

A Qualitative Analysis of Female Breadwinner Representations in the Media

by

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Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

Violating social norms often elicits a negative public response aimed at punishing norm violators and dissuading others from following their lead. One way to understand reactions to norm violations is through the moral panic framework. This framework identifies the reactions that an emergent norm-violating social group is likely to experience. These reactions are characterized as overexaggerated, often blaming the group for the consequences of their norm violation and suggesting that the public should fear the group. I hypothesized that social attitudes towards female breadwinner relationships (FBRs), which violate heteronormative gender norms, would reflect these, and other, moral panic characteristics. However, I expected that these characteristics would be less extreme, and thus I proposed that social reactions to FBRs would reflect a kind of *moral anxiety*. To test this hypothesis, I conducted a qualitative thematic analysis of 94 magazine and newspaper articles concerning FBRs, and five themes emerged. First, the articles emphasized the social change that these relationships represent. Second, gender role expectations were often discussed, with many more articles reinforcing traditional gender role expectations than non-traditional gender role expectations. Third, most articles described costs of FBRs while only a minority described benefits, and most costs concerned the couple as a whole instead of either partner individually. Fourth, societal reactions to this change were often described, and most reactions were negative. And fifth, many articles offered tips for FBRs, often focused on overcoming the costs associated with such bonds. This pattern of reactions to FBRs ultimately demonstrated many of the characteristics of moral anxiety. Overall, these media articles portrayed FBRs as undesirable relationships involving stressed women and emasculated men: a stigmatizing portrayal that could dissuade others from pursuing such relationships.

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Introduction

Around the time of movie and television award show season, the media starts to talk about “The Oscar Curse,” so named because multiple actresses have gotten divorced shortly after they received the accolade (see Heritage, 2010). The implication of these media stories is that the marriages end because of the stress caused by the actresses’ success. Without saying so directly, these media accounts suggest that by violating heteronormative gender expectations – that men should possess higher status, dominance, and power than their female romantic partners (Ickes, 1993; Stuart, Moon, & Casciaro, 2011) – such relationships are doomed to fail. Thus, by circulating the threat of the Oscar Curse each year around award show season, the media communicates to readers the expected roles of men and women in a heterosexual relationship, and the consequences associated with violating such roles. That is, the Oscar curse serves as a cautionary tale for men and women who hope to have successful romantic relationships with one another. My research examines how a similar cautionary tale might also be evident in media stories concerning a more-common relationship experience that is also characterized by violating heteronormative gender expectations: Specifically, female breadwinner relationships.

A *breadwinner* is the person in a romantic relationship who earns the majority of income relative to their partner and is considered to be the family’s primary financial provider whereas a homemaker is the person in a romantic relationship who is responsible for the majority of household work relative to their partner and may be considered the family’s secondary financial provider (e.g., Meisenbach, 2010). Traditionally, men are expected to fulfill the breadwinner role and women are expected to fulfill the homemaker role in their relationships (Gaunt, 2013). However, 40 percent of Canadian women currently hold the breadwinner title in their families (Fox & Moyser, 2018), and this statistic is only expected to increase in the future. Despite the

slow yet positive impact of the second-wave feminist movement on the acceptance of women in non-traditional roles, especially in social democracies like Canada, when women behave against societal expectations by assuming the breadwinner role in a relationship, negative interpersonal and social consequences are likely to follow (Furdyna, Tucker, & James, 2008; Sullivan, 2004). As I will detail shortly, this backlash occurs because human behaviour and interactions are guided by social norms or expectations (Buckholtz, 2015), including gender role expectations (Good & Sanchez, 2010), and by violating these expectations and disturbing the social order, female breadwinners face negative consequences (Brauer & Chekroun, 2005). My research will investigate how gender expectations for relationships and the consequence of violating those expectations for female breadwinners are communicated in society. Specifically, I will qualitatively and quantitatively code the content of magazine and newspaper articles concerning female breadwinners. By analyzing these cultural products that document social norms and behavioural expectations and describe the negative consequences of violating those norms and expectations, I will potentially reveal a source of social control efforts directed at women. Uncovering these social control efforts may reveal barriers to success that women face, and understanding those barriers is the first step towards breaking down the barriers.

Social Norms

Social norms exist to inform people what behaviours are considered common and acceptable (Cialdini, Kallgren, & Reno, 1991). For example, social norms dictate that people should not litter, younger people should give up their seat for a senior citizen on the bus, and people should say please and thank you. When acceptable forms of behaviour are communicated in private domains such as among family, friends, or coworkers, or in public domains such as magazines, newspapers, movies, or advertisements, individuals become aware of what

behavioural norms they should follow to align with the rest of society. Moreover, conforming to these acceptable forms of behaviour is rewarded with social approval (Strickland & Crowne, 1962). For example, queuing in line is an acceptable form of behaviour that society expects, so when people conform to this rule, customer service representatives or other people in positions of authority (e.g., teachers, parents) may thank or praise them.

Peer communication is one method for norms to be communicated and spread through social groups, and for young people in particular, peers are an important reference group for acceptable social behaviour (Geber, Baumann, & Klimmt, 2019). Norms can be communicated through explicit expression of the norms, as when your friend tells you that it is customary to tip your restaurant server at least 15%. Norms can also be communicated through stories, as when your friend tells you about the time they left a small tip and received poor service the next time they visited as a result. Peer communication of norms is also a powerful determinant of behaviour, including risky behavior (Real & Rimal, 2007). For example, when peer communication about alcohol is high, college students believe that alcohol consumption is more prevalent, and therefore drink more alcohol themselves.

Although norms can help predict how individuals behave, the predictive strength of norms is conditional on the visibility and salience of said norms (Jacobson, Mortensen, & Cialdini, 2011). This effect of visibility and salience may help to explain why newspapers and magazines can have such a big influence on norm formation and maintenance (see Arias, 2018; Liao, Ho, & Yang, 2016). Magazines and newspapers are highly visible in daily life. Despite their decreased popularity during this digital age, newspapers remain an important component of the news landscape (Pew Research Center, 2019). A survey of Canadian consumers revealed that 9 out of 10 Canadians read some sort of news or magazine weekly, although this news

consumption occurs mostly on mobile devices nowadays (Vividata, 2019). Moreover, people believe that newspapers and magazines reflect the majority public opinion regarding acceptable attitudes and behaviours (Arias, 2018; Liao et al., 2016). In addition, newspapers and magazines help people to understand what beliefs and attitudes are valued in a particular society (Liao et al., 2016). For example, a news article describing how a grocery store publicly shamed customers for using plastic bags (Ho, 2019) reinforces to readers that caring for the environment is valued in society. People also learn from exposure to persuasive messages via an educational role model, including messages conveyed by the media (Arias, 2018). The media (i.e., the role model) conveys information and transmits values and behaviours to the audience. In turn, the audience learns where to draw social boundaries and what society considers acceptable or not (Liao et al., 2016). Although it is beyond the scope of my research, it is important to acknowledge that media effects on individuals are also personalized (Lindell & Hovden, 2018). Although media has the ability to influence all individuals, media consumption is also influenced by socio-cultural factors like class, ethnicity, and other group memberships, and thus each individual's understanding of norms from the media can be somewhat unique. Still, information drawn from media sources not only informs people of what they should believe or how they should behave, but also how they should interact with other members of society (Arias, 2018). For example, an article applauding the government for allocating millions of dollars to help reduce workplace harassment (Paas-Lang & Bresge, 2019) indicates to readers the acceptable ways of treating other people and the importance of this treatment. For all of these reasons, my research will focus on media as a method for communicating and enforcing social norms, and in particular, gender norms.

Gender Norms

Gender norms are some of the most central and influential social norms in cultures the world over, including Western culture, which is the focus of my research. Despite the growing understanding that gender exists on a continuum (e.g., Cameron & Stinson, 2019), gender norms, or roles, only exist for men and women in modern Western society (Oyewumi, 1998). The roles that men and women occupy are entrenched in Western cultural beliefs, and Western society currently does not dictate roles and responsibilities for non-binary individuals. Other cultural groups, including the Indigenous peoples of North America (e.g., Wilson, 1996) and Indonesia (e.g., Graham, 2004), recognize that gender encompasses more than just man and woman, and their gender roles and norms follow suit. Because Western culture currently only dictates gender roles for men and women, my research will focus on gender roles for men and women.

Gender norms dictate how people should act based on their gender – different behaviours are expected of men and women (Good & Sanchez, 2010). Traditional gender roles in Western culture and Western-influenced cultures dictate that men ought to be the primary breadwinner of their family, whereas women ought to be the primary homemaker (Meisenbach, 2010). The breadwinner is the person in a romantic relationship who is responsible for working, typically outside the home, and earning the majority of income. Breadwinners often have dependents who rely on them for financial support (Hood, 1986; Zuo, 2004). The homemaker is the person in a romantic relationship who is responsible for work inside the home and completing the majority of household tasks (Hood, 1986). Homemakers often have dependents who rely on them for emotional support. These roles make it clear that men and women are expected to behave in ways that are separate and complementary (Fox & Murry, 2000). For example, men are expected to be agentic, dominant, and powerful, all characteristics that support their prescribed role of

breadwinner (Chaney, Rudman, Fetterolf, & Young, 2017). Women are expected to be communal, nurturing, and kind, all characteristics that support their prescribed role of homemaker. These behavioural expectations serve to ensure that men and women act in accordance with the gender hierarchy: men learn traits that will lead them to high-status roles and women learn traits that will restrict them to lower-status roles (Chaney et al., 2017). This way, gender roles are vital to the development and maintenance of social structures (Fox & Murry, 2000). The complementary nature of these roles also serves to initiate heterosexual relationships. Women possess positive qualities that men lack, and vice versa, which motivates them to pair up so they can thrive socially (Glick & Fiske, 1996). In heteronormative society, men can't receive the benefits of complementary traits from other stereotypical men, hence, the formation of heterosexual relationships.

The cultural origin of traditional, heteronormative gender roles is suspected to date back to the pre-industrial period, when society relied on agricultural work as a form of survival (Alesina, Giuliano, & Nunn, 2013). Academics suggest that the labour-intensive style of agriculture gave men an advantage in farming compared to women because men are often larger and stronger than women. Therefore, men would be the ones that worked in the fields to earn a living for their families while their wives were expected to tend to the home and children. This labour division granted men more status and power in their relationships because they were the sole financial providers (Tichenor, 1999). An alternative explanation appoints men as the active agents in creating women's restricted gender role (Lerner, 1986). Men's participation in the labour force and subsequent accumulation of land and property precipitated the series of events that led to their domination and women's subordination. Essentially, to ensure that their herd animals and property would remain with their biological children after their death, men began

isolating women in the home. By controlling women's sexuality and reproduction, men reinforced women's subordination in society. In time, these practices led society to believe that the natural place for women is in the home. Thus, contrary to the belief that biological predispositions (e.g., women being smaller and weaker than men) prepare a woman for her social role as caretaker, this socio-cultural perspective suggests that male social dominance spawned traditional gender roles.

According to *social role theory*, the division of labour between men and women can still explain modern expressions of traditional gender roles (Chaney et al., 2017). Men are expected to be the breadwinner in a relationship, and so they are socialized to be agentic. Women are expected to be the homemaker in a relationship, and so they are socialized to be communal. A few theories exist to explain this process of gender-role socialization (e.g., Ickes, 1993). The *gender-role socialization model* claims that gender roles are learned by observing, imitating, and ultimately internalizing gender-appropriate attitudes and behaviours. Individuals use other people of their same gender group as role models for these attitudes and behaviours. Under this theoretical framework, Emily might learn how women should express anger by observing her mother. For example, upon observing that her mother expresses anger with a soft voice and calm yet restricted demeanor, Emily might imitate that reaction and internalize the expected female behaviour of not expressing rash emotions.

The *situation model of gender roles* states that men and women will learn how to behave based on where they spend most of their time (e.g., Ickes, 1993). Traditionally, men are expected to spend most of their time in the workplace, where they can learn about "masculine" attitudes such as those involving status and power, whereas women are expected to spend most of their time at home, where they can learn about "feminine" attitudes and behaviours, such as

nurturance and caretaking. Under this theoretical framework, Emily might learn what her role is as a woman by spending time with other women in similar situations as herself. For example, if Emily is a stay-at-home mother, she is likely to interact with other women who also spend their days with their children. From these interactions, Emily may act out and therefore reinforce her attitudes and behaviours associated with being a stay-at-home mother, such as nurturance, and caretaking.

Finally, *the oppression model* explains that gender roles are a consequence of societal systems intended to maintain a power hierarchy between men and women (e.g., Ickes, 1993). Under this theoretical framework, Emily might learn what it means to be a woman through her relationships with the men in her life, like a husband, father, uncles, or brothers. For example, if Emily's husband is the breadwinner, then he might use his power from providing financial resources to bargain with Emily and get her to do the majority of housework. By being in a lower-power position due to her lesser income contribution, Emily may feel like she doesn't have bargaining power, and subsequently internalize her lower-status role as homemaker, thereby maintaining the hierarchy between herself and her husband.

In recent years, modern gender roles have expanded to include *egalitarian gender roles*. These role expectations emphasize an equitable distribution of labour between men and women in a relationship, often determined by a woman's involvement in the workforce (Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer, & Robinson, 2000; Regan, 2011). Both men and women claim to desire egalitarian relationships more so than traditional ones, and egalitarian roles have been associated with higher relationship satisfaction and stability (Chaney et al., 2017). There is some evidence that these stated desires translate into action. When women spend more time at work outside the home and less time on work inside the home, men do tend to increase their involvement in

housework. Since the 1960s fathers have “tripled their childcare contributions and doubled their time spent on housework” (Latshaw & Hale, 2016, p. 99). Yet men only tend to perform those tasks when they perceive that there is a pressing need to do so. For example, if a couple cannot afford child-care and the wife earns more money than the husband, the financially responsible decision would be for the husband to stay home with the children. New societal ideals for fathers also explain men’s increased involvement in domestic life, because these ideas stipulate that men should be more nurturing and involved with their children (Latshaw & Hale, 2016). Fathers may also perform more childcare to compensate for the increasing amount of time their wives spend at work.

