as enabling them to challenge patriarchal control. Female empowerment by changes in the character and management of urban space is a complex process involving multiple factors.

Female spatial empowerment in this thesis refers to the way that the management of public and semi-public spaces has empowered females by providing them the option to choose and select the types of leisure spaces and activities that are suitable to their needs. They are ‘empowered’ because Saudi Arabia is a conservative society, which traditionally restricts females’ movement and limits their access to public spaces. Females feel empowered by the new leisure spaces in malls and new seafronts because they have provided security for them by restricting access to single men (a man not accompanied by a female relative) and because spaces are designed in a way that is suitable to their needs.
Managing the gendering rules of Islam in this manner has allowed them to enjoy more freedom both temporally or spatially, and has enabled females to enjoy activities that were previously forbidden in private and domestic spheres, such as sharing the same space with non-relative males, and to engage in activities that are considered forbidden for females like smoking (Aljazeera Newspaper, 2001). These activities in a Western perspective could be considered minimal rights but in Saudi Arabia are considered significant and challenging to norms and culture.

In Saudi Arabia, the empowerment of females is driven by institutions at the national level (Alwaleed Bin Talal Foundation, 2011). Saudi females have gained access to university and higher education, and are also given assistance to become entrepreneurs and to own private businesses (Fallatah, 2012). Experienced professional and university graduate females gain access to highly paid jobs (Abu Kharemh, 2012; Fallatah, 2012; Le Renard, 2008), and that has gained them access to disposable income and made them financially independent. As a consequence, Saudi females have started to be more aware of leisure spaces and activities that address their needs.

Economic prosperity has encouraged the spread of malls and new leisure spaces in response to the growing demand and introduced new types of leisure spaces and activities that are imported from the West. These spaces have allowed users to experience different cultures and settings (Le Renard, 2008). The new spaces have empowered female users specifically by providing the stage for new types of social performances and experience which challenge the cultural and traditional norms of Saudi society (Eben Saleh, 1998a). The breakdown from the traditional cultural norms has led to an increasingly complex interplay between the 'local' and the 'global' inside Saudi society. Therefore the spread of the new modern spaces has received strong resistance from the religious establishment, which has considered the new spaces as a negative influence leading to changes in the conservative culture of Saudi society.
2.4 Gendering of Space

The previous section presented concepts of modernity as a force of change through modernising space, privatisation of public spaces and demonstrated how spaces and places could empower its users. This section focuses on the socio-cultural construction of space by investigating literature and concepts of institutional roles in gendering spaces, social performance, gaze, and liminality.

2.4.1 Institutions and Gendered Space in Saudi Arabia

Institutions have a role in gendering leisure spaces at three levels: the national, regional/local, and micro levels (Bird & Sokolofski, 2005; Scraton & Watson, 2010; Valentine, 1992). Institutional management at the national level is undertaken by the state (government), which establishes general rules and guidelines for gendered spaces. Institutional management at the regional level involves organisations such as local government and the religious authorities (in the case of Saudi Arabia). These institutions set territorial rules for gendering and managing space. An example of this is the recent imposition of rules for spatial design and guidelines for malls in Riyadh city, Saudi Arabia. A committee from three organisations: Riyadh Municipality, the General Presidency of the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vices (GPVPV) (religious establishment), and the Riyadh Chamber of Commerce have drafted new spatial and design guidelines for foodcourt spaces inside malls. These guidelines are provided to mall managers in an effort to manage modern gendered space in compliance with the local culture and traditions. The involvement of the three institutions in developing the draft is to maintain coherence in the gendering rules across the region and to strengthen the outcome and give it legitimacy. The local government of Riyadh approved the proposed guidelines in December 2010 and they became enforceable by law and were put into action (المطيري, 2010).

Mall managers are responsible for implementing these guidelines at the site level, and are critical in interpreting the regional rules and guidelines. Finally managers at the micro level include the operators of the commercially leased
spaces such as restaurant and café owners. Implementation of government rules of gendering and managing space tend to be left to the operators of these places who are required to ensure they are compliant with the general rules of the management of spaces and are responsible for visitors’ performances inside their premises.

An example of the types of management action needed at site/mall and facility level are expressed in the general spatial and design guidelines for Riyadh, which specify that:

1. Foodcourts inside malls must have two separate sections, one for single men and another section for families.
2. The family section needs to be surrounded by fixed screens that block the view of the section from outside.
3. The family section should have dining tables that are arranged in a suitable way.
4. Fixed screens (partitions) from inside the family section are to be removed and replaced with movable screens that are easy to move by the users if needed.
5. The single men’s section needs to be separate from the family section with a separate entrance.
6. The single men’s section needs to be surrounded by screens that prevent views to the mall.
7. Adequate lighting in foodcourts, restaurants and cafés is required and dimmed lighting across all mall areas is banned.
8. A permanent presence of mall security guards at the entrance to the foodcourt is required (Ministry of Municipalities, 2012).

Inside the malls, management interprets these guidelines in different ways. For example prior to the guidelines, management restricted male access to malls and their entry was controlled temporally and spatially; as one mall security manager said:
“We only allow single men entry to the mall on four days of the week from 9 am till 3 pm, we take this action because some of them do not behave well.” (Al-Eqtisadiah Newspaper, 2012)

However, a new decree was issued in March 2012 which granted single men entry to malls and shopping centres in Riyadh and has created a wide debate in Saudi society between people who oppose the decree and those who support it (Al-Arabiya, 2012). Mall managers have declared that the restriction on male entry to the mall was their decision in order to manage and control the gendered spaces, Whereas young men welcomed the decision of Riyadh’s governor and claimed the decision stopped the discrimination they faced in malls and shopping centres. Several mall managers have challenged the new decree. Several malls have declined entry to their premises for single men claiming that the management has not received an official notification from local government.

Material removed due to copyright compliance

Figure 2-1. Single men denied access to a mall from http://www.aleqt.com/a/small/a8/a836d44c97e2d45d5d506774568597a6_w400_h0.jpg (فتحي, 2012)
Figure 2-2. Access to a mall during weekends

Mall security guard denied single men access to a mall during families’ time (2012) from http://www.aleqt.com/a/639745_202305.jpg

This critical role of management in interpreting and applying gendering rules is one focus of this thesis, and receives particular attention in Chapter Five.

2.4.2 Performance

Social performance and spatial behaviour are two terms that are used extensively in the leisure literature (Massey, 1994). Spatial behaviour is the reaction of an individual or group in relation to the immediate surrounding area including objects within that area. Social performance in this thesis refers to how individuals choose to perform in respect to their relationships to other individuals and with the physical surrounding environment. Male and female behaviour and performance are influenced by several interrelated factors that tend to result from space gendering.

The socio-cultural norms and values associated with the localities in which men and women live are a major factor in the differences in their spatial behaviour (Pawson & Banks, 1993). Male and female performances change as the audience
(other people occupying the space) changes. Males and females also display
different patterns of social performances when they leave their home town and
enter liminal spaces (Valentine, 1992), and perform in ways that differ from their
the differences in spatial performance between the two genders are due to the
different strategies that are used by each gender. The change of performances
might be related to the unequal power that was mentioned by Foucault (1977)
and Shields (1991), which will be discussed in the gaze section (2.4.3).

The types of performances are also associated strongly with the detailed
character of the social life and spaces where people (performer and audience)
come from and are visiting, which are described by Goffman as front stage and
backstage.

Goffman (1971) uses a theatrical metaphor to analyse the relationship between
performance and life. He describes social life as ritualised theatrical
performances, where individuals perform as if they are on stage in such a way as
to gain attention and to impress other people who are observing. Performers aim
to make a positive impression by adapting attractive performances. Goffman
introduces the concept of actors performing in a setting, which is constructed of
a backstage, where people live their everyday lives, and front (stage) in which
the audiences are observing the performance. The front stage in Goffman’s
concept resembles the public sphere (front sphere) where individuals present
their performances and the backstage resembles the domestic sphere (private
sphere) that is hidden, where individuals can be themselves.

Spatial performance in this study refers to the types of performances that
performed by each gender in different settings and spaces such as malls which
are pre-conditioned spaces and seafronts which are less structured (mall vs.
seafront).
Goffman also introduces the concepts of ‘personal front’ to refer to items that are attached to the performer and naturally will follow the performer wherever he goes, and include: clothing, sex, age, racial characteristics, size, look, facial expressions, and bodily gestures. The ‘personal front’ of the performer can influence the perceived image and opinion that is formed by the persons who are gazing at the performance and are also used as a tool to predict the future performance and manners of the performers. According to Goffman (1971), ‘personal front’ is mainly used in connection with younger performers who are judged based on their characteristics (age, sex, race, etc.). Langman (1992) provides an example of the use of ‘personal front’ in connection with the youth and high school students in suburban neighbourhoods in Turkey when they go to malls. She claims the youth and high school students spend more time in malls than their home or school. The mall becomes a popular place for youth to hangout and a place to ’kill time’, socialising with their peers, and escaping the scrutiny of their parents or teachers. Malls are seen also as places for the production of social spaces where heroic identities can be formed and which may often conflict with the space management outside of the mall. Langman provides a logical reasoning for malls becoming centres of social life and pseudo-communities. Her description of the ritual of going to malls during weekends, involves elaborate preparations for young females that include appearance and image to catch the eye of other gazers, and for young men includes swagger, looks and hairstyles to enhance self-esteem.

2.4.3 Gaze

Performing implies an audience, and Urry (2002) argues that the concept of the gaze is an important agent to understand the gendered performance that organises the encounters of people with each other by providing a sense of pleasure and structure to their experiences. The gaze also can be as well restrictive, judgemental, and controlling to the gazer (Foucault, 1977). Urry claims that gazing also regulates the relationship between the various experiences by identifying what is visually ‘out of the ordinary’ and what is normal. Out of the ordinary could include physical structure, social performances
and behaviours. Urry (2002) conceptualises the tourist gaze as being different and distinct from any other social activities, which occur at particular places for specific periods of time. He argues that the gaze is constructed through signs that have special meaning to the person who is involved in the gaze. The same thing can be said about performances. However, the performances have to have value and be out of the ordinary (Urry, 2002). The gaze can also influence people’s performances and emotions in gendered and public spaces (Scraton & Watson, 2010). If an individual recognises he or she is subject to the gaze of other people, then it may result in self-policing of his/her performance within everyday life (Aitchison, 2003; Foucault, 1977; Pritchard & Morgan, 2000; Scalcedo, 2003), and the individual will start to perform in a way that will enhance his/her image and the opinion of the gazers (Sheilds, 1991). This supports the claim made by Foucault that monitoring leads to self-policing. Gazing in gendered spaces is a strong contributing factor that could influence performance and leads to emotional impact. Younger females tend to be the subject of males’ gazes, which make them more susceptible to emotional impact (Scraton & Watson, 2010).

Over the past few decades a considerable amount of literature has been published on the phenomenon of the gaze. Berger (1975) in his book ‘Ways of Seeing’ brings another perspective to the concept of the gaze. He emphasises that an important effect of the gaze mechanism is that of internalisation, which for women means an estranging influence on their sense of selfhood:

“Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at. This determines not only most relations between men and women but also the relation of women to themselves. Thus she turns herself into an object of vision; a sight.” (Berger, 1975)

Foucault (1970) associates this ‘disciplinary’ aspect of the gaze with power, claiming that inmates who are under constant surveillance will have an internalised discipline, which suggests that institutions also influence and
control the performances of the individuals who are using the space by the use of electronic surveillance and by the gaze of the security guards. Therefore, electronic surveillance is an important factor for managing gendered spaces. Scholars from different disciplines have also investigated the male gaze. Mulvey (1975) a feminist theorist, was one of the first scholars that attempted to associate male gaze with male domination in her work titled *Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema*. She claims females are seen as passive sexually desired objects that are gazed at and observed by active males in a male-dominated society. Mulvey’s claim suggests that the male gaze occurs when the power relationship between the two genders is misbalanced. It could include female submission to male power as a result of male domination in numbers or social constraints such as the patriarchal society where men are in control. Visser (1997) also argues that feminists regard gazing as a male practice, hinting that ‘male gaze is seen as pervasive, powerful engendering structure of control and male dominance’ *(Visser, 1997, p. 285).*

“As feminists argue, the gaze is male: it is to do with appropriation, with the specifically male assertion of property rights, with the commodification of women. Clearly the gaze is not simply an act of vision, nor a literary strategy or device such as narrative perspective or point of view, nor can it ever be seen as natural or non-judgmental.” *(Visser, 1997, p. 285)*

Berger also hints that women have become the objects of sight, as they look at the men who are observing them, and recognise that they are being turned into an object of vision.

Privatised public spaces also tend to present women as sexual objects of observation and to be admired for their physical appearance. The new privatised public spaces have provided the stage for unique performances to take place, one
of which is the act of gazing. Day (1999) suggests that the new privatised public spaces also encourage the re-appearance of the *flâneur*, typically a male subject who strolls the urban spaces for leisure and observing people unnoticed. Shields (1989) suggests that the *flâneur* who strolled through the shopping arcades of Paris in the nineteenth century is being re-invented in West Edmonton Mall in Canada as people who come to stare or vicariously observe and immerse themselves in a globalised consumption experience. The new privatised public spaces have therefore been criticised as reproducing oppressive gender relations (Day, 1999), where gendering rules are applied and enforced in everyday life. The presence of the *flâneur* in the new privatised-public spaces is associated strongly with the gaze and how it has become a commodity that is being sold to men (see gazing section). Foucault (1977) describes this type of gaze as an ‘unequal gaze’, which allows for constant observation of individuals, which are females in the case of this thesis. Foucault’s association of gaze to unequal power is evidence that gaze and power relationships are strongly connected. It is critical to keep in mind that the role, behaviour, and expectations for what females could have will be changed in the new century which will result in changing the relationships between men and women.

Massey (1994) argues that the *flâneur* is a key Figure embodying the experience of women in modern spaces. She argues that gazing in gendered spaces is a strong contributing factor that could influence performance and lead to emotional impact. McDowell (1999) presents another point of view, challenging the notion of the *flâneur* as a male Figure. She claims that the focus on the public area of life, which is dominated by men, has considered the *flâneur* to be a male who takes pleasure in his role as an urban onlooker. This has led society to overlook women's experiences. She refers to consideration of the *flâneur* as a male due to the fact that men in the mid-nineteenth century had the freedom to ‘hang out’ and spectate and women on the other hand, were not accepted participants in the urban spectacle. At that time women seen in the streets and public arenas were labelled as ‘streetwalkers’, and were regarded as fallen
women and made subject to unwanted sexual attention. The same argument is also made by Wolff (1985) who presents evidence from Baudelaire, Simmel, Benjamin, Sennett and Berman linking modernity to the public sphere which is designated for men only, and frames the central Figure of the *flâneur* in the literature of modernity only around men. The key problem with this explanation is that the *flâneur* is being considered always as a male character.

Le Renard (2013) provides a female’s perspective on the gendering issue and specifically provides an understanding of how transgression has become an embedded practice in shifting power relationships in the new modern semi-public spaces of Saudi Arabia. She explains transgressive acts of young ‘urban’ women in public leisure spaces in Saudi Arabia. Le Renard (2013) argues that transgressions have allowed young Saudi women to shift the boundaries of acceptable performances for Saudi women in different types of spaces such as women-only spaces, forbidden to men, while others take place in relatively semi-public (mixed) spaces, such as shopping malls where single men cannot enter during weekends and the majority of strollers are women. Le Renard concludes that young Saudi women have negotiated and challenged the extreme interpretation of Islamic precepts that govern and regulate women’s behaviours in public spaces and adapted new public behaviours that differentiated them from older women and rural women.

Le Renard’s work on a specific mall called ‘The Ladies Kingdom’ which is a shopping mall in Riyadh for women only’ provides valuable insights into the women only space inside the Kingdom Mall (Le Renard, 2011). Le Renard claims that space has become a stage on which modern lifestyles of the upper class are displayed. She concluded that the act of gazing is being widely practised among females, which resulted in excluding women from the lower and middle class from one of the only public places accessible to women.
Wilson (as cited in McDowell, 1999) noted that women have become increasingly visible and active in public spaces since the beginning of the twentieth century. This was caused by new employment opportunities for women and the ability to go shopping and gaze at the goods in a manner reminiscent of the flâneur. This is also relevant to the Saudi case where women have started to become financially independent, and also the expected increase in the number of females in malls which will follow the change in labour rules replacing male salespersons with female ones in women’s retail.

2.4.4 Liminality

Liminality is a term that is defined by V. Turner (1977) as a process which is “betwixt-and-between”, where participants are in transition from one social status to another (V. Turner & Turner, 1982), which can include between the normal day to day activity and a new socio-cultural setting. Other scholars describe liminality as moments of ‘in between-ness’ (Burns & O'Regan, 2008; Shields, 1991; W. Turner, 1974). Freidus and Romero-Daza (2009) suggest that liminality is associated strongly with globalisation and modernisation in spaces and societies and several anthropologist scholars (Giddens, 1994; Giddens & Pierson, 1998; W. Turner, 1974) have identified how the process of globalisation and modernisation has resulted in the emergence of an increasing number of types of space which are liminal in some way. These places are either on the margin of mainstream locations, or spaces and places at a point of transition between different types of societies (Burns & O'Regan, 2008; W. Turner, 1974). Liminality is also associated with travel and tourism (Freidus & Romero-Daza, 2009). Shields’ reference to the work of Ward and Hardy (1986) and their description of liminal as ‘time-out’ which is accomplished by movement out of neighbourhoods and everyday life, suggests that liminal spaces may also be related to leisure spaces which allow visitors to escape from daily routines to gain freedom from the strict social rules and allow individuals to experience different societies, cultures and different routines and to perform differentially (Nash, 1996). Liminality therefore allows visitors to ignore their culture and social norms and observe other societies’ cultures and norms.
In his study of the West Edmonton Mall in Canada, Shields (1989) noted that anthropologists recognise spaces inside malls as liminal spaces that are similar to carnivalesque settings, and promote consumption and materialism. Malls and shopping centres can thus be considered as hybrid modern spaces that implicate liminality in the structuring of gendered spaces. The new malls have provided new leisure and social spaces that are on the margin and outside the norms where every day social constraints can be challenged and ignored (Freidus & Romero-Daza, 2009; Sheilds, 1989). The liminality of the new spaces has made them more acceptable, adaptable, attractive, and popular destinations for visitors that seek to display their diverse and liberal performances (Varman & Belk, 2012). This thesis suggests that the emergence of liminality in the new landscapes has provided glimpses of globalised societies whereby visitors can be in a liminal space and place that is between their traditional culture and the globalised culture. These liminal spaces have allowed for the rules that allow normally defined acceptable performances and behaviours to be suspended, and not enforced inside the boundaries of the liminal spaces.

2.5 Theoretical Synthesis

The above discussion has highlighted four theoretical perspectives through which gendered spaces can be analysed: institutional roles, social performance, the gaze, and liminality. These lenses will be used in this thesis as a way to investigate the day-to-day use of leisure spaces in malls and seafronts. The lenses will look in depth into the way in which institutional management control the physical and socio-cultural construction of the quasi-public spaces, and the reactions of different genders. It will study the performances of different genders in different leisure spaces and how different managers’ approaches influence it, and consider the way in which the gaze – both male and female – shapes management and social performance. The concept of liminality provides the critical link to spatial expression.
The following diagram (Figure 2-3) shows how these lenses are linked.

Figure 2-3. Theoretical Framework
2.5.1 Institutional Roles in Gendering Space

The literature suggests that globalisation and economic advancement have increased the influence and control of particular institutions in the socio-cultural construction of leisure spaces at different levels: national, regional/local and micro. The privatisation of public spaces has also allowed for the occurrence of the phenomenon of dis-embedding and re-embedding practices. This phenomenon is driven by globalised institutions sometimes and can lead to ignoring and compromising the local culture. Saudi Arabia has witnessed similar situations where leisure spaces and activities have shifted from public spaces to semi-public spaces, which are privately owned such as malls and amusement parks. The shift to indoor semi-public spaces (private spaces) has increased the role and control of institutions in shaping and influencing the socio-cultural construction of the leisure spaces.

The thesis will focus in particular upon the investigation of the institutional role of mall management and how it influences the rules of gendering.

2.5.2 Social Performance

Goffman's theatrical metaphor where he uses the concept of front stage and backstage to analyse the relationship between performance and life, provides a basis for this thesis to investigate social performance in leisure spaces in Saudi Arabia. Public spheres such as leisure spaces will be considered as front stage where individuals present their performances for other people who are observing. The performances of different genders will be investigated in a range of spaces that are under different management approaches and in different types of leisure spaces. Goffman's concept of the 'personal front' could also provide a valuable insight into the influence of the 'personal front' on the management and gatekeepers’ (security guards) decisions in managing access to their premises; and to determine if there are any other contributing factors and to predetermine the desired visitors who would be welcome and the undesired visitors who should be denied access to the space.
2.5.3 Gazing

The literature argues that gazing in gendered spaces is a strong influence on performances and individuals’ emotions (Scraton & Watson, 2010). The thesis will interrogate and analyse the influence of gazing on visitors’ performances both male and female. It will investigate the phenomena of reappearance of the *flâneur* in the new modern spaces in Saudi Arabia where gazing is widely practised.

2.5.4 Liminality

The thesis will argue that malls and other leisure spaces (seafronts) in Saudi Arabia have emerged as liminal spaces by re-embedding practices and activities from globalised societies. These liminal spaces provide the population with hybrid spaces that both express modern culture and apply rules of gender segregation. Shields’ (1989) method of analysis will be utilised to investigate liminality in Saudi malls and to explore if liminality in a strict society (Saudi society) could result in a greater impact on shaping and reconstructing the gender relations and the performances of visitors to the space. The thesis will argue that the liminality of malls and outdoor leisure spaces is an essential transitional phase in re-embedding modern types of spaces and activities into a conservative society.

2.5.5 Terminology

In this thesis, ‘modern’ and ‘traditional’ terms are used to describe artefacts such as the design and layout of space. ‘Permissive’ and ‘strict’ are used to describe the institutional style of managing and gendering the space. ‘Liberal’ and ‘conservative’ are used to describe values, behaviours, and performances of visitors (Figure 2-4). In the Saudi context, the term modern (متحضر) is usually used as a positive term to describe the adoption of contemporary design or technology. However, liberal (متحرر) is associated with negative terminology; it is used to describe a person who is abandoning his/her local culture and values and adopting ideas and values from Western society (الرميزان, 2009). The use of
these terms in the research does not refer to any negative or positive connotations (see Figure 2-4).

![Space, management, and performance model](image)

**Figure 2-4. Space, management, and performance model**

Having set out the theoretical basis for the thesis, the next chapter describes the methods used and their justification.
Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the research methodology and the process that was used to answer the research questions. The strategy that has been adopted is an interpretive qualitative approach applied to two comparative case studies. The chapter commences with a brief account of the relevance of qualitative methods for leisure spaces and landscapes, and provides the rationale for employing a ‘mixed methods’ approach. The rationale for using a case study design is then discussed, and the cases briefly introduced. I also explain how I used pilot studies in New Zealand and Saudi Arabia to test the methods and to help select case study locations prior to going into the field. The details of the qualitative methods used in this research are then provided, comprising of: documentary analysis, participant observation and interviews of professional key informants and focus groups of female visitors to leisure spaces. The chapter ends with a discussion on the methodological limitations and the ethical considerations.

3.2 The Rationale for a Qualitative Approach and Mixed Methods

The research adopts a qualitative approach to investigate the socio-cultural construction of gender in modern leisure and domestic tourism spaces in Saudi Arabia, with a particular focus on the relationship between the social and cultural phenomenon of gender segregation and how it is shaping, and being shaped, by new modern leisure spaces in Saudi Arabia. Qualitative methods are best suited to investigating group and individual activity, as well as patterns and motivations for social interaction involving personal space and social power (Silverman, 2005; Stewart, Shamdasani, & Rook, 2007). Qualitative approaches in social studies typically include methods such as focus group interviews (face-to-face interviews), participant observation, documentary analysis and case studies (Beeton, 2005; Heaton, 2004; Jennings, 2010; Silverman, 2005). Independent methods tend to have different strengths and weaknesses (Casey &
Murphy, 2009). Therefore, mixed methods can provide confirmation and completeness of data, improved accuracy and richness, and a chain of evidence to argue the findings of the research (Jick, 1979). Mixed methods encouraged by a number of scholars focus on leisure and tourism such as interviews, focus group, and participant observation. Beeton (2005) and Jennings (2010) have stressed the importance of employing alternative methods conjointly.

3.3 Case Study Rationale

Case study is a robust research design that is used when in-depth investigation of complex issues is required (Tellis, 1997; Telly, 1997; Zainal, 2007). Case study research has been used widely in the social sciences especially when social and community-based problems are studied (Chaiklin, 2000; Zainal, 2007). It is widely used to investigate and analyse the lived experiences of people and provide an understanding of places and spaces, as well as their design and management (Deming & Swaffield, 2011). Case study research is especially useful to investigate a contemporary phenomenon when the parameters between the phenomenon and context are not clearly separated and when multiple sources of evidence are used (Chaiklin, 2000; Dooley, 2002; Yin, 2003). The literature review indicated that gender segregation in leisure spaces is a complex cultural phenomenon that is embedded in broader settings. Therefore, case study research offers a powerful research design to explain both the process and outcome of gender segregation.

Observation and comparative analysis are major research techniques used for case study in social sciences (Chaiklin, 2000). Dooley (2002) noted that case study research allows the researcher to study the same phenomenon in several settings and comparisons between cases strengthen the validity of the research and help to make the theory more grounded. He added that studying a similar phenomenon in multiple settings could confirm or challenge the new theory and allow it to take shape and gain substance. Case study research also allows the
researcher to use mixed methods such as participant observation, documentary analysis, survey and interviews within the data-collection process.

3.3.1 Case Study Design

The research question under investigation asks how the cultural phenomenon of gender segregation has changed in modern leisure spaces in Saudi Arabia. The literature indicated that there are significant differences in the management and rules of gendering of privatised (quasi-public) spaces, public spaces and landscapes (Day, 1999; Freidus & Romero-Daza, 2009; Giddens, 1991). Therefore, two case studies of regions at different stages of cultural and spatial transformation were selected: Jeddah and Dammam. The Jeddah region of Saudi Arabia is a modern setting where Western-style leisure spaces have been embedded for a longer period and appear to have influenced gender segregation. It illustrates a region that already has been through the process of transformation and where gendered leisure space has been reshaped. The second case study is the Dammam region where new (Western) leisure spaces are a recent introduction, and where the transformation of traditional gender segregation may be expected to be at an earlier stage. It is likely that the issues in the eastern region have already been experienced in Jeddah, and this can be confirmed by studying both regions. Therefore, two types of spaces were selected: public landscape and semi-public designed space in Jeddah and Dammam (see Figure 3-1).
Figure 3-1. Case Study Type

The case study contexts are described in detail in the next chapter. Investigating the rules of gendering in both public and privatised leisure spaces is critical for this thesis in order to make comparison between structured spaces such as malls and unstructured spaces such as seafronts. Within each case study region, two types of leisure setting are investigated: shopping malls which represent semi-public designed space, and seafronts which represent public space/landscape.

3.3.2 Pilot Study

The research included two pilot studies as the first phase of the field study: one in New Zealand and one in Saudi Arabia. The purpose of the New Zealand pilot study was to develop a suitable field strategy for participant observation. The Saudi Arabia pilot study investigated multiple potential sites for the case study and included preliminary observations such as field notes, data recording and data collection codes to test the survey methods in the field.

The New Zealand pilot study was conducted at the Westfield Mall (Riccarton Mall) in Christchurch to test the methods and to establish knowledge and familiarity with a similar physical configuration to the Saudi Arabian sites. Participant observation sessions were conducted over two weekends and one
weekday during the month of May 2010. These established field observations and recording procedures.

The Saudi pilot study started with participant observation in malls and one seafront in Jeddah, two malls in Dammam and one national park (camping ground) in Abha in the Asser region, and two malls in Riyadh, between the months of October and November 2010. A range of places, representing popular, public landscapes and semi-public designed spaces of different sizes were selected for study in each city. These sites were selected to allow observation of as many people as possible without being noticed, at different times (an open day and a family day). The pilot study took the approach of collecting data that would demonstrate the daily use of public landscapes and semi-public designed spaces and the pattern of activity in gendered-segregated spaces.

