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Emirati Youth's Perceptions of Masculinity Representation - Focus Group Discussions

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Abstract:

The study aims to analyze the perception of masculinity and the influence of media representations in forming this perception in the UAE, based on four focus groups, including 33 students affiliated with the University of Khorfakkan, in a region known for its conservative rural character, but is currently undergoing swift developmental advancements. The findings reflected a traditional view of masculinity, where family values are highly valued, and the family is considered the cornerstone of society. Thus, masculinity is defined by relationships with others, be they family or community. The research also asks how the participants assess the way media representations impact images of masculinity, revealing a consensus that mass and new media are negatively influencing these images. The participants agreed on the power of media to create a divide between traditional and Western values, and with social media, in particular, to have a significant impact on shaping the behavior of younger generations. Future studies can examine the role of social media in shaping attitudes toward gender roles and masculinity among young people in the region.

Keywords: Arab culture, masculinity, media representations, UAE, youth.

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1. Introduction

Over the past decades, the Arab region has experienced significant transformations in various areas, such as politics, technology, economy, society, and culture. One of the most noticeable changes is the emergence of new ideas and perspectives regarding gender relations, particularly regarding gender roles, patriarchy, masculinity, and feminism. Digital media has also enabled more people to access information and express their opinions freely, leading to a more open and inclusive dialogue about gender issues. For instance, social media platforms have provided a space for women's voices to be heard and their experiences to be shared, leading to a greater awareness of women's rights and gender equality. As a result, more women are speaking out against gender-based discrimination and violence and advocating for equal opportunities and representation in various fields (Pruchniewska, 2019). A recent study, for instance, has concluded that social media has contributed to the discussion and promotion of various feminist ideas in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (Elhareish, 2021). In the UAE, social media has contributed to empowering businesswomen to overcome cultural, societal, and financial barriers (Eshantaly & Ben Moussa, 2022).

On the other hand, there is a parallel debate about the concept of masculinity and whether it aligns with the reality of men, their aspirations, and actions (Connell, 2002). However, there are still unanswered questions about the perception and representation of masculinity in Arab societies such as the UAE. It is crucial to comprehend how the concept of masculinity aligns with or contradicts people's beliefs about it. This study aims to fill this gap by analyzing the perception of masculinity, considering the changes taking place in the region regarding gender relations that go beyond just allowing women to drive in Saudi Arabia, travel alone, or

amending the Personal Status Law in Egypt. With the rapid alterations in the roles and relationships of men and women in various Arab societies, it is essential to examine how the Arab media portrays masculinity and how young Arabs perceive it in comparison. This study focuses on the latter aim, namely the perception of masculinity. In so doing, this research aims to contribute to the burgeoning body of literature about Arab masculinity, seeking to gain a deep understanding of the image of Arab masculinity and to explore the perceptions of Arab youth in the United Arab Emirates regarding masculinity. Specifically, the study asks how young Arab men and women in the UAE perceive Arab masculinity.

While gender studies have predominantly focused on women and minorities, the roles of masculinity in the Arab region have received limited attention in this realm. To address this gap, this in-depth study was conducted to explore the evolving roles of masculinity in the Arab region. The research aimed to enrich knowledge about media representation of masculinity as a social construct, and it also sought to examine the impact of preconceived notions prevalent in UAE society regarding the perceptions of masculinity. To achieve these objectives, the study employed focus groups with young Arabs in UAE as a methodological approach.

Overall, this research enhances our understanding of the complex roles of masculinity in the Arab region, shedding light on a topic that has not been explored in depth in the realm of gender studies. Thus, this study contributes to the media representation of masculinity as a social construct (Miller, 2016) and how this construction is dominated by pre-established perceptions within the UAE society, as well as by the effects of dynamic Western perceptions about masculinity.

The article unfolds as follows: First, we provide an overview of the literature on masculinity, focusing on the Arab context. Next, we will introduce the methodology of our research before presenting the findings of the focus groups. Finally, we will conclude with a general discussion of the main findings and suggest topics for future research.

2. Masculinity in the Arab Context

Arab scholarship into masculinity provides different definitions: Some scholars define masculinity in terms of morals derived from religion (such as Zuhd, 2010), while others (e.g. Ziyani, 2018) relate masculinity to ancestral values. The ideal man then was expected to be physically strong, brave, generous, and protective, like a knight. He was expected to be rich and powerful and to safeguard the weak and vulnerable members of society (Zaghrit, 2013).