Despite men’s increased participation in childcare and housework, women still perform the brunt of this work, even when they are the breadwinner (Meisenbach, 2010). Female breadwinners perform more childcare than their partners and spend more time on housework, especially in the evenings or on weekends (Latshaw & Hale, 2016). Husbands of female breadwinners admit that they hand-off domestic duties to their wives when they are home. They explain this behavior by claiming that they deserve time off following a tough day of childcare and household tasks. Latshaw and Hale (along with other researchers) seem to blame women for this inequitable division of labour. For instance, they argue that women who spend the majority of their day at work may feel like they fail to meet societal norms for being a good mother. This perceived failure leads to guilt and stress, which female breadwinners may try to ameliorate by taking on more childcare and household responsibilities. The researchers also argue that even when husbands of female breadwinners make a substantial contribution to household tasks, they are often in a helper role with the woman managing the tasks. However, this added help from husbands is not guaranteed to alleviate stress or responsibility for the female breadwinners:

Being the manager of a household is a demanding and time-consuming domestic job.

Additionally, women are bound to caregiving expectations throughout their lifetimes, because caring for elder parents is more expected of female family members than male family members (Stoller, 1983).

The division of household labour is often a point of contention between domestic partners, regardless of whether the woman earns more or less than her partner (Mendiola, Mull, Archuleta, & Torabi, 2017). In traditional male-breadwinner relationships, the wife is responsible for the majority of household work because she does not perform other work outside the home (Furdyna et al., 2008; Zhang & Tsang, 2012). In many households, this division of labour might make sense: The partner that is less occupied with work outside the home should perform a larger share of the household work. Yet this rule does not seem to apply to female breadwinner relationships, perhaps because social norms dictate that household tasks are a woman's job. Because they are lacking social norms to help navigate non-traditional domestic roles, it may be especially difficult for female-breadwinner couples to find a balance between each partner's role and responsibilities.

These conflicts between men and women at the individual level are compounded by social norms that are lagging behind social change. Despite the increasing number of educated and financially independent women in the work force (Chaney et al., 2017; Fox & Moyser, 2018; Turcotte, 2011), traditional gender roles still dominate today's behavioural expectations of men and women (Good & Sanchez, 2010; Wang, Parker, & Taylor, 2013). At a societal level, these gender role expectations persist partly because of a lack of sensitive workplace policies (Pedulla & Thébaud, 2015) and because of political ideologies such as populism that reject any threats to traditional family arrangements (Zarkov, 2017). At an individual level, I believe that people's

personal motivation to conform to social norms and their desire to maintain the existing status quo can help to explain the persistence of traditional gender norms in the face of rapid social change.

Conforming to Social Norms

Individual Norm Conformity

Norms are influential because of the natural human desire to conform (Haun & Tomasello, 2011), whether it be for individual reasons or societal reasons. At an individual level, *descriptive norms* indicate the behaviours that are most prevalent in society (Jacobson et al., 2011; Liao et al., 2016). For example, Emily notices that the majority of her female coworkers get their nails done, hair done, and wear make-up daily, which may indicate to Emily that it is a norm for women to groom themselves that way. People conform to descriptive norms because they trust that a majority behaviour must be a correct behaviour, and so to avoid acting incorrectly, they conform to the majority (e.g., Jacobson et al., 2011). This is a descriptive explanation for conformity, and it explains people's motivation to conform to norms because of their desire to behave accurately. In contrast, *injunctive norms* indicate the behaviors that will garner acceptance from others. For example, Emily notices the compliments that women receive on their physical appearance when they engage in certain grooming practices, which may indicate to Emily that these behaviours lead to acceptance. People conform to injunctive norms because they believe that other people think that is how they ought to behave, and so they oblige. This is a normative explanation of conformity and it explains people's desire to be liked or to achieve interpersonal goals such as developing or maintaining social relationships (Bicchieri & Xiao, 2009; Jacobson et al., 2011).

Sometimes descriptive norms and injunctive norms are congruent (Jacobson et al., 2011). For example, Emily notices how prevalent it is for women to engage in certain grooming behaviors and she also notices that such grooming behaviors draw praise. Other times, descriptive and injunctive norms are incongruent. For example, Emily notices that many women wear revealing clothes for a night out, which indicates to her that this dress code is common. However, she also notices that women's clothing choices are blamed when men harass women, which indicates to Emily that revealing clothing is not acceptable. Incongruent norms can be confusing and can cause individuals to struggle to determine what behaviour will elicit social approval and what behaviour is accurate. Despite the differences in descriptive and injunctive norms, and the potential confusion their incongruence may cause, they are both important individual predictors of human behaviour.

Social Norm Conformity

Along with these individual motivations for norm conformity, people may also conform to norms to encourage social stability. *System justification theory* explains why this may be the case (Jost & Banaji, 1994). The theory is based on the premise that human beings have a natural desire to preserve the status quo. This desire can be explained by *cognitive conservatism*, which explains how people actively resist changes to existing attitudes and beliefs (Greenwald, 1980). As part of this resistance, people selectively attend to and generate information that is consistent with the rest of society's attitudes and avoid or misremember incongruent information. People extend this same cognitive conservatism to preserving the systems on which they depend. A *system* is a social arrangement, and such arrangements can exist within families, institutions, organizations, and social groups (Jost & Banaji, 1994). For example, gendered status and power hierarchies, the distribution of resources between men and women, or the division of social roles

are all social arrangements. Thus, gender norms and roles can also be viewed as a system (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004). In turn, system justification explains how these prevailing arrangements are defended and maintained simply because they exist (Jost & Banaji, 1994). Efforts to justify social systems and preserve the existing status quo have been linked to benefits such as decreased feelings of anger, which may explain the motivation behind these efforts (Osborne & Sibley, 2013). Another motivation to preserve the existing status quo is achieving the feeling of security (Jost et al., 2012). On the contrary, rebelling against existing systems triggers feelings of risk and unpredictability that people are motivated to avoid.

Thus, individuals will justify norms or expected behaviours of individuals or groups in an effort to preserve the existing functioning of society (Jost & Banaji, 1994). Often this is accomplished by imposing *stereotypes* on groups of people, because stereotypes dictate what behaviours or characteristics are expected of group members. Stereotypes are beliefs that are generalized to apply to an entire social group and are associated with any system that separates people into roles, positions, or statuses. For example, women are stereotyped as communal, warm, and nurturing, and therefore it is assumed that women should be homemakers due to their natural predisposition for that role (Chaney et al., 2017; Hoewe, Appelan, & Stevens, 2017; Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010). In contrast, men are stereotyped as agentic, assertive, and dominant, and therefore it is assumed that men should be primary breadwinners due to their natural predisposition for that role. Thus, stereotypes describe behavioural restrictions that maintain societal order (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010). In that sense, stereotypes bare resemblance to injunctive norms because they dictate the expected behaviors for groups of people.

Within system justification theory, stereotypes also serve the purpose of proving that systemic disparities between groups of people are natural and legitimate, and that expected behaviours serve a purpose in society (Jost & Banaji, 1994). For example, stereotyping women as communal and men as agentic serves the purpose of justifying existing divisions of labour between homemakers and breadwinners. Because stereotypes benefit the process of system justification, individuals will adhere to their in-group stereotypes to support their perception of a just and legitimate society. Unfortunately, because stereotypes are perceived to be natural and legitimate, people use stereotypes to justify social inequality and injustice (Osborne & Sibley, 2013). For example, workplaces may pay women less money than their male counterparts because they assume that women are not breadwinners and therefore don't need as much money as men.

Endorsing stereotypes to justify existing systems of inequality is also palliative (Harding & Sibley, 2013; Osborne & Sibley, 2013). By supporting the fairness of a given system of inequality, people can reduce negative feelings such as guilt, anxiety, and dissonance. Justifying the system can even predict increased life satisfaction. This may explain why members of stereotyped groups also use stereotypes to justify their own mistreatment. For example, the palliative nature of system justification can be observed in men's and women's reactions to some forms of sexism.

Benevolent sexism represents attitudes towards women that are deceptively positive while condescending in nature (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Kuchynka et al., 2018). Often, these attitudes are expressed as reactions to women embracing traditional gender roles. For example, feeling protective of gender-conforming women may be a superficially positive motivation. However, if that motivation arises from the belief that women are weaker than men, then it is also

condescending. Within this belief system, when women conform to traditional gender stereotypes, they are deserving of care and admiration from men (Hammond & Sibley, 2011). Men who conform to this belief system experience greater subjective well-being. Women who conform to this belief system feel like they deserve men's adoration and care and believe in the fairness of gender relations, therefore leading women to experience greater life satisfaction.

Women who do not conform to traditional gender stereotypes are often met with *hostile sexism* (Glick, Diebold, Bailey-Werner, & Zhu, 1997; Herzog & Oreg, 2008). Hostile sexism represents attitudes towards women that are overtly negative or angry (Kuchynka et al., 2018). Often, these attitudes are expressed as reactions towards women embracing non-traditional gender roles. For example, insulting a woman by expressing her inferiority in a traditionally male-dominated field is an overt negative attitude towards a woman in a non-traditional occupation. During the 2016 American presidential race, Republican candidate Donald Trump publicly expressed hostile sexism towards his Democratic opponent Hillary Clinton when he claimed that "she doesn't have the strength or the stamina to be president" (Byrnes, 2016). Hostile sexism functions as a form of punishment towards women who fail to conform to their prescribed role, whereas benevolent sexism functions as a form of reward towards women who do conform to their prescribed role (Herzog & Oreg, 2008). In this way, benevolent and hostile sexism are two sides of the same coin, and together they are called *ambivalent sexism*.

The example of ambivalent sexism demonstrates how individuals will often conform to expected societal norms even when conformity is against their best interests. Specifically, women may endorse benevolent sexism because it helps them to cope with the ideological dissonance they experience when faced with gender inequality (Hammond & Sibley, 2011). For example, a woman who earns less money than her male co-worker may experience dissonance

because the unfairness of the situation contradicts her belief that she belongs to a fair society. To reduce the dissonance, she may justify the inequality by evoking a benevolent gender stereotype: “Well, he is a man and therefore it is his duty to be a primary earner and take care of his wife, so this seems fair”. Thus, her belief in a just society is affirmed and her dissonance reduced.

Ambivalent sexism also helps to explain why some women express hostility when other women challenge the status quo. For example, some women may become angry or express disgust when a woman refuses to conform to gendered grooming practices because her refusal to conform challenges the legitimacy of gender norms, causing dissonance. Yet by adhering to the belief that there are right ways and wrong ways for women to behave, and thus by extension, adhering to the belief that women who violate gender norms get what they deserve (i.e., hostility), women may instill a sense of stability and fairness in the social system, a process that is the foundation of system justification (Hammond & Sibley, 2011).

Norm Violation

People can also infer what behaviour is acceptable in a given society by witnessing the social consequences for people who violate social norms. Punishing reactions to norm violations are often a strong social deterrent, discouraging others from behaving in opposition to societal expectations (Brauer & Chekroun, 2005; Rudman & Fairchild, 2004). Social exclusion is one possible punishment, as are negative reactions like disgust, anger, and fear. Some social norms are explicit, like men should not show signs of vulnerability, or women should not show signs of aggression. However, some norms only become salient when they are violated and people have the opportunity to witness the swift and punishing social reaction (Feldman, 1984). In this sense, deviations from norms are vital to the sustenance of norms. For example, some homophobic families will not teach their children about gender and sexual diversity. Yet their children may

still learn that homosexuality is wrong by witnessing gay men and women being subjected to physical assault and verbal harassment on television or by witnessing their family's negative reactions to gay or lesbian people they encounter in public. Similarly, women are not explicitly forbidden from participating in high status jobs. Yet women who violate their prescribed communal role by occupying leadership roles in the workplace receive lower salaries, are less liked, and are less likely to get promoted than their norm-conforming counterparts (Brescoll, Okimoto, & Vial, 2018). Observing these kinds of punishing reactions may convince people to conform to the majority in an effort to avoid punishment.

By imposing social control through the sanctioning of norm violations, society regulates behaviours to ensure that people are acting in accordance with society's expectations (Brauer & Chekroun, 2005). These consequences imposed on norm violators serve to prevent norm violators from succeeding in altering societal expectations of behaviour. Individuals who experience consequences are less likely to continue engaging in atypical behaviour and individuals who witness the consequences are less likely to attempt engaging in the same behaviours (Brauer & Chekroun, 2005). Indeed, people experience anxiety when they contemplate expressing a non-normative opinion or behavior, because the threat of social isolation is so aversive (Hornsey, Majkut, Terry, & McKimmie, 2003). For most people, avoiding social isolation and social disapproval is more important than expressing their true opinion or claiming an authentic, but non-normative, social identity. Therefore, most people conform to social norms and the existing status quo prevails.

Backlash Theory

As an example of these norm-supporting social processes, *backlash theory* explains why women adhere to gendered norms in the workplace (e.g., Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Glick, &

Phelan, 2012a). In the workplace, women are prescribed to be warm, kind, and supportive leaders. Women are proscribed against being dominant, controlling, high-status leaders – these behaviours are all reserved for men. However, when women violate these injunctive and descriptive workplace norms, they face negative reactions in the form of *backlash*. Backlash is defined by social and economic punishments for behaving counter-stereotypically. For example, when presented with female leaders who display stereotypical behaviour and those who display counter-stereotypical behaviour, people are more likely to sabotage the counter-stereotypical female leader than the stereotypical female leader (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004). Backlash not only punishes women who violate norms, but it also deters witnesses from violating norms in the future. By displaying the punishment that a norm violating woman faces, other women strive to behave in ways that will prevent them from being punished. Hence, conformity to norms prevails over deviation from norms (Rudman et al., 2012a).

The Moral Panic Framework

Another useful theory for understanding reactions to norm violations is the *moral panic framework* (Cohen, 1972). This theory explains both reactions to norm violations and the consequences of those reactions. Moral panic was originally introduced to explain social responses to “violent youth”, but has since been used to explain social reactions to norm violators like couples who use surrogacy to have children and players of violent video games (Puri & Pugliese, 2012; Scott, 2009), and reactions to increasing population weights (e.g., the so-called “obesity epidemic;” Campos, Saguy, Ernsberger, Oliver, & Gaesser, 2006). Although people have applied the moral panic framework in a variety of ways over the past 50 years, moral panic is most often defined by a series of events and reactions (see Ajzenstadt, 2008; Altheide, 2009; Campos et al., 2006; Puri & Pugliese, 2012; Scott, 2009). First, the moral panic

is precipitated by the emergence of a group of people that violate a social norm. Second, because the norm-violating group is considered to be a threat to the rest of society and to society's maintenance of the status quo, they are labelled with terms that highlight their deviance and they are portrayed as a group whom the rest of society should fear. Third, because they have been labelled with deviant terms, the norm-violators are segregated from conventional society. This may cause the group to adopt a deviant social identity, which can exacerbate the social perception of deviance. Fourth, in some examples of moral panic, society blames the perceived societal threat posed by the group on the norm violators themselves and will put the onus on the norm violators to fix the situation.

