

Charlotte M. Karam

American University of Beirut

Olayan School of Business

ck16@aub.edu.lb

Fida Afiouni

American University of Beirut

Olayan School of Business

fa16@aub.edu.lb

**Institutional Logics of Patriarchy and the Legitimacy
of Women Not Engaging in Paid Work**

ABSTRACT

Patriarchy is an omnipresent institution that limits the paid work opportunities of women and legitimizes women's unpaid work within the home. Using notions of institutional logics and legitimacy judgments (i.e., validity and propriety), we attempt to trace women's perceptions of macrolevel private and public patriarchal forces coupled with their own microlevel cognitions regarding the legitimacy of not engaging in paid work. We analyze 31 interviews with women living in a patriarchal society where female labor force participation rates are of the lowest in the world. Results show a cycle of patriarchal oppression whereby reinforcement of private patriarchy occurs both, first hand, through various experiences and, second hand, through observations of the negative public manifestations of patriarchy. Women describe the harsh realities of male dominated workplaces, lower pay, harassment, questioning of virtue, and accusations over neglecting their homes. This, in turn, results in ceasing to actively consider and/or experience paid work and in passively accepting not working at all. Furthermore, the underlying legitimacy logics used are largely based on private patriarchal responsibilities that are either instrumental for the household or relational to family members. In effect, this leads to the reinforcement of patriarchal structures and, ultimately, a cycle of patriarchal oppression.

Keywords: Gender, Paid work, Institutional logics, Patriarchy, Public Patriarchy, Private Patriarchy, Legitimacy, Validity, Propriety

INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS OF PATRIARCHY AND THE LEGITIMACY OF WOMEN NOT ENGAGING IN PAID WORK

Clearly we cannot dismantle a system as long as we engage in collective denial about its impact on our lives.... Keeping males and females from telling the truth about what happens to them in families is one-way patriarchal culture is maintained. A great many individuals enforce an unspoken rule in the culture as a whole that demands we keep the secrets of patriarchy, thereby protecting the rule of the father. This rule of silence is upheld when the culture refuses everyone easy access even to the word “patriarchy”. Most children do not learn what to call this system of institutionalized gender roles, so rarely do we name it in everyday speech. This silence promotes denial. And how can we organize to challenge and change a system that cannot be named? (*hooks*, 2004: 24-25).

The question that bell hooks asks at the end of the opening quote - *How can we organize to challenge and change a system that cannot be named?* – pushes the reader to think about the ways in which the individual perceives, recognizes, understands and thinks about traditional gender roles and the ways in which gender roles are enacted and perpetuated. It also leads us to think about how these roles are actually manifested in a single individual’s daily living and generationally perpetuated in his/her own family, workplace, profession and community.

Traditional gender roles and the numerous associated structures, processes and practices that perpetuate the dominance of men within a given society and the related oppression of women comprise what is referred to as *Patriarchy* (Walby, 1990). Patriarchy is a self-perpetuating social institution, and as is the case with any institution, it has a myriad of underlying microlevel processes (e.g., cognitions, perceptions, judgments and behaviors of individuals within it) that reinforce it and help its perpetuation (Philips, Lawrence & Hardy, 2004; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005). One such microlevel process, as will be elaborated below, involves the intraindividual dynamics of legitimacy judgments (Tost, 2011).

Perceptions of legitimacy within any institution, such as patriarchy, are thought to play a pivotal role in the perpetuation of the patterns of behavior as well as the associated norms and values. Legitimacy - as a process – is seen to play a foundational role in propagating the cultural

symbols, beliefs, and rituals of a particular system as well as the cognitions and behaviors of individuals within this system (Suchman, 1995). For example, Kelan (2008) argues that there is a traditional male breadwinner model across many cultures and although this may be beginning to shift in some cultures, women are still largely forced to comply with male-centric ideals and rituals of breadwinning. Here men's identity and, therefore, sense of legitimacy are more tied to engaging in paid work successfully and, therefore, any shift away from this work (i.e., primary breadwinner role) is likely to have serious impact on their identity. Women, on the other hand, tend to build composite identities consisting of both work and home life and therefore shifts are more readily accommodated within their identity structures (Kelan, 2008).

Further reflection on this composite identity described by Kelan (2008), highlights an additional risk incurred by women which derives specifically from changes in gender roles being manifested more rapidly at work than at home. Although women are entering workplaces more frequently, and perhaps some would assert with greater ease in some societies (Woetzel, Madgavkar, Ellingrud, Labaye, Devillard, Kutcher, et al., 2015), they are simultaneously forced to retain their traditional centralized role within the home as expected under patriarchy and therefore assume a double burden (or second shift) of employment and family responsibilities (Hochschild, 1990). The implication of this double burden on the way they perceive the legitimacy of the various roles and responsibilities is interesting to consider. How do women evaluate the overall legitimacy of paid work vis-à-vis the roles and responsibilities tied to the home (i.e., unpaid work)? Furthermore, when considered within the context of harsher patriarchal manifestations, how are these legitimacy judgments concerning not engaging in paid work shaped and how do they, in turn, contribute to the persistence of inequitable social

structures (Thomas, Walker & Zelditch, 1986), such as that which is often documented between men and women in modern organizations (e.g., Benschop & Doorewaard, 1998).

In the section that follows we trace the structures of patriarchy and then use these as a backdrop against which to further explore *women's personal judgments of the legitimacy* of not engaging in paid work. Using the structures of patriarchy as a lens helps us to better understand a myriad of institutional dynamics surrounding gender and the associated forces shaping the opportunities and limitations around women's paid work, and the associated self-interpretations and responses to these institutional forces over time.

Patriarchy and the Restrictiveness of Public/Private Divide

Patriarchy as defined by Walby (1990: 20) is “a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women” and is theorized to be largely captured across various structures which are dynamic and interrelated and can vary in terms of the degree of oppression as well as in terms of the manner in which the oppression is actually institutionalized and perpetuated. The specific relations between these different structures create the basis for two main forms of patriarchy: *public patriarchy* and *private patriarchy*. On the one hand, public patriarchy involves collective misuse of women's opportunities for full participation and personal growth primarily related to *relations in paid work, cultural institutions, and the state*. Walby (1990) argues that although a woman may be granted access to the public sphere, she remains oppressed by the inequality in pay, position, decision-making power and control. Here, therefore patriarchy is manifested where women experience being: paid less (e.g., gender pay gap), restricted to specific work types and areas (e.g., vertical/horizontal segregation) and permitted access only to professions that are less valued (e.g., feminized occupations).

Walby (1990) also describes the manifestations of patriarchy that influence people's adoptions of their personal identities as masculine or feminine. In this way, cultural notions of what it means to be feminine entail characteristics and behaviors associated with passivity, acquiescence, gentleness and emotionality as well as purity and virginity, thereby limiting more assertive, active and creative behaviors to men. Finally, patriarchal structures manifested in the state relate to how the national government engages with gendered political forces such as the full participation of women as citizens. There are a myriad of issues that fall within this last structure including those relating to legal rights and legislative mandates. Table 1 provides key questions and representative manifestations for each of these three patriarchal structures.

Insert Table 1 about here

On the other hand, private patriarchy involves the expropriation of women's labor by individual breadwinning patriarchs within the household. In this formulation, Walby (1990) describes the private male-headed family as the most prominent and central unit of analysis and the focal domain of women's work, existence and identity. With this traditional homestead as central, women are therefore expected to engage primarily in tasks that are related to the upkeep and maintenance of the household leaving attention to the other structures (i.e., paid work, culture and state) as secondary to and directly shaped by the household-related tasks and considerations. Indeed, the household becomes the main stage for engaging in work that is limited to what Walby (1990) describes as *production as reproduction* including tasks related to child birth; childcare; preparing food; keeping shelter; cleaning; providing emotional support for family; and fulfilling the sexual needs of the patriarch. In this formulation, paid work is limited because it is outside the home (i.e., in the public sphere) and, is only acceptable, if it contributes to the upkeep and maintenance of the household.

Structural Restrictions on Women Engaging in Paid Work. Nussbaum (2003) centralizes this private/public distinction and highlights that the distinction has had far-reaching negative implications for women's employment. She argues that the private/public distinction is fundamentally misleading and as partly responsible for a myriad of restrictive understandings of the possible roles of women and the possibility of full participation in the public realm (Nussbaum, 2003). The distinction, she asserts reproduces female powerlessness, whereby:

“Men brought up on the idea that women belong in the home and are fitted to be homemakers and reproducers find it difficult to accept the presence of women ... They tend to look at them condescendingly, thinking of them as interlopers into a sphere for which their abilities and training do not fit them... Attached to the idea that the public sphere belongs to them, men also may react with jealous hostility to the presence of women, which seems as if it must reduce the number of jobs and opportunities available to men” (Nussbaum, 2003: 10).

What is being referred to, in the quote above, brings to light legitimized patterns of male-dominated gender dynamics across societies and the essentialist logics used to subjugate and segregate women drawing from the view that women are intrinsically different. Similar essentialist logics have been well documented by management researchers generally (Benschop & Doorewaard, 1998), as well as those focused on the Arab world (Omair, 2008).