In contemporary times, with the acceleration of economic, social, and cultural changes, numerous authors have noted the crisis that men and boys are experiencing, particularly those who have lower education and skill levels. This crisis, often referred to as the “crisis of masculinity,” is linked to the changes in men’s roles and position in society and the family, although it affects more middle-class men and those with less education, income, and status (Rosin, 2012; Farrell & Gray, 2018; Reeves, 2022). It seems that these changes have also impacted the Arab region, particularly with the economic and political challenges faced by men in the area. According to Aamer et al. (2019), the capacity to financially support one’s family is a pivotal aspect of an Arab man’s masculinity and a primary role expected of him. Cultural norms and religious teachings emphasize the man’s duty to provide for his family. Consequently, a man’s inability to fulfill this

role is not only distressing but can also be perceived as a deviation from true masculinity, particularly if a female family member, be it his wife or daughter, assumes this responsibility.

In line with this theoretical perspective, masculinity is viewed as a moral stature, asserting that masculinity, as a cultural identity, is being challenged by the forces of cultural globalization, especially through the proliferation of (Western) media (Al-Qadi, 1999; Sebkhauoui, 2018). This threat emerges from the imposition of prevailing Western cultural values, which often clash with the unique cultural and civilizational identities of non-Western communities (Sebkhauoui, 2018).

Further, according to Ghannam's anthropological study, masculine identity is not just a personal pursuit but is also related to the recognition of others, with both men and women participating in its construction (Ghannam, 2013). Ghannam (2013) also noted that in the Middle East, men are often disembodied, meaning they are equated with reason, culture, honor, and public life, while emotions, sensations, and the body are often ignored in media and academic studies. Another study by Quayle et al. (2018) supports the same conclusion, arguing that women also play a role in the social construction of ideal masculinity in association with men.

Finally, as some scholars argue, the concept of Arab masculinity is in a state of transition (Inhorn, 2012; Al-Dailami, 2019). On the one hand, the Arab man seeks to maintain his dominant position in a gender system that remains non-egalitarian. However, this dominance is challenged by the growing integration of women into education and the workforce, coupled with a rising feminist consciousness that also affects men. The traditional, absolute form of Arab masculinity no longer fully exists, and

a new, egalitarian form is yet to fully emerge. This reflects a masculinity crisis where Arab men can no longer solely rely on their financial prowess to exert control, especially as many young Arab men now face economic challenges (Al-Dailami, 2019).

In summary, masculinity or rather masculinities, as Connell (2005) noticed, differ from one context to another, depending on the environment, social status, place, and time. Arab scholarship on masculinity can be broadly categorized into two main areas: one that views masculinity as a combination of desirable roles and traits that men should strive to possess, aligning with the normative viewpoint rooted in Arab and Islamic heritage; and the second focuses on the crisis that men and boys are currently experiencing as their role and position in society undergo significant changes. Arab masculinity is undergoing a transitional phase as men attempt to hold onto their dominant position in a gender system that is being challenged by the increasing participation of women in education and the workforce. Thus, Arabic scholarship on masculinity tends to regard masculinity as an amalgamation of positive roles and commendable characteristics that men are encouraged to possess. According to this perspective, a man's masculinity is deemed complete when he embodies these characteristics. Conversely, a lack or absence of these characteristics is perceived as a shortfall in his masculinity. This stance aligns with the conventional viewpoint rooted in Arab and Islamic heritage, which is predominantly normative in nature.

3. Media's influence in defining masculinity

Media plays an important role in shaping gender relations and how masculinity is perceived. Unfortunately, the media often perpetuates

unrealistic and stereotypical images of men, portraying them as always being powerful and dominant, which leaves little room for alternative views of masculinity. These portrayals can influence what society expects from men and women, as well as what individuals may expect from themselves, promoting an unbalanced vision of gender roles in society (Carter, Steiner & McLaughlin, 2014). Indeed, media has a significant impact on shaping beliefs, attitudes, and expectations related to gender. It is a crucial factor in producing sociocultural pressures related to gender. Mainstream media representations also contribute to reinforcing ideas about what it means to be a “real” man in society, for instance, trivializing men in nurturing or domestic roles, affecting how society perceives what men and women should do and what they should expect of themselves (Rao, Kareem, & Kamel, 2022). Also, media representations of masculine identity continue to be associated with aggression, dominance, and authority, but the question is how media users project such images of masculinity (Carter, Steiner & McLaughlin, 2014).

Media representations can promote “toxic masculinity” or “hegemonic masculinity.” Both concepts are related, but they refer to different aspects of gender roles and societal expectations associated with masculinity. While toxic masculinity refers to usually negative behaviors, attitudes, and cultural norms associated with traditional masculinity, hegemonic masculinity refers to the dominant form or idealized version of masculinity within a given culture or society, whether negative or not (Connell, 2005). It represents the most culturally accepted and valued form of masculinity at a specific time and place. Traits associated with toxic masculinity can be the suppression of emotion, dismissal of effeminateness, and aggression, while hegemonic masculinity is characterized by traits

that align with societal expectations and power structures. Thus, toxic masculinity refers to a set of cultural norms and expectations associated with traditional masculinity that can have harmful effects on individuals and society. It encompasses rigid and often harmful stereotypes about what it means to be a “real man,” promoting behaviors and attitudes that can be detrimental to both men and those around them (Harrington, 2020).