According to this framework, the media fuels moral panic (Altheide, 2009; Campos et al., 2006; Cohen, 1972). The media portrays norm violators as deviants and communicates the societal threat that deviants pose. Often, this portrayal of a threat is exaggerated, which further fuels the moral panic against norm violators. The exaggerated nature of media portrayals of norm violators is intentional, with the ultimate goal of supporting social control efforts and minimizing deviance (Altheide, 2009). Although the present research examines a group of norm violators that may not be as threatening as "violent youth," I suggest that the same moral panic principles can be applied to explain reactions to female breadwinners and other female norm violators, though perhaps the moral reactions will be more subtle – a kind of *moral anxiety*, as it were.

I suggest that an historical example of a moral anxiety about gender norm violations occurred with the emergence of women riding bicycles at the turn of the twentieth century (for an historical account, see Foley, 2004). First, female cyclists emerged as a group who were violating their appropriate gender role. At the time, riding a bicycle was not considered to be feminine, and having the freedom to be more present in the public sphere contradicted the

prevailing norm that women belonged at home. Second, the women riding bicycles were declared to be deviant by moral authorities at the time: due to the sexual freedom that many associated with women's unconstrained mobility, some priests declared that female cyclists would burn in hell. Third, because of the reaction that female cyclists received, they were segregated into their own group in society. Women who rode bicycles came to be considered emblematic of the "new women" who were causing problems in society, demanding suffrage and other social freedoms. Indeed, riding a bicycle was one of the very faults that distinguished new women from the rest of women in society.

Finally, efforts were made to demonstrate that women should stop riding bicycles in order to fix the social problems that were caused by their very existence, one "problem" being lesbianism. Riding a bicycle was somehow assumed to increase sexual pleasure for women, perhaps due to the vibration of the seat, and this pleasure was thought to naturally lead to lesbianism. Advertisements featured female cyclists with other women in an effort to highlight the deviant scenario these women had created, and to demonstrate that the social problems caused by the "new women" wouldn't be happening at all if such women would just stop riding their darn bicycles! The moral panic surrounding women riding bicycles in the late 1800s reflected a deep social anxiety: anxiety about female freedom, and men's loss of control over women. I argue that this example reflected a broader social anxiety about the violation of gender roles, and a similar anxiety characterizes people's reactions to female breadwinners today.

Female Breadwinners as Norm Violators

My research is based on the premise that female breadwinners violate gender norms. Traditionally, the breadwinner role has been "a standard for male identity" (Meisenbach, 2010, p. 2). The male breadwinner is characterized by working in the public sphere, providing the

majority of income for a household, and having minimal responsibility towards housework. I suggest that the female breadwinner role adopts all of these characteristics save one: minimal responsibility towards housework. Female breadwinners often work in the public sphere and provide the majority of income for a household, but unlike their male counterparts, they are not freed of responsibilities at home. When wives earn the majority of a household's income, couples still practice traditional gendered divisions of household labour. For example, when a couple transitions from a male-breadwinner/female-homemaker arrangement to one in which both partners contribute equally to household income, a woman's weekly housework hours reduce by 7.6 and a man's weekly housework hours increase by 2.7 (Bittman, England, Sayer, Folbre, & Matheson, 2003). However, when a couple transitions from equal partner income contribution to a female breadwinner relationship, women's weekly housework hours increase by 5-6 (Bittman et al., 2003). Women's contribution to housework decreases only to the point that she is earning an equal income as her partner. As soon as she earns more, the couple reverts to traditional gender role expectations, leaving the woman primarily accountable for household chores.

In this sense, it is often argued that female breadwinners have two jobs: their paid work outside of the home and their unpaid work inside of the home (Chaney et al., 2017; Tichenor, 1999). Often labelled the "second shift", female breadwinners feel that they have emotional, organizational, and physical responsibilities at home on top of their responsibilities as primary earners outside of the home. Despite these domestic responsibilities, female breadwinners are still considered to be norm violators (Meisenbach, 2010; Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Nauts, 2012b). Female breadwinners violate their socially subordinate role as women because they occupy a traditionally male-dominated role outside the home and in their relationship.

Furthermore, because female breadwinners violate gender norms, I propose that they will be subjected to the same kinds of social punishments that are used to suppress norm violations in other domains. To my knowledge, very little research has explored social reactions to female breadwinners (see Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2005). Most research regarding female breadwinners focuses on first-person experiences of the female breadwinning arrangement (see Chesley, 2017; Coughlin & Wade, 2012; Furdyna et al., 2008; Medved, 2016; Meisenbach, 2010; Mendiola et al., 2017; Potuchek, 1992). But parallels can be drawn from research concerning women who violate gender norms by displaying agentic traits in the workplace. Women who violate their traditional gender role by displaying agentic traits associated with success in the workplace are often less liked, less likely to get promoted, and evaluated more poorly by their superiors relative to their conforming counterparts (Brescoll et al., 2018). Agentic women who violate gender norms are also accused of lacking concern for social order and disrespecting traditional relationships, and as a result, people often respond to such women with moral outrage in the form of disgust or contempt (Brescoll et al., 2018). Because female breadwinners also violate gender norms, much like agentic female leaders, I expect female breadwinners to face similar reactions and obstacles to norm violation. Furthermore, because they violate gender norms, female breadwinners may be blamed for the negative social consequences of their role, including being blamed for emasculating their male partners (Chesley, 2017).

This overview of reactions to women who violate gender role norms, including female breadwinners, suggests that the moral anxiety framework may help predict and help us to understand social and personal reactions to female breadwinners. To test this proposal, I will seek to understand how female breadwinners are portrayed in the media and determine whether the moral anxiety framework can explain such portrayals. As I described previously, newspapers

and magazines are a reflection of public opinion (Arias, 2018). Therefore, examining the content of newspapers and magazines is a good way to understand social norms. In addition, the media is an active participant in the creation and maintenance of moral panic about norm violators (Altheide, 2009; Campos et al., 2006; Cohen, 1972). For all of these reasons, I propose that the characteristics of a moral anxiety concerning female breadwinners will be evident in newspaper and magazine articles concerning female breadwinners (Hypothesis 1).

More specifically, I suggest that the media will portray female breadwinners as an emergent group that violates social norms. Due to women's increased participation in the paid workforce and greater educational achievement compared to men (Chesley, 2017), an increasing number of female breadwinners have emerged in recent years, and media reports will reflect this fact. Second, I propose that female breadwinners will be portrayed as deviants that should be feared, although this labelling may not be explicit. Writers may use micro-aggressions – a tool that is commonly used to direct derogatory jabs towards marginalized groups – to highlight women's place in society (Woodford, Howell, Kulick, & Silverschanz, 2013). For example, by applauding women for their time spent raising their children or referring to biological predispositions as reason why women should be the primary caretaker, writers can subtly remind readers that breadwinning is no place for a woman.

Third, female breadwinners will be differentiated (i.e., segregated) from other women who conform to gender roles. This outcome goes hand in hand with the previous point – by providing women who violate their gender role with a specific title of “female breadwinner”, they become recognized as their own group in society. Finally, I propose that media portrayals will blame female breadwinners for the threat they pose to the status quo and put the onus on them to alleviate this threat. So just as female leaders in the workplace are tasked with

overcoming the backlash they experience for disrespecting social order (e.g., by “leaning in” and changing their behavior; Kim, Fitzsimons, & Kay, 2018), female breadwinners will be tasked with fixing the problems their very existence is thought to create in their personal relationships. I will examine these possibilities in my analysis of magazine and newspaper articles.

Investigating media portrayals of female breadwinners is important because such portrayals have social consequences. If portrayals of female breadwinners do match a moral anxiety framework and female breadwinners are identified as a threat to society’s current expectations, society at large as well as individuals themselves will react in an attempt to prevent the norm violators from succeeding. These reactive processes can be observed in recent surges in right-wing populism in democracies around the world. Right-wing populism is a political ideology that highlights a nation’s differences between “Us” and “Them” (Vincent, 2009). This ideology is associated with moral panics particularly in response to immigration (Vieten, 2016; Vincent, 2009). Immigrants, women, LGBTQ+ individuals and ethnic/racial minorities are often labelled as deviants and become scapegoats for broader societal issues in an effort to preserve what is morally right or traditionally valued (Vieten, 2016; Vincent, 2009). The United States of America and the United Kingdom have exhibited populist responses to social issues such as immigration and are therefore susceptible to moral panics as a means to preserve traditional expectations in society (Hogan & Haltinner, 2015)

Based on the system-justifying desire to maintain existing norms, individuals will express a desire for maintenance of the status quo over support for norm-violating female breadwinners. Additionally, women who witness a negative reaction to a woman violating her gender role are deterred from violating the same role (Rudman et al., 2012a). Therefore, potential female breadwinners will be reluctant to violate the norms that would grant them breadwinner status,

and thus portraying female breadwinners as threatening norm violators restricts other women's potential and squashes their ambitions. Men may also claim that they do not desire to be with a woman who disrupts social order. This presumption is supported by the educational gradient in marriage (Kalmijn, 2013). Partly due to women's increased economic independence, the relationship between women's educational achievements and likelihood of marriage is inverse: the more educated a woman is, the less likely she is to be married (Kalmijn, 2013). Because educational achievements are used as an indication of a woman's financial independence (Goldstein & Kenney, 2001), the education gradient is applicable to women who earn more money than their male partners, such as female breadwinners. Thus, a reduction in the number of potential mates is another threat that might deter women from desiring to become a breadwinner. Finally, expressing negativity towards female breadwinners also has a negative impact on the breadwinners themselves. Such reactions negatively impact women's self-esteem and self-concept (Good & Sanchez, 2010), which can lead to poor physical and mental health outcomes (Stinson et al., 2008). For all of these reasons described, my research is important and has the potential to be impactful in preventing these social consequences from occurring.

Methods

To test my hypotheses concerning societal perceptions of female breadwinners, I conducted a qualitative analysis of magazine and newspaper articles depicting female breadwinners and their relationships. I approached this analysis with a combination of top-down and bottom-up techniques. While conducting the thematic analysis, I relied on my theoretical understanding of gender norms and moral anxiety to inform my understanding of the articles (i.e., top-down). However, while doing so, I also allowed the articles to speak for themselves and welcomed any unique themes that emerged from the articles (i.e., bottom-up). Following the completion of this thematic analysis as well as some additional, follow-up analyses that were suggested by my results (which I will describe shortly), I interpreted my results by comparing them to the moral anxiety framework. This allowed me to conclude whether the moral anxiety framework accurately describes the representations of female breadwinners in the media.

Article Sampling and Characteristics

Pilot Article Search

Initially, I conducted a pilot search of female breadwinner articles to see how many articles existed and how long the article collection would take. I quickly searched various terms related to female breadwinners on Google to determine which term would yield the most articles (e.g., “breadwinner wife”, “income inequality in marriage”, “primary earner + women”, “wife earns more”, etc.). Ultimately, the term “female breadwinner” resulted in the most results on the search engine, both in terms of quantity and relevance. Next, two research assistants searched the phrase “female breadwinner” on Google, limiting the search to specific newspaper and magazine sources. The research assistants searched for articles from *The New York Times* (USA), *The National Post* (Canada), *The Globe and Mail* (Canada), *The Washington Post* (USA), *The Daily*

Mail (England), *The Daily Telegraph* (England), *The Atlantic* (USA) and *Maclean's* (Canada).

The search was restricted to the years 2013 to 2019, inclusive. Most news sites limit the number of articles that readers can view for free, so the research assistants did not read the full articles during their search. Instead, they decided whether to include an article in the sample based on the article title and the brief article description provided by Google. They included an article in the sample if the title and brief description led them to believe that the content was primarily about female breadwinners. If the content was unclear, they erred on the side of including the article in the sample. This pilot search identified 388 articles from the eight sources in approximately five hours (*The New York Times* = 64, *The National Post* = 11, *The Globe and Mail* = 28, *The Washington Post* = 46, *The Daily Mail* = 105, *The Daily Telegraph* = 53, *The Atlantic* = 71, and *Maclean's* = 10). These sources were chosen because they are large contributors to the news landscape in each of their respective countries based on readership and circulation numbers (Agility PR Solutions, 2019; Cision, 2019; Mercier, 2018; PAMCo, 2019; Pew Research Center, 2015). From this initial search, I concluded that a significant number of articles exist, making it possible to test my hypothesis.

Systematic Article Search

To reduce the bias associated with pre-determining which sources to search, I conducted my systematic search using Access World News – an online newspaper and magazine database. Access World News allowed me to search thousands of news and magazine publications from around the world. I also used Google to search, but this time I did not restrict the search to specific newspapers or magazines.

I chose to collect articles from news sources in Canada, England, and The United States of America because these three English-speaking countries share cultural values and a similar

proportion of female breadwinners in their populations (Cory & Stirling, 2015; Fox & Moyser, 2018; Wang et al., 2013). I also chose to restrict the article search to the years 2013 – 2019, inclusive. According to Google trends in popularity of search terms, the year 2013 marked the most recent spike in popularity for the phrase “female breadwinner” in news content (Google Trends, n.d.). This spike may have been a response to the 2007-2009 Global recession, which resulted in an increasing number of women earning higher proportions of family income to compensate for the impact on men’s employment (Berik & Kongar, 2013).

One research assistant collected American newspapers on Access World News, one research assistant collected English and Canadian newspapers on Access World News, and one research assistant collected magazines from all three countries on Access World News and conducted the Google search. All three research assistants searched for articles that included the phrase “female breadwinner” in their assigned search engine and for their assigned region. Once again, the search was restricted to the years 2013 to 2019, inclusive. Once again, research assistants did not read the full articles during their search. Instead, they decided whether to include an article in our sample based on the article title and the brief article description provided by Google or based on a quick skim of the full article provided by Access World News. The research assistants included an article in our sample if this information led them to believe that the content was primarily about female breadwinners. If the content was unclear, they erred on the side of including the article in our sample. If the article met our inclusion criteria, the research assistant saved the article to our working database. Articles from Access World News were stored as PDF files and articles from Google were stored as hyperlinks. This initial search yielded 246 female breadwinner articles.