Similar to our intent in this paper, Nussbaum (2003) also reflects on the individual-level relational experiences of women in their day-to-day opinions and activities as well as on the impact of this public/private distinction on the women's self-perceptions. She asserts that when women believe that their place is in the private sphere they may internalize the belief that efforts leading to *progress in the public realm* are not appropriate or normal, even when it is available to them. This internalization further restricts the possibilities for female employment; and furthermore, even if women enter the public realm, they:

“May lack self-confidence and assertiveness, believing that they are in fact interlopers without the proper capacities for a public role. These aspects of women's self-perception have sometimes been ascribed to women's “nature”. But there is reason to see them as socially

constructed, and reproduced through the reproduction of a gendered socialization, a prominent part of which is the distinction between the public and the private realms” (11).

Whether examined at the societal- or individual-level of analysis, this distinction is a salient one that, in effect, leads one to critically reflect on the societal level conditions that govern private lives, the interactions between people, and most basically the personal cognitions that shape the possibilities for public participation (Nickel & Eikenberry, 2006).

In effect, the division between public and private serves to reinforce patriarchy, subjugate women and shape the general understanding of women’s (i.e., private) versus men’s (i.e., public) ‘natural’ roles in society. This distinction limits our understanding of women’s potential to engage in paid work arrangements outside the home and men’s potential to engage in unpaid work within the home. For example, due to the fact that our understanding of womanhood places family concerns central, when we consider women in the workplace immediate cognitive tensions arise between the need to, at best, simultaneously fulfill the responsibilities at home and at work, and at the most basic level to fulfill private sphere responsibilities first, before those within the public sphere. From a governance point of view, this tension is sidelined such that any “conflicts encountered by working mothers are defined as private problems that must be solved individually, the corporation is not responsible” (Martin, 1990, p. 344). Here the individual woman is left to feel that this is HER problem alone and therefore left to deal with the conflict on her own. Any possible responsibility for family allocated to the public governance structures (e.g., state, corporation, etc.) is sidelined in favor retaining responsibility in the private realm and therefore squarely on the shoulders of women.

According to Nickel and Eikenberry (2006: 360) this situation is commonly faced by working women around the globe and “signifies the subordination of the *personal to the professional*”; that is, the subordination public participation to private responsibilities. Providing

an anecdotal example of a female employee, Diane, who is experiencing increasing stress at work and who is struggling to come to terms with her increased workload, the stresses of daily operations and her childrearing responsibilities, Nickel and Eikenberry (2006:360) write that:

“When the system that governs her life identifies the source of her stress as an inability to cope, Diane’s life experience is marginalized in favor of maintaining the myth that the current structure in organizational life is fair and unchangeable. Diane’s struggle, her sleeplessness, anxiousness, and high blood pressure are the result of her lack ability to deal with stress only in the sense that her stress level is presented as unchangeable and therefore beyond her control. Marginality is stressful because it places an unfair burden on the marginalized, not because the marginalized are less able to deal with stress. Diane’s situation is not the result of her inability to cope, it is the result of her marginalization, and it is ubiquitous.”

Diane, as is the case with many other woman contemplating “work-life” responsibilities, is trapped within the hegemonic framing of the private/public distinction and is thereby oppressed by the expectations that she must fulfill her private obligations that are her’s alone; while simultaneously carrying the burden that to engage in the public sphere is unnatural and therefore a choice for which she must bear the burden. Any negative spillover from work into the private sphere can therefore be seen as a direct result of her engaging in “non-essential” things.

But how does Diane herself feel? Is it just external judgements or do her own personal judgments also play a role in her marginalization? How does she judge her work engagement at home vis-à-vis in the public sphere? More specifically, how does she judge herself in terms of not engaging in paid work outside the home? It is likely, we argue, that a significant part of Diane’s stress is due to unrealistic expectations placed on her not only by the various individuals with whom she interacts inside and outside the home and family but also by her own self-evaluations and legitimacy cognitions. Diane’s stress, her experience of marginalization and her interpretation of legitimate courses of action are, in our view, shaped by multilevel processes that simultaneously occur from her perception of how family and societal actors judge her actions

and decisions, and on her own self-perception of the same. Our aim therefore, in this paper, is to better understand the variant forces that shape a woman's perception of the legitimacy not engaging in paid work. More specifically, we explore how the public (i.e., culture, state, paid work) and private (i.e., household) patriarchal institutional logics shape her own legitimacy judgments concerning the subordination of public participation to private responsibilities by tracing the logics tied to the legitimization of not engaging in paid work. In the section that follows we begin to build our analytic perspective through which we then empirically trace these logics. To do this we start by generally introducing our grounding theory - institutional theory - and then delve into our central institutional concept of *Legitimacy Judgements*.

Institutional Theory and the Levels of Legitimacy Judgments

Institutional theory has a long history of application across a number of different research areas, including the study of gender (e.g., Afiouni, 2014; Afiouni & Karam, 2014; Karam & Jamali, 2013). As a theory it has forged a strong and robust line of inquiry across the social sciences focusing specifically on social behaviors and the processes by which they are formed, sustained and changed (Battilana, Leca & Boxenbaum, 2009; DiMaggio, 1988). At the core of the theory is the notion of an institution which, by definition, is made up of a system of restrictions and incentives (e.g., rules, laws, values and social norms) that ultimately govern human actions and interactions and the notion of a central logic that provides social actors with vocabularies and motives to sustain or transform their individual identities, organization and society (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008).

Seen from an institutional lens, patriarchy and its public and private manifestations can be conceptualized as a complex institution that sets and enforces specific gendered rules, laws, values and social norms (Jepperson, 1991; Phillips, Lawrence & Hardy, 2004) to guide patterns

of gendered practices by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence and provide meaning to their social reality (Karam & Jamali, 2013). This production and reproduction – what has been referred to as “institutional work” – requires maintenance efforts such as supporting, repairing and/or recreating the social mechanisms that ensure compliance (Scott, 2001; Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006). By thinking about patriarchy as an institution that needs to be maintained we are lead to further think about how patriarchy reproduces itself. Thornton and Ocasio’s (1999) suggest that it is the “institutional logics” that largely serve to maintain an institution wherein central logics serve as a guide to how individuals “produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality” (804). In this way any and every institution has a set of logics, is located in a social-cultural and historical-political context, and serves to regularize behavior both of the individual and the collective existing within (Thornton & Ocasio, 2006). Friedland and Alford (1991) highlight these latter points and suggest further that societal-level logics effect and are affected by the logics at the individual and organization levels.

This multilevel view of institutional logics theoretically opens the opportunity for us to explore the multiple ways by which patriarchy is maintained through the logics permeating multiple levels of analysis. That is, the way in which patriarchal logics are embedded, as discussed in both the collective perceptions of women’s roles and responsibilities in both the public and private spheres as well as the personal perceptions of the individual woman herself. Indeed, from this perspective therefore we are better able to explore and understand the omnipotent and omnipresent power of patriarchy through tracing the ways in which these central patriarchal logics permeate both the public and private realm and serve to legitimize the collective subordination of women’s public participation to their private responsibilities and,

further, the various logics used by individual women in the same context to legitimize not engaging in paid work in their own lives.

In the section that follows we explore recent research efforts to theoretically depict the genesis of legitimacy judgments at both at the level of the individual (i.e., intra-individual dynamics of legitimacy judgments) embedded within the collective (i.e., societal dynamics of legitimacy judgments) to further help us build an analytic perspective useful for tracing the patriarchal logics underlying the legitimacy judgments regarding not engaging in paid work. In the empirical part of the paper we hope to demonstrate how personal narratives about the legitimacy of not engaging in paid work serve to further maintain the oppressive power of patriarchy in both the public and private spheres.

Validity and Propriety: Multilevel Legitimacy Judgments of Not Engaging in Paid Work

Although the exact definition of legitimacy has been debated (see Berger, Ridgeway, Fisek, & Norman, 1998), Suchman (1995: 574) offers a widely-used and collective-based definition: “*A generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions*”. Extended to the notion of gender within the patriarchal institution, legitimacy denotes a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of a woman are desirable, proper, or appropriate (i.e., confirm or align with institutional logics) within the socially constructed system of norms, values and beliefs that oppress and exploit women to the advantage of men. Keeping in mind Walby’s (1990, 2001, 2005) depiction of patriarchy coupled with the powerful maintenance mechanisms of institutional logics, we are led to suggest that the perceptions legitimate of female behavior in both the public and private sphere are tied to patriarchal logics which in turn serve as a key form on maintenance work reproducing and reinforcing patriarchy.

Legitimacy judgments are the product of multiple layers of interactions and intersections (Colyvas & Powell, 2006). Here we are lead to think about legitimacy judgments as partly contributing to and resulting from the sensemaking of a community (Suchman, 1995) and partly encompassing the mental operations of an individual within that community (Phillips, Lawrence & Hardy, 2005). In this sense, both Bitektine and Haack (2015) and Tost (2011) utilize a multilevel understanding of legitimacy as comprising both; collective judgments of legitimacy and individual judgments of legitimacy. When applied to Walby (1990) conceptualization of patriarchy this suggests that legitimacy judgments are tied to the logics underlying the expectations that she has of herself and that others have of her with regards to her roles and responsibilities in the private and public sphere. Here therefore we should be able to trace the logics tied to legitimacy judgments of not engaging in paid work at both the collective and individual levels of narrative.