Moreover, the development of media technologies has a significant impact on how masculinity and femininity are portrayed, perpetuating or challenging traditional gender stereotypes, depending on how they are utilized. However, men still control media production and distribution systems, and the lack of women in top positions in major corporations, including the media, makes it difficult to determine their effectiveness as leaders and managers. For instance, while Emirati media platforms champion the government’s agenda of empowering women, gender inequality and discrimination still persist in the newsrooms resulting in the absence of women journalists and editors (Al Obeidli, 2020). Thus, it’s not just societal obstacles that lead to inadequate representation of Emirati women in the media. Other factors that contribute to this issue include basic gender stereotyping, limited leadership opportunities, horizontal segregation, and gender clustering in newsrooms (Al Obeidli, 2020).

The role of gender and sexuality in the media landscape has grown significantly, while globalization has had a major impact on communication habits and attitudes towards media consumption. These changes are ongoing and vary based on factors such as national policies, resources, and demographics.

Indeed, the way masculinity and femininity are portrayed in the media in the Global South can be influenced by various factors such as cultural, social, and political contexts, including the underrepresentation of women in the media in the Global South, which can contribute to perpetuating traditional gender stereotypes. This is because gender and communication are interconnected at every level of our existence. The communication tools and platforms we use play a crucial role in shaping our understanding, experiences, and definitions of gender. For instance, the media's representation of sexual identities in the MENA region may be limited by biases and binaries, with masculinities often associated with violence, virility, career achievements, and femininities confined to appearances, vulnerabilities, and fragilities (Skalli, 2023). In the region, a thorough exploration of gender and communication requires an understanding of how they relate to specific localities, regional trends, and global forces (Skalli, 2023).

This study zooms in on one example of Arab society, namely the UAE, where social media use is highest in the Arab region, enabling people in the UAE to stay connected and interact with others across the world. Also, social media serves as a vital source of news and information, helping users stay informed about local and global debates including those involving gender issues. Moreover, social media has helped spread Western ideas, values, and customs among young people in Emirati society, fostering cultural exchange and understanding (Pripoae-Șerbănescu & Mațoi, 2023). The UAE is also selected because it is considered a masculine culture, with nearly 70% of the population being male, including expatriates (The UAE's Government Portal, 2022). This predominantly male audience can influence the types of content and discussions that take place on media

platforms, potentially shaping the portrayal of masculinity as they construct and represent different forms of masculinity and femininity, which can influence audiences who may accept or contest such representations.

In the Gulf region, it is expected that citizens should always maintain a respectable image as they cannot separate their identity from that of the state. However, the rise of social media has allowed individuals to create their own image which is often viewed as conflicting with the national image by the state. As for women, they have a special responsibility to maintain the reputation of the state by creating and upholding a certain image. Although social media has allowed women to challenge the traditional view of Gulf women as a representation of a conservative and religious nation, they still face difficulties in conforming to conservative social norms while also meeting the progressive image-making goals of the state (Alhussein, Al Rafaei & Al Hussein, 2021). For instance, some Emirati citizens reject the idea of feminist solidarity, arguing that women in the UAE do not need to unite for their rights as the state provides them with everything they need. Also, UAE women are subject to social authority over them by fathers and husbands; in traditional UAE society, men and women had different roles based on their natural abilities (Al Oraimi, 2011).

Overall, Emirati women require more than state-backed campaigns for empowerment since existing campaigns fall short due to inadequate education in gender studies, among other factors (Al Obeidli, 2020). To address this, the UAE government has introduced the concept of gender balance, which is a key project in the UAE, with a focus on equality while respecting local customs and Islam. However, the tribal patriarchal culture is still influencing the social spheres in the Gulf societies generally, and that is why there have been calls to revive and promote traditional heritage

emphasizing Islamic values (Al Obeidli, 2020).

4. Method

This study aims to explore the images of masculinity in the minds of young UAE citizens, and for this, four focus group interviews were conducted. All the participants are affiliated with the University of Khorfakkan, where the interviews took place. Every student is either Emirati or a child of an Emirati mother. Hence, they, in one way or another, embody Emirati identity and culture. Khorfakkan was deliberately selected due to the recent academic and tourist developments in the city, which was once a predominantly rural area (Al-Ali, 2016). For instance, the inauguration of the new Sharjah-Khorfakkan Road in 2019, a project costing approximately six billion Emirati Dirhams (1.6 billion US dollars), markedly enhanced connectivity between Khorfakkan, Sharjah (Al-Rifa'i, 2019), and other major cities in the United Arab Emirates. These substantial projects have not only transformed the city into a prominent tourist destination but also led to it receiving the title of the Best Arab Tourist City in 2023 by the Arab Union for Tourism Media ("Khorfakkan Named Best Arab City for 2023," 2023). This rapid development of a traditionally rural area distinctly sets it apart from the already established 'avant-garde' attitudes of cities like Dubai (AlMutawa, 2019). Moreover, the area has also a significant proportion of Emirati citizens compared to other cities in the country, and it is also the largest coastal city on the east coast of the Sharjah Emirate, characterized by its blend of modernity and adherence to the living traditions of the Emirates (The United Arab Emirates' Government portal, 2023). Consequently, Khorfakkan provides two advantages: a high percentage of its population are citizens, in addition to being part of the Sharjah Emirate, which combines modernity with Emirati traditions.