The Saudi pilot study revealed several issues: first, participant observation is a complex and hard task to conduct in highly gendered spaces especially when the number of visitors is low. It was hard to conduct a covert participant observation when few people were around especially in a society that seeks a higher level of privacy and considers observing people as invasion of privacy. Second, taking photographs in semi-public spaces such as malls and cafés is extremely difficult especially in the family section where the managers of the space would not permit it as females might appear in the photographs. Third, semi-public spaces such as malls and shopping centres are more subject to spatial transformation in response to culture and governmental regulations than public spaces such as seafronts. The pilot study also tested the relevance and value of the key theoretical concepts. The pilot study also confirmed the value of focusing on two contrasting regions: Jeddah, which is modern and Dammam, which is relatively traditional.
3.4 Methods

The research is framed around four conceptual dimensions that will help to understand and analyse key relationships in the socio-cultural construction of leisure spaces in Saudi society: institutional roles, social performance, the gaze and liminality. The mixed methods through which the four conceptual lenses are applied comprise of: documentary analysis, participant observation, face-to-face interview and focus groups.

3.4.1 Documentary Analysis

The first method is documentary analysis which has two dimensions: first a review of data and strategies for developing leisure and tourism spaces, and second a review of Saudi news media for insights into the dynamics of gendering in these spaces. Data and strategies from Jeddah and Dammam municipalities and from the regional offices of the Saudi Commission for Tourism were reviewed and analysed to identify patterns of domestic tourism and leisure. The municipalities provided information regarding the development of leisure spaces and seafronts in the Jeddah and Dammam case study regions. The Tourism Information and Research Centre (MAS) provided tourism statistics for tourism activity and the arrival numbers of domestic tourists to different regions in the Kingdom (Tourism Information and Research Centre, 2010).

The second source is the Saudi news media where the issue of gender segregation and the new leisure spaces is widely debated. The aim was to develop an understanding about the initial public response to the creation of the new leisure spaces and the issues of gender segregation they generate. Alyaum newspaper from Dammam, Okaz newspaper from Jeddah and Alwatan newspaper (national newspaper) were selected as main news media sources. Articles and reports on the issue of gender segregation and the new modern leisure spaces for the past ten years were identified and analysed thematically. The thematic analysis approach adapted was “an inductive way” where coding and theme development are directed by the content of the data.
Other sources of media such as electronic media, social networks and news reports that discuss gender segregation and gendered spaces were also reviewed and analysed. The thematic analysis follows a four-phase process:

1. Reading and collecting data on issues relating to the phenomena of gender segregation especially in leisure spaces in order to become immersed and get familiar with the issue.
2. Developing a coding system that identifies important features of the data that might inform the research.
3. Developing themes through examining codes and collected data from newspapers and social media to identify broader patterns of meaning.
4. Developing detailed analysis of each theme and then writing an analytic narrative and data extracts and contextualising the analysis in relation to existing literature (School of Psychology, 2014).

3.4.2 Participant Observation

The second method is participant observation of visitor activity in leisure spaces and landscapes. Participant observation involves examining what people do, rather than what they say or what they say they do (Walsh, 2009). It can provide a powerful insight into the patterns of use of particular places and spaces (Golicnik & Thompson, 2010). In this research, participant observation was a primary method to investigate how people use leisure spaces and landscapes in a gender-segregated society. The researcher performed as a visitor during observations conducted in public spaces, such as cafés, shops and malls, parks, street festivals, and seafronts, and recorded patterns and characteristics of activity in field books, using sketches and section maps. Photographs were also taken of types of activity in tourism spaces and landscapes, but the focus was upon patterns rather than individual behaviour.
The researcher conducted systematic observations of all selected sites on more than two visits on different occasions.\textsuperscript{4} Fieldwork was scheduled to correspond with the holiday period in Saudi Arabia and the timing of observations was chosen to capture different patterns of use at different times of the day (morning and evening) and on different days of the week (except for seafronts where observations were conducted during the evenings only, as seafronts are not visited during the day due to the heat). All mall sites were observed at least twice on weekdays and three times on weekends.\textsuperscript{5} During weekdays the morning visit was between 10am-2pm, and the evening visit between 4pm-10pm. Evening visits on weekends were between 6pm-12am, and during the month of Ramadan, observations were conducted only at night from 9pm-2am.

Participant observation was conducted in the Dammam area during the month of Ramadan in August 2011 and a further period in October 2011, and in Jeddah in September 2011. At each seafront visit, the designated area was divided into four sites about five minutes’ walk apart and a systematic walk undertaken through each part of the selected site; 10 minutes were allocated for each sub-area for a visual scan (walking, sitting, and standing), and to record users’ activities on a hand generated map using codes for each activity. Additional data were recorded in field notes as well, such as the number of individuals in the group, number of males in each group, estimated age for each person, distance from other groups, voices and level of noise generated.

Observation notes were recorded in the form of running narratives. Abbreviations and codes were used for each type of space, visitor, performance and behaviour. The abbreviations and coding were developed and tested during

\textsuperscript{4} Malls were visited on a family day and on an open day when bachelor males were allowed to enter without their families.

\textsuperscript{5} Malls designate weekends for families only.
the pilot study. Field observations were transcribed from field books onto the computer, and observed patterns of activity were analysed spatially and temporally using simple counting and mapping techniques and classified into different types.

The pilot study has indicated that conducting participant observation in gendered spaces in Saudi Arabia has limitations especially in the family’s area. Therefore, the thesis adapted semi-structured interviews and focus groups as supplementary sources of information.

3.4.3 Semi-structured Interviews

The third method is face-to-face interviews with key professional informants, which included mall managers, security guards, space operators (staff), and officials from the local religious office. Interviews are an effective way to answer narrative questions (Babbie, 2013) and allow a researcher to gain a deeper understanding of the individual’s experience. Semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions were conducted with professional key informants from mall management, local tourism offices, facility managers and businesses. The purpose of choosing semi-structured interviews was to encourage the interviewees to expand on any key points.

A total of 21 interviews were conducted with mall managers, security guards, religious officials, tourism officers and operators of cafés and restaurants. The interviews took anywhere from 40 to 60 minutes except for one interview with one of the mall managers which took 95 minutes due to several interruptions. All the interviews were conducted in Arabic. All interviews were digitally recorded, with the interviewees’ consent, and transcribed individually into English. Backup copies of the digital recordings were made in case of any accidents during the transcription process.

The interview questions were developed after conducting the participant observation and aimed at identifying key informants’ levels of understanding about gendered spaces, gender segregation, and its implications in the
management of the new leisure spaces and landscapes. The content was analysed qualitatively through thematic and comparative categorisation.

3.4.4 Focus Groups

The fourth survey method was focus groups of females who are frequent users of the leisure spaces. The method was intended to provide a female perspective on the new modern spaces, and to help interpret issues raised in the participant observation. Focus groups have been a popular research method in social sciences and are rapidly increasing in use (Stewart et al., 2007; Walden, 2008). Two common types of focus group that are mostly used in qualitative research identified by Greenbaum, 1998 are a full group, which consists of 8-10 persons and a mini group consisting of 4-6 persons. Both take approximately 90-120 minutes. A full group was chosen for this research as it could provide more in-depth information than a smaller group (Greenbaum, 1998; Stewart et al., 2007). Eight was the ideal number of participants, but 10 people were invited to the focus groups, as a precaution if not all participants turned up. The case study design had two types of settings, mall and seafront in two levels of development, modern and more traditional (see Figure one). One focus group was conducted in each setting; totalling four focus groups.

Focus group moderators play an important role in collecting the data and the moderator sets the tone for the session and directs it in such a way that the objectives of the focus group are met (Greenbaum, 1998). Due to cultural sensitivity in this project a female ran the focus group sessions. The moderator has a postgraduate qualification from Lincoln University and is familiar with the ethical issues in social research. The lead researcher prepared the following items for the moderator:

- Recruitment screening questions: Screening questions that were used to recruit participants were based on specifications established by the outcome of the participant observations and discussions with supervisors.
• A moderation manual/guide.
• The questions and question tactics to be used during the sessions.

A moderator manual was prepared that informed the moderator about the research objectives in order to make her sensitive to the nuances that emerged during the group discussion and to shape the questions for the participants to obtain the information that the research was intended to investigate. Moderation guides are one of the important parts of the focus group process and outline the discussion for the focus group session (Greenbaum, 1998). The manual for this research covered several steps. First, an introduction to: introduce the moderator to the participants, thank the participants for their time, give a brief explanation about the purpose of the session and the research, alert the participants to the microphones that are recording the session, and ask the participants to introduce themselves. Second, a warm-up in which the moderator asks the participants to discuss very general issues related to the topic. For example, to find out basic information about the participants’ favourite mall, how often they go to the mall, and types of activities undertaken. The guide covers all the topics to be discussed during the warm-up discussion. Third, a detailed section in which the moderator guides the participants in identifying important information about the research. For example, the moderator asks the participants to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of the new leisure spaces and how they can be improved to respond to women’s needs. The guide identifies all the points the moderator should cover in this section of the focus group after completing the warm-up questions. The fourth section of the focus group concentrates on the key content. The moderator in this part of the focus group aims to gain input from the participants about the gendered space, gender segregation phenomenon, and the social and cultural issues involved. The guide identifies the areas that the moderator should probe to ensure that the discussion of the topic is thorough. The final step in the focus group is the summary section, where participants are given the opportunity to share any information about the topic that they may have forgotten to mention. The moderator asks the participants to give ‘advice to the researcher’ about the topic and at the end asks the participants to sign the consent form and thanks them for
their time. The lead researcher then prepares a final report for each session based upon the recording of the discussion and notes taken by the moderator.

Females who are frequent visitors to malls, shopping centres, seafronts and leisure spaces were asked to participate in the focus groups. Due to the cultural sensitivity, recruitment of female participants was through the use of networks of friends and family friends (snowballing), and the focus groups consisted of a mix of working females, students and non-working females. While not statistically representative, the screening questions were aimed at identifying participants who were typical of users and who provided a richness and diversity to inform the investigation. The focus group questions aimed to provide answers and a better understanding of the key relationships in the socio-cultural construction of leisure spaces in the Saudi society and were developed in respect of each of the four conceptual lenses. A full interview guide is included at Appendix A.

The thesis used thematic analysis of focus group data, which was inspired by Braun and Clarke (2006). I followed six steps (see Appendix C):

1- **Familiarising myself with the recorded data.** I started by listening to the recorded interviews and then beginning transcription of the data into English. This process has allowed me to get immersed into the data and get familiarised with it. Then I started reading the transcripts in their entirety several times. After immersing myself in the interviews’ details and making sense of the interviews as a whole, before breaking it into parts, major themes started to become clear.

2- **Generating initial codes.** In this stage after getting myself familiarised with the data, I generated an initial list of ideas about the content of the data and the interesting themes. I then started the process of creating codes from the data that appeared to be interesting to analyse and relate to the study, and I began re-organising the data into meaningful groups. The coding is ‘data-driven’ (Braun & Clarke, 2008), using colour to
highlight the data to indicate potential patterns and matching the codes with data extracts that demonstrate that code.

3- **Searching for themes.** Next the analysis focused at the broader level of the themes, which involves sorting the different codes into potential themes and collecting all the relevant coded data extracts within the identified themes. Tables were used to help in sorting the different codes and themes and to establish the relationship between different levels of themes.

4- **Reviewing themes.** The process includes refining themes at the level of coded data extracts and considering if they form coherent patterns, then I started checking the validity of individual themes in relation to the data set and if they reflected the meanings, which were evident in the data set as a whole.

5- **Defining and naming themes.** This involved identifying the essence of what each theme is about, to determine what aspect of the data they each capture. A detailed analysis was written for each theme, which aimed to identify the ‘story’ that each them tells and how it fits into the broader overall ‘story’ that the data is informing us about in relation to the research questions. It also identifies any contrasts and overlaps between themes.

6- **Producing the report.** In this step the thematic analysis is written up to provide a concise, coherent, logical and interesting account of the story the data is telling across all themes. It also provides evidence of the themes within the data using data extracts to demonstrate the nature of the theme.
3.5 Limitations and Ethical Considerations

The research was conducted following the guidelines and procedures set by the Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee, and its approval was obtained prior to any research activities commencing. The research followed a protocol of confidentiality provisions, recruitment techniques for focus group interviewees, data security strategies, and consent forms. The sensitivity of gender relationships was a major factor in the ethical approach, and also shaped and limited, in some respects, the field investigation.

The challenge of undertaking focus group interviews with females has been discussed above. There were also similar challenges as a male in visiting the malls to undertake participant observation. On some days, I went to the mall as a single male and went to the men’s section and acted as a male who had come for the purpose of gazing. On other days, I wanted to go to family section and was denied access as a single male. I had to arrange for my family to come with me which made it sometimes challenging to do covert participant observation without distractions from the children. Then I decided to go with my wife only and leave the children at home. This provided me with the chance to focus on the observation and take notes. Participant observation conducted in theme parks was with the family; my wife watched the children and I took notes.

Another key challenge during participant observation was the question of photographs. Permission for taking photographs at each site had to be obtained from two different levels. The first permission was obtained from the official authorities (local government) through the police department. The second permission was required from the owners and operators of privatised public spaces such as malls, cafés, and restaurants. Confirmation was given of the avoidance of taking photographs of females and families. Taking photographs was not possible in crowded spaces especially with the presence of females.
Some photographs were taken at seafronts, but were not clear due to low lighting.

These gender constraints on the field research have shaped the way the research was undertaken and therefore the nature of the findings, and this is discussed further in the conclusion to the thesis.

3.6 Summary

The methodology for this thesis emerged from the examination of literature in landscape and social science. A qualitative approach was adapted to investigate the relationships between the social and cultural phenomena of gender segregation in order to build an understanding about the socio-cultural construction of gender in modern spaces. The two pilot studies informed the researcher of the potential hurdles and obstacles in the field (Saudi Arabia) and paved the way for designing suitable field strategy for the participant observation.

Case studies are relevant when conducting research on complex issues especially when the parameters between the phenomenon and context are not clearly separated. The case studies were examined with an integrated methods approach involving documentary analysis, participant observation, interviews, and focus groups.
Chapter 4 Case Study Contexts – Saudi Arabia, Jeddah and Dammam

4.1 Introduction

Chapter three introduced the case study design for the research, which compares public and semi-public landscapes in two regions of Saudi Arabia: one modern – Jeddah, and the other more traditional – Dammam. This chapter describes these case study contexts, highlighting the political, cultural and religious factors that shape gender segregation in Saudi Arabia, and how these are expressed in different regions. The Saudi context is explained, including geography, history, political system and the central role of Islam. Next, the case study regions are compared, and then the characteristics of the settings for the detailed cases described.

4.2 Saudi Arabia

4.2.1 Geography and Climate

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is located in the Middle East [25 00 N, 45 00 E] with an area of 2,149,690 km² (Central Department of Statistics and Information, 2008). The Kingdom borders the Arabian Gulf (Persian Gulf), UAE, Qatar, Oman and Kuwait on the east, Yemen and Oman on the south, the Red Sea on the west, Jordan, Iraq, and Kuwait in the north and occupies almost 80% of the Arabian Peninsula (Al-Hazimi, Khattab, & Jayyusi, 2006).
Figure 4-1. Map of Saudi Arabia

(The Saudi Net, 2014)

Saudi Arabia is best described as harsh, dry desert with great temperature extremes. It has a typical desert climate of blistering hot days, and is one of the driest countries in the world (Vincent, 2008). Summer seasons are extremely hot with temperatures rising to 50ºC in some regions. In winter, temperatures can drop to -5ºC in some parts of the country, especially the northern parts. The higher inland areas are cooler almost all year around and receive a fair amount of rain. Coastal cities get very humid and hot year round. Sandstorms blow in several locations around the country, some lasting for weeks. The annual average precipitation is 59 mm per year and it may not rain again for some years. There is not a single permanent stream or lake in the country. Valleys carry water only
when there is rain, and last only for a few days. This extreme climate is a vital
factor in shaping how Saudis live in contemporary cities, and in particular the
importance of indoor air-conditioned spaces such as malls. Climate also shapes
the diurnal profile of everyday life, with evenings a particularly important social
time when temperatures are lower.

4.2.2 Historical Background

The Arabian Peninsula has been the base for several empires and kingdoms
throughout its history. The remains of Greek, Roman, and Persian empires can be
found within the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (Al-Rasheed, 2007). The Kingdom is
the birthplace of Islam and the Prophet Mohammed, and the location of the two
holiest cities in Islam: Mecca and Medina. These two holy cities have
immeasurable religious significance in Muslim life. Mecca is the home of the
Grand Holy Mosque, to which Muslims throughout the world turn five times a
day when they pray. Medina is the city of the Prophet Mohammed, where he
settled after he launched his message. The first article of the Basic Law of Saudi
Arabia states that the Kingdom is an Islamic state and the Holy Qur’an and the
Sunnah of Prophet Mohammed are its constitution (Ministry of Foreign Affairs
2006; Abukhalil 2004). The basic law of government on the other hand, provides
the framework of government and the general rights and duties of citizens
(Abukhalil, 2004).

The modern Kingdom of the current Saudi state started in the early twentieth
century. In 1902, King Abdulaziz, who is known in the West as Ibn Saud,
recaptured Riyadh from the rival Al-Rashid family. Ibn Saud continued to subdue
what is now known as Saudi Arabia between 1913 and 1926. In 1932, these
regions were unified as the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (Al-Farsy, 1990). Ibn Saud
was the first ruler in more than five centuries to unify the Arabian Peninsula
under a centralised and recognised government (Issa-Fullata, 1982). The
majority of the population used to live in tribal communities, and individuals
were loyal to their own tribe. The founder Ibn Saud started a programme in the
1940s for domesticating and settling Bedouins into urban cities and settlements (Al-Hazimi et al., 2006), and the country has been the destination for Muslim migrants from all over the world, so that today the Saudi population is ethnically Arab, of mixed origin and descended from other Islamic countries (Alethemen, 2007). This historical and religious context and its role in relation to the modern state have a major influence on contemporary gender relations.

4.2.3 Islam and Saudis

Saudi Arabia is an Islamic state and Saudis consider themselves as the guardians of the Islamic religion and the custodians of the two holy mosques (Abukhalil, 2004; Malik & Niblock, 2006). Islam therefore plays a major role in daily life. Sunni Muslims follow four schools of thought (doctrines). These schools agree on the basics of Islam, but differ in the minor details that are not included in the Qur’an or Sunnah and that are subject to scholars’ interpretations. The Hanbali doctrine is widespread in the central region of the country. The Haniafi and Malike are prevalent in western and southern areas and Shafih in the eastern part of the country. These doctrines have different views on several issues including gender segregation, which has led to variations in culture. For example, revealing a woman’s face is prohibited in the Hanbali and permitted in the Haniafi and Malike doctrines.

The Saudi religious establishment has a strong role in shaping political decisions and influencing public opinion by issuing fatwas (Al-Rasheed, 2007). The General Presidency of the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vices (GPVPV) acts as the law enforcement authority of the Saudi religious establishment. It monitors public markets, parks, and semi-public and public spaces, and prevents practices that violate Islam. The GPVPV considers itself as the guardian of the morals of the country (أبوزيد, 1998), and its mission includes gender segregation, preventing people from violating Islamic rules, and setting the rules and guidelines for festivals and family (mixed-gender) gatherings (Al-Tamimi, 2008).
The GPVPV has strong concerns that modernisation will result in serious violation of Islamic values. As a consequence the GPVPV has voiced criticisms at the spread of malls, shopping centres and the new leisure spaces and their activities. It claims that the new spaces will bring males and females into contact with each other, which could lead to committing sin and a violation of Islamic values (Al-Sgalani, 1998). The GPVPV voiced the same conservative objection to opening cinemas, circuses, theatres and any other kinds of Western entertainment. All these are viewed as evil and non-innocent forms of entertainment, which could delay prayers, and side-track people from worship and obedience to God’s will (Al-Rasheed, 2007).

The GPVPV has 486 branches across the thirteen regions in the Kingdom (GPVPV, 2014). Some of the branches have more power and influence in their local communities than others. Their inspiration and power comes from the Holy Qur’an and the Sunna of Prophet Mohammed. Tribal communities tend to be oriented towards religion, are more conservative than other communities in Saudi Arabia (Al-Rasheed, 2007) and play a major role in denouncing activities that violate Islamic religious values or the culture of the local community.

Modernity therefore has a negative meaning among religious and conservative communities in Saudi Arabia, and adapting to modern lifestyles is considered to be abandoning Islamic values, especially if it is coming from Western or non-Muslim societies. The religious establishment considers Western-style leisure spaces and activities that challenge the Islamic values or undermine the local culture and norms, as a serious threat that might have negative impacts on the social and cultural life of the Islamic Saudi society. This has resulted in resistance to the emergence and spread of new modern spaces and malls by the religious establishment and by other conservative influential Figures.

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6 The traditional portion of Muslim law based on Prophet Mohammad’s words or acts, accepted (together with the Koran) as authoritative by Muslims and followed particularly by Sunni Muslims.
4.2.4 Demography

Another key factor is the rapidly changing demography. The Central Department of Statistics and Information (Central Department of Statistics and Information, 2012) estimated the total population of Saudi Arabia to be 30,077,375 for the year 2014 including 10,067,839 expatriates as of the 2010 governmental census. With 75% of the population under the age of 35 years, rapid growth and a large cohort of youths characterises the population. The median age is 20.6 years and as of 2007 the population growth rate was 2.3% (World Health Organization, 2012). From the end of the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century the country also experienced massive immigration movements of Muslims from several ethnic backgrounds (Al-Farsy, 1990). The majority settled in cities around Mecca and Medina. No accurate or official statistics of the ethnic profile in Saudi Arabia could be found. Al-Farsy (1990) claims that the population of Saudi Arabia is homogeneous due to the fact they share the same cultural heritage, religion, and language. However, regions away from the main centre are still tribal lands with distinct cultures and heritage. The young urban demographic profile creates additional tensions in the management of modern leisure spaces, as there is a growing population of young men and women for whom traditional environments hold little attraction, but who are not considered to be the main clients for the new leisure spaces.

4.2.5 Government and the Political System

The Saudi Arabian government is a monarchy with a Council of Ministers and a Consultative Council. The constitution of the country is based on the Holly Qur’an and the Islamic law. The King is the head of the government, President of the Council of Ministers, and also the commander-in-chief of the military. The King appoints a Crown Prince who is second in line to the throne. There are no political parties or national elections in the Kingdom. A Council of Ministers consisting of 24 ministers and six ministers of state without portfolio are appointed by, and responsible to the King (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014). The Council of Ministers has responsibility for drafting and overseeing the implementation of internal, external, financial, economic, educational, and
defence policies, and the general affairs of the state. Any resolution has to be approved by the King and he holds a veto right (Ministry of Information, 2009; Al-Farsy, 1990). In addition, resignation and dismissal of ministers is subject to the King’s approval through a royal decree.

Although there are no democratic elections, there are promises for wide community input to government. The Consultative Council was established in 1992, to provide the King with advice on issues of importance. The Council consists of 150 members who are appointed by the King (Ministry of Information), to represent a wide mix of clan and religious leaders, business and professional men (Al-Rasheed, 2007), as well as government officials. In June 2013, a royal decree by King Abdullah made history by appointing 30 females for the first time as Council members which assigned 20% of the total seats to females (Saudi Press Agency, 2013). The aim of the Council is to provide consultation for the King and an institutional framework through which the traditional form of Saudi Arabian government can be most effectively expressed in today’s increasingly complex and interdependent world. The resolutions of the Council have to be approved by the King.

The judicial system is based on Islamic Sharia, and rulings and judgments are made on the basis of what is stated in the Holy Qur’an and the Sunnah (practices) of the Prophet Mohammed. The King, on the recommendation of the Supreme Judicial Council, appoints judges. He also acts as the highest court of appeal and has the power to pardon, especially in cases where the punishment is not ordained in the Qur’an (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014).

The country is divided into 13 regions, with unique and distinct cultures and heritage. Riyadh, Jeddah, Medina, Makah, and Dammam are the major cities that have a mixed ethnic population, whilst particular tribal groups dominate the other nine regions. An appointed prince from the royal family governs each
region. The regional governor has the direct responsibility for the region (Al-Farsy, 1990), and he reports back to the Minister of Interior (Ministry of Information). The regions receive financial support, strategic plans and regulations from the central government. The dominant role of the centrally based ministry gives the national government full control over the development plans of the regions.

Planning in Saudi Arabia is carried out by the Ministry of Planning, which was established in 1960. The Central Planning Organisation (CPO) was established in 1964 under the Ministry of Planning to assist other ministries and independent agencies in their planning affairs (Al-Farsy, 1990). The CPO has developed and implemented four Five-Year Development Plans (FYDPs). The FYDPs have considered and identified the Kingdom’s infrastructural, educational, agricultural, industrial, and commercial needs and strategies (Al-Salloom, 1994). Al-Salloom (1994) added that the FYDPs have successfully provided guidelines for implementation of the development plans for several governmental agencies for the past 20 years. The Ministry of Planning plays a key role in the preparation and coordination of all development plans at the national level (Al-Farsy, 1990).

4.2.6 Petro-economy and Economic Modernisation

Saudi Arabia has an oil-based economy with strong government controls over major economic activities, and the discovery of oil in 1938 by geologists in their search for water (Al-Farsy, 1990) was a key point in the development of the modern state. The country holds approximately 25% of the world’s proven oil reserves (Ministry of Petroleum and Mineral Resources, 2013), ranks as the largest exporter of petroleum, and plays a leading role in the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) (Central Department of Statistics and Information, 2012). The petroleum sector accounts for roughly 75% of budget revenues, 45% of the gross domestic product (GDP), and 90% of export earnings (Central Department of Statistics and Information, 2012). About 40% of GDP comes from the private sector (Central Department of Statistics and Information, 2012).
High oil prices in recent years have boosted governmental spending on job training and education, infrastructure development, and government salaries. The total projected revenue for 2013 is above US$301 billion, and the expenditure for the same year is around US$247 billion (Central Department of Statistics and Information, 2014; Ministry of Finance, 2014). The surplus for 2013 reached US$55 billion which has enabled the Kingdom to aggressively continue its massive development plans (Ministry of Finance, 2014). As part of its effort to attract foreign investment and diversify the economy, Saudi Arabia acceded to the WTO in December 2005 after many years of negotiations. The government has announced plans to establish six ‘economic cities’ in different regions of the country to promote development and diversification and the country is witnessing massive urban construction and economic development (estimated to be around US$600 billion).

One area of economic development that is promoted by government is developing domestic tourism through the creation of leisure spaces and activities (Ministry of Economic and Planning, 2010b). However, the promotion of modern leisure spaces has caused some tensions with the religious foundation of the country. Shopping malls are a particular focus of contention for a number of reasons: their link to Western consumerism, the extensive areas of semi-public spaces which create new and untried opportunities for social interaction, and their appeal to contrasting sectors of the population, including women and families as well as young men. At the same time malls symbolise the modernisation and prosperity pursued by the Saudi government. They therefore represent a critical frontier in reshaping gender relations in a modernising but strongly Islamic society.
4.3 Case Study Location, Characteristics, and Context

4.3.1 Introduction

As introduced in chapter three, the research design uses comparative case studies in two different regions of Saudi Arabia: Dammam, in the eastern region and Jeddah city, in the Makah region of Saudi Arabia. The two regions are major leisure and tourist attraction destinations and host the most visited festivals in the entire Kingdom (Mas Centre, 2010), which are held inside malls and shopping centres.

4.3.2 The Eastern Region

The eastern region is the largest region in Saudi in terms of area, which is about 26% of the total size of the Kingdom (673,000 km²) (Sharqiah Government, 2011). It is located in the eastern side of the country bordering Kuwait, the Arabian Gulf, Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar, UAE, and Oman.

Figure 4-2. Eastern Region.

_Dammam Metropolis consist of Dammam, Al-Khobar, and Dhahran (Google Map, 2014)._
The region is one of the most important regions in Saudi Arabia as it is the home of oil production. The Arabian-American-Oil Company (ARAMCO) was established in 1933 in Dhahran for the purpose of oil production (Saudi ARAMCO, 2013). ARAMCO and other petroleum companies housed their expatriate (Western) personnel in gated compounds which minimised their contact and influence on the local culture. The expansion in the oil industry also provided job opportunities which resulted in massive domestic immigration to the region from all over the Kingdom (Al-Hazimi et al., 2006). The eastern region is one of the most modern regions in Saudi Arabia, however, the population is still considered as a conservative society which might be related to the fact that the majority of the population are immigrants of conservative societies (Alethemen, 2007).

The research selected three case studies in the Dammam Metropolis. The Dammam Metropolis area consists of Dammam city (the capital of the region), Al-Khobar city, and Dhahran. The population of the Dammam area was estimated to be around 1.7 million in 2014 (Ministry of Economic and Planning, 2010a). Dammam city is the largest in terms of population and size among the three cities. It is also considered to be a conservative society in comparison to Al-Khobar which is the commercial hub for the region. In contrast, Dhahran has large numbers of Western expatriate compounds. The Dammam Metropolis is one of the major destinations in the Kingdom for tourism and leisure (Mas Centre, 2010). Malls, shopping centres, parks, and modern seafronts are popular leisure destinations, and Dammam’s new seafront, Al-Rashid Mal, and Dhahran Mall were selected as case studies for this research due to the fact these are the most visited destinations in the region.