If patriarchal structures create the social reality that ultimately defines the elements of a gender social order and therefore the norms, values, and beliefs that are widely held to be consonant with it, then any individual within this social order can recognize what is legitimate behavior in terms of the assumed roles and responsibilities across both spheres, whether or not they personally agree. This separation between legitimacy derived from the societal order and that which is more personal was captured conceptually by Dornbusch and Scott (1975). These authors separated legitimacy into two primary aspects: *validity (having to do with the societal order)* and *propriety (having to do with the individual)*. The main utility of this distinction here is that it opens the theoretical possibility of differentiating the logics used to judge the legitimacy of women not engaging in paid work from the point of view of a societal collective (i.e., validity) versus the point of the woman herself within that collective (i.e., propriety). The same distinction

applies to legitimacy judgments of the collective versus the individual with regards to the “proper” roles and responsibilities within the private and public spheres.

Validity: Collective Judgments of the Legitimacy of Not Engaging in Paid Work

More specifically, validity refers to the extent to which there appears to be a general consensus within a collectivity that an entity is appropriate for its social context (Tost, 2011). When there is generalized consensus in a collective then an individual is likely to hold the belief that he or she is obliged to obey these norms and procedures even in the absence of his/her personal approval of them (Johnson, Dowd & Ridgeway, 2006). In the case of the current study validity refers to the extent to which there is a general consensus in society that for women not engaging in paid work is legitimate and even desirable. Drawing from Walby’s (1990) work described earlier we argue that there is a generally restrictive collective belief about the legitimacy of women pursuing or engaging in paid work opportunities, particularly when paid work detracts from a woman fulfilling her private sphere roles and responsibilities.

Aligned with this therefore we would expect the existence of a myriad of patriarchal logics used to justify the legitimacy of not engaging in paid work and that these logics would perhaps be more nuanced and salient in the harsh patriarchal realities of the Arab Middle East. We would expect that women will likely utilize patriarchal logics to legitimize not engaging in paid work. These logics are likely to be aligned with patriarchal structures outlined by Walby (1990) such that the narratives will include reasoning that promotes the idea that a woman’s legitimate place is in the home and, in turn, de-legitimize paid work opportunities on the basis that such experiences will detract from her fundamental roles and responsibilities of childcare, domestic labor and serving her husband. The validity judgments are likely therefore to be perceived to be aligned with the patriarchal structures tied to the private realm; and therefore behaviors, actions

and choices that reinforce a woman's productive function restricted to the household. In this way therefore, societal judgments of unpaid work within the household and therefore of not seeking or sustaining paid work opportunities outside the home are likely to be seen as more valid than forms of paid work in terms of formal employment in the public sphere. Here therefore we expect to see a legitimization of not engaging in paid work.

Propriety: Microlevel Legitimacy Judgements of Not Engaging in Paid Work

The notion of propriety, on the other hand, suggests that each individual is capable of judging whether a collective's norms (i.e., social order) and procedures of conduct actually embody desirable and appropriate patterns for him/her personally (Johnson et al, 2006). In the case of the current study propriety refers to a woman's own judgment of the extent to which her paid work experiences are appropriate for her social context and therefore more specifically the legitimacy of not engaging in paid work. Borrowing from Tost (2011), we further explore propriety along the three dimensions of: *instrumental*, *relational* and *moral* legitimacy.

In reference to the first dimension – instrumental – the extent to which not engaging in paid work is perceived to facilitate a woman's attainment of her goals (self-defined) is related to her perception of instrumental legitimacy. The extent to which unemployment is perceived to facilitate the maintenance or affirmation of a woman's relationships (her social identity or self-worth within those patriarchal relationships) is related to her perception of relational legitimacy. Finally, the extent to which unemployment is perceived to be morally dictated or ordained (her religious, moral or ethical values within those patriarchal interpretations of theological or philosophical ethical frameworks) is related to her perception of moral legitimacy. A woman therefore can judge the legitimacy of not engaging in paid work along moral, relational and instrumental logics within the parameters of patriarchy.

These legitimacy judgments are, however, not continuously made. In terms of judging the legitimacy of not engaging in paid work Tost's (2011) model would suggest that individuals either passively accept the Patriarchal validity cues regarding women not engaging in paid work from the collective as signs of legitimate delimitation on behavior in the public realm. Here, on the one hand, when in the passive phase, a woman is likely to see not engaging in paid work as legitimate as it is both aligned with the validity cues and can easily be legitimized in her own mind with moral, relational and instrumental reasonings tied to patriarchal logics.

Alternatively, individuals may actively evaluate whether such limitations are 'wrong', unduly restrictive or needing change. Here, on the other hand, in the evaluative phase, the logics of patriarchy are not taken for granted and the legitimacy of not engaging in paid work is more likely to be evaluated on the basis of instrumental, relational or moral dimensions both within and outside of patriarchal logics. Women in this evaluative phase are likely to be debating the legitimacy of not engaging in paid work and may draw from external and contradictory logics outside of the patriarchal institution (see Seo and Creed, 2002). A woman by virtue of being in this evaluative phase is engaging in effortful reconsiderations of the existing legitimacy judgments such that she reassesses and concludes that either the judgments should be adjusted or that it does not require any change. Here the primary emphasis is on individual level assessments of the instrumental, relational and moral reasoning such that she may judge the legitimacy of not engaging in paid work by observing those women who engage in paid work (and comparing to this who do not) or by engaging in paid work herself. These multifaceted and varied observations and perhaps experiences can then be used together as a basis for legitimacy judgments along moral, relations and instrumental logic. Additionally, further demonstrating the complexity of the legitimization process, it is likely also that these propriety judgments do not happen in a vacuum

but that the validity cues also come into play in this phase (Tost, 2011) such that the logics of others are in the background shaping her own assessments and decisions.

In Figure 1 we attempt to summarize the outlined processes of propriety judgments discussed thus far and which serves as the basis for our analysis. Combining Tost's (2011) outlined validity and propriety processes with the notions of patriarchy and institutional logics outlined earlier, in the figure we trace the potential links between an individual women's propriety judgments with the validity judgment of others and how these links serve to shape the legitimacy of not engaging in paid work. These legitimacy processes at the collective and individual levels, we argue, ultimately work together simultaneously to overwhelm and further subordinate the logics of public participation to private responsibilities thereby reinforcing patriarchal logics. Next, in the empirical part of this paper, we explore the relevance of this suggestions by using these processes as a lens through which to analyze our data. But first, we begin by describing the specific research context. We then move to describe the research methodology, analysis techniques and, finally, the results and discussion.

Insert Figure 1 about here

RESEARCH CONTEXT

Our research context is a small country in the Arab Middle East: Lebanon. It is a country whose modern history is marred by economic instability and political crisis. This coupled with rampant gender inequality continues to foster considerable challenges for socio-economic and political participation of women. In the 2014 Global Gender Gap Report Lebanon fared badly, ranking in the 135th place out of a list of 142 countries (World Economic Forum, 2014, p. 9). This statistic suggests that when comparing the health, education, as well as economic and political participation of Lebanese men versus women, female citizens are clearly at a stark

disadvantage. Lebanon ranks particularly poorly in terms of female political empowerment and economic participation/opportunity, with only 3% of female parliamentarians and no female ministers (World Economic Forum, 2014, p. 25). Related documentation of the employment rates suggests that only 22.3% of the female population is employed in the formal economy (UNDP, 2011), and this appears to be a persistent reality. Explanations of these low rates have largely centered on discussions of patriarchal socio-cultural dynamics and the gendered governance of neo-patriarchal Arab states (Karam & Afiouni, 2014; Metcalfe, 2008; Vidyasagar & Rea, 2004). It is, however, equally important to note the research findings that suggest that contributing factors are likely to be multilevel including considerations of gendered organizations and associated restrictions on women's access, retention and career growth (Tlaiss & Kauser, 2010) as well as gendered cognitive assumptions and the associated restrictive perceptions about the capabilities of women (Elamin & Omair, 2010)

METHODOLOGY

We adopt a qualitative research methodology in the current study as we are interested in exploring the connections between public and private patriarchy, unemployment perceptions of legitimacy within a relatively understudied context (Patton, 2005). We conducted a series of in-depth, semi-structured interviews with unemployed married Lebanese women aged between 25 and 54 years old. Two questions were used as a basis for the current study. These questions include: (1) "Please tell me your story when it comes to your current unemployment situation" with probing questions such as (a) Have you been employed at any time in your life? Can you tell me about it? Why did you quit? (b) Have you sought employment in the past few years? How frequently? (c) Do you have the intentions to seek work in the near future? and (2) "Please describe the how supportive the men, women, and/or the surrounding society have been to the

idea of your working and/or seeking employment?” The interviews were conducted either in Arabic or English, in person, and lasted from 45 minutes to an hour and a half. All interviews were audiotaped and transcribed verbatim capturing the original language preference. When conducted in Arabic, each transcript was translated to English, and the accuracy of the transcripts was double checked by the second bilingual researcher who listened to the tapes.