The study sample is classified as convenience, which is a type of sampling used in qualitative research; it is less rigid as it does not start with the establishment of a strict sampling frame, as is the case in quantitative studies. This qualitative research aims to explore how people interpret and understand their social world and express it, and it therefore focuses on in-depth exploration with a small sample of participants to gain a comprehensive, detailed, and rich description (Daymon & Holloway, 2005). The total number of participants was 33, divided into four groups, with two groups of females and two groups of males. Each group consisted of eight individuals, except the first group, which was comprised of nine female students. The authors have obtained the approval of their institution's ethics committee prior to conducting the fieldwork.

The purpose of the interviews was to explore the concept of masculinity as perceived by the participants and their assessment of the media's influence in shaping this image. While the male groups provided valuable insights into the meaning of masculinity from a male perspective, the female groups contributed to a more holistic understanding of masculinity from a female viewpoint, taking into account the pivotal role that women play in defining the concept and its related conditions.

An interview guide was developed to include questions about the participants' perception of masculinity centering around the following themes:

- Defining the concept of masculinity, its traits and roles
- The view of the role of media in reinforcing this view
- The view of whether the recent socio-economic and societal

transformations have impacted this perception of masculinity

- Participants' examples of positive and/or negative examples of masculinity.

Each participant in the study was assigned a unique code which begins with a letter indicating the participant's gender, followed by their seating number in the session, and then the group in which they were seated. For instance, a participant coded as M2-FG4 would represent a male participant who was seated second in focus group 4. The focus groups were conducted in July 2023.

Table 1 - Participants' information

Participant	Sex	Age
F1-FG1	Female	21
F2-FG1	Female	19
F3-FG1	Female	24
F4-FG1	Female	18
F5-FG1	Female	20
F6-FG1	Female	25
F7-FG1	Female	18
F8-FG1	Female	18
F9-FG1	Female	21
M1-FG2	Male	20
M2-FG2	Male	26
M3-FG2	Male	21
M4-FG2	Male	20

M5-FG2	Male	25
M6-FG2	Male	19
M7-FG2	Male	31
M8-FG2	Male	28
F1-FG3	Female	24
F2-FG3	Female	18
F3-FG3	Female	37
F4-FG3	Female	19
F5-FG3	Female	20
F6-FG3	Female	33
F7-FG3	Female	39
F8-FG3	Female	20
M1-FG4	Male	42
M2-FG4	Male	30
M3-FG4	Male	27
M4-FG4	Male	25
M5-FG4	Male	39
M6-FG4	Male	40
M7-FG4	Male	44
M8-FG4	Male	29

Thematic categories were created through iterative categorization, refining, and adjusting until they best represented the data (Yin; 2016; Ramdani, 2017).

5. Findings

5.1 Financial provision

There was a consensus that breadwinning for the family is the man's responsibility. However, it is important to note here that women in the United Arab Emirates enjoy a high degree of economic empowerment. The prevalence of higher education in women exceeds that of men, leading to a considerable presence of women in the workforce, among other factors.

Nonetheless, the focus group participants emphasize the material provision as a key role of men. For instance, F 1-FG1 clarified that providing income for the family is the man's responsibility, "as the Quran advises," and that "the man (the husband) must spend on [his wife] continuing the role of her family." Similarly, respondents in the fourth group confirmed the same view, emphasizing that spending on the family is the man's responsibility even if the wife/mother is working and that this material provision is linked to Islamic teachings. For example, when asked whether a working woman can contribute to her household, M3-FG4 said that a woman's contribution should be done "at her free will;" other participants, e.g., M1-FG4 confirm the same view, "We don't force her to give (from her money)." To illustrate this issue, M4-FG4 gave this practical example:

I am a married man, and my wife works, but I don't force her to spend her salary on our children or on other household costs. I am the one who should do so. Her salary is hers, and she is free to spend it or to keep her money for herself and her affairs, I don't force her to contribute to the household expenses because I am the man of the house.