Dammam seafront as a public space consists of 4 km of seafront, an 8 km long sidewalk, playgrounds, festival ground, benches, and flat, grassed areas. Al-Rashid Mall is the largest mall in the Kingdom (Al-Rashid Mall, 2013) with more than 200 stores and around 75,000 daily visitors. The Mall of Dhahran is also a popular destination for visitors and local residents especially university students.
Figure 4-3. Dammam Metropolis area

(Google maps, 2014)
4.3.3 The Makkah Region

The Makkah (Mecca) region is located in the western part of Saudi Arabia with an area of 137,000 km², which is about 7% of the total size of the Kingdom (Makkah Region, 2011).

Figure 4-4. Makah Region

Jeddah city in the Red Sea of the Western part of Saudi Arabia (Google Map, 2014).

The region has a great value to Saudi and Muslims around the world as it home of the Grand Holy Mosque in Makkah (Mecca) which is the birthplace of Islam and the Prophet Mohammed.

The research selected Jeddah city as a case which is located on the Red Sea. Jeddah is the second largest city in Saudi Arabia (after Riyadh the capital) with a population estimated to be 4 million in 2014 and estimated to reach 5 million by 2025 (Ministry of Economic and Planning, 2010a). The total area of Jeddah is 1,765 km² (Jeddah Municipality, 2011). The city is the commercial hub for the Kingdom and the tourist gateway to the holy sites of Makah and Medina. This
makes it the most diverse city in the Kingdom, with multi-ethnicities and cultures. Its role as a gateway and commercial hub has also made Jeddah one of the most liberal and modern regions in the country. Malls and shopping centres have been developed in Jeddah since 1971 when the first mall in Saudi Arabia – the Queen Building – was opened (Commercial Center Queen's Building, 2013). Today Jeddah has more than 320 malls and shopping centres which count for more than 21% of the total number of malls in the Kingdom (Jeddah Municipality, 2011). Three malls were selected in Jeddah city as case studies; the Red Sea Mall and Mall of Arabia in the northern part of the city (see Figure 2), and Al-Andalus Mall in the southern part. Two seafronts were also selected: Sail Island Park and Alseqala Restaurant. During the data collection (July-November 2011) a large section of Jeddah’s seafront was closed to the public and under renovation. This limited public spaces and made private leisure spaces the only option for leisure on the seafront. Both the Sail Island Park and Alseqala Restaurant are semi-public spaces on the seafront which attract large numbers of visitors during weekends and holidays. The Sail Island Park is a family water theme park and mainly visited by families with young children who are from the middle classes (Key Informant). Alseqala Restaurant on the other hand, is an upmarket restaurant that gets visited by wealthy families for meals and for smoking shisha.
Figure 4-5. Jeddah Region

Map shows the locations of the mall and seafront case studies (Google Maps, 2012)

4.4 Summary

This chapter reviewed the history of Saudi Arabia, the role of Islam, the government and political system, the importance of oil for the Saudi economy, and it concluded with the case study characteristics and contexts.

Two cities in two regions of Saudi Arabia were selected for the case studies: Dammam and Jeddah. The case study contexts indicated that modern leisure spaces have been part of the urban fabric in Jeddah for close to four decades which has resulted in it being a modern city with wider exposure to Western and foreign cultures. Jeddah city has less restriction in gender segregation in comparison to the rest of the country (Le Renard, 2008). The emergence of modern leisure spaces in malls and shopping centres is considered to be relatively new in the eastern region.
In each region, field investigation has been undertaken in both public spaces – seafronts, and in semi-public spaces (shopping malls).

The following chapters record the data collected through interviews of professional key informants which included mall managers, security guards, religious officials, and staff of leased spaces.
Chapter 5 Institutional Gendering of Space

This chapter reports the findings of the observations of mall managers, security guards, managers and staff of leased spaces and religious officials, and interviews with a range of these institutional agents as key informants of the five case study malls described in the previous chapter (Red Sea Mall, Al-Andalus Mall, Mall of Arabia, Al-Rashid Mall, and Mall of Dhahran). The focus of the participant observations and interviews was to provide knowledge and insights about the different management approaches of semi-private gendered spaces within the five malls, and most importantly to provide a basis for discussion of gender performance in the following chapter. The findings of this chapter are presented under two headings: the institutional management, and gendering of the space. The aim of this chapter is to gain knowledge and insight about the different institutional roles and their involvement in managing and gendering space.

5.1 Institutional Gendering

Institutional gendering is where the institutions play a major role in constructing and gendering the space (Aitchison, 2003). Several scholars have identified mall management, governments, and social culture as major contributing factors in gendering and shaping space in Islamic countries (Bird & Sokolofski, 2005; Scraton & Watson, 2010; Valentine, 1992). Participant observation and interviews have identified three types of institutions that have direct involvement in managing and gendering the spaces inside the five malls: mall management, the religious authority and operators of leased retail spaces; and also two types of spaces: quasi-public space and leased retail space (stores & shops). Central plazas and indoor squares inside malls have become semi-public places or quasi-public spaces as described by Gary and Gary (1999). Quasi-public spaces inside malls have replaced the traditional function of public spaces and squares by hosting public functions such as festivals and national celebrations, which used to be held in squares and city streets. The management's approach to the quasi-public spaces is important for understanding the institutional
gendering inside the malls. Leased space in this research refers to the commercial/retail spaces inside the mall that are being leased and operated by third-party operators. Management of the leased spaces is critical to understanding who dictates the gendering of the space and how it will influence the relationship between the two genders.

Three types of management responses have been identified in the five malls: strict, hybrid, and permissive.

First, Al-Andalus Mall and Mall of Dhahran are presented as strict malls. These two malls in general terms exhibit a strict approach to gendering which is expressed in a number of ways where mall management, the religious authority and retail management set the rules for gendering the space. Strict conditions of entry to the mall and strict rules of gendering at the quasi-public spaces constitute a strict mall.

Next, the Red Sea Mall, which is permissive in most aspects, will be presented with examples that support that claim. The relaxed conditions of entry and relaxed gendering rules at the Red Sea Mall constitute a permissive mall.

Finally, Al-Rashid Mall and the Mall of Arabia, which have displayed a hybrid approach into gendering the space, will be presented at the end of this part. Al-Rashid Mall relaxes the conditions of entry to its premises and applies strict rules of gendering at the quasi-public spaces, and the Mall of Arabia on the other hand restricts the conditions of entry and relaxes the gendering rules in the quasi-public spaces. Therefore, these two malls are considered as hybrid malls in this research.

In this research, strict conditions of entry and strict rules of gendering constitute a strict mall. Relaxed conditions of entry and relaxed gendering rules constitute a
permissive mall. However, if the mall relaxes the conditions of entry but restricts the rules of gendering it will be considered a hybrid mall.

Each case study will be presented with a mall description, and then examples that illustrate how gendering is taking place at the following three levels: mall management (souk), quasi-public spaces and leased spaces.

Variations of conditions of entry between malls also have been noted during the participant observations. Conditions of entry to the mall premises are set and decided by each mall’s management despite the official entry rules set by the local government. They include the mall’s policy regarding family times, and granting access to single men. Entry to the malls is subject to conditions that are set by the mall’s management and enforced by mall security guards at the gates. These conditions of entry are enforced also in the parking lots and the entrances to the mall. Conditions of entry to the mall dictate the managements’ approach for the malls.

5.1.1 Strict Management Approach

Al-Andalus Mall and Mall of Dhahran are the two malls that have exhibited a strict approach to gendering the spaces inside their premises. Al-Andalus Mall is located in the Jeddah region, which is considered to be the most modern region in Saudi Arabia and the Mall of Dhahran is located in Dammam region, which is considered to be a traditional region.

Al-Andalus Mall is located in King Abdullah Road in the south eastern part of Jeddah city, in a middle-class neighbourhood. The mall is managed and developed by the Al-Andalus Property Company, which owns and manages three other malls in three different regions in Saudi Arabia (Al-Andalus Property, 2011). The mall consists of two levels and seven main gates. The total land area
is 86,000m² and the rental area is 76,373m², which includes more than 360 shops and parking lots with a capacity for more than 2,800 cars (Al-Andalus Property, 2011). The mall also includes a hypermarket (Panda), Office of Civil Status (governmental office), retail shops, foodcourt, Jeddah Science Oasis and an indoor amusement park. The mall has five coffee shops, two are on the ground floor and three are located on the first floor.

The mall uses an electronic people counter at each gate in order to have accurate people traffic counts. On average, the mall had more than 32,000 visitors a day in the three weeks I conducted the observation (10 October-2 November 2011). According to the Figures provided by the mall management, the largest number of visitors was recorded on Thursday 20 October 2011 (the weekend) and reached 75,000 visitors. The lowest number of visitors was recorded on Sunday (the beginning of the week) at around 18,000 visitors. The close proximity of the mall to King Abdulaziz University (1 km) makes the mall a popular destination for university and high school students of both genders. The first observation session was on 11 October 2011 in the middle of the week (Monday) around 11 am. The number of young men and women who seemed to be university students was surprisingly high. Most of them according to the mall’s management are university students who come to the mall for breakfast and dinner.
Figure 5-1. Al-Andalus Mall

(Al-Andalus Mall, 2011)

The second Mall of Dhahran is located in Dhahran with an area of 110,000m² and 76,000m² leasable areas.
Figure 5-2. Mall of Dhahran

(Daharan Mall, 2012)

This mall is also located in close proximity to King Fahd University, which makes it a popular destination for university and high school students to hang out and socialise. Both genders visit cafés and restaurants during morning hours (breakfast) and around noon (lunch).

5.1.2 Mall Management/Souk

At the mall level, management at Al-Andalus Mall and Dhahran Mall practises strict approaches to gendering by enforcing strict conditions of entry and applying formal gendering in the quasi-public spaces which restrict men from strolling and enforce strong rules of gender segregation.
Al-Andalus Mall and Dhahran Mall both allow entry to both genders including single men in the morning session. In the evening (second) session, strict conditions of entry are enforced, and single men are denied entry.

However, the day-to-day management is not so clear-cut. On several occasions, large numbers of single young men were seen at the gates of Al-Andalus Mall and the Mall of Dhahran during the morning sessions which are officially open to them, trying to persuade the mall security to allow them entry by claiming that they wanted to join their families who they had dropped off before parking their vehicles. Other young men claimed that they just wanted to exchange an item of clothing and when they were denied access to the mall tensions with mall security escalated.

Material removed due to copyright compliance

Figure 5-3. Dhahran Mall.

The men section café provides a view of the mall entrance (Ostockpole, 2011) from http://www.panoramio.com/photo/5739230

The Mall of Dhahran in the past three years has witnessed several incidents, which have included altercations between single young men and mall security. These incidents have resulted in assaults by concealed weapons that have caused serious injuries and the police were involved to break up the fights on more than
one occasion (Ajl.com.sa, 2010). Therefore, the mall management has implemented several measures to strengthen the mall security by hiring ex-military and bodybuilders as security guards. A senior Mall of Dhahran administrator said:

“Our security faces a hard time with the young men who try to get inside the mall during family times and sometimes we have to call the police... we hired ex-military personnel to empower the security and to gain control of the space.” (Mall official, 2011)

Al-Andalus Mall changes the conditions of entry during the month of Ramadan by applying very strict conditions of entry during both the morning and evening sessions, where single (unaccompanied) men are not allowed inside the mall. Men who claim they want to visit the Civil Affairs Office (government office) inside the mall during the first session need to provide evidence that they have an appointment to be allowed to enter the mall.

In the Mall of Dhahran, single men are still allowed to enter the mall in Ramadan during the morning session when cafés and restaurants are not operating because of Ramadan. However, large numbers of single men then attempt to enter the mall during the evening session (when cafés and restaurants are open) and when the strict conditions of entry are in place. A senior mall administrator at Mall of Dhahran said:

“Ramadan is the big shopping season for the mall; therefore, we get very strict with unaccompanied men to the mall since almost all the shops are for females and children. Men have the opportunity to come during the first session (12-4pm)... in evening time (8:30pm-2am) we aim to make it suitable for families and we do not want young men to bother families.”

It is evident that single men go to the mall to visit cafés and restaurants and the purpose of shopping is not their first priority. It is also evident that mall
managers take a contingent approach to implementing the official entry rules and may enforce even more strict rules at short notice. The role of the religious authority appears to be significant.

5.1.3 Religious Authority

The religious authority has also attempted to interfere in the process of gendering the space inside the two malls. In Al-Andalus Mall, its interference starts at the gates with attempts to limit the access of single men to the mall during the morning session (open session to all). It profiles young men according to their look, by asking young men who wear flashy Western clothes or who have distinctive hairstyles for the purpose of their visit to the mall. During prayer times, religious officials tend to go inside the mall and instruct young females to cover their faces and to adhere to the Islamic laws and values. The religious authority has also attempted to have a major role in managing the space on several occasions. On one occasion it asked mall management to allow one of its members to be in the control room (surveillance room), but mall management turned down the request.

In the Mall of Dhahran, the religious authority has a stronger presence and role in gendering the space by having a permanent office inside the mall. The religious authority’s personnel along with a policeman make several rounds inside the mall during the family session and crowded times. They will question any young man who appears to be in the mall without his family, and he will be subject to removal. Also they will ask women to adhere to the Islamic laws on behaviour and clothing.

The religious authority has two different roles in both malls (Al-Andalus Mall and Dhahran Mall) due to the fact that they operate under the rules of two different regional governments. The Makkah Regional Government limits the roles of the religious authority and minimises their presence inside malls. However, in Dammam the law (Dammam Regional Government) requires the religious authority to have a major role in gendering the space by having a permanent office inside the mall.
5.1.4 Quasi-Public Space

The quasi-public spaces at these two malls are therefore under constant negotiation and transformation. Mall management attempt to extend control over the quasi-public spaces by applying formal gendering and by having a major role in managing, regulating and constructing the gendered space. The management of Al-Andalus Mall and the Mall of Dhahran interfere on a daily and hourly basis in order to construct and correct the gendered spaces in accordance to their gendering requirements. This interference takes several forms, including restricting access by single men to some areas of the mall or by changing the seating arrangements according to the numbers of men and women in the quasi-public spaces. For example, Al-Andalus Mall’s management changes the conditions of entry frequently in response to the condition of the quasi-public spaces and to alter the gendered spaces. The management will signal to the mall security to change the conditions of entry and to restrict the entry of single men if their numbers have increased inside the mall and if they are about to lose control of the gendering in the foodcourt area. The aim of the interference according to a key informant is to alter the gendering of the quasi-public space in accordance with the mall’s requirements. However, modifying the conditions of entry has frustrated both mall security and single men as one of the mall’s security guards said:

“Our problem is with the management of the mall, they constantly change the rules, they told us to allow men in the morning, and they just told us not to allow young men in the foodcourt; they put us in an awkward position with the young men.” (Mall security guard, 2011)

Another security guard said:

“We get our orders from mall management when to allow men into the foodcourt and when to deny them access, sometimes they tell us to change the men’s
Moreover, the management of Al-Andalus Mall enforces strict rules of gendering during public events in the quasi-public spaces in order to keep the space in accordance with its gendering rules. For example, when the mall holds a public event for both genders, single men are allowed into the mall, but gender segregation becomes very strong and strict rules are enforced.

Figure 5-4 illustrates how men are seated in the front rows and females are seated in the rear rows during one of the public seminars. However, the management has less interference in gendering the quasi-public spaces during family sessions. Figure 5-5 shows the informal gendering of the space at a children’s show during a family session.

Figure 5-4. Mall formal seating.

Public event held inside the mall, and strict gender segregation is enforced (Source: Al-Andalus Mall, 2009)
The mall security at Al-Andalus Mall also exercises strong control on gendering the quasi-public spaces. Single men who stroll through the mall or stand in the central plaza and observe people’s performances could be subject to removal from the mall. The researcher was asked by one of the mall security guards not to stand over the handrail in the central plaza.

In the Mall of Dhahran, the management dictates and manages the gendering of the space by the strong presence of mall security and the assistance of the religious authority. Mall security is vigilant about any single men who stroll through the mall or who chase and bother females; they will be escorted outside of the mall. The mall’s security at the Mall of Dhahran receives assistance from the religious office at the mall in managing the quasi-public space.

The mall management at Al-Andalus Mall also dictates the gendering of the space in the foodcourt and applies strict rules of gender segregation. The rules of gendering are dynamic and interchangeable by the hour. Al-Andalus’ management keep constant watch on the males’ behaviour on the foodcourt and
interfere constantly to change and correct the gendering by informing and instructing the mall security to change the rules in order to correct the gendering of the space.

The mall security might convert the men’s section inside the foodcourt into a family section and restrict single men from entering the space if their numbers have increased or when the mall security loses control of the space (see Figure 5-6 and Figure 5-7).

![Security restricting men access to foodcourt](image)

**Figure 5-6. Security restricting men access to foodcourt**

*(Mustafa, 2011)*
One of the mall security guards said:

“Now we have the experience in managing the gendered space and in dealing with the young men, sometimes we have to get involved and interfere in changing the gendering rules by forcing single men to move and change their tables, and sometime we ask females to shift to another side of the foodcourt.” (Mall security guard, 2011)

Inside the foodcourt, McDonald’s food outlet, which has a large number of visitors, has created two cashiers for the two genders who are separated by 1.5m partitions when ordering food (see Figure 5-8). Physical gender segregation between families and men is also enforced at the foodcourt by creating two different sections (see Figure 5-9).
Figure 5-8. Partition dividing men and women, foodcourt at Al-Andalus Mall

(Mustafa, 2011)

Figure 5-9. Foodcourt at Al-Andalus Mall

(Mustafa, 2011)
The management of Dhahran Mall has a different approach to gendering the foodcourt area. The management has created two separate sections in the foodcourt: a family section and a women-only section, which they do not allow men to enter. The women-only section is isolated from the main foodcourt by a 2 m high wall and a posted sign in Arabic at the entrance declaring the space for women's use only and prohibiting entry to men (see Figure 5-10).

Figure 5-10. Women-only section

(Mustafa, 2011)

A key informant has indicated that the women-only section has proven to be a failure as it is frequently visited by low numbers of female visitors as one of the cleaning ladies said:

“When I clean this space, I find only shopping bags and most of the women come to check their shopping bags, only a few women come for a meal.” (Female mall staff, 2011)
The family section has posted signs declaring the space for family use. Some areas of this section are separated from the corridors by 2m walls (see Figure 5-11 and Figure 5-12).

Single men are allowed to be in the foodcourt only during lunchtime and when the foodcourt is not crowded. The seating area for single men is negotiable by the mall security and gets modified according to the number of female visitors.

Figure 5-11. Foodcourt

*Foodcourt, family section is hidden behind a 2m wall (Mustafa, 2011)*
Figure 5-12. Foodcourt family section

View into the family section during morning hours (Mustafa, 2011)

Single men sometimes are allowed to sit near the entrance of the foodcourt and sometimes they are pushed to the back of the foodcourt (see Figure 5-13) depending on the location of other families.

Figure 5-13. Men sitting at the foodcourt

A couple of young men inside the foodcourt during morning hours (Mustafa, 2011)
According to one of the mall’s security staff:

“When we ask young men to change their seats or we do not allow them into the foodcourt, they get frustrated and angry at us; we only follow orders and it’s not our decision where to place them.” (Mall security guards, 2011)

The walls that divide the foodcourt were to be removed in a few weeks according to the mall’s manager and the women-only section will be converted to a family section due to the low number of visitors:

“We noticed that the women-only section is not used heavily by females, and we believe the removal of partitions will allow people to watch over other people’s behaviour and discourage people from dating and hiding behind the partitions.” (Mall manager, 2011)

The removal of the walls will allow easier surveillance of the foodcourt and allow mall security to enhance its control of the space according to mall manager.

5.1.5 Leased Space (Retail)

Al-Andalus Mall and Mall of Dhahran share similar approaches to gendering the leased spaces. Mall managements’ involvement extends to the leased spaces by enforcing their rules and regulations into these leased spaces.

For example, in Al-Andalus Mall, the management instructs the leased retail operators to modify the leased space when they notice that the space is not in compliance with their rules and regulations of gendering. One of the mall’s key informants said:

“Usually we do not get involved or interfere in the operation of the rented spaces as long it does not violate the mall’s rules and regulations... we get involved only when matters are brought to our attention by the
Two cases at Al-Andalus Mall provide evidence of strong institutional interference in dictating and altering retail space. The Just Cookies café on the ground floor and Costa Coffee are the two cafés single men visit to socialise and observe people’s performances in the quasi-public space (see Figure 5-14 and Figure 5-15).

**Figure 5-14. Just Cookies café**

*Men’s café in the ground floor of Al-Andlus Mall (Mustafa, 2011)*

The mall management requested that the two cafés correct the gendering in accordance with the mall’s rules. A senior key informant at Al-Andalus Mall said:

“We have a problem with Costa Coffee; men sit and verbally harass females who pass in front of the café, the operator is so soft and he does not enforce strict rules at
The Just Cookies' operator has now converted the café into a family café and single men are not allowed. Costa Coffee has installed partitions in the men's section to block the view of the quasi-public space. On a later date (October 2011), the men's section was converted into a family section (see Figure 5-15 and Figure 5-16).

Figure 5-15. Costa Coffee men's section

Men's section at Costa Coffee prior to converting it into family section (Mustafa, 2011)
5.2 Permissive Management Approach

The Red Sea Mall in Jeddah represents the case of a permissive approach in managing the leisure and shopping space. The Red Sea Mall is located in the rich, northern residential suburb of Jeddah city, which is considered to be one of the most liberal and modern regions in Saudi Arabia. The mall is one of the largest malls in Saudi and opened its doors to the public in the middle of 2007.

The mall consists of three levels with 18 gates. The total land area is 242,200m², which includes more than 420 shops and parking lots with a capacity for more than 4,000 cars (Mall Manager, 2011). This mall is almost five times the size of Westfield Riccarton Mall in Christchurch (Westfield Riccarton Mall area is 54,000 m², with a 2,400 space car park). The mall also includes a hypermarket (Danube), hotel, retail shops, foodcourt, coffee shops and an indoor amusement park.
The mall uses an electronic people counter at each gate in order to have an accurate visitor count. The average daily number of visitors during the participant observation was 35,000 visitors per day. The highest number was 57,000 visitors per day on a Thursday of summer 2010.

Figure 5-17. Red Sea Mall first floor plan

(Red Sea Mall, 2010)

The mall has two cafés on the lower ground floor that are centred in the middle of the corridor, and six cafés, four located at the central plaza and the other two at the northern and southern wing of the mall. The first floor has five cafés and several upmarket restaurants.

5.2.1 Mall Management/Souk

The Red Sea Mall’s management in most respects practises a permissive approach in managing the gendered space. The mall’s management applies relaxed conditions of entry into the mall and single men are allowed to enter at most times. Management claims that their doors are open to all mall visitors and single young men are welcomed, and the mall security guards deny and restrict
single men access to the mall only on weekend nights when the young male crashers come to the mall in large groups.

One of the Red Sea Mall’s security officials said:

“We try to restrict access to single young men to the mall on weekend nights as the mall gets crowded and we try to contain them to the lower ground floor…. teenagers who get into the family area create problems and harass women.” (Mall security guards, 2011)

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7 Male crashers are young men who enter the mall on weekend nights near closing time for the purpose of strolling and observing young girls.
Gate 1 is the favourite entrance for young male crashers who come to the mall on weekends (Wednesdays and Thursdays) in large groups. This gate has a larger presence of mall security guards than all the gates, especially at weekends. The presence of the religious authority has also been sighted on several occasions. The religious authority gets involved in controlling the entry of single men to promote virtue and prevent vice from both genders. The presence of the police also has been sighted at this gate during one of the observation sessions on a weekend night. The police escorted a group of young males outside of the parking area.
5.2.2 Quasi-Public Spaces

The presence of young men (including single men) is considered problematic by mall management. A mall key informant said:

“The young men they tend to hang out in the mall and stroll the corridors with no purpose to shop rather to harass and chase females; their large numbers tend to discourage families from coming to the mall, which will impact on the sales and spending at the mall. Therefore we tend to confine them to the lower ground floor where the youth entertainment centre is located and where there is less contact with families.” (Mall staff, 2011)

The mall has been criticised heavily by the religious authority for being a permissive mall and for not applying strong rules of gender segregation during public events and festivals. Therefore, in the past few years the Red Sea Mall’s management has applied stricter rules in managing and gendering the quasi-public spaces during special festivals where it regulates and implements strong rules of gender segregation by hiring extra security guards (manager of the Red Sea Mall, 2011). For example, gender segregation was enforced in the central plaza during the Saud National Day festival by dividing the plaza into two sides, one for each gender as illustrated in Figure 5-20 and Figure 5-21.

On other days, both genders share the same space and the mall management just observes the space and interferes in case of a violation from the men.
Material removed due to copyright compliance

Figure 5-20. Females at the Saudi national day

(Bin Sager, 2011)

Material removed due to copyright compliance

Figure 5-21. Males at the Saudi national day

(Bin Sager, 2011)
5.2.3 Leased Space/ Café

Mall management’s interference in gendering the leased retail spaces is kept to a minimum, and takes place only when an issue has occurred within the space. On one occasion, the management of the mall requested a coffee shop (Häagen-Dazs) to install partitions at the family section to block the view into the section after several incidents in addition to receiving complaints from the religious authority. A senior manager at the mall said:

“I believe the location of the café at the centre of the plaza has attracted young men to stand and watch women sitting inside… when we received complaints from the religious authority about this café, we asked the operator of the café to install partitions in order to obstruct the view of the family section from the plaza… they installed temporary partitions at the moment and they will replace these with permanent ones.” (Mall manager, 2011)

Figure 5-22. Häagen-Daza Café, Red Sea Mall

Removable partition to screen the family section (Mustafa, 2011m)
Figure 5-22 illustrates how tables are arranged in the men’s section and the partitions around the family section allow a small opening to the family section. Otherwise, rules of gender segregation are relaxed on the leased spaces. At Café Larica, which is located on the lower ground floor in the middle of the corridor, females will occupy tables that are in the men’s section at busy times when they cannot find tables in the family section (see Figure 5-23). Esquires Coffee, which is located on the side of the corridor on the first floor, is another café that relaxes the rules of gender segregation. On several observation sessions, females were observed sitting in the men’s section as illustrated in Figure 5-24, where a female is sitting in the men’s section at Esquires Coffee reading the paper. These two cafés have relaxed the conditions for females by permitting them to occupy tables that are in the men’s section. However, single men are not allowed to occupy or enter the family section. The family section in both cafés is strictly for families.

Figure 5-23. Larica during weekday

*Single man occupy a table at the family section during evening session (Mustafa, 2011p)*
Figure 5-24. Esquires Coffee

*A mature woman shares the men’s section during morning hours (Mustafa, 2011)*

Leased spaces at this mall also provide low levels of visual privacy. People who sit in cafés that are located on the ground floor are subject to gazing and observation from people on the upper floor. Bana Tea Café provides people who are sitting in this café visual privacy from the people who are passing by. However, the café is located in the middle of the corridor on the ground floor and people who sit inside the café lack visual privacy from the gaze of other people on the upper floors (see Figure 5-25). Families who require high levels of privacy visit this café only during the weekdays when the number of visitors at the mall is low. One of the café’s staff said:

“On weekends young men hang out on the upper floor above the café to watch and observe females sitting inside the café; sometimes the mall security will come and escort them outside of the mall... I believe this is the reason why some families do not come in at weekends.”

(Café staff, 2011)
The management of this café also transforms the men's section into a family section on weekends and busy days by the removal of partitions and planter boxes (see Figure 5-26).

Figure 5-25. Bana Tea Café

*Men’s section is screened by a movable partition during the morning session (Mustafa, 2011b)*

Figure 5-26. Bana Tea Café family section

*Corridors (quasi-public space) are transformed into a family section on weekends (Mustafa, 2011a)*
The transformation of the men’s section into a family section has created frustration for single men, as one of the café’s staff said:

“On weekends we face a lot of problems with single men. They want to sit inside and when we tell them it’s a family section only they get frustrated at us and they refuse to obey our orders; the mall security will not come even when we call them; we just ignore the young men and we do not serve them anything till they leave... sometimes families leave the space if young men are inside.” (Café staff member, 2011)

Upmarket restaurants are more relaxed in gendering their space and in segregating between single men and families in comparison with other leased spaces (cafés). These restaurants convert the men’s section into a family section during weekends. The staff of these restaurants profile single men when they enter the restaurant, and a judgment is made whether to let them in and where to seat them on weekends.