Data Analysis

The responses to these two questions were read and analyzed by two independent analyzers using the software package QSR Nvivo10. Each question was analyzed separately and involved going through statements and highlighting the unique parts that addressed each of three interview question. In analyzing the data, the analyzers moved between the conventional content analysis approach (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) and the preconceived categories approach (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In the first analysis round, the analyzers read and categorized the data based on naturally emerging themes. The analyzers then met to discuss the similarities and differences in the categories. Attempts were made to merge similar content and to resolve any inconsistencies in categorizations (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996; Patton, 2005). This allowed the analyzers to more effectively identify relevant themes (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

The Sample

The sample consisted of 31 Lebanese women, not currently engaged in paid work, married with children and who were on average 35.71 years old ($SD = 8.76$). We limited our sample to women aged between 25 and 54 years old and holders of at minimum a high school degree (61.29% hold a BA, 16.2% hold a master degree, 19.35% a high school degree, and 3.22% with completed technical studies). The women represent a range from high, medium and low socio-economic status (high: 32%; medium: 39%; low: 29%). Of these 31 women, 24 had previously

engaged in paid work and 7 were never employed. The pseudonyms of these women and other demographics are presented in Table 2.

Insert Table 2 about here

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this section, we present our results that depict the legitimacy judgments of not engaging in paid work at both the individual level (women's propriety judgments) as well as the collective level (validity cues) as reported by women in our sample. Generally, our results demonstrate how these legitimacy judgments are maintained and how they therefore reinforce patriarchy. Through these personal narratives we see variant ways through which the oppressive power of patriarchy is maintained and reinforced in both the public and private spheres.

At the individual level of analysis, we suggest that central patriarchal logics existing within the woman's own cognitive framings work to legitimize not engaging in paid work in complex and interconnected ways. Although the reasons may appear multiple and nuanced across women or within the narrative of a single woman, they appear to be, in fact, largely unitary in that they maintain and reinforce the central logics of patriarchy tied to the women's responsibilities at home. In this way, we see in our results that there are different logics that reinforce the legitimacy of not engaging in paid work and therefore to the reinforcement of patriarchy.

Emergent Themes

A summary of our findings can be found in Table 3 which represents the thematic template of key themes and categories identified. While analyzing the data, we made sure to capture the various voices in women's narratives, and to code women's own voices under propriety judgments. All the other voices (e.g., her perception of society's, parents', husband's legitimacy judgments) that women were reporting were coded under validity cues.

In what follows, we trace present narrative examples of these themes beginning with the validity cues that women perceive in relation to the legitimacy of not engaging in paid work. We then present women's related propriety judgments and then we conclude the section by presenting exemplar narratives of the dynamic process of two women (one in the passive phase and one in the evaluative phase) as they legitimize not engaging in paid work.

Insert Table 3 about here

Validity Cues: Private Patriarchal Logics tied to Responsibilities at Home

A majority of women in our sample (N=21) expressed being exposed to validity cues suggesting that they should not engage in paid work and that their role was in the private sphere alone. The dominant underlying logic here was tied to relational dynamics (N=18) such as: not being able to take care of responsibilities both at work and home at the same time. Their families preferred that women stay home or have part-time jobs in order to be able to take care of the family and their homes. A recurrent advice from women's close family members was that it would be best to stay home with kids namely when there is no financial need for work. Women were often shamed and made to feel guilty for thinking about "leaving" their kids and home to pursue paid work. The voices ranged from not encouraging women to work to literally forbidding them to work as illustrated by the quotes below:

All my family- including my daughter - doesn't encourage me to leave, especially because we do not have the financial need to work (PMH3)

I stopped working because my husband didn't encourage me to continue. My job schedule was until 5-6pm, my girls came home and stayed alone while their father was at work and my family didn't help me with my kids. So my husband made me quit. I stayed home then. I took care of my kids and most importantly helped with their education. Now, they are smart and were able to join very good universities. (PML4)

My family support the idea that the man is responsible for working and the woman is in charge of everything else in the house (cooking, raising and educating kids etc...). My dad prefers a woman who doesn't work but rather stays home and he believes that a man is

required to get his wife whatever she wants. My husband supports the same idea, but he is not stuck on the fact that woman should stay home, but he prefers that, at least, when the kids are still young, woman's stays at home to raise them. (PMH9)

After university I got married, then had kids. My husband refuses that I work in order to take care of the kids. (PMM12)

While the relational logic was dominant in these narratives, some women also used logics concerning the instrumentality to household order (N=3) and the morality of preserving women's virtue (N=2) to legitimize not engaging in paid work:

[Instrumentality to household order]

My husband doesn't like the idea of me working. He prefers that I would take care of household issues. If he accepts at some point, I will definitely work because I like working, but if he disagreed, I won't...my husband likes his wife to stay home and take care of house matters. We already took the decision concerning work. (PMM7)

My husband, who should be a booster for me in all aspects of my life, wasn't. In addition, he was refusing the fact that I wasn't fully taking care of all the household chores, and I felt like he was a hindrance for my career, especially not valuing my hard work. (PML3)

[Moral]

Some men don't like their wives to work, some do. Those that don't, it's probably because they are afraid that she will be harassed at work. (PML1)

My dad doesn't like me to work at all! He has an Arab way of thinking. He doesn't want me to interact with a lot of people and is worried about me. My husband is worried too but he says I am free at the end to do whatever I want. (PML6)

Clearly, the validity cues that women perceive from their surroundings work to subordinate the logics of public participation to private responsibilities by reproducing logics of relational and instrumental dynamics all centered on women's role at home in terms of childcare, household chores. In the section that follows, we report on women's own legitimacy judgments (propriety) and show how individual women legitimize not engaging in paid work in terms of the patriarchal logics tied to the private sphere, and also in terms of negative public sphere experiences.

Propriety Judgments I: Private Patriarchal Logics tied to Responsibilities at Home

Similar to the validity cues noted above, many women (N=27) also expressed their own personal narratives that suggest an internalization of private patriarchal logics supporting not engaging in paid work. Beyond the instrumental logics (N=6) that mimicked those listed above, a number of women used relational logics (N=27 women), as well as moral (N=8) terms.

[Relational]

I had to decide, if I go to work while my husband works and studies, then our life would be distant. He would be in one place and I would be in another place because my career direction was different than his. So we had to decide: either I'll be a supporter for him or he'll be a supporter for me. It's better for me to do that. (PMH7)

The way my baby stands up, I can know if she wants to poop, if she wants to eat, if she wants to play, and if she wants to sleep. From just a few expressions on her face, I can tell whatever she is thinking. And I think if I work, I will not be able to do that, I will be so far away from her. Similarly, when my husband has silly things bothering him, I can tell there's something wrong before saying hello. If I am busy working, I will not have time for this (to understand them) and I will not be able to feel those things. (PMH9)

[Moral]

The worst thing for a woman is to work, because if she works, who will raise the kids? The maid? Or the grandmother who has an old fashioned mind? The kids will have psychological problems or will get used to the maid's way of doing things. At least, that is what I found. She will be insensitive to home issues. There's no way for a woman to balance her life outside and inside her house. I didn't need to work because my husband is working. (PMH8)

My kids took lots of time from me. I don't know how those women can manage their time between their work and their family; but I feel that there would be negligence somewhere. (PMM4)

Beyond private patriarchal logics, 23 women legitimized not engaging in paid work by employing logics more tied to the difficulties in engaging in the public sphere. Here public patriarchal logics tied to paid work (N=19) and to the society (i.e. culture and state, N=11) were foundational to the narratives of why these women chose to not engage in paid work.

Propriety Judgments II: Public Patriarchal logics tied to Paid Work

A number of women shared stories about the negative and difficult experiences tied to engaging in paid work. Indeed, they shared stories of paid work experiences to demonstrate why

they chose not to work and these stories largely used relational logics (N=14), and logics tied to being instrumental to the social order (N=11). In relational terms, the work hours were considered to be too long, with no flexibility, which led women to complain that they were unable to work while taking care of their kids and homes. Moreover, women expressed that nurseries are not available in the vicinity of the workplace, or, when they are, are not considered as professional and safe enough to entrust them with the care of their children.

In Tripoli plaza, I was working in the accounting department, but my work schedule was until 6 p.m. This was difficult for me because of my role as a mom. So I asked them to reduce my working hours but they didn't accept, so I had to leave. (PML3)

I used to work from 9 to 6 and I used to miss my baby a lot. I would come back from work tired and then need to prepare food and clean the house, look after my daughter, help her with her homework. I couldn't handle it. I was very tired. (PML6)

Since I work in the education field, I know enough about raising babies. I don't trust nurseries enough to leave a young child there. (PMH2)

I know that working as a full-timer will be hard for me and my family and most companies require long working hours. It will stress me out. (PMM10)

Furthermore, in many narratives, women shared their negative experiences of engaging in paid and the myriad of disadvantages faced by women in the Lebanese workplace such as: lack of access, unsupportive, segregationist, undervaluing and even aggressively discriminatory. These women also reported instances of harassment as well as, more formal instances of governance inequalities such as low pay, discrimination and the lack of equal opportunities.