This matter also has a religious dimension, as confirmed by M8-FG4, and this sentiment was reiterated by all respondents; for example, F6-FG1 says, “If the woman is working, she is not required to spend on the family; she only spends on herself. If she wishes to help, she can help, but she is not obligated to do so.” When asked if the man is obligated to spend, that participant responded, “he is obligated to do so,” and F2-FG1 confirmed that, stating that the man “should be capable of doing so.” Moreover, F2-FG3 said that spending on the family “is more the man’s responsibility than the woman’s, but if the woman wishes to give, there is no harm in that,” while F6-FG3 says that if a wife has an income, she should not rush to financially assist her husband so that he does not get accustomed to using her income and loses his motivation or neglects his duty to develop himself and increase his own earnings:

“If a man’s salary allows him to take additional courses, for example, to [improve his skills and] increase [his salary], he will say to himself, ‘Why should I tire myself’ ... There’s no need for that as I have a second income.”

Similarly, the male respondents in the fourth group unanimously agreed that a man does not have the right to choose not to work or not to provide for the family, as that contradicts the meaning and essence of masculinity. When asked the respondents if a young man can decide to stay at home and not work if his wife is working and has a good salary, M3-FG4 responded, “This is wrong; he is supposed to depend on himself... this is not masculine.” M7-FG4 supported this statement, adding, “It is not [an attribute of] masculinity to exploit your wife’s work and procrastinate at

home. This is not masculinity.” In fact, the fourth focus group identified the man’s role in the family as being able to secure “the income for the family” (M3-FG4), along with providing “shelter” and “securing a living” (M5-FG4 and M6-FG4 respectively). Moreover, a man must work to “secure [his family’s] future,” as pointed out by M1-FG4, in addition to providing education, as confirmed by M8-FG4.

Further, the man’s failure to perform this role may lead him to lose his sense of masculinity and make him susceptible to marginalization; thus, if he is married, his wife may ultimately end up divorcing him, as clarified by M1-FG4 and M2-FG4. If he is not married, no woman may accept marrying him if he is unable to financially provide for her and the family, as explained by F3-FG2, “Whoever cannot bear the responsibility of maintaining a household should not marry.” The same view was expressed by other participants, such as M5-FG4, who commented on the possibility of a man choosing not to work and relying on his wife’s income instead, “I will despise myself if a woman spends [on the household], and she is working, while I am not. No, I will feel ashamed of myself... I will feel embarrassed.” Finally, participant F2-FG3 said that the role of men is to “be the support, the refuge, and the one who provides for the family,” and F6-FG3 corroborated her peer’s view, adding that “he is the one who provides for all their (family members) needs.”

In summary, although the women in the UAE have a strong presence in the workforce and enjoy economic empowerment, the participants stress that men should hold the primary responsibility for providing for their families by securing income, shelter, and basic necessities. Nonetheless, women have the option to contribute voluntarily to their family’s well-being if they choose to do so. This aligns with previous studies that indicate the

prevalence of anxiety in men who perceive limited economic opportunities and are pressured to fulfill their traditional role as breadwinners for their families (Ali, 2003).

5.2 Guardianship

When queried about men's societal and national roles, respondents from the second focus group unequivocally identified the "guardian" role as paramount. As articulated by M7-FG2, men are inherently tasked with strenuous responsibilities, embodying the Arab axiom, "Men are for the tough tasks." This signifies that such a role inherently involves hardship and risk, positing that men's societal role is to undertake this responsibility. M1-FG2 asserts that the man's role within society and the state is "to be the first to respond if the state requires." M3-FG2 elucidates the nature of tasks that the state or society may necessitate a man to fulfill, "things that women are not capable of doing, because they are difficult tasks requiring effort and capability. This does not imply a devaluation of women, but this role is a man's role." When asked to illustrate their points, M7-FG2, for one, asserts, "National service (mandatory National Military Service in the United Arab Emirates) is an example. If the state demands you at any time (for war or military effort), you should be ready." M6-FG2 also emphasizes that this role is fundamentally societal, catering to the collective interests of the community members. M6-FG2 maintains, "This role benefits society; in an emergency, those [men] who have served in the national service are the first to be prepared." This stance mirrors the legal standpoint concerning national service in the UAE, where males who have reached the age of eighteen are mandated to join the national service, while the matter remains optional for females (The United Arab Emirates' Government portal, 2022). Beyond military service, M3-FG2 presents another example

to illustrate this protective role, stating, "Like firefighters, if there's a fire and something collapsed, a woman does not have the physical ability to lift things like a man."

Moreover, this protective role is not confined to physical safeguarding but extends to encompassing moral protection. M3-FG2 elaborates on the man's role as "making the members of his family feel safe, so they do not feel afraid of anything befalling them, since the man is there (to protect them and provide for their needs)." This concept was reiterated by M1-FG4 during a discussion about masculine traits, "If I am upset about something, I do not show it to my children. This is a typical male trait [not to show emotions, especially sadness]." When probed about the importance of this masculine trait, he responded, "So as not to cause them sadness and worry. If my son sees me sad, if he sees his father sad, I assure you that he will not sleep at night and will stay awake thinking about what happened to his father."