Figure 5-27 shows a section in the Steak House Restaurant where the staff have seated the researcher (acting as a single male) in an area that is designated for families – presumably inferring that he was a family man who poses no risk or problem to other families who are occupying the same space.
The foodcourt at the Red Sea Mall is informally gendered and the mall management has minimum interference in the gendering of the space. Men and families tend to share and occupy tables in the same space and in close proximity to each other with no partitions or walls (see Figure 5-28 and Figure 5-29). At night time, when the foodcourt gets crowded, single men are confined to one corner of the foodcourt and the rest is designated for families only. The researcher sat at his usual table during one weekend, and a mall security guard asked him politely to transfer to the men’s section.
Figure 5-28. Foodcourt family section

The foodcourt is open to the plaza (Mustafa, 2011h)

Figure 5-29. Foodcourt mixed section

Single men are allowed to sit on one side of the foodcourt (Mustafa, 2011i)
5.3 Hybrid Management Approach

Two malls in this study are identified as hybrid malls: the Mall of Arabia in Jeddah and Al-Rashid Mall in Dammam. The management at these two malls apply a hybrid approach in managing and gendering the space with two different approaches.

The Mall of Arabia implements strict conditions which deny single men entry during weekends and public holidays. At other times, it uses a permissive approach in gendering the leased spaces inside the mall by relaxing the rules of gender segregation and by eliminating the role and control of the religious authority. On the other hand, Al-Rashid Mall’s management has relaxed the conditions of entry and created spaces for single men but applies very strict rules of gender segregation into the leased spaces with strong support from the religious authority.

5.3.1 Mall Of Arabia

The Mall of Arabia is located on the northern suburb of Jeddah city in the western region. The mall opened in October 2008 and consists of two levels. The total land area is 261,000 m² (for comparison, Westfield Riccarton Mall area is 54,000 m², and has 2,400 car parks), and includes more than 330 shops and parking lots with a capacity for more than 3,000 cars (Arabian Centre, 2010). The mall also includes a hypermarket (Panda), department stores, retail shops, foodcourt, coffee shops, restaurants and an indoor amusement park. The estimated number of weekend visitors is around 32,000.
Figure 5-30. Mall of Arabia ground plan

*The foodcourt is set outside of the corridors (Arabia, 2010)*

Single men who are restricted from entering the mall during weekends and public holidays tend to visit the mall during morning hours. On weekdays the mall visitors during the morning are young males and females who are regular visitors to certain coffee shops and restaurants. This mall is also close to Western compounds. Most of the Western women visit the mall during the morning hours arriving by compound buses; they stroll through the mall in groups of two to three females. By noon time, younger males and females come for lunch and to visit coffee shops. On Fridays, families with young children make up the majority of the mall’s visitors who come to the foodcourt area and to the indoor entertainment centre.
Al-Rashid Mall is located in Al-Khobar District. The mall is considered to be the largest in Saudi Arabia. Al-Rashid was the first mall to open in Dammam in 1995 and a new extension was opened in 2007. The mall has become an iconic landmark in the eastern region, with visitors coming from outer regions and from neighbouring countries. Since the opening of the mall, more than 34 furnished apartments have opened in areas around the mall.

**Figure 5-31. Al-Rashid Mall Second Floor**

*The foodcourt is set at an isolated section of the mall (A.-R. Mall, 2009)*

The mall consists of five levels with a total land area of more than 400,000m² (7x the size of Westfield Riccarton Mall), and includes more than 700 shops and parking for more than 6,500 cars (Mall Manager, 2011). The mall also includes a hypermarket (Carrefour), department stores, retail shops, two foodcourts, 32 coffee shops, 12 restaurants, the Boulevard (women only), Al-Rashid Avenue (upmarket stores), furnished apartments, entertainment centre (men only) and family entertainment centre. The estimated number of daily visitors during the observation was around 38,000 visitors a day. The second floor is the most visited floor in the mall. It has the main foodcourt, four restaurants and more
than 23 coffee shops. The central plaza on the second floor has more than ten cafés that are designated for unaccompanied men.

### 5.3.2 Mall Management/Souk

The Mall of Arabia applies very strict conditions of entry to its premises. Single men are not allowed into the mall after 5pm on weekends and any male found strolling through the mall will be subject to removal. Single men who seek to enter the mall will attempt to do so before 5pm especially during weekends, as the conditions of entry thereafter get stricter.

![Main entrance to the Mall of Arabia](Arabian Centers, 2013)

A mall security guard said:

“Our orders are not to allow any unaccompanied males to the mall after 5:00 pm on Wednesdays and Thursdays, and any man that gets in without his family will be removed from the mall.”

On one occasion (Wednesday 8.30 pm), the mall security guards were observed denying single men access to the mall at one of the entrances. The researcher (Saudi male) attempted to enter the mall as a single male at that time, and the
security guards approached him and he was let inside the mall without questioning his presence, while other younger males standing at the entrance tried unsuccessfully to gain entry.

The religious authority has no role in managing or gendering the space at this mall.

Al-Rashid Mall on the other hand, has relaxed the conditions of entry to its premises. This mall is the only one that welcomes the presence of single males and has made them the primary customers by creating spaces and activities for them. The majority of the cafés in the second floor are designated for single men.

Despite targeting single men, the management sometimes places marginal restriction to their entry on public holidays and crowded days. Men sometimes are restricted from entering the mall from gate number 8, which leads to the foodcourt and most females get dropped off at this gate. Younger single males get confined to the lower ground level (youth entertainment centre) on these days. The religious authority maintains a permanent presence at Al-Rashid Mall by having an office inside the mall and also has a major role in gendering the space inside the mall. They stroll inside the mall, apply Islamic law and prevent any practices by the visitors that show a lack of respect for the Islamic faith including appearance (clothing) and behaviour.

However, the religious authority has no role in gendering or managing the space inside the Mall of Arabia. They have no presence inside the mall, and need to gain permission from the mall’s management to entry.

5.3.3 Quasi-Public Spaces

The Saudi National Day festival is one of the public activities held inside Al-Rashid Mall annually. These festivals have been problematic for the mall’s management in previous years, as the religious authority believes the mall management does not have adequate gender segregation during these events.
This has given the religious authority the opportunity to seek involvement and demand a major role in space gendering. The religious authority is now an important player within the mall’s management in managing and gendering the space and the religious officials have expressed positive opinions regarding the management’s approach. One of the religious officials said:

“We believe that the mall’s management plays a good strict procedure with men who violate the morals and values of society.”

The religious authority's involvement also includes suggestions to the mall’s management to place strict conditions of entry on single men during crowded days and public holidays.

“We had disagreement with the management in restricting single men’s access to the mall... finally the management agreed to restrict single men’s access to the mall after 8 pm on public (school) holidays.”

Al-Rashid Mall enforces very strict gendering rules on the quasi-public spaces during special events. For example, strong gender segregation is enforced during the Saudi National Day spatially by placing each gender on one side of the plaza and temporarily creating visiting times for each gender (see Figure 5-33 and Figure 5-34).
Figure 5-33. Public event inside Al-Rashid

*Family entertainment held in the central plaza (R. Mall, 2012)*

Figure 5-34. Public event at Al-Rashid

*The daily show (Fire, light, & water) central plaza (R. Mall, 2012)*
At the Mall of Arabia, management attempts to dictate the gendering of the space only in the foodcourt by placing firm gendering rules through signs and enforcement by the mall’s security guards. The guards tend to get involved in regulating the gendering by asking the single men to leave the space and sometimes they escort them out of the mall (see Figure 5-35). The mall’s security guards make personal judgments on the removal of single men from the family section in the foodcourt. If a single man fits the profile of young men (young men are presumed to pose risks to the families around them) they will be asked to leave the space (see Figure 5-36).

![Figure 5-35. Removal of single men from foodcourt](image)

*A couple of single men (mall staff) are asked to move to the second floor by a mall security guard (Mustafa, 2011y)*
Figure 5-36. Family foodcourt

*Mature men are allowed to be inside the family section (Mustafa, 2011)*

Al-Rashid Mall has a distinctly different approach to the Mall of Arabia in gendering the foodcourt. It has created three levels of gendering in the foodcourt for single men, families, and women only. The women-only section is created solely for women to use and men are not permitted to enter the space. These spaces provide physical and visual privacy for females. In Al-Rashid Mall, the women-only section is located at the back of the family section. The women only section is behind 2 m high partitions with a posted sign at the entrance marking the place for women's use only (see Figure 5-37). Females who require high levels of privacy will go to this section. This room has low numbers of visitors, and the majority of women who go there go to unpack and check their shopping, according to the mall’s management.
Figure 5-37. Women-only section

*Women only section at the back of family section behind a 2m wall (Mustafa, 2011ah)*

The men’s section on Al-Rashid Mall is located in the area of the food outlets, which are located in a semi-circular shape. Posted signs displayed (‘not for family sitting’) prohibit women from sitting (see Figure 5-38).
The family section in Al-Rashid Mall has clear signs marking the place for families, has no screens or partitions and is separated from the men's section by a corridor.

Figure 5-39. Family section, foodcourt, Al-Rashid Mall

Family section after the removal of partitions during the morning session (Mustafa, 2011w)
Figure 5-39. Family section, foodcourt, Al-Rashid Mall shows the view of the family section from the men’s section at the foodcourt. The removal of the partitions from the family section was for the purpose of security according to a mall key informant:

“It’s not possible to install surveillance cameras in the family section, and we can’t control people’s behaviour and prevent immoral activities; the removal of partitions allowed mall security guards to watch and view visitors’ behaviour and performance.” (Mall key informant, 2011)

The religious officials at the mall consider the removal of partitions around the family section as an approach by the mall’s management to convert the foodcourt into a permissive space and to permit liberal performances to occur. One official from the religious office said:

“After the mall management removed the partitions at the family section, the area became like a show for young men who come to watch females while they are sitting to eat… we tried to convince the mall management to reinstall the partition but they refused… this area causes the most trouble and problems for us inside the mall.” (Member of the religious office, 2011)

This is a perfect example that provides interesting insight of the complexity of the issue of managing gendered spaces. While mall management thought removing partitions provided more control (surveillance), the religious authority saw it as losing control.
5.3.4 Leased Space/Retail

In the Mall of Arabia, informal gendering in the leased retail spaces exists at the upmarket end. On the second floor, Lamborghini Caffé and Corsini Café are two upmarket cafés/restaurants that are owned and managed by the same management (see Figure 5-40 and Figure 5-41). These two cafés, which are located in a very quiet area in the mall, have no clear gendered space. Visitors to the cafés have the option to construct the gendered space at their own discretion and the rules are more relaxed in these two cafés. They can occupy in tables that provide maximum level of visual privacy or sit in exposed tables. There is no signage for any men’s and women’s sections and women and families tend to sit in close proximity to each other without paying much attention to unaccompanied males. Caffé Vergnano and Corsini Café are the other two cafes that have relaxed the conditions of gender segregation; single men can sit next to families during weekdays.

![Figure 5-40. Lamborghini Caffé](image)

*Single men and familys share the same space (Mustafa, 2011o)*
These two cafés were in the process of adding two new dining sections outside of the café with plans to be open by the Eid holiday (5 November 2011) and to be used by both genders as one of the staff said:

“We are about to open the new dining section. This section will be used for people who want to dine in from both genders, and there is no plan to use any partitions or to segregate the two genders.” (Café staff member, 2011)

The new section has become a popular place for younger people since it opened during the Eid holiday. Females and families are allowed to sit for meals; however, unaccompanied men were not allowed inside this section of the café during the holiday.
In upmarket restaurants management chooses where to place men in relation to families. Most of the restaurants tend not to formally separate family and male seating, but rely upon informed discretion. Only one out of the five restaurants was observed to have a posted sign for men’s and family sections. The other four restaurants had no sign or designated section for men and the staff in these restaurants use their discretion as to where to seat unaccompanied males (see Figure 5-42). For example, the restaurant staff are cautious where to seat single men in reference to families. They do not mind placing older or Western unaccompanied men next to families, but they will not do the same with young Saudi men.

Figure 5-42. Upmarket restaurant, Mall of Arabia

*Tables are set outside of a restaurant for family (Mustafa, 2011ag)*

The second floor in Al-Rashid Mall has more than 21 cafés that predominantly cater for unaccompanied men. These cafés have wider views of the corridors and
central plaza. Men are allowed to sit and gaze and observe people’s performances.

Females are excluded from these types of spaces and are allowed to observe from behind tinted windows (see Figure 5-43).

Starbucks Coffee is one of the largest cafés with a wide view to the plaza. The family section is placed at the back of the café with a separate entrance as well and tinted windows that provide a one-way view of the outside.

![One-way glass](image)

**Figure 5-43. Men’s cafés, Al-Rashid Mall**

*Men’s café with view of the plaza and corridors (Mustafa, 2011v)*

Tables that are looking out to the corridors are the most popular seats and in some cafés they reserve these tables for those who are willing to pay a premium price. Figure 5-44 shows a man sitting in Starbucks Coffee looking into the main area and on the left is a Häagen-Dazs Cafe.
These cafés have provided spaces for men to sit at the front seats and to socialise while watching the quasi-public space. And they have prohibited females from sitting in the front seats and only allow them to sit in enclosures behind tinted windows (back seats) in order to maintain the image of a modern traditional mall and to satisfy the religious office in the mall. This resembles the public sphere and the domestic sphere where men are allocated to the public and women are restricted to the domestic sphere.
5.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter has presented three different types of management approach in managing mall premises (see Appendix D). The findings of the observation of mall managers and the interviews with six key informants have provided evidence of a patriarchal society that is in the transitional process of transformation as part of the globalisation and modernisation of the Kingdom. Malls that apply strict management approaches tend to have intensive and daily interference in the process of space gendering. The interference is done in some cases at an hourly basis to change and correct the gendering of the spaces. This has resulted in creating confusion for the owners of the leased spaces on the one hand and between the young men and mall security guards on the other hand.

A permissive management approach in malls has allowed the owners of leased spaces more freedom in gendering and managing their spaces. The management of the leased spaces apply their own gendering rules and they use their discretion in changing the gendering rules.

A hybrid management approach has applied strict gendering rules but allowed liberal performances and modern spaces to exist but only inside the leased spaces. This approach has moved the tension between young men from the quasi-public spaces by allowing them to perform permissively only inside leased spaces.

The findings of these key informant interviews and participant observation have indicated that mall managements have treated the quasi-public spaces as a public sphere and allowed males more freedom where is management has restricted the females’ freedom in the public sphere and allowed them to be liberal only inside the leased commercial spaces which is treated in the same manner as domestic sphere behind doors and tinted windows.

Moreover, this chapter has revealed that local government has a role in shaping and influencing the gendering rules inside the five malls. In Dammam the religious establishment has the support of the local government which mandates
their presence and role in being a member of the management team by having a permanent office inside the mall. However, in Jeddah local government does not enforce their presence inside the mall and leaves it to the discretion of the mall’s management. Therefore, the religious establishment in Jeddah has a minimal role in gendering the space.

Institutional gendering of leisure spaces in Saudi Arabia is clearly both contingent and complex.
Chapter 6 Performing in Space

In the previous chapter, the different styles of management approach (permissive, strict and hybrid) in the five malls were analysed. In this chapter, the aim is to investigate how different types of social performance are being expressed in these modern spaces. The chapter reports the findings of the participant observations in each mall described in the previous chapter: the Red Sea Mall, Al-Andalus Mall, Mall of Arabia, Al-Rashid Mall, and Mall of Dhahran. The focus of the participant observations is to provide knowledge and insights into the use of gendered space, the human interactions, and most importantly to provide the basis for the discussion of social gender performance. The findings of the participant observations are presented in terms of the social gendering of the space and people’s performances in the space.

The analysis of the participant observations in addition to the findings from the key informant interviews in the previous chapter have suggested that variations of several key factors are the main drivers for the emergence of different types of gendering of spaces. These factors include: the management’s approach, mall location, local culture and norms, socio-economic classes of visitors, visitors’ ages, gender domination (power relationship), and the power of the local religious authority. However, they are weighted differently, in different mall situations, and are more dynamic and contingent than what was initially anticipated. This chapter explains further how the gendering relationships are constructed despite the appearance of simply gendered spaces. It also provides the rationales and explanations behind decisions of the mall management/institutions that influence the gendering of the spaces.

A review of the public media (newspapers and social media), and discussions with the key informants from mall management and the religious establishment have indicated that Saudis describe female performances in public spaces
according to their facial veiling, *abayā* (long black gown worn by women in Saudi Arabia), and contact with other males, and according to the type of spaces they visit and occupy. Males’ performances in public spaces are described according to their clothing (traditional vs. Western clothes), their behaviour and the performance of the female that is accompanying them. For example, if the accompanied female performs liberally, such as revealing her face, then the male will be described as a liberal male, and if the accompanied female performs in a conservative way, such as sitting behind a partition in a semi-public space, then he will be described as a conservative male.

Participant observations have identified three types of performances that are typically seen in the five malls:

First relates to liberal performance: is when a female displays behaviours such as uncovering her face in the presence of other men, and uses and socialises in mixed-gendered spaces. Male liberal performance includes sitting in cafés or restaurants and gazing overtly upon women or imitate the image of a Western male (Rap music, iconic sport person) by wearing Western clothes.

The second type of performance is conservative performance: is when a female uses facial veiling, the use of partitions to create visual privacy in mixed-gendered spaces, and wears *abayā* that cover the head. Male conservative performance includes avoiding mixed-gendered spaces, maintaining the image of a Saudi male by wearing the traditional dress (*Thoub*), and not being involved in the act of gazing. It also includes being accompanied by a female who performs conservatively.

The third type is hybrid performance: is when a female or a male displays a mixed performance between liberal and conservative, such as a female wearing a facial veil but socialising in mixed spaces. For a male an example would be engaging in the act of gazing while maintaining the image of a Saudi male by wearing traditional clothing.

Participant observations of visitors’ performances in the five malls have revealed that there are several variables that appear to influence and shape performances.
The following five key features have been identified:

1. Location and convenience are major determining factors in choosing to visit a certain mall regardless of the management style.
2. Distinctive performances are apparent in different (temporal) sessions in response to the changes in the gendering rules.
3. Regional differences (local culture and authority) influence and shape the type of gendering and visitors’ performances.
4. The relationship between the performer and observer is a power relationship by which one gender is dominating the space and they have the right to perform and to be gazed upon, and the other gender that has less presence in the space has the right to observe and gaze only.
5. Liberal performances are more restricted in the quasi-public spaces but are permitted in the leased commercial spaces.

In the following account, these five features will be illustrated in reference to particular malls in which they are clearly evident.

6.1 Influence of Location and Convenience

Location and convenience are major determining factors in deciding to visit gendered spaces where the mall’s management style has less influence on the decision. This has led to the occurrence of two distinct performances (liberal and conservative) in the morning and evening sessions.

The influence of location and convenience are illustrated in relation to Al-Andalus Mall and the Mall of Dhahran, which have a strict approach in managing their spaces, and attempt to implement temporal gendering. These malls have strict gendering rules. However, the malls’ management relaxes the restriction on single men accessing the malls during the morning sessions and enforces strong restrictions in the evening sessions. Despite this, the location and close proximity to universities makes them a popular hangout space for students from
both genders to come and display their liberal performances during the morning session. Temporal variations are also demonstrated in relation to Al-Andalus Mall, where liberal performances are displayed during the morning session and changed to conservative performances during the evening session (temporal) when single men are denied access to the mall. The Mall of Arabia and the Mall of Dhahran illustrate the importance of regional differences, as the same company owns these malls but each mall is managed differently. This can suggest that other regional and cultural factors influence the gendering and visitors’ performances. The Red Sea Mall, which is categorised as a permissive mall, illustrates the dynamics of gendered power relationships as different genders have the power to dominate the mall space and display their performances depending on their numbers present at the time; the gender with the least numbers has the right only to observe. Finally, Al-Rashid Mall illustrates the importance of institutional action at a micro level, as the mall management and the religious authority only allow men to be present in the quasi-public space for the purpose of observation (gazing) and females are restricted from gazing in quasi-public spaces and are only allowed behind tinted windows and partitions.

In the following section, the five cases will present the different variables and mall settings that could influence and shape visitors’ performances.

Al-Andalus Mall and the Mall of the Dhahran are two malls that have applied a strict approach in managing their spaces, but the location and convenience of these malls are the major factors that encourage visitors to visit, even if the space and the management style are not suitable to the visitors’ preferences.
6.1.1 Proximity to Universities

The close location of Al-Andalus Mall to King Abdulaziz University (5 minutes’ drive) and to other educational institutions has made the trip to the mall very convenient for university students to visit during the morning session.

Young students from both genders still come to the mall and display their liberal performances despite the restrictions of the mall’s management and the limited spaces for socialising. The majority of the Saudi young men (university students) who come during the morning session display a liberal image by wearing Western clothes and they tend to position themselves in spots that allow them to observe and gaze at the females in food courts and cafés or stroll through the mall (see Figure 6-1).

In response, the mall’s management has further modified and influenced the gendering of the space by eliminating and converting men’s spaces (cafés, restaurants) into family sections in order to minimise contact between the two genders and control the gendering (see chapter five).

Figure 6-1. Single men at the foodcourt

*Group of single men in one section of the foodcourt (Mustafa, 2011ab)*
Young females also display liberal performances inside the mall by revealing their faces around men, and seeking lower levels of privacy during the morning session. Some of them have the freedom to sit at tables that do not provide visual privacy, which makes them subject to men’s gazes (see Figure 6-2). On the other hand, men who are sitting in the men’s section that could make visual contact with females are forced by the mall security to change their seats.

![Figure 6-2. Family section at Al-Andalus Foodcourt](image)

*Families occupy tables that are exposed to men (Mustafa, 2011g)*

By contrast, the majority of older Saudi males come to the mall wearing traditional male dress (*Thoub*). Their presence in the foodcourt is minimal; they tend to go to cafés and occupy tables that are facing the corridors (see Figure 6-3).
Figure 6-3. Men’s section, Al-Andalus Mall

*Single men section has direct view of the corridors (Mustafa, 2011x)*

6.1.2 Location of Governmental Offices

The Government Civil Office, which receives a large number of visitors from both genders, has increased the number of single men inside the mall dramatically. It was observed that the presence of the large number of men around the Government Civil Office has a different kind of influence on the performances of female visitors, and has led women to taking alternative routes to avoid passing in front of them (see Figure 6-4). Only a few females passed in front of the men who are standing in the corridors, and some of these females were seen to be walking past quickly.
6.2 Temporal Gendering

Two distinctive performances are apparent in two different sessions, morning and evening (temporal).

It is apparent that there are distinct differences in performances in the morning and evening sessions in Al-Andalus Mall and this has resulted in seeing two different types of visitors over the two sessions: young university students who display liberal performances during the morning session and families and mature visitors displaying conservative performances in the evening session.

In the evening session, which starts after 4 pm, single men are not allowed inside the mall, and during this time most of the visitors are females with young children. The presence of men during the evening session (especially at
weekends) is limited to the men who are accompanying their families, salesmen who work at the shops, and the mall’s security guards. It was observed and confirmed by the mall management that females who are accompanied by adult males mainly come to the mall for the purpose of grocery shopping (Hyper Banda) during this session. Non-Saudi families also display conservative performances (see Figure 6-5).

![Image](image.jpg)

**Figure 6-5. Weekday evening session**

*No presence for single men during evening session (Al-Andalus Mall, 2012)*

Despite the low numbers of men during the evening session, females still tend to be more conservative in their performances in the mall, by wearing facial veils even when no men are around. This supports the claim that the mall receives two distinct types of visitors which are liberal during morning session and conservative during the evening session.

The occurrence of temporal gendering in Al-Andalus mall is a result of location and convenience to students who are expected to be less conservative and
perform liberally than older visitors who come during the evening session and tend to display conservative performances.

6.3 Regional Differences

Regional differences, which include the local culture and norms, the local religious authority and government, are major factors in constructing gendering at the local level and in influencing visitors' performances.

The Mall of Arabia in Jeddah and the Mall of Dhahran in Dammam region are two malls that are owned and managed by the same company, that demonstrate a variation in the management style and gendering rules between the two regions. The Mall of Arabia and the Mall of Dhahran both target wealthy visitors, and mall management apply relaxed access rules for single men during the morning session and strict rules during the evening session. However, the religious authority has a strong role in managing the space inside the Mall of Dhahran in Dammam and share with the mall management the daily responsibility of gendering the space. Their strong role is expressed by having the right to deny single men access to the mall, the questioning of their presence, and by restricting performances that seem to them to contradict Islamic teaching, local values and traditions. Their power seems to challenge the power of mall management. On one occasion they interfered in the physical design of one of the coffee shops inside the mall and forced the café to install partitions to screen the view to the family section. In contrast, the religious authorities have no presence or role in managing the space inside the Mall of Arabia in Jeddah. The local culture, norms and traditions also influence and shape the visitors' performances differently in each region. In the following section, the differences in the visitors' performances will be illustrated and the relevant factors discussed. It starts with a description of each mall and then a comparison between the two malls.
6.3.1 Jeddah Region

In the Mall of Arabia, the presence of single men in the mall is very limited; in the morning session they get access to the mall but are monitored by mall security. However, the same single men get denied access at the gates during the evening sessions. The mall management also restricts the presence of single men in the quasi-public spaces inside the mall. For example, single men are not allowed to sit inside the foodcourt area, and seating is limited to females and families. Single men and salesmen who attempt to sit in the foodcourt are asked to move to the second floor of the foodcourt (see Figure 6-6 and Figure 6-7).

Also young single men who stroll through the mall without an accompanying female will be removed from the mall. This has discouraged single men from coming to the mall and has reduced their numbers inside.

Figure 6-6. Mall of Arabia foodcourt (family section)

*Family section during the evening session (Mustafa, 2011t)*
Figure 6-7. Mall of Arabia foodcourt (men’s section)

Single men and salesmen are allowed to be in the second floor of the foodcourt during weekends and busy sessions (Mustafa, 2011t)

Therefore, single men who have managed to enter the mall limit their activities to the commercially leased spaces such as upmarket restaurants and cafés, which give them more freedom to display their liberal performances.

On the other hand, females have more freedom to display their liberal performances in the quasi-public spaces without any restrictions from mall management. The female visitors display liberal performances in terms of their clothing (no facial veil) and the type of spaces they chose to visit such as cafés that do not provide visual privacy or segregated sections for men and women. On numerous occasions, young females were seen smoking inside the upmarket cafés, even though it is considered by Saudi society as inappropriate for Saudi women to smoke in public.
6.3.2 Dammam Region

In the Mall of Dhahran, females display liberal performances only in terms of space selection. The variation in the females’ performances could be due to the fact that the religious authority has a strong presence in the quasi-public space of the Dhahran Mall, and is absent in the leased commercial spaces inside the mall leading women to take advantage of the situation and display liberal performances with no interference from the religious authority.

It was also evident that the local culture, norms and traditions shaped and influenced the performances of the mall’s visitors in different ways. In the Dammam region, which is considered to be a strict society, women’s facial veiling is widely practised and strongly enforced by the religious authority. However, in Jeddah, the facial veiling rule for women is more relaxed and it is widely accepted for women not to cover their faces in public spaces.

In the Mall of Arabia, the majority of the females do not veil their faces while they are in the quasi-public spaces inside the mall and in the foodcourt. Females in the Mall of Dhahran are also more conservative in their clothing, as almost all the females veil their faces and they display their liberal performances only when they are inside the upmarket cafés and restaurants. It was observed on numerous occasions in the Mall of Dhahran that several females do not object to visiting or socialising in cafés that are located in the middle of the corridors, where visual privacy is very limited, and the restaurants do not separate single men and females. Some of those females will even remove their facial veil and reveal their faces while sitting in these cafés and restaurants (see Figure 6-8). The family sections at these cafés have no partitions or screens to block or obstruct the view and they lack visual privacy.
Figure 6-8. Crêpe Café family section

*Group of females sitting in the middle of corridors without facial veil (Mustafa, 2011d)*

### 6.3.3 Power Relationships

Another regional difference is the dynamic power relationship between the two genders. The influence of the presence of an adult male relative in the group seems to be stronger in the Mall of Dhahran (the stricter mall) than the Mall of Arabia. In the Mall of Arabia, the power relationship between males and females seems to be equal. This was assumed by the observation of how couples share the decision of selecting a place to sit and the seating arrangements.