[Workplace harassment and condescendence]

I got a job in a computer company and worked as an accountant there. One day the manager asked me to prepare a cup of coffee for him and to clean his desk. I refused completely and left the work. I was ashamed. Why should I do these things? I regret this now because to achieve something in life you should sacrifice lots of things, especially your dignity. (PML3)

If a woman is working in a business, she has to do triple the effort to prove that she's equal to a man in the same field. Otherwise clients won't engage with her seriously. They treat as though she is inferior... Some business women here are more successful than men; but when

this is the case they look down at her, and think “who is this woman to compete with us, she doesn’t know more than us” ... men! (PMH7)

[Low pay]

I exhausted myself doing everything in the salon. He didn’t give me my rights as they should be given. I argued with him that he had to increase my salary. At the end, I said that I am not your slave. What is he doing in the salon? I am getting tired and giving you clients and you are not doing anything. So give me a salary raise for me to stay. He didn’t reply and I was like: “ok, you need me more than I need you”. So I quit because I felt disgusted. (PML1)

What I expected was completely different. My income was different from what they told me it would be, and they tried not to pay me the commissions that comes from my work since I was working in the marketing of products. (PML3)

I am not searching because I don’t want to. How much salary do they give here anyway? After all, I don’t feel it’s a good deal: Why should I torture myself and leave my kids for nothing? (PMM8)

[Hiring discrimination and lack of equal opportunities]

If a woman is applying to a company as a manager and a guy is applying too with the same qualifications and experience, you feel they want to take him. This is not because the woman is not qualified; it’s due to the general idea about women in Lebanon. (PMH7)

I applied for many jobs, I put in the CV that I have kids and I am married. I didn’t get a reply and had no interviews. People told me not to mention the fact that I have kids, or delete the periods when I was unemployed due to maternity leaves. (PMM1)

Propriety Judgments III: Public Patriarchal Logics tied to Culture and State

In their narratives concerning not engaging in paid work, the women also noted constraints relating to culture and state. Of the 31 women interviewed, 11 made references to the cultural notions of masculinity and femininity and the associated socio-cultural pressures to conform to gender role expectations and to therefore to not engage in paid work. Women’s statements referenced mostly instrumental to maintain social order (N=11) and/or moral (N=3) logics.

[Instrumental to maintain societal order]

There’s no gender equality in Lebanon. It is a spoiled society that keeps the inequality. Lebanese society doesn’t encourage women to work. Lebanese men undervalue women because they don’t accept woman to be stronger than a man at work. It is very rare to find a man that respects her. (PMH8)

Lebanese mentality is improving; but if you push a little, it returns back to its origin. In our culture, the man doesn't accept the woman engaging in society too much. There is no equality between them. Women in Lebanese society don't have anything, men are in charge and have everything. (PMH10)

As for the government it has a lot of gaps in its rules, for example, there is no explicit rules for sexual harassment or for proper lengths of maternity leave... when a woman gets pregnant and delivers her given period is very short. (PMM12)

There are no laws to help women handle work and family. For example, if her child is sick she will need to be laid off in order to take care of him/her. (PMM11)

[Moral]

These days most women, if they work, do so for financial reasons to help their family. This is okay. But in this society, there is a preference to employ men over women. It is men's society. (PMM12)

A woman that is fully dedicated to work, becomes very tough. She's a tough woman. However, such a tough woman loses her femininity and her simplicity. Men will treat her as a man. And I saw women with high statuses at work, yet with destroyed families, either divorced or having problems with their kids, or problems with their husbands. Their husbands will cheat on them, the women cheats on their husbands... There is a loss somewhere. You will have to make a sacrifice, either in the family or at work. Some women really need the money; that's why they work. (PMH9)

Legitimacy Narratives of not Engaging in Paid Work: Passive versus Evaluative Phase

In the previous section, we presented our results concerning the oppressive power of patriarchy and a myriad of ways in which this oppression is maintained and perpetuated via private and public patriarchal logics embedded within the propriety judgments of not engaging in paid work. These judgements embody a myriad of moral, instrumental and relational logics holding women to account in terms of the private responsibilities within the home and therefore, in turn, reinforcing the oppressive nature of patriarchy. Our results further show, as will be explicated below, that this reinforcement of patriarchy occurs in different ways depending on whether women internalize these patriarchal logics (passive stage) or not (evaluative stage).

In Figure 2 we trace these differential experiences and more specifically we trace basic differences of the individual-level legitimacy processes of women in each stage demonstrating

that these processes are shaped by both her perceptions of others judgements coupled with her own personal judgements. Starting at the top left of the figure, we track the experience in the evaluative phase. Even though these women may start with the intention to seek or engage in paid work, they experience (or observe the experiences of others) negative realities of patriarchy while simultaneously receiving validity cues. These experiences lead these women to quit or to decide to not actually seek paid work opportunities which ultimately reinforces the legitimacy of not engaging in paid work and reinforce the logics of patriarchy.

Insert Figure 1 about here

Moving to the bottom of Figure 2 and working along the x-axis, we trace the general experience of women who start in the passive stage. These women are not questioning the legitimacy of staying at home and are, simultaneously, observing the difficulty and struggle of women who decide to work and therefore are encouraged even more to not work. In effect, the legitimacy of not engaging in paid work is further reinforced in their minds regardless of their employment status.

Overall these two general paths demonstrate that despite nuances in daily life, these differential experiences ultimately work together and simultaneously to overwhelm and further subordinate the logics of public participation to private responsibilities regardless of whether the women are start in the passive or evaluative phase. The simultaneous legitimization at both the collective and individual level and therefore the omnipresent legitimization processes of subordination using moral, relational and instrumental household logics perpetuates patriarchy forward.

Passive subordination of public participation to private responsibilities. For women in the passive phase, their narratives concerning not engaging in paid work centered on legitimacy

logics tied to responsibilities in the home. These women do not really question the legitimacy of not working but rather appear to take for granted this reality. Further, in observing the difficulty and struggles of women who decide to work, those in the passive stage note the negative experiences and are therefore further encouraged to remain centered in the private realm. Here therefore the legitimization of not engaging in paid work is reinforced by the personal propriety judgements and the validity cues from others.

Take, for example, Mariam (PMH11) who has a Bachelor Degree in Business Administration and is in the higher socioeconomic range. She shares the following sequence in the legitimacy logic of not engaging in paid work from (1) the unquestioned legitimacy logic tied to private patriarchal responsibilities within the home → (2) receipt of validity cues suggesting that this is the easiest/right path → (3) generating her own validity cues suggesting that women who do engage in paid work suffer. Mariam states:

I have never worked before. I feel that a woman who works neglects her house. We are depending on the Sri Lankan maids and Philippino servants and this is a disaster and besides my husband is obsessed with cleanness. Nurseries here are only until noon and no company accepts that you leave at 12 so this is why I decided to stay home. (PMH11)

She continues to explain that even in the future her main responsibility is in the private sphere:

I don't plan to work in the near future. My kids need me more when they grow up. In this internet era, at this age it's risky to leave them alone. They need you more to stay by their side (PMH11)

In reflecting on her community's perceptions (i.e., validity cues) of her choice not to engage in the public sphere and to not engage in paid work more specifically, Maria, notes:

They like me the way I am and they envy the way I live. On the contrary, they say that there is somebody that opens the door for kids when they come home sick; on the contrary they encourage me. Mom and dad and people around me say that there is really no need for a woman to exhaust herself as long as her husband is able to satisfy her needs. She has lots of duties to do at home. Her duties are full. She must not underestimate herself. My husband likes me to stay home, because he is very obsessed with cleanness and it is my responsibility to not neglect homes issues. (PMH11)

These logics upon which she is basing her propriety judgments are further reinforced in her view by her observations of other women in the community who work. She recounts the following story:

A teacher, for example gets her work home, stays awake late at night. Like my relative, employee at Rawda (School), comes home at 3 p.m., prepares for the tests, carries exam folders, corrects them... you don't feel that she has time for her house. Now, she brings delivery food, has a Philippino maid and worries about her arrival and departure and teaching her new things. Plus, they also depend on their parents. You feel that she spends half of her time at her parents' to have food, and the other half back home. You feel it is chaos. (PMH11)

Mariam's narrative is not unique; others share similar logics and this is the case along socioeconomic status. In Table 4 we trace an additional woman's (Lara) narrative along the same 3-part path.

Insert Table 4 about here

Evaluating the engaging in paid work. For women in the evaluative phase, the narratives captured more complex and protracted stories. For example, our analysis suggests that even if a woman wants to work for personal development reasons, and even if she has a positive personal propriety judgement about engaging in paid work (at least initially) she is simultaneously being bombarded with validity cues from others negatively judging her for leaving her kids and her household duties. She stands alone with the logics of her narrative continuously contradicted and challenged and bombarded with a synchronicity of other external narratives telling her she is wrong (validity cues). There is a chorus of others' logics working to delegitimize her logic regarding paid work. In the end she gives in and decides not to engage in paid work. Relative to the passive phase, women in the evaluative phase appear to be choosing a longer and more turbulent path to the state of restricting work to the private sphere.