A similar sentiment was articulated in the discussion by the third focus group. F1-FG3 discussed how her husband, accustomed to the women in his family undertaking all mundane tasks, had been reoriented by her to fulfill his duties, which include, "going to the market to bring tradesman when needed, and to stay at home while the tradesman is doing his job." F5-FG3 confirms the same view, saying that one of the gravest errors is that women go out to procure household necessities or deal with workers when a man is around. F6-FG3 supplements this view, asserting that it is also a man's role to take the children to the hospital when they are ill and to run errands to buy groceries and other necessities because it is inappropriate for a woman to undertake these tasks on behalf of a man.

In summary, men's role as a "guardian" was identified, and this role is seen as difficult and challenging but also beneficial to society. The participants emphasized the importance of men fulfilling this role, which includes providing physical and moral protection to their families.

5.3 Moral authority

Another theme emerging from the focus groups was the view that Arab men should serve as a "moral compass" and guide to their families and community. For instance, F7-FG1 asserted, "A man should teach [his family] norms and values." An example of such a role was provided by F1-FG3, who stated that a father needs to be lenient, especially with teenagers:

For instance, if he sees his son smoking, he should advise him and talk to him more than once. If talking proves ineffective, he should resort to stricter measures. If the son encounters another situation afterward, he will directly return to the father (to receive advice).

Likewise, M5-FG4 stated that a man must "teach [his family] the difference between right and wrong and to identify with trustworthy people."

The absence of this ability to morally guide others, however, is regarded as a sign that a man has lacked this moral support himself or that he lacks religious conviction. For instance, F7-FG3 clarified that deviance from this moral role could be attributed to the "absence of religious restraint, or when he [the man] was a teenager, he did not have a responsible figure like a father or an older brother to advise him." When challenged to imagine a scenario when a boy loses his father, and the mother then has to take over this moral role, F6-FG3 said, "If a father dies, the mother can ask her brother or father to compensate for the absence of the father. Surely, the

father cannot be replaced, but the kids still need some [manly] guidance.” Otherwise, she said, “It’s unfair to expect the mother to handle everything alone, lest people blame her for any mishaps and attribute it to the fact that she is a woman raising children.”

However, F1-FG3 said that although her husband came from a family where the father and mother were separated, the husband did not break down. The reason for this, according to her, was that the husband

went to the mosque, he did not let this [separation] affect him, and so although the father was not at home and this was a great obstacle [in his life], his grandmother brought him up well, and taught him morals and religious teachings.

Other participants recall specific examples illustrating real masculine authority, such as F3-FG3, who recalls a time when there was stormy weather, and she was driving with six of her girlfriends without a male companion. When her car got stuck in the mud, a few men approached her, and one of them “drove the car [out of the mud] instead of me, and at that time, I could not think, and I needed the help of men.” Another example is provided by F1-FG3 regarding an incident that happened to her friend while driving to Abu Dhabi, and her car caught fire. A group of young men were signaling for her to stop the car, but the friend thought that they were harassing her and kept on driving. When she felt the heat, she stopped the car and left it at the right moment. For male participants, the negative image of masculinity is embodied in a man who withdraws from helping his family (M6-FG1), breaks his promises (M4-FG1), or blames others for his mistake (M5-FG1). M3-FG1 gives an example of a man who may borrow money and never return it or take a woman’s money.

5.4 Influence of media on the perception of masculinity

On the role of mass and new media in influencing the images of masculinity, some participants blamed the media for consuming so much of men's time. For instance, F6-FG3 says that men who prefer to spend hours watching sports on television may end up neglecting their commitments to their families. She also blames gaming for having the same effect, especially on young men. Likewise, F1-FG3 says that media play a role in influencing men's behavior, such as getting them used to hearing "offensive language" or "shouting at women," which "reduces their authority as men." Other participants refer to the role of media in accustoming men to "imitate women in their appearance or dancing or wearing silk clothes" (F6-FG3).

For others, legacy and new media play a role in influencing men to deviate from their moral values, preferring to blame "Western" values for this, "western societies are based on wrong values, but they influence social media discourse which affects our children and adolescents" (M6-FG1). The same participant (M6-FG1) blames TV series, even those produced in the Gulf, for misrepresenting the Gulf society and negatively influencing young men and women. The same view was expressed by M3-FG1 ("Gulf TV series show scenes of a man embracing a woman") and M5-FG1 ("they learn from the foreigners [westerners] and take after them"). Likewise, M1-FG2 states that media generally has negatively impacted the images of masculinity, especially among the young generations, in contrast to his father's generation, even claiming that "media could limit the role of masculinity."