Next, I read each article to determine whether it should be included in the final sample of articles for my qualitative analysis. I included articles that met the following inclusion criteria: 1) The article was primarily about female breadwinners, defined as a woman earning the majority of income in her relationship; 2) the article had to be written about American, Canadian, or English culture (sometimes articles were published in American, Canadian, or English media but concerned happenings in another country). Articles that seemed to meet my inclusion criteria were excluded based on the following criteria: 1) The article only concerned single mothers as breadwinners; 2) the article only concerned high-earning women with no context of their relationship; 3) the article mentioned female breadwinners in passing with no relation to the rest of the article content; 4) the article was a re-print of an article I already sampled. Some articles were also excluded from further analyses because they were saved as corrupt files and could not be retrieved ($n = 7$). This evaluation resulted in a final sample size of 94 articles (see Table 7 in Appendix A).

Article Descriptives

Next, I recorded simple descriptive characteristics of each article: search engine used to find the article, name of article source, article country source, type of article, date of the article, the political leaning of the article source, and gender of article author (see Appendix A).

Type of Article. The type of article was categorized into magazine, online news source (e.g., CNBC), and an online version of a print newspaper (e.g., The New York Times). The online version of a print newspaper was further categorized into a factual article type or an opinion piece. I defined a factual newspaper article as one that may contain results from studies, other facts, expert testimonials, or quotes from first-person experiences, but does not express the writer's opinion on this information. I defined an opinion newspaper article as one that may

contain all of the same elements as a factual newspaper article, but the writer's opinion on the information is present as well.

Political Leaning. I obtained this information from Mondo Times, which is a media directory website that provides the political leaning of various American, Canadian, and international news sources based on users' votes. Other research concerning political leaning of newspapers has used this directory as a source for political leaning, but only included leanings that had at least two votes from users, so I applied that same restriction when collecting political leaning of the female breadwinner article sources (Gentzkow & Shapiro, 2010). When correlated with a researcher-created measure of newspaper "slant", the two measures of political leaning (i.e., Mondo Times and researcher-created slant measure) had a significant moderate correlation ($r = 0.40$; Gentzkow & Shapiro, 2010, p. 47). Political leanings of English article sources were obtained from both Mondo Times and YouGov: a source for public opinion of various topics, including political leaning of news sources. For all article sources that had political leaning listed on both Mondo Times and YouGov, the two websites showed agreement about political leaning of source.

Author Gender. This was initially determined by the author's name. If the author's gender was unclear based on their name, I searched the author's online profile for a photo or for the use of pronouns in their descriptions. Feminine presenting authors were coded as female (labelled (f) in Appendix A) and masculine presenting authors were coded as male (labelled (m) in Appendix A).

Seventy-one percent of the articles were from American sources, one percent Canadian, and 28% English. Of these articles, 85% were from news sources or newspapers. Specifically, 47% of all articles were factual newspaper articles, 21% of all articles were opinion newspaper

articles, and 17% of all articles were from news sources. Fifteen percent of all articles were from magazines. The articles that composed this sample came from both large-scale sources (e.g., *The New York Post*, *Forbes*, *The Daily Telegraph*) as well as smaller-scale sources (e.g., *Stillwater News Press*, *The Allegheny Times*). I was concerned that only one article was Canadian. This was not a sampling error, as Access World News does search Canadian sources – both large-scale (e.g., *CBC*, *The Toronto Star*) and smaller-scale (e.g., *The Guelph Tribune*, *Langley Times*). Furthermore, there were some Canadian sources present in the Google search results as well. Canada may have fewer female breadwinner articles because it is a strong social democracy (Wiseman & Isitt, 2007) with a relatively weak populist movement compared to the UK and the US, and thus female breadwinners are less threatening to Canadian social norms than to norms in the UK and the US. Thus, there is simply less Canadian news content regarding female breadwinners compared to American and English news content.

Article dates of publication ranged from January 11, 2013 to March 8, 2019. The majority of articles were written in 2013 (37%), followed by 2014 (17%), 2017 and 2018 (both 13%), 2016 (11%), 2015 (7%), and 2019 (2%).

Thirty-five percent of all articles were from Conservative or “right-leaning” news sources, 21% of all articles were from Liberal or “left-leaning” news sources, 15% of all articles were from “central” or “no-bias” news sources, and 29% of all articles come from news sources with unknown political leanings.

Sixty-seven percent of all articles were written by female authors, 21% of all articles were written by male authors, and 16% of all articles either did not cite an author or the gender of the author could not be determined based on the previously mentioned method. A few articles were written by multiple writers, hence why the percentages add up to more than 100%.

Thematic Analysis

I analyzed my sample of newspaper and magazine articles using *thematic analysis*. Thematic analysis is an approach to qualitative analysis which requires a researcher to identify, analyze, and report patterns across a data set (e.g., Braun & Clarke, 2006). These patterns are also known as *themes* and are created through a researcher's active role of noticing patterns, determining which are most important, and ultimately reporting them. Thematic analysis is known for its flexibility because it is not bound to any theoretical framework and can therefore be applied across various data sources to reach its ultimate goal of finding repeated patterns across a data set and articulating them as themes. The number of times a pattern appears across a data set is not the determining factor of what constitutes a theme. A pattern needn't be present in the majority of data to be considered a theme; it is up to the researcher's judgment to determine whether a pattern is evident enough times to be considered a theme. I recognize that a researcher's personal characteristics or experiences (e.g., race, gender, socioeconomic status) may impact the judgments made during analysis. Thus, it is important to acknowledge that my identities as a young, White, educated woman may influence the themes that I observe in the data. However, by following rigorous guidelines for conducting qualitative analysis such as transparently reporting analysis methods, identifying how codes emerged from data, and showing examples of findings via quotes, to name a few, the researcher can restrict bias and improve the rigor of their research (Levitt et al., 2018). Additionally, the iterative process of qualitative analysis itself improves rigor because this process inherently involves self-reflection and adjustments of findings done by the researcher (Levitt et al., 2018).

To conduct thematic analysis, first a researcher creates codes demarcating interesting pieces of information across a data set. Next, the researcher combines the codes into appropriate

themes, ensures the themes complement the initial codes, revises the themes if necessary, and finally refines and names each theme. This process is iterative and can involve many revisions as a researcher gets more familiar with the data set.

Using the qualitative analysis software MAXQDA, I implemented the process of thematic analysis to investigate societal portrayals of female breadwinners in newspaper and magazine articles. First, I read each article thoroughly and coded any characteristics relevant to my hypothesis. I also coded characteristics that were not necessarily relevant to my hypothesis but stood out from the data because of their repeated presence throughout articles. Next, I looked for patterns among the codes and combined them into overarching themes. As I became more acquainted with the articles, I revised each code and theme to ensure that the codes accurately represented each theme, and that the themes reflected the overall patterns observed in the articles. Ultimately, I gave each theme a name that accurately reflected the patterns it represented.

Secondary Coder

To help validate my analysis, a research assistant reviewed all codes for half of the female breadwinner articles ($n = 47$). The research assistant was a female undergraduate student. She was not involved in the initial article search, but she was a reliable and efficient team member on previous projects in our lab. The research assistant read the highlighted portions of the articles pertaining to each code and indicated whether she agreed or disagreed with my code (i.e., did the highlighted segment of the article actually reflect the assigned code/theme?). She did this code-by-code, viewing all highlighted article portions pertaining to one code before moving on to the next code. If she agreed with the representation of a code in the article, no

further action was required. When disagreement occurred, a third coder resolved the discrepancy.

Overall, the secondary coder only disagreed with three of my codes (out of 244 total codes).

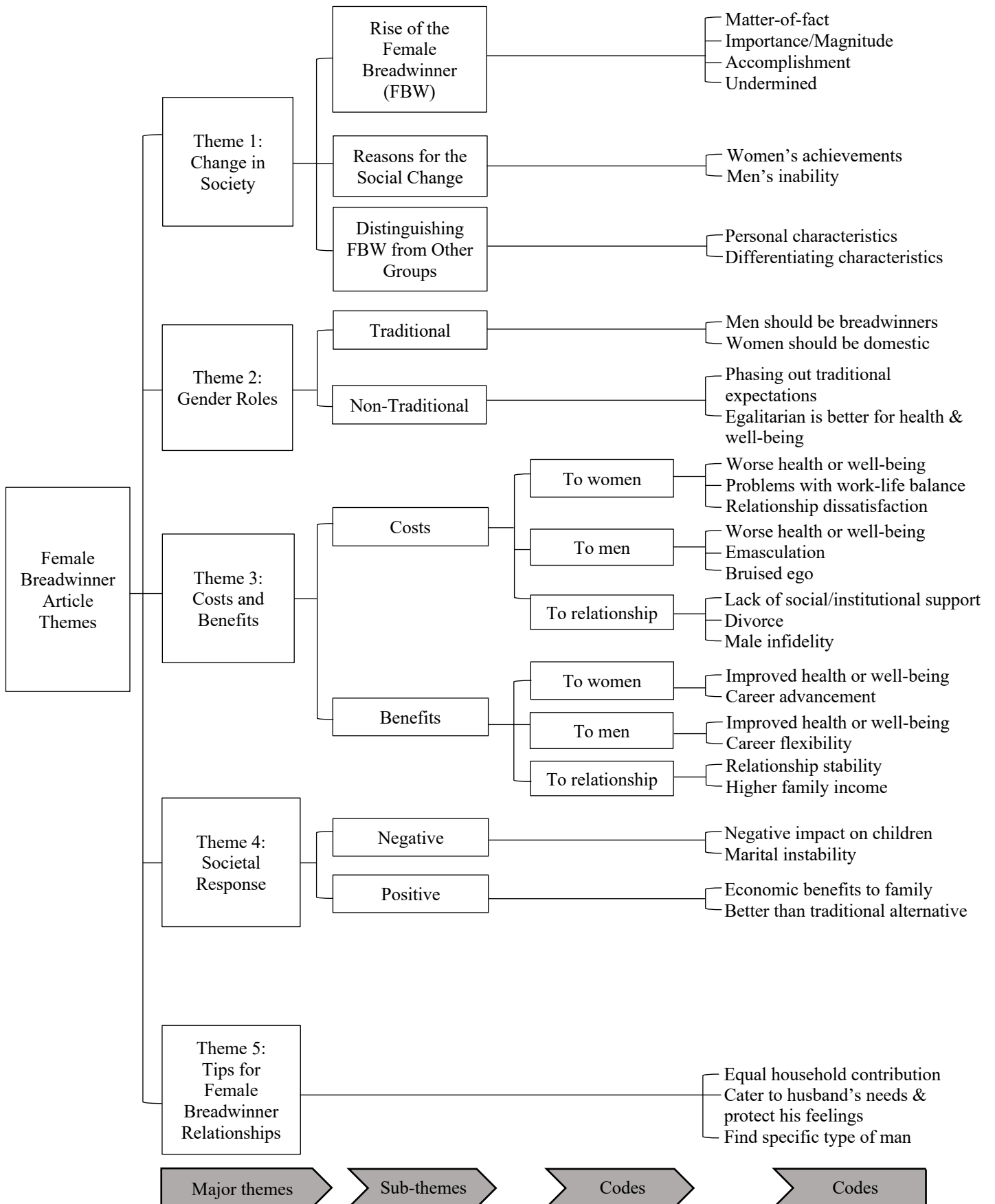
Results

Thematic Analysis

Figure 1 provides a visual representation of the major themes, sub-themes and codes that emerged from my analysis. In Appendix B I provide the prevalence of each theme, sub-theme, and code in my sample of articles.

Figure 1

Organization of Female Breadwinner Article Themes and Codes



Theme 1: Change in Society

The first major theme that emerged from my analysis concerned social change, which was mentioned in 62% of all articles. In Table 1, I provide quotes from the female breadwinner articles to support the codes from Theme 1.

Rise of the Female Breadwinner. Nearly half (46%) of the newspaper and magazine articles described a changing society in which the prevalence of women out-earning their spouses was on the rise. The majority of these articles described this rise *matter-of-factly* (53%), without editorializing, and cited statistics to support their claims. Other writers expressed clear opinions about this social change. Some writers emphasized the *importance or magnitude* (12%) of the change. Other writers lauded the social change as an *accomplishment* (16%). Still others *undermined* (9%) these rising numbers of female breadwinners by downplaying the importance of the role and/or the change.

Reasons for the Social Change. Many articles (40%) attempted to explain why the prevalence of female breadwinners is increasing. The vast majority of these articles attributed the rise to *women's achievements* (84%), including increasing educational achievements and an increasing presence in the workforce. But a sizable minority of articles also attributed the rise in female breadwinners to *men's inability* (39%) to fulfill the breadwinner role as a result of illness or economic downturns.

Distinguishing Female Breadwinners from Other Groups. Many articles (23%) attempted to characterize female breadwinners in some capacity. Of these articles, most described the *personal characteristics* (64%) that distinguish female breadwinners from non-breadwinners or even their husbands, including age, education, employment, or race. Most articles in this sub-theme sought to *differentiate* (59%) female breadwinners from single

mothers, claiming that the former group is typically higher-income, White, college-educated and older, whereas the latter group is typically lower-income, Black or Latina, less educated, younger (Article 29, see Appendix A).

Evidence of Moral Anxiety. This first theme illustrates the first component of moral anxiety: The media articles clearly communicate that female breadwinners are an emerging social group who are characterized by their differences from norm-abiding counterparts. People are typically motivated to explain events and situations that violate their expectations (Jonas et al., 2014). So by providing reasons for the increasing social prevalence of female breadwinners, the articles indirectly communicate the message that female breadwinners are behaving against traditional expectations. Moreover, by attempting to explain why women become breadwinners, while also attempting to explain why men are not breadwinners, the articles reinforce how these couples violate heteronormative expectations of each gender.