Take, for example, Hasna (PMH9) is in the higher socioeconomic range. She follows the following sequence in the legitimacy logic of not engaging in paid work from (1) the questioning

of patriarchal logics such that paid work is a consideration → (2) receipt of validity cues from actually engaging in paid work or seeing other engage and suffer → (3) quits paid work or decides not to start working. Hasna narrative begins with questioning:

If there's a day care near the work, and short and flexible schedule, definitely I would be working. All people need work. No one can establish a family unless both man and woman work to share the house payments. At least, this is our case in Lebanon. (Hasna, PMH9)

Mom encourages us to go and pursue our education further till reaching PhDs, and then to go and find a job. She didn't do that in her life because my dad thought that the house and the kids are priorities in woman's life... Yet, if a woman's salary was worth it she might feel better, if her schedule was shorter she would feel much better but the way things are currently nothing is helping her. It's a risky game. Why decide to raise a family then destroy it? (Hasna, PMH9)

She continues to explain that when she gained paid work experience it was a difficult patriarchal context in which she faced many sexist barriers:

I worked for 3 years at BANK MED. I started in March 2008 as a credit analyst, credit officer, I worked till Dec 2010. Nothing changed; I stayed credit officer in the head office, in the retail section. My schedule was till 5pm, but because I was single and didn't have commitments, I used to go out from work at 8pm ...I was a hard worker...Every woman that is working wishes she wasn't... Lately, my friend told me never ever think of coming back to Bank Med and never ever to think of working till 5pm - I will die -. You will be deprived from your daughter, from your husband, and from your house. (Hasna, PMH9)

In the final narratives, Hasna explains that she has decided not to return to work, she notes:

In our family, we are more with the idea that a man is responsible for working, and the woman is in charge of everything else in the house (cooking, raising and educating kids etc...).... Besides, it seems to me, the family separates when the man and woman stay all day outside home working. They don't know who is feeding and changing diapers for the baby. You don't know if someone hit her in the nursery. Recently, we heard that a baby died in a nursery, because she suffocated while eating her bottle. Even if I would deny myself from lots of luxuries in life, I will not put my daughter at that risk.

Hasna's narrative is also not unique; others share similar logics and this is the case across variant socioeconomic statuses. In Table 5 we trace two additional women's (Nour and Nuhad) narratives along the same 3-part path.

Insert Table 5 about here

CONCLUSION

“How can we organize to challenge and change a system that cannot be named?” is a question that was posed by bell hooks (2004) and included in the opening quote of this paper. Broadly, this question brings us to examine a part of what Benhabib (1992) refers to as the dynamics of domination: dynamics that ultimately legitimize women’s relegation to the private sphere and exclusion from public participation (Walby, 2006). Through a lens of private and public patriarchal manifestations, we explored the legitimacy logics concerning women’s choices to not engage in paid work using Dornbusch and Scott’s (1975) notions of propriety and validity.

Our results demonstrate that, in practice, the dynamics of domination (and/or the cycle of oppression) occurs in a number of ways. Most disturbingly perhaps is through the internalization of private patriarchal norms. For our sample of women, the descriptions of the private sphere and women’s role within were vivid and highly nuanced. Indeed, the women interviewed told many different stories, with the majority discussing private household chores and their caregiving roles as natural, while simultaneously citing it as the primary reason/justification for not engaging in paid work. Very few of these women recounted an existential questioning of the legitimacy of private patriarchy itself. Instead, this was a taken-for-granted reality. This is perhaps reminiscent of the same biological essentialism embedded in some feminist arguments that argue for notions of gender complementarity as opposed to gender equality (see Metcalfe, 2011).

Furthermore, our results also show that the cycle of oppression occurs through the differential processes involved in the judgments of legitimacy: active or passive. Some women appear to passively assume the legitimacy of the roles and responsibilities of a good mother, caregiver and wife; while, by contrast, others more actively evaluate the overall legitimacy of these. These latter evaluations, it is suggested in our paper, at least in the research context of

Lebanon, are overwhelmed by the negative and harsh realities making active evaluation succumb to passivity. Ultimately, choosing passivity is perhaps the easier and therefore more adaptive option in this context. Why would women choose the hard road? Why would women struggle to engage in paid work when realities of such work are unrewarding and filled with stark difficulties? It is such questions that may ultimately result in a mutually-reinforcing structure of patriarchy leading to the trapping of individuals within patriarchal structures and continually strengthening the legitimacy of these structures and their place within.

Future research is needed to tease out the multilevel interacting forces further. Furthermore, perhaps the harshness of our findings would be ameliorated with a widening of our sample to include women who continuously engage in paid work. Indeed, the sole focus on women who do not engage is a clear limitation of the current study. It is likely for this reason that the range of responses to patriarchal forces was limited. Future research should broaden the sample to include subsets of women representing various paid work situations (e.g., part-time, occupation type, blue collar, entrepreneur, etc.). This research could help to further explore perceptions of patriarchy and judgments of paid work and/or career within the institutional forces of patriarchy.

In conclusion, this paper in its broadest interpretation demonstrates hooks' concern that indeed patriarchy is an omnipresent system that manifests in both the public and private spheres of our lives. And that patriarchal manifestations are deceptively oppressive in that the forces and processes that subjugate women are at once so rampant and yet so hard to name and trace. Indeed, there is a cycle of patriarchal oppression whereby the intertwined and interconnected forces emanating from private and public patriarchal structures work together to uphold and solidify the legitimacy of patriarchal logics and at the same time to shape and thereby reinforce particular norms of behavior.

REFERENCES

- Afiouni, F. 2014. Women's careers in the Arab Middle East: Understanding institutional constraints to the boundaryless career view. *Career Development International*, 19(3): 4-4.
- Afiouni, F. and Karam, C.M. 2014. Structure, Agency and Notions of Career Success: A Process-oriented, Subjectively Malleable, Localized Approach. *Career Development International*, 19(5), 548-571.
- Battilana, J., Leca, B., & Boxenbaum, E. 2009. How actors change institutions: Towards a theory of institutional entrepreneurship. *The Academy of Management Annals*, 3(1): 65-107.
- Benhabib, S. 1992. *Situating the self: Gender, community, and postmodernism in contemporary ethics*. Psychology Press.
- Benschop, Y., & Doorewaard, H. 1998. Covered by equality: The gender subtext of organizations. *Organization Studies*, 19(5): 787-805.
- Berger, J., Ridgeway, C. L., Fisek, M. H., & Norman, R. Z. 1998. The legitimation and delegitimation of power and prestige orders. *American Sociological Review*, 379-405.
- Bitektine, A., & Haack, P. 2015. The "macro" and the "micro" of legitimacy: Toward a multilevel theory of the legitimacy process. *Academy of Management Review*, 40: 49-75.
- Colyvas, J.A., and Powell, W.W. 2006. Roads to Institutionalization: Remaking of Boundaries Between Public and Private Science, *Research in Organizational Behavior* 27: 305-53.
- Coffey, A. & Atkinson, P. 1996. *Making sense of qualitative data: Complementary research strategies*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- DiMaggio, P. J. 1988. Interest and agency in institutional theory. *Institutional patterns and organizations: Culture and environment*, 1: 3-22.
- Dornbusch, S. M., & Scott, W. R. 1975. *Evaluation and the exercise of authority*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Elamin A.M. & Omair, K. 2010. Males' attitudes towards working females in Saudi Arabia. *Personnel Review*, 39(6): 746-766.
- Friedland, R. and Alford, R. R. 1991. Bringing society back in: Symbols, practices, and institutional contradictions, in *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*, ed. Walter W. Powell and Paul J. DiMaggio, pp. 232.
- Hochschild, A. 1990. *The Second Shift*. New York, NY: Avon Books.
- hooks, b. 2004. *Understanding Patriarchy* at: <http://imagineborders.org/pdf/zines/UnderstandingPatriarchy.pdf>

- Hsieh, H.F., & Shannon, S.E. .2005. Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 15 (9): 1277-1288.
- Jepperson, R. L. 1991. Institutions, institutional effects, and institutionalism. *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*, 6: 143-163.
- Johnson, C., Dowd, T. J., & Ridgeway, C. L. 2006. Legitimacy as a social process. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 53-78.
- Kelan, E. (2008). Gender, risk and employment insecurity: The masculine breadwinner subtext. *Human Relations*, 61(9): 1171-1202.
- Karam, C. M., & Afiouni, F. 2014. Localizing women's experiences in academia: Multilevel factors at play in the Arab Middle East and North Africa. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 25(4): 500-538.
- Karam, C. M., & Jamali, D. 2013. Gendering CSR in the Arab Middle East. *Business Ethics Quarterly*, 23(1): 31-68.
- Lawrence, T. & Suddaby, R. 2006. Institutional work. S. Clegg, C. Hardy & T. Lawrence (eds.), *Handbook of Organization Studies*. London: Sage.
- Martin, J. 1990. Deconstructing organizational taboos: the suppression of gender conflict in organizations. *Organizational Science*, 1(4): 339-59.
- Metcalf, B. D. 2008. Women, management and globalization in the Middle East. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 83: 85-100.
- Metcalf, B.D. 2011. Women empowerment and development in Arab Gulf States: A critical appraisal of governance, culture and national Human Resource Development (HRD) frameworks. *Human Resource Development International*, 14(2): 131-148.
- Miles, M.B., & Huberman, A.M. 1994. *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Nickel, P. M. & Eikenberry, A. M. 2006. Beyond public vs. private: The transformative potential of democratic feminist management. *Administrative Theory & Praxis*, 28(3), 359-380.
- Nussbaum, M. 2003. Gender and governance: An introduction. *Human Development Resource Centre (UNDP)*, India: 1-19.
- Omair, K. 2008. Women in management in the Arab context. *Education, Business and Society, Contemporary Middle Eastern Issues*, 1(2): 107-123.
- Patton, M. Q. 2005. *Qualitative research*. John Wiley and Sons, Ltd.