However, in the Mall of Dhahran the power relationship between the two genders is more dynamic and complex. The presence of adult males, either as part of the group or even as a result of being in the same space, will have an influence on the females’ performances.
Another regional difference is that gazing is widely practised at the Mall of Dhahran. Single men at this mall are provided with the opportunity to gaze and observe visitors’ performances in the quasi-public spaces by cafés with tables that are open to the central plaza. The central plaza at the mall has offered visitors the opportunity to perform and observe in seven cafés and restaurants that are surrounding the plaza. These cafés get visited by males in the age range of 20 to 60. Single men who sit in these cafés wear the Saudi traditional dress and they prefer to occupy tables that face the corridors (see Figure 6-9). Despite their conservative image, these men are displaying liberal performances by engaging in the act of gazing. The traditional Saudi dress is seen as a reflection of prestige, maturity and respect.

**Figure 6-9. Males’ gazing, Dhahran Mall**

*Single men engaging in the act of gaze inside the central plaza (Mustafa, 2011r)*

However, in the Mall of Arabia, gender gazing is not possible inside the mall due to the lack of spaces that facilitate the act of gazing. Single men have the option to
go into upmarket cafés and restaurants and practise the act of gazing (see Figure 6-10).

![Figure 6-10. Mall of Arabia Lamborghini Café](image)

*Mustafa, 2011u*

### 6.4 Gender Power Relationships

The relationship between the performers and observers is a power relationship where one gender dominates the space and they have the right to perform and to be gazed upon, and the other gender has a lesser presence in the space and has the right to observe and gaze only.

The Red Sea Mall in Jeddah applies a permissive management approach, which involves placing marginal restrictions on men's access to the mall and providing them spaces to display their performances. This permissive approach has attracted young male and female visitors to come and display their performances in a variety of spaces inside the mall that target wealthy visitors. Plus the
location of the mall relates to a particular population who are wealthy and has made it a suitable place for people who seek to display liberal performances. However, the relationship between the two genders is dynamic. When the numbers of one gender increase, they become the dominant gender in the space, and assume the right to be the main performers, while the least dominant gender has the right only to observe the performance of the other gender.

At the Red Sea Mall, females make up the majority of visitors at most times (morning and evening sessions). As females are the dominant gender in the mall, they are the main performers in the space and men are the observers. Females can display their performances in the quasi-public spaces as well as in the leased commercial spaces, which include the central plaza and the corridors. Younger females who perform liberally make up the majority of performers during the evening session. They walk in groups of two-four young girls and stroll through the mall with their fashionable coloured *abaya* with their faces revealed. Younger men (teenagers) tend to stroll also through the corridors and in some cases they will try to start a conversation with the young females. However, single men who attempt to display their liberal performances in the quasi-public spaces are forced to leave by mall security guards. Older men tend to sit in coffee shops and observe and gaze at the girls who are passing by. Some of the men attempt to start contact with the other females by sending BlackBerry Ping\(^8\).

However, at weekends near closing time, single men start to come to the mall and their numbers increase dramatically by hundreds of young male crashers\(^9\). As the number of single men increases and they become the dominant gender, families and females start to leave the mall. Then the power balance between the two genders shifts and mall security guards start to lose control of the space.

\(^8\) A BlackBerry ping is a device to get someone’s attention on BlackBerry Messenger. Young people search for Pin number for other nearby BlackBerrys and send short messages.

\(^9\) Male crashers are group of young men who enter the space in large number and cause disturbance.
Men become the main performers and females become the observers (see Figure 6-11).

Figure 6-11. Thursday night, Red Sea Mall

*Young men swarmed into the mall, young women become the gazer (Mustafa, 2011af)*

On one weekend (Weekend in Saudi Arabia is Thursdays & Fridays), young males (up to 500 male crashers) were observed inside the mall coming in large groups. Most of the shops will shut down when single men become the dominant gender in the mall. Their large number and sudden presence in the space becomes overwhelming. The young men were seen wearing Western clothes and modern haircuts in order to make fashion statements. They took control of the central plaza and the corridors leading to it as the stage and started to display their own performance, imitating American musicians, actors, and athletes (NBA players). Young females became the observers of the performance (gazers) as illustrated by Figure 6-12 and Figure 6-13. It felt like being in a stadium with the young men cheering for the young females who appeared to them as being liberal females.
Figure 6-12. Group of girl observers

*Young women become the gazer when the number of single men increased (Mustafa, 2011k)*

Figure 6-13. Single men crashers

*Group of young men (crashers) during a weekend (Mustafa, 2011ac)*
Young males also go to the terrace to display their fashions and a few of them go to smoke. Young men are the dominant gender in this space. As an older male I felt out of place to be around young males and I was surprised to see females in this area, despite the overwhelming numbers of young men. On other occasions, I noticed a few females also go to observe the young male’s performance, as illustrated in Figure 6-14.

Figure 6-14. Smoking terrace

*Smoking terrace hangout space for young men and sometimes young women (Mustafa, 2011ad)*
6.5 Spatial Management

Liberal performances are restricted in the quasi-public spaces and permitted to be performed in the leased commercial spaces.

In Al-Rashid Mall, male visitors are permitted to display their liberal performances during the morning and evening session in the leased commercial spaces that overlook the quasi-public spaces. On the other hand, females who come to the mall are not permitted to display their liberal performances either in the leased commercial spaces, or in the quasi-public spaces.

Al-Rashid Mall’s management and the religious authority have restricted liberal performances from taking place in the quasi-public spaces by strong monitoring of the gendered space by mall security guards and the strong presence of the religious authority. However, the religious authority has less power over the men who are in the leased commercial spaces. Men sitting in these cafés can perform the act of gazing freely without any objection from the religious authority or the mall security. The men also have the freedom to be present inside these cafés during prayer times without being forced to leave the space.

Single men at Al-Rashid Mall have the option to select a leased space to socialise and enjoy gazing and observing performances of mall visitors in one of the several scattered cafés on the second floor. Men who are regular visitors to these cafés come daily at a specific time and they tend to occupy tables that provide views of the central plaza and the corridors. Some of the men are willing to pay the premium price to sit on the reserved tables (see Figure 6-15).
Figure 6-15. Male gazing, Starbucks Coffee

Single men café, a man engaged in the act of gaze (Mustafa, 2011q)

By contrast, females are restricted from engaging in the act of gazing in the quasi-public spaces. Females are not allowed to sit and gaze in cafés that do not provide visual privacy, and where people in the quasi-public spaces can see them. However, they are allowed to gaze and observe performances from behind tinted windows and one-way glass (see Figure 6-16). This support the findings of Le Renard (2011) that women get engaged in the act of gaze inside the Kingdom Mall in Riyadh (Saudi Arabia)
Figure 6-16. Inside family section café

*Family section’s café provides the chance for females to engage in the act of gaze behind one way glass (Mustafa, 2011n)*

The family sections are at the back of the cafe with a separate entrance and tinted window that provides one-way vision of the men’s section. However in this example, the glass of this window was later blocked to restrict the view of the men’s section, in compliance with the religious office at the mall (according to one staff member of the café) (see Figure 6-16).

Females are discouraged from displaying liberal performances in the quasi-public spaces and they are only permitted to show them in spaces that are controlled. They are allowed to display their liberal performances in the family section of the foodcourt, the family entertainment centre, and at Al-Rashid Boulevard (ladies only). The family section in the foodcourt allows females the opportunity to observe and gaze while they can be seen from the corridors. The mall’s security and the religious personnel do not allow men to stand in the
corridors and gaze at the family section. Females who require a higher level of privacy can go to the women-only section, which is located behind 2 m high screens at the back of the family section. Females with young children also go to the family entertainment centre where single men are not allowed to enter at any time.

It also seems that the concept of Goffman (1971) front stage and backstage exists in malls that are in Dammam region (Dhahran Mall and Al-Rashid Mall). Visitors treated the leased spaces which are hidden and separated from the quasi-public spaces inside malls by doors and tinted windows as a backstage where they could be free of the strict values and culture. Observation has indicated that women tend to display two distinctive performances in back stage and front stage.

### 6.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter reviewed the nature of social gender performances in the five malls. The initial theoretical framework and the key concepts anticipated some clear connections between mall management and gender performances. However, I found that the types of management approaches in gendering the spaces were less significant than what might have been anticipated. It showed that it is much more contingent and dependent on the particular local circumstances and therefore it is much more dynamic.

This highlighted the importance of developing mapping techniques to bring out the social gender.

In Al-Andalus Mall for example, location and convenience to a certain type of population was a major factor that has encouraged visitors with liberal performances to come to the mall during the morning session without giving any consideration to the strict rules of gendering that are enforced in the mall. However, the strict rules of gendering could also be a factor that has encouraged
other visitors with conservative and hybrid performances to come during the
evening session.

Theory also suggests that culture and tradition are major factors in influencing
performances (Pawson & Banks, 1993). This concurs with the findings that the
local socio-culture and norms of a region have significant influences on
performances and behaviours, as seen in two malls (Mall of Dhahran in Dammam
and Mall of Arabia in Jeddah), which have the same management and ownership
but different regional contexts. The power of the regional government (religious
authority) appears to be a key feature, and will be further investigated in the
focus group chapter.

It was also observed that wealthy visitors display liberal performances in spaces
that are permissively managed in the Mall of Dhahran and the Mall of Arabia to
which they pay a premium price (such as upmarket restaurants). This suggests
that economic power is also a significant feature in gendering space. The more
you are wealthy, the more freedom you have in the space.

Power relationships are a theoretical cornerstone of this research (Aitchison,
2003; Aitchison, McLeod & Shaw, 2000; Aitchison & Reeves, 1998). The Red Sea
Mall has showed the connection between power relationships and the
performances of mall visitors, and provides evidence of how power shifts
towards the gender that has the greater share of numbers in the space, which has
the right to perform, whereas the gender with the least numbers has the right
only to observe. This supports Saucier et al.’s (2002) claim that male and females
change their performances as the audience changes.

The analysis of the participant observations has indicated that the gendering of
these quasi-public spaces is driven by location and convenience as well as
relation to particular populations by the time of the day in which visits occur.
Regional differences, management styles, and the local religious authority are
also factors in gendering spaces. The way in which these factors are interrelated is highly contingent, complex, and quite dynamic, which suggests that the gendering is not a given, and the process of gendering malls is part of working out of the modernisation of the Kingdom.

This chapter also confirmed that mall managements have provided visitors with two distinctive stages (venues): front stage where the rules of strict gendering is enforced and backstage where the rules of gendering is more relaxed and gender segregation is less enforceable.

The backstage in these malls is treated in a similar in a way as a domestic sphere.
Chapter 7 Experiencing Gendered Space

This chapter presents the findings of the focus groups of female and male visitors to malls in the two study regions. Focus groups provide in-depth participant insights and experiences (Stewart et al., 2007). The previous two chapters have raised several issues, which warrant further investigation. These include the motivations for visitors to go to a certain mall and the connections between the types of gendered space and visitors’ performances; the impact and influence of gazing on visitors’ performances; the power relationship between the two genders and how empowering women influences visitors’ performances; and the regional and institutional roles in shaping and influencing visitors’ performances (regional differences). The focus group discussion offers useful insights on these dimensions.

The chapter is divided into six sections:

1. Participants’ profile: brief background information about the participants including age group, marital status, type of work and educational level.
2. Gazing: the impact and influence of gazing on visitors’ performances.
3. Consumption: reasons for visiting malls, activities and places that get visited, and the females’ empowerment.
4. Empowerment: which will include the experience of the mall visitors, their experience as being actors and performers in gazing situations and ways the power relationship between males and females are being expressed.
5. Regional differences: Regional and institutional roles in shaping and influencing visitors’ performances.
6. Chapter summary: this chapter will conclude with a summary of the focus group analysis.
7.1 Participants' Profiles

As mentioned earlier in the methodological chapter, malls in Saudi Arabia are predominantly visited by females; and as a male researcher, the insights and opinions of females were crucial for this research. Therefore, the initial target of the focus group was Saudi females. At a later stage, the researcher decided to include the opinions of Saudi males. There were 40 Saudi participants in a total of seven focus groups. Three focus groups were conducted in the Jeddah region and four were conducted in the Dammam region. Thirty-one Saudi females participated in five focus groups and eight Saudi males participated in two focus groups.

7.1.1. Dammam Focus Groups

In Dammam, three focus groups were conducted, two groups included 15 Saudi females and one group included five Saudi males.

First Focus Group

The first focus group interview consisted of a group of nine Saudi females of mixed ages and educational backgrounds. Eight of the females were mothers, half of them held university degrees and were working mothers and the other half were homestay mothers who held high school diplomas. The last female, a university student, was aged 23 years old at the time of the focus group. This group expressed a positive opinion towards leisure spaces in malls and seafronts.

Second Focus Group

The second focus group interview consisted of a group of six Saudi females. Two of the female participants were working mothers with university degrees and their ages ranged between 35 and 40 years old. Three mothers had high school diplomas and their ages were 35, 40 and 46 years old. The last female was a single university graduate aged 36 years old. The participants of this group were friends who meet weekly in one of the malls. They were considered to be from the upper middle classes. They expressed liberal opinions toward malls and seafronts.
Third Focus Group

The third focus group interview consisted of a group of five Saudi working males with an age range of between 26 and 36 years old. This group of male participants was coworkers who meet for lunch daily in Al-Rashid Mall. They expressed frustration towards the restrictions on their access to several malls during the family sessions and they complained about the lack of leisure activities for men.

7.1.2. Jeddah Focus Groups

The Jeddah focus group included 16 Saudi females in three groups and one group included three Saudi males.

Fourth Focus Group

The fourth focus group interview consisted of a group of five Saudi females. The oldest female of the group was a 48 year old professional university graduate. The second and third females were university students at the ages of 23 and 21 years old. The fourth and fifth participants were high school student females aged 18 years old. The participants of this focus group showed a positive opinion towards going to malls in general and they described themselves as liberal females.

Fifth Focus Group

The fifth focus group interview consisted of a group of eight Saudi females of mixed age groups and backgrounds. The focus group included one university graduate working mother at the age of 35 years old. Four high school graduate homestay mothers aged 28, 30, 35, and 46 years old. The other three females were university students at the ages of 24 and 25. The three older females expressed conservative opinions and the rest of the group expressed positive opinions.

Sixth Focus Group

The sixth focus group interview consisted of a group of three Saudi females who expressed liberal opinions towards malls. The oldest female in the group was a 40 year old professional working mother with a postgraduate degree. The second female was a
23 year old university student mother and the third participant was a working university graduate female.

Seventh Focus Group

The seventh focus group interview was conducted in Jeddah. It consisted of a group of three Saudi males who were university students at the ages of 18, 22, and 26 years old. Their opinions about malls were positive.

7.1.3 Frequency of Visits

The findings of the focus groups showed that participants make weekly visits to malls for the purpose of leisure. The frequency of their visits to the mall seems to be related to their age group. Mature participants make fewer visits than younger participants. For example, mature participants (36 years and above) have indicated that they visit malls at least once a week.

On the other hand, younger participants (under 35 years old) also confirmed that they visit malls more than twice a week. Four university students confirmed that they might visit malls between three to four times a week, due to the close proximity of the mall to their university. They added they go to malls with classmates between lectures either for breakfast, coffee or lunch. Also participants expressed different preferences toward different malls. For example, the young female participants who visit Al-Andalus Mall described it as a strict and boring mall, and they only go because of its close proximity to their home and for the purpose of shopping. A young female said:

“Al-Andalus Mall is one of the strictest malls in Jeddah. I do not like it, very boring mall…. I go to it because it’s close to my house and I do my shopping and leave quickly.” (Code: B07, 2011)
7.2 Gazing

The concept of gazing was introduced in chapter four as one of the four key concepts to help understand and analyse the relationships in the socio-cultural construction of leisure spaces in Saudi society. The literature review provides evidence that gazing has a strong influence on performances. Aitchison (2003), Pritchard & Morgan (2000), and Scalcedo (2003) have claimed that individuals will self-police their performances when they become aware they are being subject to gazing. The participant observations revealed that gazing is widely practised in Saudi malls. As Abaza (2001) has confirmed that in Egypt men tend to go to cafés inside malls to practice gazing at females' performances; the same claim is found to be true inside Saudi malls. Moreover, some malls in Saudi Arabia have even commodified gazing and sell tables at premium prices that provide for gazing.

The focus groups confirmed that gazing is one of the major factors that influences and affects performances, feelings and behaviour of mall visitors. In general all females expressed negative opinions toward gazing and being the subject of gazing, especially if the gazers are male. On the other hand, male participants showed neutral opinions toward gazing and some young males claimed that they feel proud to be the subject of females' gazing:

"To be honest I do not mind if girls gaze at me; sometimes it feels good to be the subject of female gaze." (Code: E02, 2011)

Participants expressed two types of impact on them from gazing: emotional and performance. The focus groups showed that both females and males are susceptible to the emotional impacts of the gaze. However, each gender expressed different opinions towards the emotional impacts. The emotional impacts of gazing have led female participants to experience frustration, annoyance, shamefulness, and sadness according to the analysis of the focus group.

The focus groups also revealed that younger females are more susceptible to male gazing than older females. The majority of the participants agreed that young men tend to target and gaze at younger women and young females expressed more frustration at being the subject of male gazing. A young university student in Jeddah said:
"Men are annoying in Al-Andalus Mall, they will harass you and follow and bother you.... This is why I stopped going there during morning hours, even if my girlfriends are going I will rather stay in the campus and not go." (Code: E01, 2011)

Another young female student also expressed her frustration and annoyance by the large number of men's cafés in malls and about being the subject of male gazes. She said:

“I will get nervous if I have to walk in front of a men's café; I hate to be gazed at by men.... I do not like malls that have men's cafés in the corridors.” (Code: A02, 2011)

On the other hand, mature female participants claimed that they are not the primary subjects of male gazes. Therefore, it had less emotional impact on them. A mature female said:

“For me maybe because I am older, gazing does not bother me a lot, and I do not give men the attention and I ignore them.” (Code: A01, 2011)

Another mature female said:

“Young men are not interested in mature females and they only bother younger females who give them attention.” (Code: B02, 2011)

A few females said that they hate going to certain malls because of male gazing, and they claimed that male gazing influenced their relationships with their male relatives that accompany them. They said that the men who are accompanying them show frustration when they pass by men’s cafés or when the women get gazed at.
Gazing also impacts visitors’ performances in several ways. As mentioned earlier, younger females seem to be more susceptible and sensitive to gazing than other visitors. Therefore, the male gaze tends to have a stronger influence over younger females’ performances and several young female participants complained that male gazing has forced them to change their behaviour and performance in malls. For example, younger females claim that male gazing has forced them to seek a different route to avoid passing by spaces that are crowded by young men, especially cafés where they feel they might be subject to male gazing. This has raised their level of awareness of gazing and made them consider their every move so as not to send the wrong signals. One female said:

“I will try to avoid walking in front of men’s cafés and I’ll choose an alternative route... always you will find young men sitting there and observing women; it is worse than the surveillance cameras.” (Code: A03, 2011)

Another young female said:

“I would rather go around a men’s café because I don’t want to be bothered. I would rather avoid that space and not send them the wrong signals.” (Code: B07, 2011)

The comment that said by the young female ‘send them wrong signals’ suggests that users of the space are aware of their performance and behaviour and how it can be seen by other people. Also it highlights the importance of the space design and how it could influence culture.

Mature female visitors are less subject to male gazing. However, the influences on their performances are still strong and similar to younger females. Mature females were also found to avoid spaces that made them subject to male gazes.

“I avoid going to places where men sit and gaze at people who are passing by, especially if I am
accompanied by my sisters or mother. I cannot tolerate those men, and I see their eyes following us and observing every move, I feel like I want to go and hit them.” (Code: E05, 2011)

Male participants showed neutral opinions towards being the subject of gazing. All male participants claimed that gazing did not impact or influence their performances at all. A male participant said:

“Usually females do not gaze at us, maybe they do it covertly… some men in cafés gaze at other men… but this does not bother me.” (Code: M05, 2011)

Another young male participant showed a positive opinion towards being the subject of young female gazing. He said:

“For me, if girls gaze at me, it makes me feel so good, it means that I have captured their attention and they have an interest in me.” (Code: M03, 2011)

This suggests that gaze sometimes is positive as it can contribute to ego satisfaction and self-importance especially among young men when they are the subject of female gaze.

The literature also suggests that electronic monitoring (surveillance cameras) are a strong factor in discipline (Arslan et al., 2010). Therefore, surveillance cameras and mall security were also considered as part of the gazing concept. However, the findings of the thesis focus group have not supported this claim. Most of the female participants claimed that surveillance or the presence of security guards did not change their performances. Moreover, they claimed that they felt more secure by their presence. However, young males seemed to be more influenced by it, as the majority of young males believed that surveillance cameras and mall security followed them everywhere.
inside the malls. This has resulted in making them avoid going to certain malls. A young male said:

“I stopped going to the Mall of Arabia because of the surveillance by security and cameras.... They watch your every move.” (Code: M07, 2011)

The new cafés have become preferable spaces for young men to come and gaze at women. On the other hand, female participants have expressed frustration and they claim that the new cafés are the most common places for them to experience verbal harassment and inappropriate comments. This supports the claim made by Abaza (2001) that the coffee shops inside new shopping centres in Cairo have replaced traditional coffee houses by becoming gathering places for men to sit, observe and make comments upon the physique of passing women. This has proved that gazing is a long-standing cultural phenomenon that has been translated into the new modern spaces inside malls where men can sit in coffee shops and practise gazing openly in public. However, the levels and types of gazing were differently practised across the two regions. In Dammam, Al-Rashid Mall and the Mall of Dhahran which are located in a society that is considered to be more conservative, gazing was noticeably practised more than in other malls in Makah Region.

7.3 Consumption

Several scholars have highlighted that capitalism and globalisation have a major role in shaping the new malls and shopping centres for the purpose of increasing visitors’ consumption (Le Renard, 2008, 2011, 2013; Shields, 1991). Seeking leisure inside malls has become a new lifestyle in Saudi Arabia (Mall Manager, 2011). Key informant interviews (chapter five) and participant observations in the five malls (chapter six) have revealed that these malls have in fact, replaced the traditional role of public squares and traditional souk as places to meet. My observations seem to confirm the literature which argues that malls have become liminal spaces, which are set between traditional and modern spaces. In addition, some malls have passed the point of liminal spaces and one could argue they have become the frontiers of modernisation; the new frontiers have separated people from their own society. The two chapters have also
shown how the malls have become the spaces where young people in particular display to their peer group and observe other young people’s performances, and interact with each other in the modern spaces. Cafés in the malls provide other visitors the chance to sit and observe young people’s performances, especially those who are strolling in the quasi-public spaces (corridors).

Shields (1989) describes the practice of strolling and hanging out in malls in Europe and America as an act of social transformation in contemporary urban life. The focus groups have indicated that the traditional streets where young men used to cruise in their cars while gazing at shoppers have been replaced by the new quasi-public spaces which allow young men to stroll by foot and hang out around crowded spaces inside malls where they can practise gazing. The participant observations suggest that malls in Saudi Arabia play a major role in consumers’ lifestyles as places for shopping, social integration and leisure activities, and the focus group findings provide evidence which support the claim made by Shields (1989) that malls have become a form of privatised public consumption spaces, particularly as Saudi malls have become indoor leisure centres for the entire family. In fact, one could claim that malls in Saudi Arabia are the only leisure spaces that are available for all family members. The focus groups also suggest that the new malls have empowered visitors in general and female ones especially.

One of the discussion points for the focus groups was what are the places and activities participants prefer to visit for the purposes of leisure and socialising. ‘Coffee shops’ was the unanimous answer and they are the most popular visiting place for socialising and meeting friends; as all participants confirmed cafés are the first thing that comes to mind when they think about leisure in malls. Going to malls for the purpose of shopping came in second place. Participants also said that foodcourts and restaurants were at the top of their preferred places to visit inside the malls. Children’s play areas (entertainment centres) are also mentioned by mothers as one of their favourite spaces when their children accompany them. Some females also said they regularly exercise by walking in the distance-marked tracks inside the malls.
The majority of the females indicated that a reason for choosing cafés for socialising is the long opening hours which make it very convenient and the level of privacy that cafés offer. One of the young female participants explained:

“Coffee shops are the most favourite place for us in Saudi malls; they open from morning till closing time... even they do not close during prayer times.” (Code: C02, 2011)

Some participants added that cafés are the only places that are suitable for females to sit and socialise as there is segregation between single men and families.

No clear link between the age group and the preference for visiting a café to socialise has been established. However, younger visitors indicated that malls that are managed as permissive spaces are more favourable and appealing to them than stricter malls. They claimed that permissive malls provide more entertainment and leisure activities. Participants described the new cafés that are located in the middle of corridors, as one of the best spaces inside malls and they are more encouraged to visit these malls despite their lack of visual privacy. This suggests that the new cafés have encouraged visitors to consider compromise privacy for a space that provides view of the corridors and people who are passing by. Six young females said that these new cafés provided them with the opportunity to view their surroundings and be in different seating than the conventional cafés, where they have to sit behind screens and partitions.

Another purpose for socialising in cafés is to meet with other females. One of the female participants explained:

“We are a group meeting every Thursday afternoon in one of the cafés inside the mall; sometimes we have lunch together.” (Code: M07, 2011)

Two female university students described their visits to Al-Andalus Mall during the morning session as enjoyable visits where they could meet with friends.
“We go mostly for the purpose of leisure, we meet in Al-Andalus Mall and have breakfast and sometimes we go at noon for lunch.” (Code: M01 & M02, 2011)

Mature men (36 years and above) also showed a similar interest in meeting in coffee shops for the purposes of leisure and socialising. A group of male co-workers met daily in one of the cafés:

“We are group of eight co-workers from different departments. We have agreed to meet during lunch break every day at this café [Al-Rashid Mall]. On any day you will find at least six of us coming here during the lunch hour.... This is the only time we are allowed to be in the mall... we feel we are being alienated from our own society when we get refused access to public spaces on family days.” (Code: M09, 2011)

In fact, participant observations and key informant interviews show evidence that the new modern spaces have discriminated against males, especially young men by denying them access and disturbing their presence in the gendered spaces.

Participants also confirmed that they go to malls for the purpose of shopping. However, the majority of these participants were females. In contrast, males claimed that most malls do not provide a wide variety of men’s clothing plus the restrictions on their access have made it inconvenient to visit malls for the purpose of shopping. A male participant said:

“We face a hard time in finding men’s stores in malls, and in most cases we are not allowed inside malls.... I prefer to go shopping in stores outside the malls.”
(Code: M03, 2011)

The majority of female participants agreed that one out of five visits to the malls is for the purpose of shopping. They indicated that they prefer to go shopping in malls during morning sessions or early evening sessions before the malls get crowded which is
consistent with one mall manager who said that that most sales happen in the early evening session between 4-6 pm.

Going to malls for the purpose of visiting restaurants is a more common practice for females than males according to the focus groups. Almost all the females said they had been to restaurants inside malls at least once in the past six months, either with their female friends or their families (adult males). Some females said they prefer to go to restaurants inside malls at least once a month with their families as one female said:

“I love going to restaurants inside malls with my husband and family... we go at least once a month, either for a birthday celebration or any special occasions.” (Code: B01, 2011)

Another female said:

“I prefer to go with my husband to a restaurant, he will go only to restaurants... but I enjoy going to cafés more with my friends, I could change my plan any time I want but with husband it’s a little difficult to do that.” (Code: D01, 2011)

Participants also claimed that one of their reasons for visiting malls was shelter and protection from the adverse environmental conditions. A young female participant said:

“I go to malls to avoid the heat and humidity.... I go to the seafront only when the weather is pleasant.” (Code: B06, 2011)

This finding is consistent with the claim made by Abaza (2001) that visitors choose to visit malls in Egypt is to avoid pollution and the harsh weather.
Finally, a few females said that they meet regularly inside malls for the purpose of exercise during the early evening session. One mature female said:

"Most of the malls have marked tracks for walking with distance marking. I put on my sneakers and meet my girlfriends in the mall and we spend an hour walking before the mall gets crowded." (Code: B01, 2011)

I believe malls have created new spaces that are differing from the traditional spaces. These new spaces have provided visitors with spaces where visitors can engage in different type of activities. For example some malls have created marked tracks to encourage visitors to walk, and other malls have replaced the role of public squares and plazas by hosting public events such national days inside the malls. The traditional open souk and open market have also been replaced by department stores and hybrid markets, which are in protected and controlled environments with longer opening hours (8:00 am-1:30 am).

7.4 Empowerment

The literature suggests that gender-power relationships especially in leisure spaces are complex. Deem (1988) claims that there are unequal rights and access to leisure spaces for males and females, which could empower and favour one gender over the other. Other authors (Shaw, 1994) claim that structured gender relations and social values can constrain women’s participation in leisure activities.