Furthermore, by describing the characteristics of female breadwinners, the writers create a distinction between female breadwinners and other women and between female breadwinners and male breadwinners. Including this information in the articles emphasizes to readers that this group of women is separate and different from the norm-abiding women and men in their lives, thereby implying that these women are a unique social group. It is important to identify the writer's attempt to differentiate female breadwinners from others because categorizing women based on their differences has the potential create negative consequences for these women, such as segregation or discrimination, which is yet another component of moral anxiety.

Theme 2: Gender Roles

Over half (54%) of articles discussed gender roles in some capacity. In Table 2 I provide quotes from the female breadwinner articles to support the codes from Theme 2.

Traditional Roles. Nearly half (44%) of the articles emphasized the importance of heteronormative gender roles, both to society and to individuals and their relationships. Typically, these articles asserted that *men should be the primary breadwinner* (49%). Other articles reinforced heteronormative gender roles by asserting that *women should be domestic* (39%), regardless of their earning status, and by asserting that it is women's duty to be responsible for domestic tasks.

Non-traditional Roles. Nineteen percent of all articles discussed non-traditional gender roles. The majority of these articles asserted that society is *phasing out* (39%) traditional gender roles expectations. Other articles specified that *egalitarian relationships* (22%) are becoming more common and can improve both partners' well-being.

Evidence of Moral Anxiety. This second theme provides further support for the first component of moral anxiety: the media articles communicate that female breadwinners are norm violators. One article made this connection explicitly, claiming that "there's plenty of data suggesting that these women know they are breaking social norms" (Article 21, see Appendix A). However, most articles alluded to this norm violation by reinforcing that breadwinning is traditionally a man's duty (see Appendix B), leaving readers to conclude that the women who occupy this role are violating a social norm. Of course, it is also interesting to consider whether language like "breaking" or "violating" is necessarily a bad thing: Some writers could use this language to communicate agency and empowerment to create change.

Table 1		
<i>Supporting Quotes for Theme 1 (Change in Society)</i>		
Sub-theme	Quote	Article Number (see Appendix A)
Rise of the female breadwinner (Matter-of-fact)	“data released by the Pew Research Center on Wednesday shows women are the breadwinner in an increasing number of U.S. families.”	79
	“America’s working mothers are now the primary breadwinners in 40 percent of households with children. This is an increase from 11 percent in 1960.”	68
Rise of the female breadwinner (Importance/Magnitude)	“The new reality is a dramatic shift from decades ago”	46
Rise of the female breadwinner (Accomplishment)	“More women than ever are outpacing men as the primary household earners within families across the UK.”	80
Rise of the female breadwinner (Undermined)	“These female breadwinners are not necessarily raking in big bucks – especially not the single moms – but they are still consistently bringing home the paycheck.”	8
Distinguishing female breadwinners from other groups (Personal characteristics)	“Compared with all mothers with children under age 18, married mothers who out-earn their husbands are slightly older, disproportionately white, and college educated.”	9
Reasons for the social change (Women’s achievements)	“Research also shows the rise of female breadwinners is being driven mostly by demographic changes, including higher rates of education and labor force participation.”	78
	“Some [female breadwinners] are like my sister-in-law, highly educated and ambitious women whose professions simply bring in more income than their husbands”	2
Reasons for the social change (Men’s inability)	“The recession may have played a role in pushing women into primary earning roles, as men are disproportionately employed in industries like construction and manufacturing that bore the brunt of the layoffs during the downturn.”	33
	“earlier this year, we moved house [sic] and Uli's new job fell through. The only solution was for me to become the full-time breadwinner.”	67

Table 2		
<i>Supporting Quotes for Theme 2 (Gender Roles)</i>		
Sub-theme	Quote	Article Number (see Appendix A)
Traditional gender roles (Men should be breadwinners)	“seven in 10 adults also told Pew that for a man to be a good husband or partner, it was ‘very important’ that he be able to support his family. Only about three in 10 said the same about women”	36
	“‘Men have traditionally been raised and socialized to think of themselves as providers’”	53
	“modern high school seniors increasingly believe that everyone is better off if the man is the achiever outside the home while the woman takes care of domestic duties.”	7
Traditional gender roles (Women should be domestic)	“female breadwinners bringing in the majority of the income while at the same time shouldering the lion's share of the management of the family home.”	45
	“‘He already might feel threatened that I'm the breadwinner; I'm certainly not going to make him clean the toilet, too’”	21
	“‘If you want to work, fine, but [the woman] can't skirt these traditional responsibilities at home’”	7
Non-traditional gender roles (Phasing out traditional expectations)	“Over the past four decades, the image of the working husband and his stay-at-home wife has gone from economic reality to a social stereotype.”	74
	“the [male] breadwinner-homemaker marriage will never again be the norm”	65
Non-traditional gender roles (Egalitarian is better for health & well-being)	“married couples are more ‘complementary’ than ever.”	13
	“‘the couples with a female breadwinner who are happiest are those where both contribute.’”	16

Theme 3: Costs and Benefits

The majority of articles described the costs and benefits of female breadwinner relationships (73%). In Tables 3 and 4 I provide quotes from the female breadwinner articles to support the codes from Theme 3.

Costs. Most articles reported the costs associated with female breadwinner relationships (65%). Many of these costs were communicated via first-person testimonials from a partner involved in a female breadwinner relationship (29%). Approximately one third of all articles mentioned costs for women (30%), including *worse health or well-being* (39%), *problems with work-life balance* (32%), and *relationship dissatisfaction* (14%). About one quarter of all articles described the costs that men experience in female-breadwinner relationships (26%), including *worse health or well-being* (21%), *emasculatation* (29%), or a *bruised ego* (17%). But most articles that described costs focused on costs for the relationship as a whole (39% of all articles), including a *lack of social and institutional support* (38%), *divorce* (24%), and *male infidelity* (24%).

Benefits. Some articles highlighted the benefits of female breadwinner relationships (26%). Six percent of all articles suggested that female breadwinners enjoy benefits in their role, including *improved health or well-being* (50%), and *career advancement* (33%). Five percent of all articles highlighted the benefits men may experience by engaging in a relationship with a female breadwinner, including *improved health or well-being* (40%) and greater *career flexibility* (20%). Nineteen percent of all articles outlined the benefits that a female breadwinner couple may experience together, including *relationship stability* (33%) and *higher family income* (22%).

Evidence of Moral Anxiety. This theme supports the second component of moral anxiety: the media articles illustrate the threat that female breadwinners pose to the institution of

marriage, which may evoke fear or anxiety in readers. The female breadwinner articles communicate the threat by illustrating the many negative consequences of participating in these relationships. Articles claim that by participating in a female breadwinner relationship, women will feel stressed and dissatisfied and men will feel emasculated, the public will disapprove, children and the marriage will suffer, and the relationship will ultimately end in infidelity and divorce. These portrayals warn readers that engaging in a female breadwinner relationship threatens your personal and relational well-being, as well as the stability of a cherished institution in society: heterosexual marriage and the nuclear family. This anxiety towards the stability of cherished systems is likely influenced by the relationship between women's employment and fertility rates. Women's increasing education and participation in the workforce has led to concerns about decreasing fertility rates, particularly in nations with limited gender equity and family-oriented institutions (Brinton & Lee, 2016). Ironically, the relationship between women's employment and fertility is reversed in countries where social services and policies support working women (e.g., Nordic countries; Matysiak & Vignoli, 2008).

Table 3		
<i>Supporting Quotes for Theme 3a (Costs)</i>		
Code	Quote	Article Number (see Appendix A)
To women: Reduced health or well-being	“Female breadwinners...feel less satisfied about their lives”	21
	“When females are the main breadwinner in the family, they...report more symptoms of depression.”	40
To women: Problems with work-life balance	“56 percent of working mothers say juggling work and family life is difficult for them.”	78
	“working mothers often feel guilty but [sic] about dual roles – dividing their time between the office and home. At times they feel as if they are fulfilling neither role in the way they would like to.”	37
To women: Relationship dissatisfaction	“women find their household-helping husbands less attractive”	22
To men: Reduced health or well-being	“when a husband loses his position as chief earner he also increases his risk of heart attacks, type 2 diabetes and stroke.”	86
	“Men, however, almost always took a psychological hit when their wife’s income increased beyond their own”	40
To men: Emasculation	“Men have traditionally been raised and socialized to think of themselves as providers and when that role is taken up by their wives, that can sort of be a threat to their sense of masculinity.”	53
To men: Bruised ego	“Conversations in articles and books continue to develop on how to mitigate the threatened feelings and egos of men faced with the reality of female breadwinners.”	14
To the relationship: Lack of social/institutional support	“Employers and workplaces must accommodate these ‘breadwinner moms’ with more flexible schedules, telecommuting, paternity leaves and new measures of professional progress.”	65
To the relationship: Divorce	“When she makes more marriage difficulties jump and divorce rates rise by 50%.”	30
To the relationship: Male infidelity	“men who earned less than their spouses were significantly more likely to cheat.”	22

Table 4		
<i>Supporting Quotes for Theme 3b (Benefits)</i>		
Code	Quote	Article Number (see Appendix A)
To women: Improved health or well-being	“the more women contribute to the household income, the happier they are.”	87
To women: Career advancement	““It’s been great for my career””	16
To men: Improved health or well-being	“unshackling men from expectations of masculinity can improve their mental health.”	87
To men: Career flexibility	“men who married higher earning women had greater choice about their career because they were under less financial pressure.”	50
To the relationship: Relationship stability	“Couples with young children in which the female partner is the main breadwinner are less likely to separate or divorce than traditional households”	69
	“marriages with a female breadwinner are as strong.”	87
To the relationship: Higher family income	“when mothers are the main breadwinner, overall household income tends to be higher.”	48

Theme 4: Societal Response

Overall, 36% of the articles described the general societal response to the rising prevalence of female breadwinners. Most writers cited the results of opinion surveys to communicate this information. In Table 5 I provide quotes from the female breadwinner articles to support the codes from Theme 4.

Negative Responses. Twenty-seven percent of all articles described negative societal reactions to female breadwinners. The majority of these negative reactions concerned a presumed *negative impact on children* (60%), which affirms my earlier proposal that anxiety about declining fertility rates may fuel concerns about female breadwinners. Other writers described societal concerns about *marital instability* (32%). Overall, the negative reactions to the rise in female breadwinners reflect public fears about changing gender roles and the instability that such change might bring. As one journalist put it: “those most concerned seemed fearful that American society may be on the verge of becoming a matriarchy” (Article 90, see Appendix A).

Positive Responses. Some articles did mention positive reactions to the rise in female breadwinners (15%). Some articles reported positive public responses to the perceived *economic benefits* that female breadwinners can bring to the family (36%). Other articles described public responses that explicitly rejected the fears that I described in the previous section, and instead asserted that female breadwinner relationships are acceptable because they are *better than the traditional alternative* (36%).

Evidence of Moral Anxiety. This theme provides further support for the second component of moral anxiety: the media articles portray female breadwinner relationships as a threat and perpetuate the fear surrounding these relationships. By emphasizing social concerns

about children and marital stability, these articles communicate once again that these relationships are a threat to the institution of marriage.

Theme 5: Tips for Female Breadwinner Relationships

Some articles described how to avoid the costs of female breadwinner relationships (17%), and these tips were often communicated via expert testimonials (e.g., a psychotherapist, a doctoral candidate in sociology, a lawyer). Of these articles, the majority suggested that the costs of female breadwinner relationships can be ameliorated if *partners contribute equally to household tasks* (38%). Other articles directed their advice to the female breadwinner, specifically. Some articles that provided advice urged female breadwinners to *cater to their husband's needs and protect his feelings* (25%). Other writers suggested that female breadwinners need to *find the specific type of (rare!) man* to have a successful relationship (25%), one who is willing to adopt a non-traditional gender role. In Table 6 I provide quotes from the female breadwinner articles to support the codes from Theme 5.

Evidence of Moral Anxiety. This theme supports the fourth component of moral anxiety: the media articles put onus on the norm violators to fix the problems they've caused. Of all the tips provided, the majority of them were directed at the female breadwinner. It was her job to make sure her husband doesn't feel emasculated, or to find that (rare or desperate) man who won't feel emasculated because of her status. Even the suggestion to ensure that household chores are equitably distributed likely falls on the woman to enact, given that women are typically responsible for organizing and distributing chores in the household (Tichenor, 1999).

Table 5		
<i>Supporting Quotes for Theme 4 (Societal Response)</i>		
Sub-theme	Quote	Article Number (see Appendix A)
Negative Response (Negative impact on children)	“‘Having Mom [sic] as primary breadwinner is bad for kids’”	64
	“‘About half (51 percent) of survey respondents say that children are better off if a mother is home and doesn't hold a job, while just 8% say the same about a father.’”	24
Negative Response (Marital instability)	“half say that [the increasing number of women working for pay] has made marriages harder to succeed”	84
Positive Response (Economic benefits to family)	“two-thirds say [the increasing number of women working for pay] has made it easier for families to live comfortably.”	24
	“most [survey respondents] recognize the clear economic benefits to families”	78
Positive Response (Better than the traditional alternative)	“the vast majority of Americans don't think women should return to ‘traditional roles’”	46
	“Most people reject the idea that it is bad for a marriage if a wife out-earns her husband.”	9
	“in 1986, 46 per cent of women believed it was a ‘man's job to earn money and a woman's job to look after the home.’ In 2006, this had fallen to 15 per cent.”	70

Table 6		
<i>Supporting Quotes for Theme 5 (Tips for Female Breadwinner Relationships)</i>		
Code	Quote	Article Number (see Appendix A)
Equal household contribution	“simple things like even distribution of household chores can help.”	84
Cater to husband’s needs & protect his feelings	“Torabi’s book offers a bunch of tips for high-earning wives-to-be, including...letting men pay the bill at the restaurant even if the women pay the credit-card bill later.”	19
	“‘Husbands who are well serviced don't complain or wander’”	63
Find specific type of man	“‘it takes a certain guy to be able to do this...If the guy is very confident and doesn't let his worth come from his work, it can work out pretty well.’”	52
	"Girls who want a career as well as children should consider seeking a partner who is happy to stay at home"	59
	“the lawyer...urged women to ‘marry down’ or marry older men content to backpedal, in order that they can forge ahead.”	16

Follow-Up Analyses

Article Titles

After reading and re-reading each article during the thematic analysis process, I noticed that the overall tone and message in an article's content did not always match the tone and message in the article's title. Often times, the article titles were more extreme than their supporting content. It is possible that this was an intentional clickbait tactic used by newspaper and magazine editors to attract readers. Therefore, I decided to code the article titles for the presence or absence of 2 themes that emerged from my thematic analysis: Change in Society (Theme 1) and Costs and Benefits (Theme 3). I decided that a separate thematic analysis on solely article titles was not possible because it is difficult to convey a whole theme within so few words.