Moreover, M6-FG1 claims that social media, in particular, endorse homosexuality and that the impact is particularly noticeable among

children. M3-FG1 provides the example of men dancing on TikTok as a negative manifestation of masculinity. However, he adds that some men may see dancing as part of a “luxurious lifestyle” and not restrictive of their masculine image, in contrast to a (conservative) environment like his. Other participants, e.g., M1-FG1, justify such actions on social media by men’s and children’s desire to “get famous” even if they behave “like clowns,” as M7-FG1 puts it.

M6-FG1 sums up this issue by saying that “Western societies are based on wrong [ideas] and their content influence [UAE] children and adolescents,” and the same view was expressed by M8-FG1 who says that “social media like Twitter and Instagram promote western ideas ... which for them are normal,” but that local media, as M3-FG1 says, “follows the example of Western media, and so it becomes natural for a man to form relationships with girls [outside the wedlock].”

Although the media is seen by the participants as having a negative impact on masculinity, some of them expressed that media users have the agency to choose between positive and negative content. As M7-FG2 said, “You can use television in a positive way if you want to... it contains both positive and negative content.” Similarly, participant F1-FG1 said, “I have the choice, so if I choose to watch good things (content), in this case, I am a good person. If I choose to watch not good things (content), I will be negatively affected.”

The above views reflect a traditional view of masculinity as linked to the family unit in the UAE (and GCC society, more generally), where family values are highly valued, and the family is considered the cornerstone of society based on the views of the late ruler, Sheikh Zayed Bin Sultan, that

the family was the foundation of civilization and the true wealth of the UAE (GulfToday, 2021). The unit of family also draws its essence from the Islamic teachings, which place great emphasis on the importance of mutual care between parents and children, and Emiratis take great pride in their large families and tribes, which are considered symbols of prestige (Salem, 2009; Schvaneveldt et al., 2005).

6. Discussion and Conclusion

The above findings indicate a certain level of stability in perceiving masculinity in the UAE (or indeed the GCC societies) compared to other Arab societies like Egypt (Ghannam, 2013) or the Levant (Strier, 2014) where this perception may be in flux given the fast changes in these states, at least since 2011. For instance, in Palestinian society, violence against men, mostly verbal, was documented (Alatrash, Alkhateeb & Tazaza, 2021), which contradicts the role of masculinity discussed above. In fact, the findings align with the literature about family in the UAE (and GCC societies), which places great value on the family unit, regarded as the foundation of its society (Tantawy, 2021). Integral to this family unit is the role of men as the breadwinners, to the extent that young men from poorer regions may feel compelled to quit school to get jobs and support their families (Tantawy, 2021). Thus, Emirati society has a long-standing tradition of men serving as heads of the family and making the key decisions.

The findings also suggest that the UAE society adheres to traditional and rather strict gender roles, aligning with previous research (e.g., Tlaiss, 2014) although the UAE has undergone significant economic development in the last few decades, leading to a transformation of Emirati society and a shift from traditional values to formal and economic relations (Wang &

Kassam, 2016). This is why the UAE government has taken significant steps to promote gender equality, measured by increasing the rate of women in education and the labor market, not to mention the political sphere. Still, traditional roles prevail, with Emirati women traditionally being socialized into mother and wife roles and men into the roles of provider, protector, and leader (Wang & Kassam, 2016). Masculinity then is defined in relationship to others, be they family or community. The ability to provide for one's family through financial stability, intellectual strength, and strong moral values is considered the foundation for ideal masculinity, thus linking it to power, money, and virtue. Also, the concept of manhood is subjective and relies on its image within a specific social context (Vandello et al., 2008), although it can also be argued that the anxiety of manhood stems from its instability, not from specific traits (Vandello & Bossom, 2013), and here media representations play a key role in mediating such images. This is in line with previous studies in GGC societies (e.g., Al-Anzi, 2022) which confirm the role of the family in upholding traditional attitudes towards gender roles.

The findings seem to contrast with the concept of toxic masculinity, which refers to harmful norms of masculinity such as aggression, and which is usually defined in contrast to positive masculinity, characterized by patience and compassion (Harrington, 2020; Waling, 2019). While toxic masculinity is a subset of hegemonic masculinity, not all aspects of hegemonic masculinity are inherently toxic; some may align with positive and constructive expressions of masculinity within a particular cultural framework. The above findings show a denunciation of toxic masculinity, defined here as abandoning traditional masculine roles, such as breadwinners, guardians, and providers of moral support. These findings

may seem to contrast with Western literature that links toxic masculinity with traditionally masculine traits (Pettyjohn et al., 2018). However, as demonstrated above, such traditional roles in the context of the UAE do not include negative traits such as aggression. On the contrary, participants agree on a set of positive attributes entailing protection, patience, and support. This also implies that traditional gender roles are defined here as hegemonic and positive rather than toxic. In this respect, the findings align more with the precarious manhood theory, which identifies three primary roles associated with manhood, including procreation, protection, and provision (Gilmore, 1990). The precarious manhood theory is globally recognized, albeit to varying degrees, including in the United Arab Emirates (Bosson et al., 2021). Also, this theory aligns with the Arab philosophy of masculinity through the close association between masculinity and ethics (Abdul-Rahman 2006; Qasimi, 2019), encompassing moral attributes that align with the role of moral authority highlighted above.