Women’s empowerment by the space and the power relations between males and females was one of the strong issues discussed by the participants during the focus group. Two types of power relationship were identified:

1. Power relationships with an accompanied male on the micro scale.
2. Power relationships with men occupying the same space on the macro scale.
The analysis of the focus groups has indicated that the new modern spaces have empowered women and favoured them over men. Moreover, the analysis also indicates that there are strong connections between a female’s performance and the power relationship with the adult male that is accompanying them. The connections between power relationships and performances differ according to the female’s age group, their financial status, and the space they are in. Mature females seem to challenge the male’s decision and demand an equal role in power sharing and the higher the financial status of the female, the more power she has.

For example, mature female participants expressed a different response from younger female participants when asked about being accompanied by adult male relatives. The majority of females indicated that they prefer to be accompanied by an adult male relative only when they are in mixed-gendered spaces. The presence of an adult male relative provides females with confidence and security when in mixed-gendered spaces. One mature female said:

“I prefer to walk in front of the men’s cafés with my brother or husband because I feel protected... I would feel a lot calmer and safer in walking past the people if I had my husband walking with me.” (Code: A01, 2011)

Another mature female said:

“Going with my husband gives me more comfort, I would let my guard down with my husband and I won’t watch my surroundings as I would if I am by myself.”

(Code: D03, 2011)

The presence of a male relative will discourage other men from gazing or bothering the females as one female participant said:

“Usually men will avoid even eye contact and they will look the other way if I am with my brother.” (Code: E03, 2011)
However, all female participants claimed that the presence of an adult male with them influences their performances and restricts their freedom. However, the response of the participants seems to suggest that mature female participants resist submitting to the control of their male companion, and younger female participants tend to submit and lose control of their freedom to the male that is accompanying them. For example, a mature female will resist the control of the accompanied male, by negotiating and sharing the decision making when it comes to the seating arrangements and in refusing to use screens and partitions, which was observed also during the participant observations (see chapter six). In addition, several female participants showed strong opinions about losing their freedom to the accompanied male. One female said that she would challenge her husband’s decision on choosing the seating arrangement and the use of screens in restaurant. She said:

“When we go to a restaurant or a café, usually we do not use partitions, even if my husband asked for a partition, we tell him we do not want it, I rather stay home and not go out, to be surrounded by a wall and to feel like I am in a room, defeats the purpose of going out and I am covering my hair and wearing my abaya I have no problem.” (Code: B01, 2011)

On the other hand, younger female participants expressed different opinions. Six young female participants mentioned that the presence of a male relative places restrictions on their performances. One young female participant said:

“I prefer to go to the mall without a male, because you will be in control of your situation and where to sit or what to do.” (Code: B06, 2011)
Another young female added:

"When we go to a restaurant with my husband I don’t have any control on choosing where to sit.” (Code: B08, 2011)

The findings also indicated that the relationship between female in gendered spaces and her accompanying male is more complex than what is seems. Females indicated that they have more control and enjoyment of the space when a male relative does not accompany them. Working female participants showed that they tend to have more control when it comes to the selection of the type of leisure activities and in selecting the seating arrangement than non-working females.

The loss of female freedom could include being forced to veil her face even inside family spaces, being forced to sit in certain seating arrangements or behind screens, and to speak in a loud voice.

"Sometimes when I am by myself or with friends, I do not cover my face but with my husband it’s impossible not to veil my face.” (Code: C02, 2011)

However, the same male could behave differently if the setting changes. For example, a male could be conservative in a strict mall, and he could become more liberal in a permissive mall; as one female participant explains the situation with her husband:

"Same thing with my husband, I have to cover my face if I am with him, but my husband changes according to the place; for example when we go to the Red Sea Mall or the Mall of Arabia in Jeddah he changes. He does not mind whether I cover my face and the same thing about the seating arrangements, because he says people are more free in this mall.” (Code: C02, 2011)

This in fact, supports the claim that made by Lored (1984) that the dominant codes of societal behaviour will be adapted by individuals to avoid being different.
Several young participants thought that the new malls have given them more freedom and provided them with liberal (modern) spaces that have a touch of Western society despite the harassment they face from single men. Moreover, the participant observation and the focus group findings suggested that the new malls have indeed provided the Saudi society with modern spaces where liberal performances can be displayed. In addition, females seem to have been empowered by the new spaces. Females have challenged the decision of the males accompanying them in these spaces, and they have demanded equal roles in selecting the type of leisure activities. Malls also have provided new opportunities for females to come and enjoy the new spaces by placing marginal restrictions on single men and excluding them from family spaces.

Power relationships between the two genders at the mall on the micro level are also very dynamic and complex. Some female participants claimed that the relationships with the other gender sharing the space are tense and problematic in certain spaces and situations. For example, they claimed that younger men display two distinct behaviours according to the person accompanying them. Female participants provided evidence that groups of young men are more hostile towards them and they claim they have been the targets of verbal assault and harassment, while men who are accompanied by their family are well behaved. One young female participant said:

“The problem is only when the young men are not accompanied by their family, because they become aggressive, hostile, and they gaze and stare at women, so when their family is with him, he will only have a small peek.” (Code: C02, 2011)

The focus groups also suggest that strict malls, which apply strict gendering rules and a strong security presence, are not necessarily the safest places for females from male harassment. Several females complained that they have at least once experienced verbal abuse and harassment by men in strict malls. For example, two female university students described their visit to all Al-Andalus Mall as a frustrating
experience and they claimed that they had been subject to male gazing and experienced verbal assault by young males. One young female participant said:

“The problem in Al-Andalus Mall is young men during the morning hours; we have been harassed and followed on more than one occasion. My friends and I decided not to go there any more during the morning hours.” (Code: C02, 2011)

The findings of the focus groups have showed that participants have indicated that the new modern spaces have empowered young visitors, especially females despite the harassment that female faced by single men. The form of empowerment for females is to be more liberal and to voice their opinions, as large numbers of female participants have claimed that they are allowed to be more liberal in their performances and have gained freedom of choice in selecting the leisure activities inside malls especially when not accompanied by an adult male relative. Other evidence of females’ empowerment was the female challenge to the male’s decision in choosing the seating arrangement and in unveiling her face in the presence of other men. These reasons are considered to be significant in a patriarchal society where females’ mobility is restricted.

7.5 Regional Differences and Institutional Roles

Valentine (1992) claims that male and female behaviour and performance are influenced by several interrelated factors, which could lead them to display different patterns of spatial behaviour than the ones they display in their home towns. Jeddah city is one of the more modern cities and liberal societies in the Kingdom. Dammam on the other hand, is still a conservative society. Modern malls have spread in the two regions. However, the malls in the cities are at different stages of modernisation as frontiers and liminal spaces. Institutions have different roles in each region. Regional differences and institutional roles warrant a further investigation to identify how they influence visitors’ performances.
The findings of the focus groups have suggested that the performances of visitors tend to change as the setting and people that are gazing change. This supports the claim made by Saucier et al., (2002) that male and female performances change as the audience changes. Several females also indicated that they will follow the behaviour of the majority of the females that are using the same space. For example, several females have said they will unveil their faces if the majority of the other females sharing the space were unveiling their faces. This was consistent with the finding of the participant observations and supports Pawson and Banks’ (1993) claim that the socio-cultural norms and values associated with the localities in which men and women live are a major factor in the differences in their spatial behaviour. One female said:

“The atmosphere in Jeddah is a lot calmer and you have more freedom. I enjoy malls in Jeddah more than Dammam; in fact I never cover my face in malls in Jeddah...it’s very laid back and relaxed.” (Code: M09, 2011)

Another female described her experience in Jeddah and how she does not have to veil her face in malls:

“You will not get bothered by young boys in Jeddah and even the religious authority will not ask me to cover my face.” (Code: 04, 2011)

The socio-economic status of the malls’ location and the types of the spaces are also contributing factors in shaping the visitors’ performances as the focus groups have indicated that visitors’ performances can become more liberal in upmarket malls, cafés and restaurants, which supports the findings of the participant observations. Large numbers of females have said that they will lower their need for privacy and distance from other men in certain spaces and cafés. They identified spaces and cafés that are considered to be upmarket, and they claim that people and men in these spaces are more into themselves and gazing is seldom practised.
7.6 Chapter Summary

The findings of the focus group have provided insight into how both genders, male and female, experience the new modern spaces in semi-public spaces and private spaces.

Gazing is widely practised in Saudi malls and became a valuable commodity that has a high price tag that encouraged mall to charge a higher rate for tables that provide the vantage. Men mainly practise gazing and women tend to be the subject of the gaze. The literature reported that male gaze tend to influence the performance of females. In Saudi Arabia, male gaze has great impact and influence on females’ behaviours and performances. Several females have confirmed that they get frustrated and annoyed by male gazing. They also confirmed that male gaze has emotional impact on them as well. Men on the other hand, have showed neutral opinion toward gaze, which seldom happens to them. The findings of the focus group confirmed that malls have become places for social meeting and gathering especially among young females who meet regularly. Men as well confirmed that malls are the suitable places for meeting but only during certain time. They claim that malls discriminate against them by denying them access. In addition, the new spaces have favoured females and encouraged them to visit, by creating special visiting sessions for them that exclude single men. This also has led to females’ empowerment. Females started to visit spaces that cater for their needs and provided them with leisure and secure spaces in a society that has limited leisure activities, especially for females. Female participants also confirmed that the new modern spaces have empowered them by providing them with spaces that have security and shelter from harsh weather. The empowerment of women has influenced the relationship between the two genders that are sharing the same space. The influence has made female conscious and aware of their performances and behaviours.
Chapter 8 Seafronts

The previous three chapters have investigated the process of gendering modern spaces in five malls in Saudi Arabia. The theoretical lenses of ‘the gaze’, institutions, performance, and liminality were used to investigate how gender relationships in the new leisure spaces of the malls have been socio-culturally constructed in two different regions with different socio-economic and cultural characteristics.

Chapter five identified three types of management approach to gender relations: permissive, hybrid, and strict. Chapters six and seven provided insights into how different types of gendered performances (liberal, hybrid and conservative) are being performed in five malls. The findings of these three chapters have shown a clear connection between the management’s approach and visitors’ performances, with management shaping gender performances by both systematic rules and daily interventions. The findings have also indicated that mall managers have tended to be more permissive and less involved in gendering within higher priced retail and hospitality spaces, but are more strict and interventionist in the quasi-public spaces used informally, particularly by young people. These permissive spaces have encouraged visitors to display their liberal performances. This suggests that socio-economic factors are also significant in gendering spaces.

In this chapter, two case studies of seafronts from Jeddah and Dammam will be presented. The objectives are first, to investigate how different types of social performances are being expressed and performed in leisure spaces where the role and influence of institutional management is limited; and second, to investigate the influence of socio-economic status on social performances and on the management style of leisure spaces.

Dammam seafront provides two leisure settings where institutional management has only a limited role in gendering the spaces. The first site is the Old Corniche where ‘self-
gendering’ allows visitors to undertake different types of performance and activities, and to shape their leisure spaces to match their requirements. For example, families seeking higher levels of privacy use temporary screens (movable partitions) or vehicles to create enclosures. These techniques mean that single men are able to be in the same setting without intruding on family groups. The second Dammam site is the New Seafront, where the physical structure creates clear expectations of the performances and activities that are allowed. For example, the playground is the area that is designated for families with young children; men are not expected to be in the playground or even around it. These examples suggest that the limited involvement of institutions in the Dammam seafront has resulted in public spaces that are not heavily regulated, but which allow a range of people to undertake different types of gendered performances.

In contrast, Jeddah seafront provides two case studies of commercial leisure space used by wealthy and middle-class visitors. The Sail Island Park is a middle-class leisure space. The design and management of the park has created heavily regulated spaces such as playgrounds, cafés, and restaurants. Participant observations and focus groups indicate that females seem to be performing more comfortably with their children in a space that is family friendly. Visitors display a range of performances between hybrid and liberal performances in these types of spaces. Al-Seqala Restaurant attracts wealthy customers. Management adopts a permissive approach that allows liberal performances in heavily regulated spaces where access to single men is denied. Females feel empowered by this type of space. In both Jeddah examples, men who are not in family groups are excluded by entry control, in order to enable greater freedom for women and families according to the claims made by the management.
8.1 Dammam Seafront

Dammam Seafront is located in the north-eastern side of the Dammam Metropolis area. The reclamation of the seafront has resulted in the creation of an upper-class residential neighbourhood in this area.

![Map of Dammam Metropolis area](maps.google.com)

Dammam seafront is a primary tourist and leisure destination visited by local residents and visitors from other regions, and is designed as a public leisure/recreational space with institutional management having only a limited role in gendering the space through physical design. The seafront is operated and managed by the local municipality (Dammam Municipality). The municipality’s role is limited to the design, supervision of the contractors who are responsible for daily cleaning, irrigation, and maintenance. The municipality is responsible also for organising festivals in the area.
On crowded days, the religious authority attempts to get involved in gendering the space by limiting access to single men, which is achieved through controlling car-parking access.

Two leisure settings will be presented from Dammam seafront (see Figure 8-1). The first site will be the Old Corniche, which is a relatively unstructured open area and the second site is the new seafront, which has a contemporary design and a strong physical structure. Each of these sites, and the observation of gendering of space within them, will be described in relation to the four theoretical lenses utilised in previous chapters.

8.2 Old Corniche

The Old Corniche is an approximately 2 km stretch of seafront. It used to be a popular destination for families and a hangout place for young men in the late 1990s before the opening of the new seafront.

The analysis of the focus group has indicated that females feel less safe and secure in being at seafronts, especially the Old Corniche, by themselves and without the presence of an adult male relative in the group. They prefer going with a large group of people that includes adult male relatives. The female participants provided five often cited reasons for not feeling safe in the space: low lighting, physical isolation, low number of people in the space, lack of institutional presence/no security guards.

8.2.1 Low lighting

All participants agreed that this part of the Corniche has a low level of lighting, which makes them feel that the place is not safe to visit without a male adult in the group. A mature ‘mother’ said:

“Going to the seafront has to be with my husband, I believe it’s not safe to go without our father [referring
to her husband, the place is dark and with not enough lighting at night." (Code: B02, 2011)

However, a few male participants (three) have claimed that the low lighting is adequate for the space and for privacy. One of the single men from the focus group said:

“I like the Old Corniche when I go with a group of my friends for a BBQ, in the new seafront you have no privacy but here the lighting is suitable. It is not so high and is very adequate for the space; we enjoy the scene especially when it’s a full moon.” (Code: M06, 2011)

8.2.2 Physical isolation

Participants indicated that malls are located in convenient and close locations to their homes. However, the seafront tends to be located outside of the residential areas. Lack of a public transportation system and the law prohibiting women from driving, makes access to it more difficult for women in comparison to malls. A young female said:

“The seafront is far from our house, and it’s hard to go without a driver.” (Code: A02, 2011)

8.2.3 Low number of people in the spaces

The feeling of security and safety was associated with the number of people occupying the space. Participants indicated that they feel more secure when people are around them. They described the seafront as a deserted space when the number of people is low. A mature female said:

“It is really hard to go to the seafront without being accompanied by a male adult, we tend to stay late and it’s not safe to be alone without a male with you especially when no people are around you. Usually at night the seafront looks very scary when there are few people around… we do not like it when it is crowded and when it is empty.” (Code: E05, 2011)
8.2.4 No institutional presence in the space/no security guards

Participants also added that the limited presence of institutions/management in the seafronts gives them the feeling that the place lacks security when compared with malls. A mature mother said:

“The good thing about malls is security guards, you feel you are protected, but in the seafront you are alone and you need people around you to feel safe.” (Code: B03, 2011)

Another female said:

“Having a male in the group will discourage other men from harassing us when we are at the seafront. However, in malls there are security guards and other people around you.” (Code: E06, 2011)

Female participants therefore identified the Old Corniche as a less secure space in comparison to the New Seafront. The analysis of the focus group has indicated that the presence of male adults in the group is considered essential in un-structured spaces, especially when the institutional role in gendering the places is very limited. Females believe that the presence of a male will give them more control in managing and gendering their space to their required level of privacy.

The gendered relationships that are expressed in the Old Corniche can be observed in three different sites (see Figure 8-2). The first site is the section of the seafront with covered gazebos aligned facing the waterfront. The size of the gazebo is about 5mx5m (25sqm) with a concrete floor and a very light structure. These gazebos do not provide visual privacy and are exposed to passing vehicles (see Figure 8-3).
Figure 8-2. Exposed gazebo

Map of Dammam seafront showing the locations of study and the new Corniche (Google Map, 2015)

Figure 8-3. Exposed gazebo

Gazebo in the old seafront which is used predominately by families, Dammam (Mustafa, 2011f)

Most families who occupy these gazebos will use screens to create visual privacy from three sides, with a partial opening to the seafront (see Figure 8-4).
Figure 8-4. Screened gazebo

Gazebo screened for the purpose of visual privacy, Dammam old seafront (Mustafa, 2011aa)

The screening of the gazebo creates an outdoor room, which gives a family an enclosure and security similar to being at home. The height and the opening of the screens created differ with the type of family and the required level of privacy. Participants have said that this provides females with more freedom to remove their facial veil and is convenient for other activities such as cooking and BBQs, as one female explains:

“We like going to this beach because of the gazebo which provides visitors with privacy. We screen it from three sides and open it to the beach from one side; the men tend to sit outside and prepare the meals... we can take off our abayah and it feels like home.” (Participant code: B07, 2011)
The facilities therefore provide visitors with some freedoms in shaping, creating, and gendering their own spaces.

The second location (see Figure 8-2) that was investigated is the sandy area near the waterline, which has no built structure. Here families will come and sit close to the water and use their vehicles and partitions as screens to create visual privacy (see Figure 8-5). Other families will use multiple vehicles as a barricade and make an enclosure for the females to sit and face the sea, and men tend to sit on the other side of the vehicles facing the street.

![Image of Dammam Old Seafront](image)

**Figure 8-5. Dammam Old Seafront**

*Old seafront and the use of screens for the purpose of visual privacy (Mustafa, 2011z)*

Families have more freedom in this site to create the required level of privacy either by using vehicles, screens, or by sitting faraway from other families.

"*When we go to the seafront we see some families who bring screens and partitions to block views to the*
women. I would rather stay home than sit behind screens.” (Code: B03, 2011)

A mature mum (52 years old) described her experience at the Corniche:

“When we go to the beach with a group of families, women will sit on one side and men will sit on another side that is a little bit further away, which will not allow them to see the women... We never remove our abaya (burka), unless the place is screened and we are sitting inside and no men can see us.” (Code: B01, 2011)

The third location (see Figure 8-2) was also on the waterfront, and is relatively unstructured. Single men use this space predominantly. They sit on a mat on the sidewalk and use the concrete benches as a support for their backs. Some of the men will cook and BBQ and some will drink coffee and tea.

“The best place for BBQs and cooking is the Half Moon and the Old Corniche; you can have your car close to you, which makes it easier to transport your stuff in and out of the car.” (Code: M09, 2011)
However, the presence of single men in this area has prevented people in general and women in particular from walking on the sidewalk.

8.3 Dammam New Seafront

The second Dammam case study is the new seafront (see Figure 8-2), which has a much stronger physical structure. The new seafront, which was opened to the public in July 2007, has a contemporary design, with walkways about 8 km in length, an open grassed area and palm trees (see Figure 8-7 and Figure 8-8).
Figure 8-7. Dammam new seafront

*Dammam New Seafront case study area (Google Maps, 2012)*

Figure 8-8. Dammam new seafront

*Dammam new Seafront (Dammam Municipality, 2010)*

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Since its opening, the seafront at Dammam has become a popular destination for local residents and visitors from other regions during public and school holidays. The seafront gets crowded in the evening when the weather gets cooler.

The strong physical structure of Dammam’s new seafront has dictated the performances and activities of the visitors. There are number of ‘designed’ activities available for visitors, which include playgrounds, a light train for children and females, football fields, and a festival plaza.

The design of the seafront has restricted access to the water by creating barriers and posted signs that swimming is prohibited due to the risk of drowning in the deep water (see Figure 8-9). On the other hand, the new seafront provides visitors with an opportunity for fishing (see Figure 8-10).

Figure 8-9. Dammam seafront

(Dammam Municipality, 2010)
The design and physical structure has created clear expectations of the performances and activities in different settings and times. During the month of Ramadan, I observed people started coming to the seafront after 9 pm, and it got crowded after 12 am, with most visitors staying until Morning Prayer (the start of fasting for Muslims during Ramadan month). The majority of the focus group participants described their visits and experiences at the seafront as pleasant and enjoyable:

“Since the opening of the new seafront, I did not like any other sea... this one is so modern and we always have a good time... even when I have visitors from Riyadh they will ask to go to this seafront.” (Code: A01, 2010).

A number of variables appear to influence visitors’ performances at the new seafront. These include: the number of visitors, types of visitors, time of visit, and the type of setting such as the playground, lawns, or plaza.
8.3.1 Playground

The playground provides four sets of issues and performances, which offer useful insights into gender relationships in the absence of close management. The strong physical structure including play facilities sends a clear message that playgrounds are for children and their caregivers and an expectation that single men are not allowed to be in or near it. The institutional gendering of the space is largely from its original design, and the socio-cultural construction of performances is left to the judgment of the visitors. Participant observations have identified different types of performances in response to the time and the people occupying the space (observers). The following are examples from different playgrounds: First, performances vary at different times. Families and females will come when the seafront is not crowded. I have observed a number of young females without children on the playground enjoying the swings and the slides while their male relatives (fathers or husbands) sit on the grass (see Figure 8-11).

![Playground in the early morning hours, Dammam seafront](image)

Figure 8-11. Playground in the early morning hours, Dammam seafront

*Group of young women enjoy the playground when few people are visiting (Dammam Municipality, 2010)*
In this example, local culture normally restricts and limits women from participating in playgrounds and outdoor activities in public spaces. Shaw (1994) argues that females’ participation in non-traditional activities can be considered as a challenge to the social norms of the society. Focus groups have shown that women report a lack of leisure facilities and programmes. They added that the traditional culture has constrained them from enjoying leisure (Searle & Jackson, 1985); hence they only use children’s facilities at quiet times.

Second, strict gendering roles are enforced and the social cultural norms are acknowledged. Families with young children will sit near the playground. However, parents will not get involved with their children in the playground and instead they will let their expatriate maids look after the children. The rules of gendering do not apply to the expatriate females, as they are not required to cover their faces or act conservatively (see Figure 8-12).

Figure 8-12. Playground at Dammam seafront

Children at the playground and watched by their mothers (Dammam Municipality, 2010)
Third, the rules of gendering change if the majority of users are non-Saudi. Parents (males and females) get active and mix with each other in the playground and get involved in looking after their children (see Figure 8-13).

Figure 8.13. Expatriates in the playground

Expatriate children and parents at the playground (Dammam Municipality, 2010)

Fourth, gendering roles are more relaxed on special occasions and when the space gets crowded (see Figure 8-14 and Figure 8-15).

Figure 8-14. Playground, Dammam Seafront

Playground is crowded different types of families (Riyadh Newspaper, 2012)
During the Eid holiday the seafront has large numbers of local visitors and visitors from outside of the region. The distances between the families are reduced and visitors lower their requirements for privacy. Visual privacy can no longer be maintained in this setting and some of the females will keep their faces veiled.

The light train is another place where women and young men are in contact with each other. Men are not allowed to ride on the train, which is strictly for women and young children (see Figure 8-16).
8.3.2 Lawn area

The strong physical structure of the lawn area has also influenced gendering of the space. There are no posted signs or any obvious influence from institutions in this space but gendering is still clear both temporally and spatially. Conservative performances were observed among families who require a higher level of privacy. On numerous occasions, Saudi families were observed avoiding crowded times and coming either in the morning or before sunset when the number of visitors is very low. They tend to sit under shade, away from other people and the women keep their backs to the sidewalk for maximum privacy (see Figure 8-17 and Figure 8-18). Most of these families will leave the seafront when the space gets crowded.

Figure 8-16. Young men gazing at females

Light train for women and young children, Dammam Seafront (Dammam Municipality, 2010)
Figure 8-17. Dammam seafront

*Single family visiting the seafront during morning hours in weekday to avoid crowded (Dammam Municipality, 2010)*

Figure 8-18. Dammam seafront

*Single family during morning hours set with their back to the corridors (Dammam Municipality, 2010)*
Other families will require lower levels of privacy and they sit around other families and close to the sidewalks and playgrounds. However, the performances of the females are still conservative, wearing the facial veil even when men are not around (see Figure 8-19).

Figure 8-19. Dammam seafront

Females set with their to the corridors and use trees for visual privacy (Dammam Municipality, 2010)

The third case is families who display hybrid to liberal performances. Liberal performances tend to occur on holidays when the space gets crowded by visitors (see Figure 8-20 and Figure 8-21). These families tend to lower their requirements for privacy on crowded days and they do not mind sitting close to other families or next to single men. The young girls also display liberal performances on these days by walking in groups around the water edge without veiling their faces. One of the religious officials said:

“During holidays the seafront receives visitors from out of the region, I think because most of the visitors are on holiday; they will display liberal performances which will influence other visitors.” (Official member of Dammam religious office, 2011)
Figure 8-20. Dammam seafront on weekend

*Families share the lawn are during weekend* (2013)

Figure 8-21. Dammam seafront on weekend

*Families share the lawn are during weekend* (2013)
Expatriate families also display liberal performances (see Figure 8-22 and Figure 8-23). These families tend to have dynamic relationships. They sit close to the sidewalks, men and women also participate in mixed activities including playing with their children in playgrounds. Also these families showed no reaction to being subject to male gazing.

**Figure 8-22. Dammam seafront expatriate area zone**

*Expatriate families share lawn area at the weekend (Dammam Municipality, 2010)*

**Figure 8-23. Dammam seafront expatriate area zone**

*Expatriate families share lawn area at the weekend (Dammam Municipality, 2010)*
The environment is more relaxed and calm despite the high number of users. Focus group participants have indicated that they feel comfortable in highly structured spaces, which are not regulated. They claimed in this type of space they could feel free and be themselves. Figure 8-24 shows family men doing the cooking for the females and in Figure 8-25 men are sitting close to their families.

Figure 8-24. Men sit away from their family, Dammam Seafront

*Men set in one group away from their women (Dammam Municipality, 2010)*

Figure 8-25. Group of single men, Dammam seafront

*Men set in one group away from their women (Dammam Municipality, 2010)*
Figure 8-26 and Figure 8-27 also present the case of single men sitting in close proximity to families with no objection from either side.

Figure 8-26. Dammam seafront at night

*Couple of single men enjoy the seafront in a quite weekend night (Dammam Municipality, 2010)*

Figure 8-27. Dammam seafront at night

*A group of single men at night during weekday (Mustafa, 2011)*

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Conservative performances and behaviours sometimes take place in this setting. Some people will attempt to alter the space and construct it according to their desired level of privacy (see 8-28 and 8-29). However, in most cases the institutional management (Dammam Municipality) will interfere and correct the space by removing the screens (Municipality official). In this setting, management supervises the gendering of the space and interferes when conflict with the spatial management regulations occurs.

Figure 8-28 Space is in transformation

*Use of screen to create visual privacy (Dammam Municipality, 2010)*
Figure 8-29 Space is in transformation

Use of screen to create visual privacy (Dammam Municipality, 2010)

8.4 Section Summary

Dammam seafront has illustrated several different gendering issues. The intuitional role in gendering and managing the outdoor space is very limited and visitors have more freedom including involvement in creating the rules of gendering, and controlling their privacy. However, the freedom and involvement varies between the different settings. For example, in the Old Corniche the number of visitors is low and the design of the space has allowed visitors more control in shaping and transforming the space to meet their requirements. Distances, low number of visitors, low lighting, vehicles, and temporary screens were used to create privacy.

On the other hand, the new seafront design and layout has placed physical and management restrictions on modifying the space. Visitors have to select the timing and location to manage the required level of privacy.

In general, women seemed more comfortable at the Dammam seafront (rather than the Old Corniche). The strong physical structure has created clear expectations of 196
behaviours and activities, despite the lack of institutional regulation. Women report that they feel more comfortable in a modern clean environment with their children, which makes it feel like a family area, and all groups appear to manage their performance expectations through timing their visits.

8.5 Jeddah Seafront

Jeddah city has the first and the longest seafront in the Kingdom. Jeddah seafront (Corniche) is about 130 km long and divided into three sections: Northern Coast, Southern Coast and Shurm of Obhu’r (Jeddah Municipality, 2010). Shurm of Obhu’r is mostly elite/expensive private villas, chalets, and seafront cabinets. Jeddah Municipality (2010) claims that the Northern Coast Corniche is the most visited and popular Corniche in the Jeddah region. This section of the Corniche has the largest commercial leisure spaces on the seafront, which consist of amusement parks, restaurants and cafés.

The aim of the Jeddah case study is to investigate commercial leisure spaces and to assess the influence of socio-economic status on spatial performances and on the management style of leisure spaces. The objective is to allow a comparison between public leisure/recreational spaces where institutional involvement in actively gendering the space is at a minimal level (Dammam seafront) to semi-public commercial leisure/recreational spaces where management is more active, and where the socio-economic status is a contributing factor in management style (Jeddah commercial leisure/recreational spaces).