Results. Many article titles communicated a change in society (Theme 1). Overall, 37% of all article titles indicated that society was experiencing a change with an increase in the presence of female breadwinners. For example, one title stated "Female Breadwinners Leading Households and Families More than Ever". Similar to the findings from the article content analysis, many more article titles communicated costs associated with female breadwinners or their relationships than benefits. Fifty percent of all article titles communicated costs. For example, one title read "Female Breadwinners: Why Earning More Can Poison Your Marriage (but not in the way you'd expect)". Another title questioned whether female breadwinners are a "recipe for disaster". Of the article titles that communicated costs, the majority of them were directed at women (70%), followed by costs to the relationship (17%), and costs to men (13%). However, only 16% of all article titles communicated benefits. For example, one title stated that "More Female Heads of Household a Good Sign". Of the article titles that communicated

benefits, the majority of them were directed at women (87%), followed by benefits to the relationship and benefits to men (both 7%).

Quantitative Coding and Analysis

After I completed by thematic analysis, I was left with the impression that the articles portrayed women as agents of this (costly and undesirable) social change, whereas men were portrayed as passive victims. Placing blame on a norm-violating group for the threat they've caused to the status quo is also a component of moral anxiety. However, this impression was based on evidence across the themes, rather than any particular codes that emerged from my analysis. So I decided to ask a group of research assistants to read the articles and code whether the articles suggested that women or men were responsible for the costs and benefits of female breadwinner relationships. I hypothesized that the female breadwinner articles would attribute more responsibility to women than men for the negative outcomes of a female breadwinner relationship (Hypothesis 2).

Method. Eight research assistants conducted the coding in two phases. During the first phase, they coded half the articles, and in the second phase they coded the other half. Four coders read each article and used a seven-point Likert scale to indicated their agreement with two statements (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*): 1) "The article suggests or implies that women are responsible for the costs in female breadwinner relationships;" and 2) "The article suggests or implies that women are responsible for the benefits in female breadwinner relationships." The other four coders used the same scale to indicate their agreement with the same statements concerning men: 1) "The article suggests or implies that men are responsible for the costs in female breadwinner relationships;" and 2) "The article suggests or implies that men are responsible for the benefits in female breadwinner relationships." The inter-rater reliability

(Intraclass Correlation: ICC) between the 4 coders rating women's responsibility for costs ($M = 3.65$, $SD = 1.10$) was 0.26. ICC between the same 4 coders rating women's responsibility for benefits ($M = 4.18$, $SD = 1.08$) was 0.35. ICC between the 3 coders rating men's responsibility for costs ($M = 3.93$, $SD = 1.19$) was 0.18.¹ ICC between the 4 coders rating men's responsibility for benefits ($M = 3.23$, $SD = 1.14$) was 0.36.

This low inter-rater reliability could be a result of several factors. First, the ratings may be unreliable because the raters were not adequately trained to detect blame. Such is the nature of subtle sexism: it persists in society because of its hidden presence. If this is the case, more training could increase reliability. Second, it is possible that each research assistant used idiosyncratic, but still valid, criteria to code blame. In this case, summing the coders ratings of a single article could actually provide a more complete picture of blame than any single rating could provide. I can't know which is the case in this single set of data. So my results should be interpreted with caution.

Results. I conducted a repeated measures Analysis of Variance where type of relationship outcome (costs vs. benefits) was the repeated measure and gender of target (female breadwinner vs male partner) was the between-subjects factor. There was no main effect of relationship outcome (i.e. costs versus benefits), $F(1, 93) = 0.28$, $p = .601$, $\eta^2_p = .003$, meaning that across partners, coders perceived that partners were equally responsible for causing costs and benefits. There was a large main effect of gender, $F(1, 93) = 16.69$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .152$, indicating that coders perceived that women ($M = 3.92$, $SD = 0.36$) were more generally responsible for relationship outcomes than men ($M = 3.53$, $SD = 0.77$).

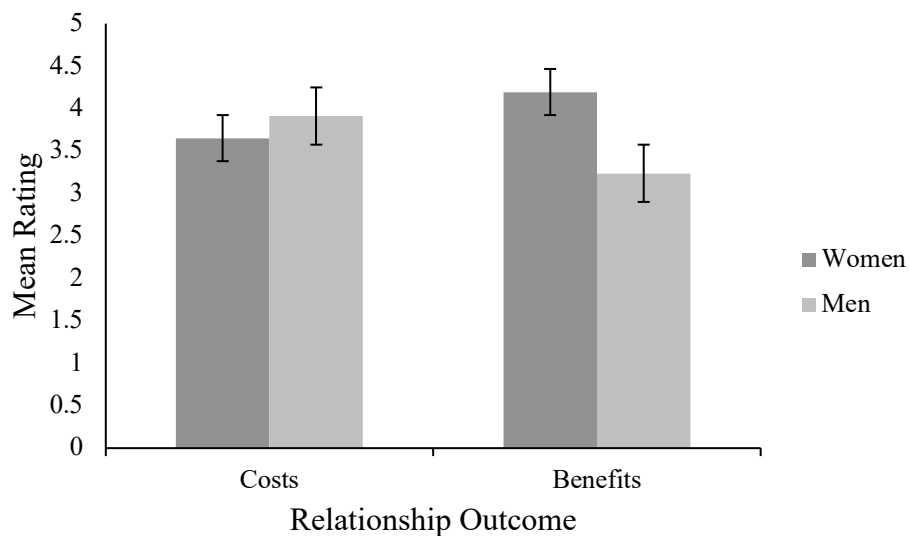
An interaction between target gender and relationship outcome also emerged, $F(1, 93) = 27.28$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .227$. Within each gender, a post-hoc paired-samples t-test revealed that

¹ One coder's ratings of men's responsibility for relationship costs did not correlate with any of the other coders in that group. Therefore, I excluded their ratings from the composite.

women were perceived to be more responsible for benefits ($M = 4.18$, $SD = 1.08$) than costs ($M = 3.65$, $SD = 1.10$), $t(93) = 2.51$, $p = .014$, 95% CI [.11, .95], Cohen's $d = 0.26$, whereas men were perceived as more responsible for costs ($M = 3.93$, $SD = 1.19$) than benefits ($M = 3.23$, $SD = 1.14$), $t(93) = -3.90$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [-1.05, -.34], Cohen's $d = .40$. Furthermore, women ($M = 4.18$, $SD = 1.08$) were more responsible for benefits than men ($M = 3.23$, $SD = 1.14$), $t(93) = 6.72$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [0.68, 1.24], Cohen's $d = 0.69$. Women ($M = 3.65$, $SD = 1.10$) and men ($M = 3.93$, $SD = 1.19$) were equally responsible for costs, $t(93) = -1.87$, $p = .064$, 95% CI [-0.56, 0.02], Cohen's $d = -0.20$. Overall, these results suggest that men are particularly lacking in responsibility for benefits in these relationships (i.e., the mean was lower than the other three, which were similar), which is likely what is driving the interaction (see Figure 2). These results are suggestive, but given the low reliability of the coding, I won't discuss them further.

Figure 2

Mean Ratings of Responsibility for Relationship Outcomes, by Gender



Note. Error bars represent standard errors.

Discussion

The goal of this study was to understand how female breadwinners and their relationships are represented in newspapers and magazines. Specifically, I tested the hypothesis that this group of norm-violating women would be portrayed in a manner consistent with the moral anxiety framework. My hypothesis was generally supported – each theme that emerged from the female breadwinner articles supported some component of the moral anxiety framework.

The first component of moral anxiety – the emergence of a group of people who violate some social norm – emerged from the analyzed articles (i.e. Theme 1: Change in Society and Theme 2: Gender Roles). Articles mentioned the rise of female breadwinners in society and described them as norm violators by highlighting that breadwinning is not traditionally expected of women. The second component of moral anxiety – the norm-violating group is considered a threat to the status quo and they are portrayed as a group to be feared – also emerged from the analyzed articles (i.e. Theme 3: Costs and Benefits and Theme 4: Societal Response). Articles overwhelmingly communicated the costs and negative public response associated with these relationships, leaving readers to fear the impact that female breadwinners and their relationships have on cherished social systems: marriage, family, and traditional heteronormative gender roles. Finally, the fourth component of moral anxiety – the norm violating group is blamed for the threat they pose and are expected to fix it – also emerged from the analyzed articles (i.e. Theme 5: Tips for Female Breadwinner Relationships). Although the articles did not explicitly blame these women for the threat they pose, the majority of advice aimed at female breadwinner relationships was targeted at the women.

Notably absent from the articles is explicit enforcement of some parts of the third component of moral anxiety – norm-violators' segregation from conventional society, norm

violators' adoption of a deviant identity, and subsequent exacerbation of deviant behaviour. However, the articles do portray female breadwinners as a group that struggles to fit in with conventional society. The writers of these articles communicate this by reinforcing the expectation of a man to be breadwinner, by listing all the negative consequences of being in a female breadwinner relationship, and by highlighting the public's negative reaction to a female breadwinner relationship. Although the articles do not explicitly label the norm-violating group in terms intended to highlight their deviance, it is clear that these articles communicate the message that female breadwinning is a deviant behaviour (i.e., Theme 1: Change in Society and Theme 2: Gender Roles). Further, the very name "female breadwinner" reinforces that this group is different from the default breadwinner group, comprising men. They aren't like other women and they aren't like other breadwinners; they are their own group of primary earners, defined by their deviance.

The overall representation of female breadwinners and their relationships in the articles I surveyed is negative. Because female breadwinners are recognized as women who violate traditional gender roles, newspaper and magazine articles highlighted the associated consequences one can expect by being a in a female breadwinner relationship: suffering children, emasculated husband, stressed wife, infidelity, and divorce (to name a few). Because these articles communicate harmful beliefs about a relationship just based on the sex/gender of the primary earner, the nature of these messages is sexist. Sexism is usually comprised of two parts: stereotypical beliefs of the sexes and endorsement of traditional gender roles (Campbell, Schellenberg, & Senn, 1997). The female breadwinner articles show support for both of these components of sexism: the articles overwhelmingly communicate the costs associated with a

relationship in which partners are not behaving stereotypically or traditionally and communicate very few benefits.

Overall, the findings from this research add to existing literature about women who violate traditional gender roles as well as literature about female breadwinners specifically, which is predominantly focused on first-person accounts of the female breadwinning experience (see Chesley, 2017; Coughlin & Wade, 2012; Furdyna et al., 2008; Medved, 2016; Meisenbach, 2010; Mendiola et al., 2017; Potuchek, 1992). Thus, my research furthers our understanding of societal portrayals of female breadwinners and the consequences they face for their norm violation.

Explaining the Portrayals

It is interesting to consider why media portrayals of female breadwinners are so overwhelmingly negative, and yet they do not reflect a full-blown moral panic. I argue that the assumed race of female breadwinners, female breadwinner's partial norm violation, the media's control over the messages they spread, and presence of subtle sexism may prevent the media from communicating a full-blown moral panic while aiding in the dissemination of negative messages.

Assumed Race of Female Breadwinners

Hostile sexism is an overtly negative or angry expression of sexism, often in response to women violating traditional gender role expectations (Kuchynka et al., 2018). Therefore, we might expect that women who violate traditional gender roles by assuming the breadwinner role in their relationships would be subjected to hostile sexism. However, my thematic analysis did not reveal evidence of overt, hostile sexism. One possible explanation for the lack of overt, hostile messages about female breadwinners is the protective influence of White privilege.

The majority of breadwinning moms who are in a relationship are White, college-educated, upper-class women (Wang et al., 2013), so it is possible that the writers of the articles that I analyzed had this White, upper-class woman in mind when writing about female breadwinners and their relationships. Often, White women are protected from the most hostile forms of sexism due to their race (McMahon & Kahn, 2016). Research shows that White women receive more benevolent sexism than Black women, even though hostile sexism is imposed on both races relatively equally. Regardless of whether women are adhering to traditional gender roles or not, White women received greater benevolent sexism just by virtue of their race (McMahon & Kahn, 2016). Further, White women receive more positive evaluations than Black women. The “protection” afforded to White women through benevolent sexism reflects the so-called “purity” of the White race as opposed to other races (McMahon & Kahn, 2018). Because Black women have two subordinate identities (i.e., being Black and being a woman), they receive more harsh evaluations in response to failure than those who only have one subordinate identity (e.g., Black men or White women; Rosette & Livingston, 2012). In this sense, minority women receive more overall harassment than minority men, White men and White women because they receive discrimination as a function of the intersection of two identities: race and sex (Berdahl & Moore, 2006).

Although this study did not investigate the presence of benevolent or hostile sexism in the articles, I speculate that the female breadwinners in these articles are protected from overtly negative expressions due to their race. The subtle expression of negative reactions to breadwinning women may be explained by the majority of female breadwinners in a relationship being White women. Future research should analyze articles for the race of female breadwinners, the presence of benevolent and hostile sexism, and compare portrayals of White female

breadwinners to female breadwinners of other racial/ethnic backgrounds. I predict that female breadwinners of other racial/ethnic backgrounds would receive more overt negative or angry reactions to their norm violation than White female breadwinners. For example, the majority of breadwinning single mothers in the United States are Black or Latina, less likely to have a college degree, lower-class women (Wang et al., 2013). In Canada, Aboriginal women are more likely to be single mothers than non-Aboriginal women (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2012). I predict that articles about these women would express the more extreme form of moral panic.

Female Breadwinners as Partial Norm-Violators

Women who display agentic traits in the workplace (i.e., traits that are traditionally expected of men) receive backlash for their behaviour (Rudman & Glick, 2001). However, when women simultaneously display communal traits in the workplace (i.e., traits that are traditionally expected of women) they receive less negative reactions for their behaviour (Rudman & Glick, 2001). Subordinates of female leaders value their female leader more when her norm-violating behaviour (i.e., being a leader) is combined with a democratic (i.e. feminine) leadership style (Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992). In both of these examples, people's reactions to women who perform norm-incongruent behaviours are influenced by the women's simultaneous performance of norm-congruent behaviors.