- Phillips, N., Lawrence, T. B., & Hardy, C. 2004. Discourse and institutions. *Academy of Management Review*, 29(4): 635-652.
- Seo, M. G. and Creed, W. E. D. 2002. Institutional Contradictions, Praxis and Institutional Change: A Dialectical Perspective, *Academy of Management Review* 27 (2): 222–247.
- Scott, W.R. 2001. *Institutions and Organizations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Suchman, M. C. 1995. Managing legitimacy: Strategic and institutional approaches. *The Academy of Management Review*, 20: 571-610.
- Suddaby, R., & Greenwood, R. 2005. Rhetorical strategies of legitimacy. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 50(1): 35-67.
- Thomas, G. M., Walker, H. A., & Zelditch, M. 1986. Legitimacy and collective action. *Social Forces*, 65(2): 378-404.
- Thornton, P. H., & Ocasio, W. 2008. Institutional logics. *The Sage Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism*, 840.
- Tlaiss, H., & Kauser, S. 2010. Perceived organizational barriers to women's career advancement in Lebanon. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, 25(6): 462-496.
- Tost, L. 2011. An integrative model of legitimacy judgments. *Academy of Management Review*. 36(4): 686–710.
- UNDP. 2011. Sustainability and equity: A better future for all, *Human development report*. 2011. http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR_2011_EN_Complete.pdf (4 September 2012).
- Vdyasagar, G. & Rea, D. M. 2004. Saudi women doctors: gender and career within Wahabic Islam and a “westernized” work culture. *Women’s Studies International Forum*, 27: 261-280.
- Walby, S. 1990. *Theorizing patriarchy*. Basil Blackwell.
- Walby, S. 2001. From community to coalition the politics of recognition as the handmaiden of the politics of equality in an era of globalization. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 18(2-3): 113-135.
- Walby, S. 2005. Gender mainstreaming: Productive tensions in theory and practice. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 12(3): 321-343.
- World Economic Forum. (2014). *Global Gender Gap Report*. Geneva: World Economic Forum.
- Woetzel, J., Madgavkar, A., Ellingrud, K., Labaye, E., Devillard, S., Kutcher, E., Manyika, J., Dobbs, R. & Krishnan, M. (2015). *The Power Of Parity: How Advancing Women’s Equality Can Add \$12 Trillion To Global Growth*. McKinsey Global Institute: McKinsey & Company, London, San Fransisco, Shanghai.

TABLE 1. Walby's (1990) Structures of Patriarchy

Structure	The modes of production	Relations in paid work	Relations in culture	Relations in the state
Unit of Analysis	The individual	The collective	The collective	The collective
Type of oppression	Exclusionary	Segregationist and subordinating	Segregationist and subordinating	Segregationist and subordinating
Key Questions:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Why is family seen as central to women's life? - In what ways does family and relations in the household shape gender inequality? - In what ways is women's labor expropriated in the household? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Why do women earn less than men? - Why do women engage in less paid work than men? - Why do women do different jobs than men? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What does it mean to be feminine? - What limitations does femininity place on behavior and aspirations? - What punishments do women face when they are perceived as masculine? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How does the state engage with gendered political forces? - How does the state's (in)actions have gendered-differentiated effects? - How are its laws, strategies, policies gendered?
Manifestations	Production as reproduction: tasks related to birth; childcare; food; shelter; cleaning, psychoemotional support; sexual 'duties'.	Pay gaps: hourly rate; % of workforce; salary; unemployment rate. Types of paid work: occupation/industry type; or type searching for; vertical segregation; horizontal segregation Extent of paid work: part-time employment on the rise.	Socialization: shaping girls to be passive and acquiesce. Techniques of socialization: school, observation, toys, games, TV, etc. Held beliefs about femininity: good women are cooperative, passive, gentle and obedient. Held values about femininity: good women should demonstrate virtue, virginity, sacrifice, etc.	Limiting access through legal structures: to paid work, to full participation, to legislative debate. Limiting control over self: fertility control; travel and mobility. Regulating marriage: laws governing interaction within marriage; lack of intervention of abuse in marriage; lack of divorce law. Coercive reactions to women rights movements.

TABLE 2. Sample Demographics

Pseudonym	Education Level	Age	# of children	SES
PMH1	Master Degree in Architecture	25	1	High
PMH2	Bachelor Degree in Education and Teaching Diploma in Sp. Ed.	33	1	High
PMH3	Bachelor Degree in Architecture	27	1	High
PMH4	Master Degree in Interior Design	25	1	High
PMH5	BA in Marketing	37	2	High
PMH7	Bachelor Degree in Law	48	0	High
PMH8	Bachelor Degree in Business Administration	54	3	High
PMH9	Bachelor Degree in Business Accounting	27	1	High
PMH10	Bachelor Degree in Computer Science	45	2	High
PMH11	Bachelor Degree in Business Administration	40	2	High
PMM1	Master of Business Administration	39	2	Middle
PMM2	Bachelor Degree in Architecture	28	1	Middle
PMM3	Master Degree in Biology	36	2	Middle
PMM4	Bachelor Degree in Business Administration	39	3	Middle
PMM5	Bachelor Degree in Education	50	2	Middle
PMM7	High School Diploma	29	1	Middle
PMM8	Bachelor Degree in Graphic Design	27	2	Middle
PMM9	Bachelor Degree in Communication Arts	33	2	Middle
PMM10	Master Degree in Public Health	28	2	Middle
PMM11	Bachelor Degree in Business Accounting	39	2	Middle
PMM12	Bachelor Degree in Medical Lab Technology	28	2	Middle
PMM13	Bachelor Degree in Medical Lab and Teaching Diploma	28	2	Middle
PML1	High School Diploma	45	3	Low
PML2	English Literature, incomplete Bachelor Degree	49	4	Low
PML3	Bachelor Degree in Business Accounting	37	5	Low
PML4	Bachelor Degree in Sociology	47	3	Low
PML5	Bachelor Degree in Education	36	2	Low
PML6	Technical Degree in Accounting and Computer	32	2	Low
PML7	High School Diploma	27	4	Low
PML8	High School Diploma	22	0	Low
PML10	French Literature, incomplete Bachelor Degree	47	3	Low
Average age:		35.71		

*P= Participant, M= Married, L/M/H= Low, Medium, or High socio-economic status.

TABLE 3. Thematic Analysis of Validity and Propriety of not engaging in Paid Work

Validity cues concerning the legitimization of not engaging in paid work	
Private patriarchal logics (responsibilities at home)	(21 sources and 38 statements)
<i>Relational</i>	(18 sources and 29 statements)
<i>Instrumental to household order</i>	(3 sources and 4 statements)
<i>Moral</i>	(2 sources and 2 statements)
Public patriarchal logics (paid work, culture and state)	0 source
Propriety judgments of not engaging in paid work	
Private patriarchal logics (responsibilities at home)	(27 sources, 75 references)
<i>Relational</i>	(27 sources, 67 references)
<i>Instrumental to household order</i>	(6 sources, 8 references)
<i>Instrumental for women to rest at home</i>	(2 sources, 2 references)
<i>Moral</i>	(8 sources, 15 references)
Public patriarchal logics (paid work, culture and state)	(23 sources and 43 references)
<i>Public patriarchal logic tied to paid work</i>	(19 sources and 33 references)
<i>-Instrumental to maintain social order</i>	(11 sources and 19 references)
<i>-Moral</i>	(1 source and 1 reference)
<i>-Relational</i>	(14 sources and 16 references)
<i>Public patriarchal logic tied to state and culture</i>	(11 sources and 15 references)
<i>-Instrumental to maintain societal order</i>	(11 sources and 15 reference)
<i>-Moral</i>	(3 sources and 3 references)
Other: Non Patriarchal logics	(2 sources, 2 references)
<i>Instrumental</i>	(2 sources, 2 references)
Legitimization process (See table below)	
<i>Passive</i>	<i>Mapping one woman's narrative</i>
<i>Evaluative</i>	<i>Mapping one woman's narrative</i>

TABLE 4. Passive subordination of public participation to private responsibilities

Unquestioned legitimacy logic tied to private patriarchal responsibilities within the home	Receipt of validity cues suggesting that this is the easiest/right path	Generating her own validity cues suggesting that women who do engage in paid work suffer
She will be insensitive to home issues. There's no way for a woman to balance her life outside and inside her house. I didn't need to work because my husband is working. High divorce rate is because of women getting employed. Women who don't work tolerate stress, especially her husband's, however if she's working, she'll not tolerate anything; so she'll leave her husband and become	I am with the working woman but I don't know what will happen to her kids and to house. Of course something bad will happen. A woman that works is stubborn/powerful and that's because she faces insults and exposes herself to hard times and to society's harsh realities. (Lara, PMH8)	Women that work get insulted and get hurt and their kids are not raised properly. You see relatives or friends that are working; and you see that their kids' live in a worse way from those whose mothers are not working. (Lara, PMH8)