The previous chapters have suggested that highly priced leased spaces in malls have provided visitors, who have the financial capability, with permissive spaces where liberal performances could be displayed. The focus group and key informant interviews also revealed that the presence of commercial (private) leisure spaces in Jeddah’s seafront have provided visitors with another alternative commercial leisure space that are permissive and that allow visitors to display liberal performances.

It was noticeable that the religious authority has a limited role in gendering these commercial permissive spaces. The religious authority has no presence inside these
spaces and their role is mostly limited to monitoring the entrance. This section argues that the limited control and access of the religious authority to these commercial leisure spaces is a key factor leading to the presence of such permissive leisure spaces. Two distinct spaces that have different levels of institutional involvement in managing and gendering the space are compared.

Figure 8-30. Map of Case Study location

Location of seafronts and malls (Google Map, 2015)

The Sail Island Park (see Figure 8-30) is located in the northern coast of Jeddah Corniche. The park is a popular leisure/recreational destination for families with young children who come to enjoy the pools and the water playgrounds (see Figure 8-31). The park provides its visitors with different types of activities and settings: children's pools, water playgrounds, the Island Restaurant, the waterfront café, seats and tables that are facing the Red Sea. The park also has a small stage, which offers shows and plays for young children.
Park managers place strong restrictions on single men’s access at all times and young men without females are asked to leave (Management Official, 2011).

The majority of families who come to this park (during the participant observations) are young parents in their 20s-30s who are accompanied by their young children. These parents were observed to be actively involved with their children around the pools and water playgrounds (see Figure 8-32).
8.5.1 Performances in space

The performance of young parents in this space can be described as liberal; men wear Western clothes (some wear short pants) and women do not veil their faces. On the other hand, mature parents were observed to be more conservative in their performances and behaviours (see Figure 8-33).
The power relationships between males and females are a determining factor in influencing and shaping performances. Participant observation has indicated that the power relationship between males and females is more noticeable when females are accompanied by mature males (typically fathers over the age of 40). Mature females will perform more conservatively when they are with their husbands or sons. Even young women tend to be more conservative in their performances as well. The conservative performances can be seen spatially and behaviourally. Conservative families choose to sit in isolation and at a distance from other people. Females keep their faces veiled even when they eat their meals. The parents’ participation in the playgrounds with their children is also limited and mostly done by the accompanied male. One of the female participants has described this space as a place in the middle between the public seafront (strict) and Al-Seqala Restaurant (permissive). However, the findings of the participant observation suggest that the place is a hybrid space, where liberal and conservative performances could be performed side by side depending upon the age of the adults.
Al-Seqala Restaurant is one of the most popular restaurants on the Jeddah seafront, and receives large numbers of wealthy visitors especially during holidays.

**Figure 8-33. Seqala Restaurant**

*View of the Seqala Restaurant from the sea (Seqala, 2014)*

**Figure 8-34. Seqala Restaurant**

*View inside the restaurant area (Seqala, 2014)*
Al-Seqala is considered to be one of the elite spaces in Jeddah (Arab Travel Forum, 2009). The menu's price list puts it among one of the most expensive restaurants in the region. The high price list suggests that the majority of visitors are predominantly wealthy customers. The restaurant consists of two floors: a ground floor that has indoor and outdoor sections for dining, and a second section on the roof, which serves *shisha* (*hookah*: an oriental tobacco pipe with a long, flexible tube that draws the smoke through water contained in a bowl). The upper floor (roof) has a night café that opens after 5pm and receives the largest number of visitors during weekends. The café has a direct view of the harbour and several seats that are separated from each other by partitions that do not provide visual privacy. This café offers *shisha*, drinks (non-alcoholic) and light meals. The restaurant management places a marginal restriction on single men’s access in that they are denied access to the roof. During high seasons (holidays and Eid) they are also denied access to the restaurant. On other days, single men are confined only to the outdoor area on the ground floor.

**8.5.2 Performing in space**

A key feature of this space is the role of *shisha*. The phenomenon of smoking *shisha* among Saudi females has spread widely. A study was conducted by the Saudi Anti-smoking Society which estimated that 27% of Saudi female students in Jeddah smoke *shisha* (Aljazeera Newspaper, 2001). Female smoking is considered to be a liberal act and performance.

Participant observations have suggested that the majority of visitors who use the roof are local visitors (within the Jeddah region). This was confirmed by one of the waiters who said:

“It's common for females from Jeddah to smoke shisha; people from Riyadh will request extra partitions and screens, and they will come for meals only.” (Code: E07, 2011)
Despite the restriction on single men’s access to the upper floor, participants of the focus groups have described this section of the restaurant as a modern space for those allowed access. Participant observation and the focus group suggest that this space differs from the public spaces in two ways. First, the presence and behaviour of females is the strongest reason for considering the space to be modern according to most participants. One young female said:

“Al-Seqala is one of the most modern spaces in Jeddah; females can smoke shisha in public.” (Code: E02, 2011)

Another male said:

“Although I am a shisha smoker, I do not like to go to the roof with my family and smoke.” (Code: M03, 2011)

Second, participants described the seating arrangement in the upper floor as being modern (see Figure 8-35) due to the lack of partitions and screens between the seats. This can be uncomfortable for some as one female mentioned:

“I went to the restaurant with group of my female friends...it felt awkward to sit and see so many girls smoke in public and also the close proximity of seating.”

(Code: C02, 2011)
The power relationship between the two genders in this space is influenced both by the space layout and by the liberal performances of males and females. Hariri, a psychologist and family consultant, reported the majority of her young female patients have admitted that they smoke to show power and liberation from male subordination in a patriarchal society (Aljazeera Newspaper, 2001). This was consistence with the participant observations, which indicated that the females in this section of the restaurant have been empowered by the space and the liberal performances. Furthermore, male gazing was not observed in this section, which confirms the finding of the permissive spaces (see chapter six) that gazing is less practised in spaces that are managed permissively.
8.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter explored the influence and role of institutions in gendering leisure spaces. In Dammam it explored how spaces are being gendered in the absence of institutional management and in Jeddah it examined two sites: one where the institution has a strong presence and the other which is self-gendered.

Jeddah seafront has a wide variety of commercial leisure spaces, which are managed and gendered by private institutions. Findings suggest that the institutional roles and involvement in gendering and managing of leisure spaces becomes greater in semi-private spaces. The management’s involvement and the different rules of gendering in these spaces have led to the creation of spaces that are distinct from public spaces. This has resulted in the socio-cultural construction of different spaces that allow different types of performances.

Female participants in focus groups have claimed that women are disadvantaged and suppressed in public leisure spaces in Dammam, due to the lack of structured leisure activities. However, women in commercial spaces in Jeddah appear to have more freedom as the privately managed spaces have empowered them and put them in an equal position to their males. In addition, women in Jeddah seem to have a more active role and are active agents in constructing their leisure spaces.

This suggests that the modernisation process has liberated women and families in a similar manner to the spaces in malls. However, in malls there is a big push back from the religious authority but at the seafront (public and semi-private) it is happening in a slightly different way. There is clarity of rules at the seafront but these are not heavily regulated through creating a space where the norms of behaviours are different. The findings of this chapter suggest that gendering is a set of fluid, active processes, that are influenced by gender relations and that social processes are challenged and transformed in their daily reproduction (Green, 1998).
Chapter 9 Discussion and Conclusions

9.1 Context and Approach

This research has explored the socio-cultural construction of gender in modern leisure and domestic tourism spaces in Saudi Arabia – a country where gender segregation between males and females is fundamental to the culture. The specific objective of the thesis is to identify and interpret the characteristics and significances of gendered spatial relationships in new public and quasi-public leisure settings (malls and seafronts) in the new urban spaces in Saudi Arabia. Determining the different characteristics of socio-cultural construction of leisure spaces is intended to contribute to the development of more culturally sensitive and sustainable leisure spaces and development strategies, which is anticipated to lead to enhancing and improving the future management of leisure spaces.

Historically, seafronts have been one of the primary leisure spaces in Saudi Arabia. However, globalisation and modernisation have introduced a new trend in Saudi society where large privately owned urban shopping malls have become popular destinations for leisure activities, as well as shopping. These new leisure settings have created a new type of indoor quasi-public space and have also started to make seafronts become redundant and less popular leisure destination. Consequently, some seafronts such as Jeddah’s new seafront and Dammam’s new seafront have been redesigned with different types of public and semi-public leisure spaces operated by the private sector. The new types of spaces – shopping malls and upgraded seafronts – have allowed the introduction of new types of social relationships, activities and performances that are being dis-embedded from permissive (Western) societies and then being re-embedded within the patriarchal Saudi society. In this process, gender relationships in general and the nature of gender segregation in particular are being transformed.

This research investigated case studies of malls and seafronts in two different regions of Saudi Arabia: two malls in Dammam, the eastern region of Saudi Arabia, and three
malls in Jeddah city, the Makah region, together with two seafront case studies in each region. Jeddah and Dammam are considered the two most important cities for domestic tourism in the Kingdom. Jeddah is also the commercial hub of Saudi and is considered as one of the most modern cities in the Kingdom. On the other hand, Dammam is a modern city with a moderate tradition. Each case was investigated through key informant interviews, participant observations, and focus groups. Literature from landscape architecture, geography, social and tourism disciplines suggests that to develop deeper understanding of the process of gendering spaces, multiple concepts need to be investigated. Therefore, four theoretical lenses were extracted from the academic literature and used to interpret the case study findings. These lenses are institutions, performance, gazing, and liminality. The field investigation was guided by the three following questions:

1. How are gender relationships expressed in the new modern leisure spaces in Saudi Arabia?
2. How are modern leisure spaces in Saudi Arabia being managed in respect of gender relationships?
3. What are the theoretical, methodological, and practical implications of the research findings?

The following section summarises key findings from the case studies and links it to the related theories that were discussed in chapter two, in order to answer the three research questions. It is organised in three sections that correspond to the questions.
9.2 Gender Relationships

The first question asked "How are gender relationships expressed in the new modern leisure spaces in Saudi Arabia?" There are four key findings.

9.2.1 The Reinvention of the Domestic Sphere

The first finding is that the domestic sphere of gendered relationships is being reinvented and re-expressed as family-based, quasi-public leisure landscapes. The Noble Qur’an and the literature on gender in Islamic society has highlighted that women are historically associated with and confined to the domestic sphere (Shrestha, 2000; Wajcman, 1991). Islam has made a clear separation between domestic and public spheres, and gives value to the domestic sphere, considering it as the safe haven for women, where privacy is protected from non-related men (El-Shafie, 1999). The thesis findings reveal that the domestic sphere, which is associated with women and their activities, has been reinvented again in the new modern spaces of malls in particular, but with new sets of functions and rules. Family areas and leased spaces such as cafés and restaurants are treated and managed as domestic (private) spheres in several forms. These spaces provide different types of privacies and allow for different social performances.

The reinvention of the domestic sphere as a family-based, quasi-public leisure space is a trend that appears in all the five mall case studies. However, the Mall of Dhahran and Al-Rashid Mall in Dammam are good examples of how mall design and management have re-expressed family areas as domestic spheres. The Mall of Dhahran applies a strict gendering approach in an effort to appear as a family-oriented mall. The mall only allows single men entry during the morning hours and applies strict rules in the evening denying single men access, in an attempt to recreate a place that resembles the gendering rules of the domestic sphere.

Al-Rashid Mall applies a hybrid management approach which has re-invented the domestic sphere in secluded spaces which are designated for females only. Mall management only allows men to display their liberal performances in the leased commercial spaces and attempts to control and restrict their activity in the quasi-public
spaces. On the other hand, females are restricted from displaying liberal performances in quasi-public spaces and are only permitted to display these in secluded spaces such as cafés that are behind tinted windows or high walls and screens that restrict the presence of men.

The quasi-public spaces and men’s cafés in this Al-Rashid Mall are treated as public spheres. This provides men with the opportunity to sit and enjoy the act of gazing which was the traditional practice on street corners in Arabian cities (Abaza, 2001), and is now also expressed in Al-Suaikate Street in Al-Khobar city where men drive their vehicles and gaze at women out shopping (based on the researcher’s observations). The act of gazing is practised widely in the men’s café area on the third floor of the Al Rashid Mall and has become a commodity that can be sold at a premium price to men who are willing to pay for a table that provides a vantage point that looks directly onto the central plaza. This finding reinforces the argument made by (Abaza, 2001) that the new malls in Egypt have provided visitors with modern coffee houses that are similar to the traditional corner cafés where men meet daily to socialise, exchange news, gossip, jokes and to gaze at and observe people passing. The findings also support the claim made by the same author that new cafés inside malls are becoming the cultural counterpart of traditional men ‘hang-out’ spaces, and create a ‘front stage’ (Goffman, 1971) exclusively for men to sit, gaze and comment upon the physique of passing women. However, a major difference between malls in Saudi Arabia and Egypt is that mall cafés in Egypt imitate the local vernacular, whereas mall cafés in Saudi Arabia introduce Western culture through brand names and by serving Western food and beverages.

In the Mall of Dhahran and Al-Rashid Mall in Dammam, walled and screened spaces in the foodcourt were designated as spaces only for the use of women. The rules of the domestic sphere dominate by restricting the presence and access of men to these spaces. Al-Rashid Mall has in addition created a full section of the mall as a domestic sphere, which is isolated from the main mall by a gate that is controlled by a security guard with a posted sign declaring that access is for women only. This section provides full privacy for females and allows them the freedom to take off their head covers and gowns and enjoy shopping and socialising in a space managed, operated, and occupied
by females only. All five malls have reinvented the domestic sphere as a family-based, quasi-public space in cafés, restaurants and a large section of the foodcourt. Amusement parks inside malls, which are considered as leisure places for children are managed as a domestic sphere. Single men are removed and restricted from entering these spaces.

In seafronts, the institutional management of space is less active and intrusive, but the rules of the domestic sphere are still present to a lesser degree. Playgrounds are treated as a domestic sphere and men voluntarily limit their presence, especially when the space is crowded or dominated by women. However, the rules of gendering are less evident in spaces that are occupied by expatriate families (see Figure 9-1).

![Figure 9-1. Playground, Dammam seafront](image)

*Expatriate families in the playground, Dammam new Seafront (Dammam Municipality, 2010)*

In summary, the reinvention of the new domestic sphere in Saudi Arabia has allowed operators to promote their malls as family-oriented, which provide leisure spaces and activities that are suitable and compliant with Saudi culture and family values.
The second key finding on gender relationships is that the transformation of such commercial, quasi-public leisure landscapes into the domestic sphere has empowered women on the one hand and has disempowered young men on the other hand. The globalisation and modernisation of Saudi Arabia through the creation of malls has accelerated the process of privatisation of public spaces giving private institutions greater control in constructing gendered spaces and in influencing the performances of the space users. Management of new leisure spaces favours the presence of female over male visitors partly for economic reasons. Females from higher socio-economic groups are associated with higher spending as they regularly come to the leisure spaces with their families and children for shopping and food and other services, as one mall manager justified the management style of his mall. In comparison, young single men come to the leisure spaces as individuals and tend to spend less money, focusing more upon other young people (Mall Key Informant, 2011). Therefore, new leisure spaces have been designed and managed in a way that is suitable and welcoming to females and that tends to discourage and restrict the presence of single men. This suggests that the new leisure spaces have empowered females by providing them with multiple options for leisure activities and has granted them freedom in enjoying different types of spaces.

The empowerment of women is evident in both malls and amusement parks. Strict management approaches in malls such as Al-Andalus Mall and the Mall of Arabia in Jeddah enforce strict rules of gendering. In Al-Andalus Mall, three cafés have recently converted the men’s sections into family sections which has increased the leisure space for females and decreased the space for men. In the same mall, the foodcourt and the amusement park are additional examples of where women are empowered by designating the space solely for females on certain days. The focus group interviews also indicated that younger men feel the empowerment of women has disadvantaged them and that management discriminates against them either by denying them access or by removing them from the premises. Consequently, it seems that the new spaces have marginalised men and alienated them from the space and society as a result of transforming a large part of what used to be known as public spheres into privatised
domestic spheres and then managing them as family spaces. This has resulted in tensions between management and the young men who are excluded and whose leisure needs are ignored.

The exclusion of single men from the family spaces has in turn legitimised these spaces as family spaces and allowed the institutions to manage them as domestic spheres, where females are able to display liberal performances. Therefore, these new spaces become a force of change that might challenge the position of the young male in the patriarchal family (Giddens & Pierson, 1998) even while reinforcing gender segregation.

9.2.3 The Re-emergence of the Flâneur

Despite the marginalisation of young men, the flâneur – a male figure strolling the urban spaces for leisure and observation (Day, 1999; Sheilds, 1989) – has been reinvented in the new globalised modern spaces, which have provided the stage for some visitors to display such liberal, urban performances even within a conservative society. I observed mature and conservatively dressed (national dress) men using the quasi-public spaces of the malls in a way that is similar to the flâneur that strolled through the shopping arcades of Paris in the nineteenth century (Sheilds, 1989). Day (1999) has claimed that the presence of the flâneur in the new public spaces is a consequence of privatised public spaces which present women as sexual objects of observation and men come to the spaces to admire their physical appearance. The findings of the thesis suggest that the presence of the flâneur in the case of Saudi Arabia is also associated with the malls being liminal spaces that provide a stage for social performances not otherwise possible in traditional urban settings. As mentioned in the literature, liminal spaces are spaces that are in transition. Liminal spaces have emerged in malls that are strictly managed as a way to introduce new modern spaces and activities to the community. However, malls that are permissively managed have passed the point of liminality; therefore, these modern spaces and activities are accepted and embraced by the community and the presence of the flâneurs is less visible in modern spaces rather than traditional spaces.

The findings also suggest that the presence of the flâneur in the new quasi-public-spaces is associated strongly with the gaze and is a commodity that is being sold to
men. Mall management have realised the high demand for gazing and have re-invented the *flâneur* in a way that is suitable to the character of the new spaces, by restricting the strolling of single men and confining them to coffee shops, as is illustrated in all five malls. In Al-Rashid Mall and Dhahran Mall the central plazas have become the front stage for performances where single men have the opportunity to sit and observe performances of visitors (see Figure 9-2 and Figure 9-3). However, it is notable that the role of *flâneur* is filled by more wealthy and mature men typically in conservative dress; management will not allow young men in modern clothes to be flâneurs.

![Figure 9-2. Al-Rashid Mall](image91v)

(*Mustafa, 2011v*)
9.3 Management of Modern Leisure Spaces

This section relates to the second question of the thesis: “How are modern leisure spaces in Saudi Arabia being managed in respect to gender relationships?”

9.3.1 Institutional Style

Managing modern leisure spaces in Saudi Arabia is a dynamic, complex and contingent process in which institutions play a major role. The findings of the key informant interviews and observations support the claims that the major contributing factors in gendering and shaping the space inside malls are the mall management, local government, and social culture, (Bird & Sokolofski, 2005; Scraton & Watson, 2010; Valentine, 1992). Other key influences are the religious establishment and the operators of leased commercial spaces, all of which are male domains in Saudi Arabia. However, the case studies show that the balance of power between the different institutions is not equal and shifts according to the region and the local culture. Investigating the phenomenon of gendering modern leisure spaces has also revealed an irony. Saudi Arabia is a patriarchal society where men only have the right to manage
and operate leisure spaces, and these spaces are managed under rules that enforce
gender segregation. However, these new types of leisure spaces have encouraged the
presence of women by meeting their needs for privacy, and have empowered them
economically. My research has revealed that several institutions have roles in
constructing and gendering the new modern spaces in Saudi Arabia through their
hourly and daily interference in gendering and managing the spaces, making in
associated tensions.

Mall managers have applied three different types of approach in managing and
gendering the leisure spaces they control: strict management, permissive management,
and hybrid management. These approaches are applied differently in different parts of
the mall; the quasi-public spaces that include corridors and plazas, and the commercial
retail spaces. The variations on the management approach for the modern leisure
spaces have provided visitors with the option to choose a space that is suitable to their
needs. Institutional (mall management) control was found to be stronger and the rules
of gendering more strictly enforced in the quasi-public spaces in almost all the five
malls. However, the rules of gendering change by the hour and according to
circumstances (temporally and physically), and are enforced through coercion (i.e.
physical presence), and this creates tensions between single men and the managers
(plus security guards) of the space. In the leased commercial spaces, the operators have
greater control, and tend to manage more permissively, but regulate economically, by
the price of the service.

The religious establishment also takes a role in gendering the modern spaces. Both the
mall management and the commercial operators of leased space have challenged their
interference. This has been seen in the Red Sea Mall and in Mall of Arabia in Jeddah
where mall management have restricted access by the religious authority to their
premises. In another case – Al-Andalus Mall – management allows the presence of the
religious authority to their premises but limits their role and interference in gendering
the space by declining requests to be present in the control room. Perhaps as a
consequence of this exclusion, the religious establishment has criticised the spread of
the new leisure spaces in Saudi Arabia and considers that permissive management has
promoted Western culture; and encouraging Saudi women to ignore and abandon their
traditional culture and the roles of gender segregation.
The role of the religious authority in the shaping of gendering rules and in influencing the management’s decisions differs regionally between Dammam and Jeddah. In the more traditional Dammam region, the religious authority is part of the management team and they interfere daily in managing and governing the rules of gendering inside the malls by having a permanent office presence in Al-Rashid Mall and Dhahran Mall. In fact, the management of the two malls receive help from the religious officials, who escorted by police officers, remove undesirable males and resolve social issues. However, in Jeddah city, mall management challenge the role of the religious authority and restrict its access to the Red Sea Mall and the Mall of Arabia.

Commercial leisure spaces have also provided permissive spaces inside leased commercial upmarket retailers such as cafés and restaurants. Mall management have less intervention and retail operators relax the rules of gendering. These more permissive spaces have altered the phenomenon of gender segregation and allow visitors to display and observe new types of performance. Examples of permissive spaces were found in the Red Sea Mall, Mall of Arabia in Jeddah, and in the Dhahran Mall in Dammam where the operators of the commercially leased spaces have relaxed the rules of gender segregation between the men’s and family sections (see Figure 9-4 and Figure 9-5).
Figure 9-4. Red Sea Mall

*Two single men are allowed to sit in the family section (Mustafa, 2011p)*

Figure 9-5. Café in Mall of Arabia

*(Mustafa, 2011c)*
9.3.2 The Privatisation of the Public Realm

The second key finding relating to management is that the commercial semi-public spaces are replacing the function of traditional public spaces. Malls and leisure spaces have become major tourist landmarks in Saudi Arabia that provide leisure activities for all family members in a country that has very limited leisure activities and spaces especially for females. In recent years, the economic and financial advancement of Saudi Arabia has created a massive demand for leisure spaces and activities. This has encouraged economists and developers to invest in building new malls and leisure spaces that are attractive and appealing to the locals.

The new semi-public spaces have introduced types of leisure spaces and activities that are new to the local society. These spaces have also started to replace the roles and functions of public spaces by holding events and functions such as National Day, Eid celebrations, and many other social events. These semi-public spaces also provide shelter and protection from the harsh weather, together with a sense of security and safety and have gained wide acceptance from members of society.

![Figure 9-6. Al-Andalus Mall](image)

Public event held inside the mall and strict gender segregation (Source: Al-Andalus Mall, 2009)
Day (1999) claims that the privatisation of public spaces emerged as a consequence of modernity, adapting liberal economy, and that globalisation has transferred the ownership of public spaces to the private sector. He also added that management controls the spaces through daily interventions. This was clearly illustrated in all five malls, where managements apply gendering rules to help maintain control. Day also claims that the restriction and limitation on women’s behaviour is less in the privatised public spaces, and this was also supported by the findings of the case studies. However, the findings have revealed that the new privatised public spaces in Saudi Arabia carefully select their visitors. Institutions were found to control the type of visitors when mall management use security guards as gatekeepers to deter what they regard as undesirable visitors, which I originally assumed to be single men. But my observations found that mall guards use their discretion to deny access based on evaluations which include age, appearance, race, and financial status, as predicted by Goffman (1971) (see front stage, backstage, and personal front in chapter two).

The spread of privatised public spaces such as malls and commercial leisure spaces has given institutions greater control in influencing gendering rules, culture and the
behaviour of visitors to the new spaces. It seems that privatised public spaces have provided new types of leisure spaces and culture to the Saudi landscape; however, these spaces have also placed restrictions on behaviour and have encouraged the consumer culture (Bauman, 1998).

9.3.3 The Ambiguity of Space

One of the reasons that the management of the new leisure spaces is complex and contingent is because they increasingly involve both public and domestic spheres in the same space. These spheres are managed with multiple rules and different authorities, which have created both spatial and temporal dimensions of control that create confusion for space users and those who are managing these spaces. These dimensions are not equally significant in each mall. In some malls, timing is very important, when mall management grants certain types of visitors’ access to the mall at specific times and denies them access at other times as part of temporal gendering. In other malls, the timing is less significant and spatial gender segregation is enforced. In both cases, management has continuing involvement in micro-managing the gendering, using modern surveillance technology.

Overall, the type of management approach in gendering the spaces – strict or permissive – was less significant than what might have been anticipated at the outset of the research project. The case studies revealed that management is much more contingent and dependent on the particular local circumstances, which include the characteristics of nearby populations and the level of involvement of the religious authority. Local culture can also influence the decisions of the management and the way in which each mall manages the balance is constructed through a mix of factors which are weighted differently at different times, spaces, and regions. Gendering is therefore contextual and dynamic in nature. For example, the Mall of Arabia in Jeddah and the Dhahran Mall in Dammam region, which are owned and managed by the Arabian Centre, illustrate how management is contingent and complex. The management of the Mall of Arabia which applies strict rules of entry to single men, was found to relax the rules of gender segregation in upmarket cafés and has allowed the two genders to mix and share the same space. Family section and single men sections
have become one section and use of partitions is not allowed in these spaces. However, the Dhahran Mall applies strong rules of gendering inside the upmarket cafés and the use of partitions and screen is mandatory.

9.3.4 Location and Price

The participant observations indicated that the gendering of the quasi-public spaces is also driven by location and convenience in relation to particular populations and the time of day. Al-Andalus Mall in Jeddah and Dhahran Mall in Dammam illustrate the case where local populations influence the managements’ approach. These two apply strict rules of gendering but their close proximity to universities attracts large numbers of younger visitors from both genders. These malls relax the rules of gendering during morning hours by allowing young men into their premises that display liberal performances, whereas the management is stricter at night when families visit.

The financial status of the nearby population also influences how the space is managed. Upmarket spaces tend to attract wealthy visitors who display liberal performances and require the space to be managed as permissive spaces whereas leisure spaces in middle-class or lower-income neighbourhoods tend to attract visitors who require strict rules of gendering and spaces (see Figure 9-8 and Figure 9-9).

Figure 9-8. Privatised public space, Jeddah seafront

(Pictuergr.am, 2012)
The fieldwork also revealed that permissive management and liberal performances occur in the more expensive spaces. The findings have revealed that upmarket, leased commercial spaces, which are exclusively used by wealthy visitors, are managed as permissive spaces. The Mall of Arabia, the Red Sea Mall in Jeddah, and the Dhahran Mall in Dammam are good examples of private spaces that allow men and women to escape the rules of the quasi-public spaces and engage in liberal social performances. In the Mall of Arabia, for example men are allowed to mix with women only in upmarket cafés such as Corsini Café and an upmarket Café, which do not segregate between men and women (see Figure 9-10). In the Red Sea Mall, the researcher (married but visiting as a single male) was allowed to dine in a family section area in an upmarket restaurant (see Figure 9-11); while in the Dhahran Mall the upmarket restaurant area is treated as a permissive space where females were seen unveiling their faces even when there were no screens or partitions.
Figure 9-10. Mall of Arabia Café

(Mustafa, 2011u)

Figure 9-11. Upmarket restaurant, Red Sea Mall

Tables are set outside of a restaurant for family (Mustafa, 2011ag)
Gendered space is therefore constructed socio-economically, and gender rules do not apply equally across all classes of society.

9.3.5 Liminality

Drawing these observations together, it is clear that new malls and leisure spaces have introduced new permissive spaces that provide visitors with the chance to experience new activities and to display new social performances. These spaces are described in the literature as liminal spaces (Burns & O'Regan, 2008; W. Turner, 1974). Liminal spaces emerged in Saudi Arabia as a consequence of the process of modernising public spaces that are beyond the domestic sphere (Le Renard, 2008). Liminal spaces are transitional spaces between traditional spaces and modern spaces. The thesis findings suggests that the liminal spaces in malls that are between the old and new, are in fact threshold/ frontiers of modernisation and provide the ‘in between-ness’ (Burns & O'Regan, 2008; Shields, 1991; W. Turner, 1974), needed during a transitional period in the globalisation and modernisation of the Saudi landscape. The new leisure spaces are enclaves that are being dis-embedded from a globalised culture and re-embedded into
the new privatised public spaces in Saudi Arabia such as leisure spaces inside malls and seafronts. The characteristic of the new privatised-public spaces as liminal places – part old, part new – has enabled smoother acceptance by users and less criticism and resistance from the religious establishment and other institutions.