I suggest that the female breadwinners in the analyzed articles are similar to these above examples of women. Even though female breadwinners violate social norms by adopting the role of breadwinner in their relationships, they simultaneously adhere to social norms by conducting the majority of housework and childcare. Because female breadwinners pair norm-incongruent behaviours with norm-congruent behaviours, this may explain why reactions to female

breadwinners are not as overt or severe as they are for some other norm violating groups that provoke a full-blown moral panic. It is possible that fear of negative social reactions motivates female breadwinners to perform the majority of housework and childcare in their relationships. In an effort to avoid the worst possible treatment, female breadwinners may attempt to adhere to some societal expectations (i.e., performing domestic tasks), even though their attempts may lead them to experience burnout or marital conflict.

Media's Control of Messaging

Even though people believe that the media is a reflection of public opinion about acceptable attitudes and behaviours, the media is not always an accurate reflection of reality (Arias, 2018; Liao et al., 2016; Yunjuan & Xiaoming, 2007). Writers, editors, and even photographers choose what information to highlight and what information to overlook when communicating messages to the public. Often times choosing what information to include is even influenced by broader socio-economic, political, and cultural contexts. For example, Chinese women on the covers of Chinese magazines are most often portrayed in a “sanitized” manner, ignoring the reality of women’s experiences in China, in order to reflect the ruling Communist party’s gender policies (Yunjuan & Xiaoming, 2007, p. 294). These portrayals are not a reflection of reality; they are a reflection of political propaganda. Articles and their titles may be carefully crafted to mask the true reality of a situation in an attempt to attract readers and spread messages controlled by the media or governing bodies.

This can explain both the lack of moral panic in female breadwinner articles as well as the overall negative tone of the female breadwinner articles. The lack of full-blown moral panic may be a reflection of the editors or owners of publishing companies or authorities of governing bodies attempting to remain subtle about an issue that would clash with society’s current feminist

movements (see Schnall, 2017). For example, articles are not outwardly labelling female breadwinners as deviants, which may be a purposeful strategy because such labelling would likely elicit uproar from the public. The overall negative and cautionary tone of the female breadwinner articles could be a reflection of editors or owners of publishing companies or authorities of governing bodies strategy to maintain a power and status hierarchy between genders. For example, the analyzed articles communicate more costs associated with a female breadwinner relationship than benefits. This may be a purposeful strategy because it is likely that communicating the negatives of this relationship arrangement will dissuade others from striving for a female breadwinner relationship. Therefore, the status hierarchy between men and women remains as is. Future research could code for political climate at the time of article publication or traits of the editors or owners of newspapers and magazines to analyze whether characteristics of broader socio-economic, political, and cultural climates influence the portrayals of female breadwinners. Although I did code for political leaning of each article source, the qualitative nature of my analysis prevents me from drawing any firm conclusions about the impact of political leaning on article content. However, the majority of analyzed articles came from Conservative sources, which may explain the overwhelmingly negative portrayal of female breadwinners and their relationships.

Subtle Sexism

Due to the current climate surrounding equal rights between sexes (i.e. #MeToo movement, feminist movement; see Schnall, 2017), and because I suspect that the portrayals of female breadwinners are based on White, upper-class women, it makes sense that these women are not being blatantly labelled deviant or blatantly segregated for their success, as I have discussed previously. However, the negative reactions that these women receive for their norm

violation is still expressed, albeit in a less explicit way. For example, I suspect that there are examples of subtle sexism throughout the messages communicated about female breadwinners. Sexism can manifest in various ways but always involves unfair or unequal treatment based on a person's sex (Swim, Mallett, & Stangor, 2004). *Blatant sexism* is intended and obvious; *covert sexism* is intended but purposely hidden; and *subtle sexism* is unintentional and often unrecognized because it is considered normative. Whereas old fashioned forms of sexism are described as blatant, modern forms of sexism are more subtle in nature (Campbell et al., 1997). I argue that this subtle form of sexism is likely present throughout the articles about female breadwinners, which may help to explain why the articles did not portray a full-blown moral panic. In this sense, the messages about female breadwinners are insidious.

One way to express subtle sexism is through sexist language (Swim et al., 2004). This expression of sexism reinforces gender stereotypes and the status hierarchy between men and women (Swim et al., 2004). For example, qualifying a neutral term such as "doctor" with "female" to describe a woman who is a doctor is a subtle way to communicate that men are associated with the universal, whereas women are associated with the deviant or special case (as cited in Dayhoff, 1983). The term "female breadwinner" is another example of this subtle communication that reinforces a status hierarchy between men and women. By placing the caveat "female" in front of "breadwinner" it reinforces to readers that this person is a deviation from the universal breadwinning man. People use sexist language for a variety of reasons, such as for the protection of established hierarchies between sexes, or because such language is ingrained in a society's lexicon and therefore it may not seem sexist or it may be difficult to change (Blauberger, 1980; Parks & Robertson, 1998). I am not arguing that the writers of the female breadwinner articles are to blame for the use of sexist language; this is unfortunately how

most of society refers to this group of women. However, this example illustrates just how subtle and prevalent sexism can be in language.

To measure subtle sexism, researchers often borrow from other forms of subtle discrimination, such as racism. For example, the statements “you were treated with less courtesy than others” or “others reacted to you as if they were afraid or intimidated” have been used to measure subtle racism (Jones, Peddie, Gilrane, King, & Gray, 2016, p. 1591). Similar sentiments were evident in the articles I reviewed. First, I suspect that female breadwinners are portrayed with less courtesy than male breadwinners in media articles. Second, the writers of these articles do imply that society should be afraid of being in a female breadwinner’s position. Future research should investigate the presence of sexist language and use measures of subtle sexism to better understand the hidden messages being communicated about female breadwinners.

Media portrayals of women and their male counterparts have a history of using more sexist language towards women than men (Dai & Xu, 2014). An analysis of news reports during the 2008 American presidential election revealed that reports about Hillary Clinton contained more sexist language than reports about Barack Obama. Hillary Clinton was often referred to as “the wife of US previous president” whereas Barack Obama was not described in reference to his marital status (Dai & Xu, 2014, p. 715). Further, writers used direct speech to quote men more than they did for women. To communicate messages from Hillary Clinton, writers used indirect speech more often than they did for Barack Obama. A woman’s speech was more frequently manipulated by reporters than a man’s speech. From this study, it is evident that women do experience subtle sexism in media portrayals, and I suspect that similar analyses of female breadwinner articles would reveal similar kinds of subtle sexism.

Implications and Importance

The findings from this research are important for both researchers and non-researchers. For researchers, these findings can add to our understanding of female breadwinners and their experiences in a role that is traditionally reserved for men by patriarchal structural policies and political ideologies (Pedulla & Thébaud, 2015; Zarkov, 2017). The findings also fill gaps in our theoretical understanding of the consequences of norm violation. Finally, the findings can be used to inspire future research about female breadwinners – there is still much to learn about this under-researched group of women. I will suggest avenues for future research shortly.

This study's findings are also important for lay people. Newspapers and magazines help people to understand what beliefs and attitudes are valued in a particular society (Liao et al., 2016). The results from this study will add to that understanding. Unfortunately, the message that readers will interpret from female breadwinner articles is that attitudes towards female breadwinners are negative and society believes that this relationship arrangement is costly. In the United States of America, the estimated total daily newspaper circulation is 28.6 million; in Canada, 9 out of 10 people read magazines or some form of news each week; in England, 5 of the newspapers included in this thematic analysis reach 17,790 people each month (PAMCo, 2019; Pew Research Center, 2019; Vividata, 2019). Other readership data is located behind paywalls, but these numbers still indicate that the messages communicated in these media sources have the potential to reach many people. Therefore, the impact of each message is magnified.

More importantly, messages in the media have a tendency to impact a reader personally. For example, media content about sexualization has a positive moderate effect on reader's self-objectification (Karsay, Knoll, & Matthes, 2018); perceived discrepancies between one's own

body and the bodies displayed in media and advertisements increase one's concern about their body (Posavac & Posavac, 2002); portrayals of a political career as filling power-related goals results in women's low ambition for a career in politics (Schneider, Holman, Diekman, & McAndrew, 2016). Therefore, it is likely that the messages about female breadwinners will personally affect women, both breadwinner and non. Expressing negativity towards female breadwinners will likely decrease female breadwinner's self-esteem, and self-concept (Good & Sanchez, 2010) which can have negative implications on the breadwinner's mental and physical health (Stinson et al., 2008). Potential female breadwinners are also likely to be impacted by these articles. Because of the negative and cautionary messages communicated about women who violate their traditional gender role, other women will be less likely to desire violating the same norms (Brauer & Chekroun, 2005; Rudman et al., 2012a). Therefore, these media articles may squash women's ambitions of achieving breadwinner status.

The media portrayals are also likely to affect heterosexual men's attraction to such accomplished women. Previous research indicates that high-status women are evaluated more poorly than lower-status women (Fisher, Stinson, & Kalajdzic, 2019). Because they earn the majority of income in their relationships, and because the majority of married female breadwinners are upper-class women, the women in these articles are considered high-status. The media portrayals of female breadwinners as a threat to relationships and society's cherished traditional gender roles will likely add to this biased evaluation of high-status women. Exposure to the articles about female breadwinners will likely result in poor evaluation of these women. Accordingly, heterosexual men may be less inclined to be involved in a relationship with these women, which would support the basic tenant of the educational gradient in marriage (Kalmijn,

2013). Therefore, media portrayals of female breadwinners consequently reduce the potential pool of partners for heterosexual men and women.

On a more optimistic note, the messaging about female breadwinner relationships may spark changes in social policy and advocacy. Understanding the experiences that female breadwinner couples face may lead to policy changes such as longer parental leaves as well as more implementation of paternal leaves. Such structural changes may spark changes in norms and attitudes towards non-traditional family arrangements and therefore invite less backlash towards female breadwinner relationships. Additionally, these articles may lead to efforts to improve the conversation surrounding female breadwinner relationships in an attempt to mitigate the negative consequences associated with the current portrayals of these relationships. Women themselves may be inspired to spread these conversations as a way to challenge the constricting stereotypes of women's gender role expectations.

Limitations

This research has a few limitations that require acknowledgement. One limitation is the type of qualitative method used to analyze articles. Thematic analysis somewhat restricts the interpretations one can make from the data beyond description (Braun & Clarke, 2006). For example, I cannot claim what is causing female breadwinners to be portrayed the way they are; I can only speculate based on previous literature and my understanding of the theoretical reasoning for such portrayals. However, situating a thematic analysis in an existing theoretical framework, as I have done with my adaptation of moral panic, improves interpretability of findings and adds theoretical complexity (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Therefore, thematic analysis can be a powerful tool providing rich and detailed analysis of data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I

purposely chose to analyze the female breadwinner articles using this method because it allows for a deep understanding of data on which previous research has not been conducted.

Another limitation of this research is the lack of generalizability. Because current Western social norms do not outline behavioural expectations for people who identify as non-binary (Oyewumi, 1998), the findings from this study are restricted to men and women in heterosexual relationships. Further, because the sample of articles was restricted to American, Canadian and English sources, the findings are also restricted to people in these countries. Female breadwinners in other countries may experience different reactions to their role than the female breadwinners in this study because of different societal expectations or customs. The articles were also mainly restricted to a short time period in the early 2010s. Therefore, the findings from this study may not be a direct reflection of present-day narratives surrounding female breadwinners. Finally, these findings cannot necessarily be generalized to female breadwinners who are single mothers, who may face different forms of sexism due to their intersecting experiences of singlehood, lower economic class, and race.

Future Directions

Female breadwinners are an underrepresented group in academic literature. Although this present research adds to the representation of female breadwinners in the literature, there are several potential avenues for future research. To understand whether the norm violation performed by female breadwinners is the source of their negative portrayals, future research should conduct a similar study on a norm-conforming group such as male breadwinners. Then, one could compare the media portrayals of a norm-conforming group to those a norm-violating group. I predict that the portrayals of male breadwinners will be more positive and express less societal anxiety because following societal norms and expectations does not elicit negative or

anxious reactions from the public. Another potential avenue for future research would be to determine whether certain traits of articles impact the way female breadwinners are portrayed. Researchers could investigate whether the author's gender, the type of article, or the year of article publication result in more positive/less anxious or less positive/more anxious portrayals. This is another method of investigating the underlying cause for female breadwinner representations. To increase generalizability, future research should investigate portrayals of female breadwinners in other countries, as well as female breadwinners in non-heteronormative relationships. This research will help us understand how reactions to female breadwinners differ based on different numbers of female breadwinners in populations or different societal norms.

Finally, future researchers can use the results from this study to investigate how people react to such portrayals of female breadwinners. Researchers could randomly assign participants to read a female breadwinner article or a male breadwinner article containing the article characteristics present in this sample of article (e.g., communicating costs associated with such relationship, including a negative public response, etc.). Researchers could then measure participant's various reactions to these article portrayals. This study would be impactful because it would indicate what implications the media has on the public's opinion or attitudes towards a certain societal group. I predict that participants would react more poorly to the couples portrayed in a female breadwinner relationship than the couples portrayed in a male breadwinner relationship. Understanding the impact that sexist portrayals of a couple can have on how that couple is perceived by their peers or community may help prevent future media from communicating messages of the same negative nature.

Conclusion

This study is the first to investigate how female breadwinners are portrayed in the media. Results from a qualitative analysis of 94 newspaper and magazine articles revealed that attitudes towards female breadwinners are negative in tone and can be characterized as a reflection of a moral anxiety. Media articles overwhelmingly communicate the costs associated with such relationship and even provide tips for those “struggling” in such relationship. These messages are not about communicating a true threat; they are about establishing a narrative of social control. By communicating the consequences associated with violating traditional gender norms, the hope is that others will not follow suit in such norm violation and therefore the status quo will prevail. Such social control prevents society from progressing and stigmatizes a group of women for simply doing what men have been doing for centuries.