Moreover, participants agree that legacy and social media may contribute to a negative perception of (traditional) masculinity, especially among the young generations. During the discussion, some of the participants shared their views on the issue of inappropriate behavior on social media by adolescents and children. According to them, such behavior is often driven by a desire to gain popularity and fame, even if it means acting foolishly. They believe that Western values are embedded in these media representations and that they are not aligned with local culture and can be harmful to their young generation. The participant argued that the content on social media platforms like Twitter and Instagram promotes Western ideas that are deemed normal but are not acceptable in their culture but have become commonplace. They also noted that the local media is influenced

by Western media, leading to a normalization of behaviors that are not acceptable in local culture, such as men forming relationships with girls outside of wedlock. Thus, the media's influence can arguably contribute to cultural alienation between traditional and Western values (Al-Rawasdh, 2012), with social media, in particular, influencing the young generations shaping their behavior (Alzara, 2019).

Finally, while the study's reliance on a few focus groups may be viewed as a limitation, it is important to acknowledge the qualitative depth and richness that emerged from these interactions. The small sample size, while restricting the generalizability of findings, allowed for in-depth exploration of participants' experiences and perspectives. Additionally, the findings offer valuable context and preliminary insights that can inform further research. While caution should be exercised in extrapolating the results to the broader population in the UAE, the study's ability to capture nuanced details within the small sample contributes to the relevance and potential for future avenues of research in this area. Thus, while it may be difficult to generalize the findings to other regions across the UAE, given the fact that the research was confined to Khorfakkan, located in the rather traditional and conservative eastern region of the UAE, we believe the findings still shed new light on the development of gender roles across the UAE, given the accelerating pace of developing the eastern region to attract more foreign tourists and investors. As a result, cities like Khorfakkan are opening up to cosmopolitan influences similar to those seen in Dubai, and yet there is still a tendency to adhere to traditional gender roles, as demonstrated by the analysis above. This does not necessarily mean that there is a divide between cultural norms in the eastern region and the rest of the UAE. On the contrary, this analysis should encourage further comparative research

that examines all parts of the UAE.

Thus, future studies can look into comparative images of masculinity across other emirates in the UAE as well as compare the UAE with other Arab countries in order to identify similarities and differences in the ways that masculinity is constructed and perceived across different contexts. They can also examine the representation of national/local media content, particularly TV series and films, as indicated above. Another topic for discussion could be to examine the impact of social media and other forms of digital communication on images of masculinity in selected Arab societies, including investigating the role of social media in shaping attitudes towards gender roles and masculinity among young people in the region.

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إدراك الشباب الإماراتي لتمثيل معاني الرجولة - مجموعات نقاش مركز

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ملخص البحث:

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى تحليل تصور معاني الرجولة في دولة الإمارات العربية المتحدة، استناداً إلى أربع مجموعات تركيزية، ضمت 33 طالباً ينتمون إلى جامعة خورفكان، وهي منطقة تعرف بأنها ريفية محافظة، وتشهد تطورات تنموية سريعة، كما تنطرق الدراسة إلى تأثير التمثيلات الإعلامية في تشكيل هذا التصور. وعكست النتائج وجهة نظر تقليدية للرجولة؛ إذ يتم تقدير القيم الأسرية بشكل كبير نظراً لدور الأسرة باعتبارها حجر الزاوية في المجتمع. وهكذا، يتم تعريف الرجولة من خلال العلاقات مع الآخرين، سواء كانوا عائلة أو مجتمع. أما بالنسبة لتقييم المشاركين في الدراسة للطريقة التي تؤثر بها التمثيلات الإعلامية على صور الرجولة، فبشكل عام، هناك إجماع على أن وسائل الإعلام الجماهيرية والجديدة تؤثر سلباً على هذه الصور. واتفق المشاركون على قدرة وسائل الإعلام على خلق فجوة بين القيم التقليدية والغربية، وأن لوسائل التواصل الاجتماعي على وجه الخصوص تأثيراً كبيراً على تشكيل سلوك الأجيال الشبابية. يمكن للدراسات المستقبلية استكشاف ودراسة دور وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي في تشكيل المواقف تجاه أدوار الجنسين والذكورة بين الشباب في المنطقة

الكلمات الدالة: الثقافة، الرجولة، التمثيلات الإعلامية، الإمارات العربية المتحدة، الشباب.

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