TABLE 5. Evaluating the engaging in paid work

Questioning of patriarchal logics such that paid work is a consider	Receipt of validity cues from actually engaging in paid work or seeing others engage and suffer	Quits paid work or decides not to start working
I was a medical representative before I got married and remained until I had my second daughter. In fact, I used to send my old daughter to the nursery when she was only 40 days old; however, in the case of my second daughter, it was different. I had difficulties putting her in the nursery or at my mom's house and I wasn't able to find enough time to balance between my family and my job. In addition, my old daughter	As a medical rep., I worked with doctors so I usually don't start my work before 10 a.m. In addition, I had lots of break during the day, so I can say that it was a flexible schedule, however my family and my work were affected. For example, I was always busy thinking that I have to come back home in case someone had an accident, or when the time of the nursery ends, which lead me to start skipping some of my work. That's why I told them that I'm leaving because my daughters needed me. (Nour, PMM3)	When having children, women should stay home and take care of them. There is always a way of course to balance between work and family, however if I am to choose between working and staying at home, I would definitely go with the second one. (Nour, PMM3)
Honestly, my husband's income is not sufficient; especially that he is not capable of providing me with my personal needs. I get my money from my brothers living broad and this is not easy for me at all, that's why I want to work even with a low salary. I just want to be independent, comfortable and relaxed with myself. (Nuhad, PML3)	I got the chance to work, so I went. However, what I expected was completely different. My income was different from what they told me, and they tried not to pay me the commissions that come from my work since I was working in the marketing of products, so I left. (Nuhad, PML3) One day when I was coming back from work I heard a 9-year-old girl saying that I came back from work after leaving my children alone. Of course, I knew that she had heard these words from someone more mature than her. So as many people give you positive feedbacks because you work, many others, out of jealousy, try to persuade you that what you are doing is wrong. (Nuhad, PML3).	Actually, the world of work is a totally different world; you become independent, get your own money, and afford the additional needs for your children. But, when these elements became a major reason for the problems that begun between my husband and me, I had to quit and stay at home. This was really hard for me. I studied a lot to get my certificate, and at the end I had to leave all these efforts I have made behind me and walk. (Nuhad, PML3).

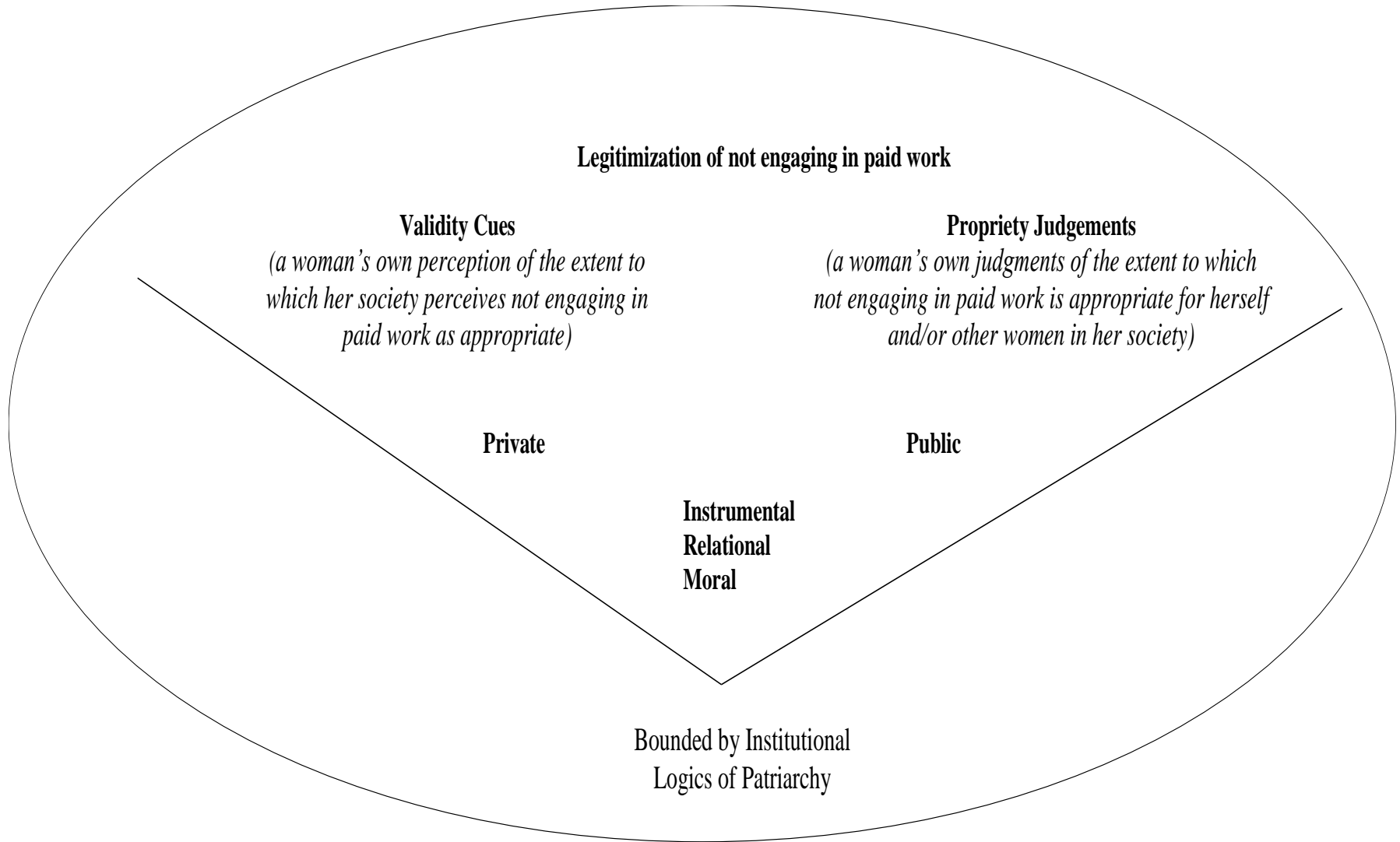


Figure 1. Comprehensive framework guiding our analysis

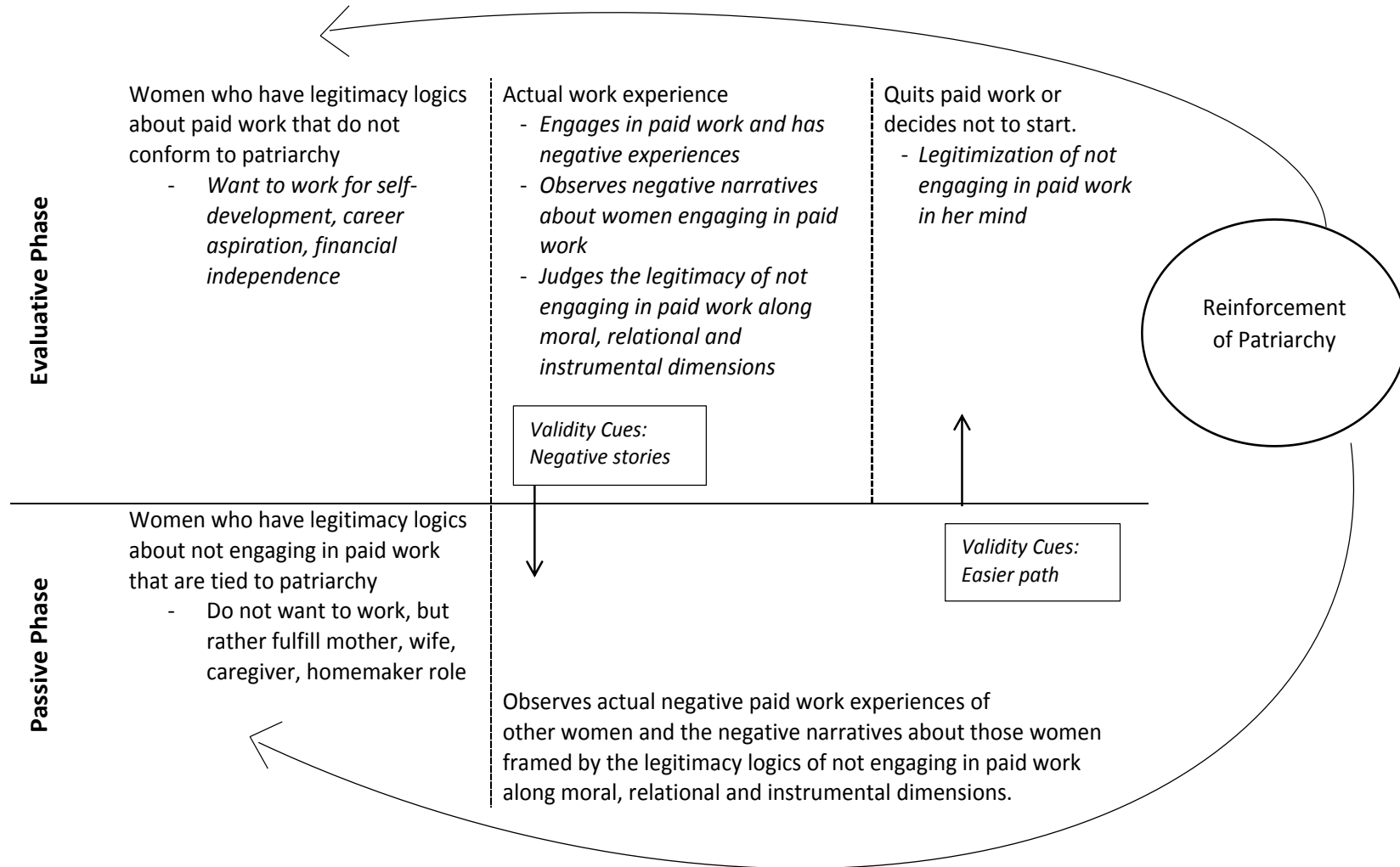


FIGURE 2. Individual-level Legitimacy Processes Reinforcing Patriarchy