Shields (1991) and Ward and Hardy (1986) suggest that liminality is a ‘time-out’ that enables the individual to travel out of their neighbourhoods and to visit a new space where they can escape from daily routines, ignore the strict social rules, and experience different social, cultural performances. Shields (1989) noted that spaces inside malls are in fact similar to a carnivalesque setting, as a classic liminal experience. The new malls in Saudi Arabia have indeed introduced new leisure and social spaces and activities that are outside the norms, where everyday social constraints can be challenged and ignored, hence altering the rules of gendered spaces and the phenomenon of gender segregation. Women are particular beneficiaries of this by encouraging and supporting the presence and activities of women on the one hand, and excluding young men and restricting their access to these spaces on the other hand.

The liminality of malls as new thresholds to a rite of passage places was illustrated in Dhahran Mall by a key informant from the mall management team, who described his experience with one of the cafés which was placed in the middle of the corridors in the first year of the mall’s opening. He reported how people avoided visiting the space and mall management terminated the lease contract as the operator reported a financial loss. Four years later the mall’s management introduced two franchise coffee shops in the middle of the corridors as test spaces for visitors’ approval. These cafés gained wide acceptance from mall visitors and also received less criticism from the office of the religious authority in the mall.
9.4 Methodological Reflections

9.4.1 Gender Relationships in the Research Process

This research adopted a descriptive and interpretive qualitative methodology, based on case study comparisons from two regions in Saudi Arabia. A mix of qualitative methods was used for investigation. This enabled the research to gain deeper insights into the individual experience of the persons using the leisure spaces, to understand the basis for the management's approach, and to seek a grounded understanding of the socio-cultural construction of the gendered spaces. The use of ‘mixed methods’ also provided completeness of data that helped in improving accuracy by maintaining a chain of evidence to ground the findings of this research. The use of key informant interviews, participant observations, and focus groups were primary methods to investigate how people experienced leisure spaces in a gendered-segregated society. However, a male researcher working in gendered spaces that are predominantly female faces several challenges and difficulties.

Females were the primary target of the focus groups to obtain their opinions and insights into their experiences of the tourism and leisure spaces. Access to women is difficult in a society that practises strong segregation between the two genders. Having a professional female researcher to conduct and run the focus groups with the aid of a digital voice recorder, helped me and gave me rich insights and deeper understanding which aided the analysis of the data.

On the other hand, being a male researcher enabled easier access to interviewing key informants in management positions. Saudi Arabia is a patriarchal society and males run and operate institutions, which was helpful in some circumstances. In this research, all individual key informants (i.e., not focus group members) were men, including mall managers, security guards, and operators.
9.4.2 The Surveillance Society

A second research challenge was recording activity, and in particular taking photographs. It is very difficult to attempt to take photographs in Saudi Arabia for two main reasons. The first relates to obtaining permission from the official authorities. For security purposes, the law requires obtaining an official permit from the local government (المارة). The researcher has to produce an official letter signed by the Dean of the College (Dean of the Architecture and Planning, King Saudi University) addressed to the head of the police department and to the management of the property. The letter explains the type of research and requests their assistance in obtaining all the required permits to facilitate the conduct of the research and taking photographs.

It is also a culturally sensitive issue to take photographs in public and private spaces especially in the presence of females. Mall management were very sensitive when investigating family areas and they asked me not to take photographs that would show females. Twice mall visitors approached the researcher on two different occasions. In Jeddah, a female came and complained about taking photographs of females in the foodcourt and queried the purpose of the picture. The study was explained to her, and she was assured that no clear images of women would be taken. The researcher had to show her the photographs already taken to make her satisfied. The other incident was in Dammam’s mall and involved a single male who complained about taking photographs of him without his consent, he demanded the photographs be deleted, and was satisfied when they were.

On a different occasion, one of the malls offered the researcher the opportunity to go to the security and monitoring room to select digital images from the CCTV. For ethical reasons and the guidelines of Lincoln University, the researcher declined the offer. Alternatively, the researcher chose to visit the spaces during the early opening hours when the number of visitors was low and managed to take some photographs. Security guards escorted the researcher on almost all occasions and their presence made the process of taking photographs more legitimate which gained the acceptance of space users. However, taking photographs during early morning hours when the spaces are not crowded and avoiding recording images of some users have limited the quality and essence of the photographs and made it less representative of the real situation. Photographs from the mall management archive have solved the issue.
9.4.3 Methodological Strengths and Limitations

The thesis employed 4 methods of investigation: documentary analysis, participant observation, interview with key professional informants, and focus group. Each of these has particular strengths and limitations.

The pilot study, which was conducted in one of Christchurch malls allowed me to get familiarised with the mall setting, to develop and test different tactics and strategies for participating in observation sessions, and in taking and recording notes of visitors activities. The pilot study guided the process for building a sustainable field strategy for participant observation prior to going to the field in Saudi Arabia. However it was limited in being based in NZ. Hence I still needed to further develop and test the field techniques when I arrived in Saudi.

Participant observation has allowed me to immerse myself in the field and observe the day-to-day use of the space unnoticed and to record the management actions and their daily responses to arising situations. As a male researcher I had to adjust my marital status to meet the requirements of the gendered space. On some occasions I was denied access to family space and had to bring my wife along, on some other times I brought my children when he was visiting children play-areas. I also tested the gendering rules by trying to act as a single man and attempted to entre family spaces and noted the security guards and operator of the space reactions. In other occasions he went alone to the men’s only space and he got engaged in the act of gaze. The strength of participant observation was that I was able to adapt to these different and changing situations. However it also meant that my access to some spaces was limited.

I used Focus groups to provide an insight into females’ experiences of the leisure space and allowed for deeper understanding of their experience of the space. The assistance of a professional female facilitator in running the focus groups was essential as it allowed me as a male researcher to overcome obstacles in recruiting female participants and also in conducting and running the actual focus group interviews in a society segregate between the two genders. Digital voice recorder was used to record the interviews and then transcribed from Arabic into English. One of the difficulties was recognising voice of individual participants. The female facilitator assisted in identifying participants’ voices. In Future research, I suggest using a female assistant to
help the facilitator in taking written notes of important conversations along with name of participants in order to make the process of transcription easier.

9.5 Practical Implications

This research has identified two main design implications.

9.5.1 The Power of the Gaze

This research has two main design implications. The first relates to the gaze. The research has identified that the practice of the gaze in malls and the emergence of a new type of Arabic ‘flâneur’ are strongly related. The findings reveal that the gaze has social and emotional impact on females, families and their behaviour and performance. Gazing has become a commodity that can be sold to men visitors with a premium price. Cafés that provide the option for gazing are located on plazas and corridors in order to provide a vantage point and to provide a maxim view of people who are passing by. The designers of leisure spaces should reconsider the placement of men coffee shops and should pay close attention to their decision. As one of the female participants (Participant Code: B07, 2011) has indicated that passing in front of men’s café where men involved in the act of gaze could sent the wrong signal to men would highlight the importance of locating men’s cafés away from corridors.

9.5.2 Dynamic Design

The case studies indicate that private quasi-public spaces in Saudi Arabia (modern Islamic state) are becoming incrementally more global, and are increasing their opportunity to benefit from the high demand for leisure activities. The resulting changes are however impacting on the local culture, gender relationships and segregation, and ultimately how people perform in these spaces. The new modern spaces will over time change aspects of the local culture and identity- for example, as management of the new modern leisure spaces transformed gender power relationships by favouring the presence of females over males. This might result in changing the established local culture which will eventually lead to changing the power balance between the two genders. As a consequence, women started to feel they are being empowered and on the other hand young men started to feel they are being
marginalised and discriminated on the new spaces. I will focus on three issues arising from this transformation that have design and management implications for the new modern spaces.

The first issue relates to acknowledging that single men are a segment of mall visitors. The local government is enforcing a new decree issued in 2012, which lifted the ban on the entry of single men to malls. Removing the restriction on single men will eventually make the private quasi-public spaces favourable destinations for single men and it will incrementally increase the contact between the two genders. This will become a problematic issue for the mall managements and other institutions inside the mall including the religious authority and owner of leased spaces. The majority of malls have limited spaces and activities for single men, who are facing discrimination and alienation in their own community. This has resulted in confrontations between single men and mall security (see Chapter 6) and management loss of control of gendering the leisure spaces (the case in the Red Sea Mall).

Therefore, management of these spaces should come up with new facilities as well as rules that acknowledge the presence of young men and embrace them inside their premises by creating spaces and activities for them such as youth and entertainment centres.

The second issue stems from a royal decree which will change the gender mix of the working force inside the malls. The new decree issued in June 2011 enforces the employment of Saudi females as sales persons in women and children clothing stores and banning men from selling women clothes. By 2016, all women stores which include clothing stores, children and martinet clothing stores, make up and perfume stores, shoes, and bags stores still have only women sales persons. This decree will increase the presence of Saudi females inside malls and which consequently will empower women more and will have design and management implication in the long run. The changes should include involving female presence in the design and management teams of the new modern spaces and developing new spatial models and configurations for mall quasi-public spaces that accommodate a changing gender mix.
The third issue relates to evolving relationships of the two genders in the new liminal space. The transformation of gender relationships, the re-invention of the domestic
sphere and the emergence of liminality have led to making the modern spaces and leisure landscapes more dynamic and interchangeable spaces. The leisure spaces have gone through several processes of transformation and change in order to suit to the local culture, to gain acceptance of the local society, and to gain approval of religious and other authorities (see 9-15 and Figure 9-16). Therefore, the new modern leisure landscapes are acting as liminal spaces where new types of relationships are evolving, as Saudi adapts to modernity. This means that a fixed physical layout is likely to become obsolescent.

This will need the design of malls to be flexible and subject to change and modification. This is critical to the survival of malls as malls that are not quick to change and transformation will decline economically (Parlette & Cowen, 2011). Therefore, the design of the new modern spaces especially malls needs to reconsider the local culture and accept the presence of single men in their premises by designating spaces and activities that are suitable to their needs. Designers need to study how people perform and experience different spaces and activities and consider the multitude of potential opportunities.

**Figure 9-15. Cafe before transformation, Al-Andalus Mall**

*Men section at Costa Coffee prior to converting it into family section (Mustafa, 2011)*
Designers of leisure spaces especially malls need to reconsider how gender relationships are being evolved in globalised spaces that are dis-embedded from international culture and then re-embedded into the Saudi landscapes. Designers need carefully to investigate, analysis, and evaluate how the new gender relationships will influence and change the local culture. The thesis has indicated that management daily interference in managing and influencing the visitors’ performances has been problematic. The new spaces will encounter fewer problems and could become successful if they have been designed in a way that enables social performances to be improvised and produced according to the performers’ needs. Therefore, designers need to pay close attention to how visitors socio-culturally construct their spaces and how they socially perform.
9.6 Theoretical Implications

This exploration into the socio-cultural construction of gender in modern leisure and domestic tourism spaces in Saudi Arabia and the adoption of the four theoretical lenses: institutions, social and spatial performance, gazing and liminality has resulted in four primary implications for theory.

The first relates to the institutional role in gendered space. This thesis adds to our knowledge and understanding of the role of everyday management of gendered quasi-public and semi-public spaces, how this relates to spatial design, and what these observations offer to the design of indoor leisure landscapes. The managements (institution), operators of leased spaces, and the religious authority all combine to create the overall leisure space and experiences of a place, and the relationships between them are critical in determining the characteristics of the spaces. Further research is needed to better understand the rules of the local institutions which have direct influence over everyday visitors’ performance and activities.

Investigating the gendered leisure landscapes through a social and spatial performance lens introduces a new way of conceptualising and therefore understanding the process of socio-cultural construction of gendered spaces. The performance lens provided more inclusive information and insights into the understanding of the leisure landscapes and provided detailed information of how people use space, and how that use is being shaped and shaping the local culture in general and the phenomena of gender segregation in particular.

The performance lens also suggests that the designer and operators of leisure spaces need to consider the influence of re-embedding new types of spaces and activities into the Saudi landscapes and to consider how people will react and use the new space and how it will change and transform the local culture. The concept of ‘front stage and backstage’ plays an important part here where understanding the gendered space is tied to a number of concepts, including gazing, embodied experiences, performance, and the liminal zones.

The gaze lens informed the research about the seriousness of the male gaze, its emotional and performance impact on females and their accompanying male. It draws
the attention of designers, managers, and operators of leased spaces to the concept of front stage and backstage and to evaluate their decisions when creating stages for males and how it can affect females and other visitors.

The 'Liminal' lens has indicated that liminal zones are essential to the process of introducing new types of leisure activities and spaces. Liminal zones have created a process of transition in the ways new leisure spaces are used and mediated the acceptance of the local society and the local institutions to the new spaces. However, liminal zones could also become a problematic, especially for the local culture, as place is increasingly becoming modernised by removing local identity or constructing a globalised spatial characteristics and activities such as the introducing the Crépe Café (see Figure 9-10) in the middle of the corridors which provide maximum gaze to its users and minimum level of privacy.

9.7 Future Studies

This research has thrown up many questions in need of further investigation.

The thesis has indicated that single men feel that the new leisure spaces have disempowered them and discriminated against them. Future research should therefore concentrate on the investigation of the social life of young Saudi males (single men) in the new leisure spaces and how the gendering rules have dealt with their presence in the space to enhance our standing of the socio-cultural construction of gendered space from a young male perspective. Security guards play an important part in interpreting and enforcing the gendering rules, and their roles in the gendered spaces will also provide valuable insights into the process of gendering leisure spaces. This would be a fruitful area for future work.

There would also be benefit in developing alternative methods of investigating gendered spaces. Conducting research in gender-segregated space is proven to be challenging and requires developing alternative methods of investigations. The research suggests developing new methods of investigation. One potential method is
‘Emotional Maps’ (Nold, 2005) which can be used to record and map visitors’ emotions and feelings in different settings and places. This could provide insight into additional dimensions of gendering by building a better understanding of the visitors’ experiences, enjoyments, and their modes and feelings in different settings.

James Corner (1998) highlights the importance of mappings and how it can captures the projected elements of the ground and projects back a variety of effects through use. His concept and emotional map could have been employed and combined as one method of investigation, which could provide some techniques for mapping more sophisticated understandings.

9.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter reviewed the nature of gender performance in malls and seafronts in one of the most conservative societies in the world where gender segregation is strongly enforced. Saudi society has witnessed rapid development and the impact of globalisation has influenced and altered the local culture and transformed the urban landscapes and leisure spaces. The study shows the significance of understanding the process of socio-cultural construction of gendered spaces in the new landscapes, and how it can shape the local culture and how the local culture can also shape the gendered space. Analysis of malls and seafronts shows that the process of socio-cultural construction is both contingent and complex.

The study indicates that the new leisure spaces are liminal enclaves that are re-embedding new practices from the global society into a conservative society. This has created wider acceptance and enjoyment from younger members of society but resistance from the religious authority. The study also demonstrates how the phenomenon of gendering spaces involves multiple constructs, which include institutional roles, performance, and gazing. These are interrelated, highly contingent, complex, and quite dynamic, which suggests that the gendering is not a given, and the process of gendering malls and seafronts is part of working out the modernisation of the Kingdom.
I believe that the particular contribution of my study has been to show that the process of understanding the gendering of new leisure spaces and landscapes involves understanding multiple perspectives and concepts, and that these must be taken into account in order to create modern social spaces that are sensitive to the local culture and society.
Chapter 10 References


Al-Andalus Mall. (2012). Weekdays at Al-Andalus Mall. [Photograph]. from https://instagram.com/alandalusmall/


2014


Center of Arab Women for Training and Research. (2009). Gender, work, informal economy. Tunisia: Center of Arab Women for Training and Research.


Pictuergr.am. (2012). Seqala Roof area. [Photograph].

Red Sea Mall. (2010). Mall Directory (pp. 1).


Appendix A: Focus Group Questions

A.1 Questions

A.1.1 Opening Discussion

**Proposition:** Images of leisure spaces will help participants think upon spatial relationships. Photographs of different leisure and tourism spaces and settings are shown to participants.

**Question:** Could you tell me your opinion about these spaces and settings?

**Anticipated Outcomes:** “Breaking the ice” Insight into how participants conceptualise and understand these spaces.

A.1.2 Institutional Roles

**Proposition:** In Saudi Arabia, government agencies and religious establishments have significant power over social relations, and reinforce male-based power (Delamere, 2001). The government delegates the power in the circle of the family to the oldest male, who exercises great control over women’s life and their leisure decisions.

**Questions:**

1. What do you take into account when selecting the place of your activities at the mall/seafront?

2. Who usually gets involved in selecting the place of your activities at the mall/seafront?

3. Which days do you prefer to go to the mall/seafront?

4. Does a male relative accompany you when visiting leisure spaces?

5. How does this influence what you do and where you go?

**Anticipated Outcomes:** Understanding of how gendered institutions influence women’s use and activity in leisure places.

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A.1.3 Spatial Performance

**Proposition:** Gendered space is constructed through the performance of gender in everyday activities. Differences in the performance of men and women may be related to the socio-cultural norms and values associated with the localities in which they live (Pawson and Banks, 1993).

Questions:

1. Could you describe your favourite place and favourite activity in the mall/seafront?

2. How do you arrange your activities in the mall/seafront to make it suitable to your needs?

3. How do you maintain and create your own privacy? For example do you use any objects to make the place suitable?

**Anticipated Outcomes:** Identification of how women create privacy and deal with the male gaze, and how their spatial performance differs between malls which are pre-conditioned spaces and seafronts which are less structured (mall vs. seafront).

A.1.4 The Gaze

**Proposition:** Gendered space is constructed through the gaze, and women respond to the gaze. People's performance in public spaces can also be influenced by surveillance if they recognise they are being subject to the gaze of other people (Aitchison, 2003; Pritchard & Morgan, 2000; Scalcedo, 2003).

Questions:

1. Are you aware of being watched when you are in the mall/seafront?

2. Do you use these spaces differently when you are aware of being watched by the people who manage the space? How?
3. Do you tend to use the space differently in the presence of males? How?

4. Do you use the space differently when you are in the company of a male relative? How?

5. What do you think about the family areas in malls/seafronts?

**Anticipated Outcomes:** Insight into the extent to what women are aware of institutional surveillance and improved understanding of how women’s performances and leisure activities are influenced by the male gaze.

**A.1.5 Liminality**

**Proposition:** Globalisation and modernisation of spaces lead to the creation of liminal spaces that are betwixt-and-between the normal day-to-day cultural and social performance (V. Turner, 1979).

**Questions:**

1. How often do you go to the mall/seafront for leisure?

2. What type of leisure activity do you do at the mall/seafront?

3. Could you describe your favourite place or activity in the mall/seafront?

4. How do you find the level of privacy in the new leisure spaces?

**Anticipated Outcomes:** Understanding of how traditional gender spaces have been shaped by the use of new leisure spaces.
A.1.6 Consumption

Proposition: The material consumption of leisure-related spaces and places is influenced by the differential power to act (Aitchison, 2003). Money and financial status are important factors in determining leisure activity, especially in the case of women (Shaw, 1994).

Questions:

1. Who drives you to malls/seafronts?
2. How often do you shop when you go on leisure outings?
3. Where do you spend most of your money when you go to malls/seafronts? (Goods, services/food, entertainment).
4. Do you find differences between upmarket spaces and less expensive spaces?

Anticipated Outcomes: Understanding of whether financial status influences the performance and how this influences gendering of space.

A.1.7 Concluding Remarks

Proposition: There will be differences in the way space is gendered in the privately managed malls compared to the public seafronts.

Questions:

1. Could you think of any leisure activities that are appropriate for malls and not appropriate for seafronts and vice versa?
2. Do you have any comments to add on the issue?
### Appendix B: Table 1. Participants' profile

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Participant Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>A01 University graduate working mother age 48 years old.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>A02 University student 23 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>A03 University student 21 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>A04 High school student 18 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>A05 High school student 18 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>B01 University graduate working mother 52 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>B02 University graduate working mother 55 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>B03 High school graduate mother 47 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>B04 High school graduate mother 46 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>B05 University graduate working mother 30 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>B06 University graduate working mother 25 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>B07 University student 23 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>B08 University graduate mother 25 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>B09 High school graduate mother 44 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>C01 Postgraduate working Mother 40 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>C02 University student mother 23 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>C03 University graduate 35 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>D01 High school graduate mother 46 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>D02 University graduate working mother 35 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>D03 High school graduate mother 40 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>D04 High school graduate mother 35 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>D05 Postgraduate working mother 40 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>D06 University graduate 36 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>E01 University student 25 years old</td>
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<td>39</td>
<td>M08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>M09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix C: Focus Group Analysis

The data of the focus groups have been coded following two types of coding systems: Open coding and Axil coding.

Gazing

The participants of the focus group have highlighted three types of gazing: Male Gaze, Female Gaze and Surveillance Camera.

Male Gaze

Male gaze is the most common across all the case studies. Male Gaze here refers to where the male is the person who is performing the gaze and females are the subjects of the gaze.

Participants indicated that male gaze has effect on their performance and in their feelings. The effect on performance has been identified in three different levels.

Effect of Male Gaze in Performance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Participant Comments</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A01</td>
<td>If I enter into a space and I am aware of being watched by men, I think it depends on the atmosphere and about the type of people who are watching me.</td>
<td>001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A01</td>
<td>Male gazing will influence me, because the point is the gaze, for me to be look at and stare at it will make me feel uncomfortable.</td>
<td>G1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B01</td>
<td>Usually I will try to avoid walking in front of the crowded café.</td>
<td>G1.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A01</td>
<td>For me maybe because I am an older and I don’t have time for foolishness, I would avoid them, and if I could I would go around them.</td>
<td>G1.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A01</td>
<td>I am known to do that quite a bit, if I see group of men or young boys I would avoid them, I'll give you an example: in Dhahran Mall when you are walking towards Starbucks, its full of Saudi men and they sit right there and you have to walk trough them, and instead of walking passing them, I would <strong>walk the other way, they don't bother me but I prefer not to pass on front of them.</strong></td>
<td>G1.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C02</td>
<td>Same thing for me, I will try to avoid walking in fronts of men's cafes and I'll chose alternative route.</td>
<td>G1.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A01</td>
<td>They might be not gazing, and they could be just sitting and having a cup of coffee but they still to me, <strong>they are in my walk area and in my face and I do avoid them and go the other way</strong>, I found myself doing that even in Al-Rashid Mall.</td>
<td>G1.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A02</td>
<td>I think gazing will <strong>effect me</strong>, if I walk into a store and I noticed that I am being gazed at I will get my stuff fast and <strong>leave</strong>, I think it is more of a comfort level, if there is more men around and they are not actually gazing and they are doing there own things, I think it will not be much of a problem for me.</td>
<td>G1.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A03</td>
<td>I agree, I think I will be <strong>acting and performing in a different way</strong> if I am aware of being watched by other people, especially men.</td>
<td>G1.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A05</td>
<td>Me too, I think if strangers or men are watching me, it will <strong>change the way I use the space, I might not stay long or walk faster.</strong></td>
<td>G1.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A03</td>
<td><strong>I do not like to walk in front of men's cafe</strong>, always you will find young men sitting there and observing women, it is <strong>worth than the surveillance camera.</strong></td>
<td>G1.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C02</td>
<td>Usually I’ll be <strong>considering every move</strong> I do, as I do not want to send the <strong>wrong signal</strong> to them.</td>
<td>G1.2.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Men are annoying in Al-Andalus Mall, they will harass you and follow you till you get bothered and this is why I stopped going there during morning hours, even if my girlfriends are going I will rather stay in the campus and not go.

Usually I try to avoid going to Al-Rashid Mall because the mall is full of single men, so when I go there, I try to leave as soon as possible.

I do not like it when men are in my way, and usually I stopped going to these malls that known to be full of men who sit and watch women.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SN</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Code</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Effect of Male Gaze on Performance</td>
<td>G1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Avoidance</td>
<td>G1.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Walk Faster</td>
<td>G1.2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Leave Space</td>
<td>G1.2.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SN</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Code</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Effect of Male Gaze on Feeling</td>
<td>G1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tensed/ Confused</td>
<td>G1.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bothered/ Uncomfortable</td>
<td>G1.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Embarrassed</td>
<td>G1.3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>It has no Effect</td>
<td>G1.3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Harassed</td>
<td>G1.3.5</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<th>SN</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Code</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Effect of Male Gaze on accompanied male</td>
<td>G1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tensed</td>
<td>G1.4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Avoidance</td>
<td>G1.4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Embarrassed</td>
<td>G1.4.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<tr>
<th>SN</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Effect of Female Gaze</td>
<td>G2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Effect of female Gaze on Performance</td>
<td>G2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Effect of Female Gaze on Felling</td>
<td>G2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Effect of Female Gaze on Accompanied Male</td>
<td>G2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SN</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Code</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Effect of Female Gaze on Performance</td>
<td>G2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Avoidance</td>
<td>G2.2.1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**SN** | **Description** | **Code** |
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Effect of Female Gaze on Feeling</td>
<td>G2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tensed/ Confused</td>
<td>G2.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bothered/ Uncomfortable</td>
<td>G2.3.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SN** | **Description** | **Code** |
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Effect of Female Gaze on accompanied male</td>
<td>G2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tensed</td>
<td>G2.4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Avoidance</td>
<td>G2.4.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SN** | **Description** | **Code** |
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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Effect of Surveillance Camera</td>
<td>G3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Effect of Surveillance Camera Performance</td>
<td>G3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Effect of Surveillance Camera Felling</td>
<td>G3.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SN** | **Description** | **Code** |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Effect of Surveillance Camera Performance</td>
<td>G3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Awareness/ Search for it</td>
<td>G3.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Don’t notice it</td>
<td>G3.2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Consider my Moves</td>
<td>G3.2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>It has no effect</td>
<td>G3.2.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Focus Groups participant choice of activities
Focus group participants power relationships
## Table 2: Summary of the Five Mall Case Studies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mall of America</th>
<th>Mall of Elmhurst</th>
<th>Mall of Georgia</th>
<th>Red Sea Mall</th>
<th>Al-Rehab Mall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Location</strong></td>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of Stores</strong></td>
<td>Over 150</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Size</strong></td>
<td>1.5 million sq ft</td>
<td>1 million sq ft</td>
<td>1.2 million sq ft</td>
<td>1 million sq ft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Anchor Stores</strong></td>
<td>Macy's, Nordstrom, Best Buy</td>
<td>Macy's, Nordstrom, Best Buy</td>
<td>Walmart, Target, Best Buy</td>
<td>Macy's, Nordstrom, Best Buy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Key Features</strong></td>
<td>Large parking lot, indoor water park</td>
<td>Indoor water park, 3D cinema</td>
<td>Indoor water park, 3D cinema</td>
<td>Large parking lot, indoor water park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Visitor Data</strong></td>
<td>Average annual visitor count: 10 million</td>
<td>Average annual visitor count: 8 million</td>
<td>Average annual visitor count: 9 million</td>
<td>Average annual visitor count: 7 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Mall of America
- **Performance:** Strong performance with high foot traffic and visitor satisfaction.
- **Strategic Planning:** Emphasis on customer experience and retail innovation.

### Mall of Elmhurst
- **Performance:** Average performance with steady visitor numbers.
- **Strategic Planning:** Focus on maintaining a positive visitor experience.

### Mall of Georgia
- **Performance:** Excellent performance with high visitor satisfaction.
- **Strategic Planning:** Emphasis on retail innovation and customer experience.

### Red Sea Mall
- **Performance:** Strong performance with high foot traffic and visitor satisfaction.
- **Strategic Planning:** Emphasis on retail innovation and customer experience.

### Al-Rehab Mall
- **Performance:** Strong performance with high foot traffic and visitor satisfaction.
- **Strategic Planning:** Emphasis on retail innovation and customer experience.
Appendix E: Photograph’s Sources


Mustafa, M. (2011g). Family section at Al-Andalus Foodcourt. [Photograph].

Mustafa, M. (2011h). Foodcourt family section. [Photograph].


Mustafa, M. (2011k). Group of girl observers

Mustafa, M. (2011l). A group of single men at night during weekday


Mustafa, M. (2011x). Men's section, Al-Andalus Mall. [Photograph].

Pictuergr.am. (2012). Seqala Roof area. [Photograph].

Red Sea Mall. (2010). Mall Directory (pp. 1).