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Appendix A

Article Title	Search Engine	Name of Article Source	Country of Source	Type of Article	Date Published	Political Leaning of Source	Author Name (gender)
1 7 Tips for Breadwinner Wives Feeling the Strain	Google	Forbes	USA	Magazine	05-Jun-13	Conservative	Kerry Hannon (f)
2 A Brief History of Dumb Things Men Have Said	Google	The American Prospect	USA	Magazine	04-Jun-13	Liberal	E. J. Graff (f)
3 Ali Wong Nails the Downside of Being a Woman Breadwinner	Google	Refinery 29	USA	News	14-May-18	N/A	Maia Efreem (f)
4 An American Role-Reversal: Women the New Breadwinners	Google	USA Today	USA	Newspaper (Factual)	24-Mar-13	No bias	Dennis Cauchon (m)
5 Are Female Breadwinners a Recipe for Disaster?	Google	NY Post	USA	Newspaper (Opinion)	30-Apr-14	Conservative	Sara Stewart (f)
6 As 40 Percent of Women Now Out-Earn Spouses, Black Women Cope Well in New Age of	Google	The Grio	USA	News	14-Jun-13	N/A	N/A

	'Breadwinner Moms'							
7	Back to the '50s? Many Teens Say Man Should Be in Charge at Home	Google	Live Science	USA	News	31-Mar-17	N/A	Stephanie Pappas (f)
8	Being the Breadwinner: A Blessing and a Curse	Google	Market Watch	USA	News	20-Sep-14	N/A	Mackenzie Dawson (N/A)
9	Breadwinner Moms	Google	Pew Research Centre	USA	News/ Statistics	29-May-13	N/A	Wendy Wang (f) Kim Parker (f) Paul Taylor (m)
10	5 Signs that Attitudes Towards Female Breadwinners are Changing	Google	Marie Claire	England	Magazine	08-Apr-16	N/A	N/A
11	Black Women: Supporting Their Families—With Few Resources	Google	The Atlantic	USA	Magazine	12-Jun-17	Leans left	Gillian B. White (f)
12	Don't Want to Lose Your Kids in the Divorce? Don't Be the Breadwinner	Google	The Guardian	England	Newspaper (Opinion)	10-Feb-14	Leans left	Marilyn Stowe (f)
13	Erick Erickson Is Terribly, Embarrassingly Wrong About Women	Google	The Atlantic	USA	Magazine	30-May-13	Leans left	Derek Thompson (m)

14	Female Breadwinners Leading Households and Families More Than Ever	Google	Black Enterprise	USA	Magazine	08-Nov-16	N/A	Carrie Pink (f)
15	Female Breadwinners Pay a Cost for Career Success – Marital Stress	Google	The Globe and Mail	Canada	Newspaper (Factual)	14-Jun-17	No bias	Darah Hansen (f)
16	Female Breadwinners: Why Earning More Can Poison your Marriage (but not in the way you'd expect)	Google	The Daily Telegraph	England	Newspaper (Factual)	14-Dec-14	Conservative	Julia Llewellyn Smith (f)
17	Four Couples Talk About What it's Like When Women Earn More than Men	Google	Fast Company	USA	Magazine	17-Oct-18	Leans left	Pavithra Mohan (f)
18	Watch the Men of Fox News Freak Out Over Female Breadwinners	Google	Slate	USA	Magazine	30-May-13	Liberal	Amanda Marcotte (f)
19	The Real Problem With Women as the Family Breadwinner	Google	Time	USA	Magazine	05-May-14	No bias	Belinda Luscombe (f)
20	What People Really Think	Google	Time	USA	Magazine	31-May-13	No bias	Judith Warner (f)

	About Working Moms							
21	Husbands of Female Breadwinners Most at Risk for Cheating, Says Study	Google	CNN	USA	News	07-Oct-16	No bias	Kelly Wallace (N/A)
22	Millennial Women Are Conflicted About Being Breadwinners	Google	Refinery 29	USA	Magazine	01-May-17	N/A	Ashley C. Ford (f)
23	Millennial Women are 'Worried,' 'Ashamed' of Out-Earning Boyfriends and Husbands	Google	CNBC	USA	News	19-Apr-17	Conservative	Ester Bloom (f)
24	Moms Are Now Primary Breadwinners In 40 Percent of Homes	Google	NPR	USA	News	29-May-13	Leans left	Mark Memmott (m)
25	Pew Study Shows Women Leading Breadwinners in 40 Percent of Households	Google	CNBC via Daily Beast	USA	News	29-May-13	Conservative	Amy Langfield (f)
26	Record Number of Female Breadwinners, According to Pew	Google	ABC News	USA	News	29-May-13	Leans left	Susanna Kim (f)

27	The 10 cities Where the Most Women Outearn Their Partners	Google	CNBC	USA	News	08-Mar-19	Conservative	Kerri Anne Renzulli (f)
28	The Danger of Being a Breadwinning Wife	Google	The Daily Telegraph	England	Newspaper (Factual)	01-Jun-15	Conservative	Lucy Cavendish (f)
29	The Downside of Being the Breadwinner	Google	The New Yorker	USA	Newspaper (Opinion)	30-May-13	Leans left	Margaret Talbot (f)
30	The Drawbacks of Being a Female Breadwinner	Google	Yahoo Finance	USA	News	25-Apr-14	N/A	Farnoosh Torabi (f)
31	The Female Breadwinner Conundrum	Google	The Federalist	USA	Magazine	29-Sep-15	N/A	Joy Pullmann (f)
32	The Problem With 'Breadwinners'	Google	Pacific Standard	USA	Magazine	14-Jun-17	N/A	Philip N. Cohen (m)
33	U.S. Women on the Rise as Family Breadwinner	Google	The New York Times	USA	Newspaper (Factual)	29-May-13	Leans left	Catherine Rampell (f)
34	What do Breadwinning Women Want? More Help, Less Stress	Google	Reuters	USA	News	20-Aug-15	Leans left	Lauren Young (f)
35	Life in the Only Industrialized Country Without Paid Maternity Leave	Google	The Atlantic	USA	Magazine	03-Mar-16	Leans left	Jessica Shortall (f)

36	When She Earns More: As Roles Shift, Old Ideas on Who Pays the Bills Persist	Google	The New York Times	USA	Newspaper (Factual)	06-Jul-18	Leans left	Tara Siegel Bernard (f)
37	Why are Female Breadwinners Still 'Taboo'?	Google	The Daily Telegraph	England	Newspaper (Opinion)	23-Jan-13	Conservative	Emma Sinclair (f)
38	Why You Shouldn't Feel Ashamed of Being a Female Breadwinner	Google	BBC	England	News	31-May-18	Leans left	Ashitha Nagesh (f)
39	When Women Make More, Couples Hide it	Google	CNBC	USA	News	18-Jul-18	Conservative	Megan Leonhardt (f)
40	Switching 'Conventional' Gender Roles is Making Both Sexes Unhappy: Women Feel Depressed as Breadwinners as Are Men When They Are Stay-at-Home Fathers, Study Finds	Google	The Daily Mail	England	Newspaper (Factual)	24-Aug-17	Conservative	Claudia Tanner (f)
41	I Have a 6-figure Job and My Husband Stays Home With the Kids — Here are	Google	Business Insider	USA	News	14-Aug-18	No bias	Liz Gendreau (f)

	10 Things No One Seems to Understand							
42	40 Per Cent of Women Earn More Than Their Man	Access	The Times	England	Newspaper (Factual)	19-Jul-13	Conservative	N/A
43	A Recipe for Disaster	Access	Manistee News Advocate	USA	Newspaper (Opinion)	16-May-14	No bias	Jim Crees (m)
44	A Second Look at Millennials, Gender Roles	Access	La Crosse Tribune	USA	Newspaper (Factual)	28-Apr-17	N/A	Cynthia M. Allen (f)
45	Women and Money: The Struggle to Juggle	Access	Financial Times	England	Newspaper (Factual)	17-Jul-15	Leans right	Naomi Rovnick (f)
46	More U.S. Women Than Ever are Family Breadwinners, Pew Study Finds	Access	Los Angeles Times via The Herald (Rock Hill, SC)	USA	Newspaper (Factual)	30-May-13	Leans left	Emily Alpert (f)
47	America's Caregivers Deserve a Break	Access	Los Angeles Times via The Spokesman Review	USA	Newspaper (Opinion)	19-Aug-13	Leans left	N/A
48	Back to the Kitchen, Guys. It's the Women Bringing Home the Bacon	Access	The Times	England	Newspaper (Factual)	01-Jun-13	Conservative	Devika Bhat (f)
49	Men Pay a Price in Poorer Health When Wives Earn	Access	Philadelphia Inquirer	USA	Newspaper (Factual)	21-Sep-17	Liberal	Stacey Burling (f)

	More, Rutgers Study Finds							
50	Buck Up, Lads, UK Has 2m Do It All Women	Access	The Times	England	Newspaper (Factual)	04-Aug-13	Conservative	Marie Woolf (f) and Georgia Graham (f)
51	Teens Back Gender Equality in Business and Politics, but Not So Much in the Home	Access	Herald-Times	USA (Bloomington, IN)	Newspaper (Factual)	01-Apr-17	No bias	Lois M. Collins (f)
52	Couples Must Adjust When Wife is the Breadwinner	Access	USA Today	USA	Newspaper (Factual)	11-Jan-13	No bias	Dana Hunsinger Benbow (f)
53	Data: Dads Making More Time for Kids	Access	The Daily Progress	USA (Charlottesville, VA)	Newspaper (Factual)	15-Jun-13	N/A	J. Reynolds Hutchins (N/A)
54	Catherine Rampell: Hiring Women Can Boost the Bottom Line Because They're Cheaper	Access	Charleston Gazette-Mail via Washington Post	USA (Charleston)	Newspaper (Opinion)	08-Apr-14	N/A	Catherine Rampell (f)
55	UCD Study: Gender Attitudes Chart Different Course Globally	Access	The Davis Enterprise	USA (YOLO County)	Newspaper (Factual)	21-Aug-18	N/A	Kathleen Holder (f)
56	Equal pay for Equal Work Crosses Party Lines	Access	The Independent Record	USA (Helena, MT)	Newspaper (Opinion)	10-Feb-15	No bias	Caitlin Copple (f)
57	Family: Female Breadwinners Are	Access	The Times	England	Newspaper (Opinion)	20-May-18	Conservative	Lorraine Candy (f)

	the New Norm, so Why Are We Still Doing All the Housework?							
58	Female Business Ownership Climbs Nationally; Climate Strong Locally	Access	St Augustine Record	USA (Florida)	Newspaper (Factual)	15-Aug-18	Leans right	Stuart Korfhage (m)
59	GSA Head Gwen Byrom: For a Full-Throttle Career, Girls, Get a Househusband	Access	The Times	England	Newspaper (Factual)	31-Dec-17	Conservative	Sian Griffiths (f)
60	GENERATION Y: Why Worry if Women Make More Money?	Access	Stillwater News Press	USA (OK)	Newspaper (Opinion)	30-May-18	N/A	Kieran Steckley (m)
61	Rozner: Golfer Stacy Lewis Scores Huge Cictory for Women	Access	The Daily Herald	USA (Arlington Heights, IL)	Newspaper (Factual)	01-Jul-18	N/A	Barry Rozner (m)
62	When She Makes More' Offers Tips For Female Breadwinners	Access	The Ledger	USA (Lakeland, FL)	Newspaper (Factual)	18-May-14	N/A	Tim Grant (m)
63	Guys, Take Pride in Your Alpha Wives	Access	The Times	England	Newspaper (Opinion)	22-Dec-13	Conservative	Eleanor Mills (f)
64	Have a Problem with Women as Breadwinner? Get....	Access	Fort Worth Star-Tellegam	USA (TX)	Newspaper (Opinion)	06-Jun-13	Liberal	Demetria L. Lucas (f)

adapted from The Root								
65	Have These Men Lost Their Minds	Access	South Jersey times	USA (NJ)	Newspaper (Opinion)	20-Jun-13	N/A	Cokie Roberts (f) and Steven Roberts (m)
66	In Our Opinion: Equal Pay Still Eludes Female Workers	Access	The Daily Star	USA (Oneonta, NY)	Newspaper (Opinion)	09-Apr-14	N/A	N/A
67	Stay-at-Home Dads? Why Swapping Gender Roles Doesn't Always Work	Access	The Daily Telegraph	England	Newspaper (Opinion)	22-Nov-14	Conservative	Becky Dickinson (f)
68	Many Women Now Breadwinner Moms	Access	Madera Tribune	USA (CA)	Newspaper (Opinion)	06-Jun-13	N/A	Jim Glynn Howling (m)
69	The Secret of a Happy Marriage: Women Wearing the Trousers	Access	The Daily Telegraph	England	Newspaper (Factual)	18-Feb-14	Conservative	John Bingham (m)
70	Decline in Traditionally Male Industries, Economic Austerity and Better Opportunities for Women Mean More and More Mums Bring Home the Bacon	Access	The Independent	England	Newspaper (Factual)	04-Aug-13	Leans left	Jane Merrick (f)

71	More Fathers Stay at Home to Raise Children	Access	St Augustine Record	USA (FL)	Newspaper (Factual)	16-Jun-13	Leans right	Sheldon Gardner (m)
72	More Female Heads of Household a Good Sign	Access	Elkhart Truth	USA (IN)	Newspaper (Factual)	01-Jun-13	N/A	Joe Heller
73	Pay Gap for Women Bigger in Denton County	Access	Denton Record-Chronicle	USA (TX)	Newspaper (Factual)	04-Feb-18	N/A	Peggy Heinkel-Wolfe (f)
74	Rise of the Female Breadwinner	Access	Financial Times	England	Newspaper (Factual)	18-Jul-15	Leans right	N/A
75	Being Sole Breadwinner is Bad for Men's Health but Good for Women	Access	The Daily Telegraph	England	Newspaper (Factual)	19-Aug-16	Conservative	Sarah Knapton (f)
76	Risk of Divorce Higher for Husbands Who Stay at...	Access	The Daily Telegraph	England	Newspaper (Factual)	28-Jul-16	Conservative	N/A
77	Don't Forget Men in the Shifts that are Reshaping Society	Access	The Observer	England	Newspaper (Opinion)	04-Aug-13	N/A	Yvonne Roberts (f)
78	Household Earnings: Local Women Contribute to 'Primary Breadwinner' Statistic	Access	Aiken Standard	USA (SC)	Newspaper (Factual)	06-Jul-13	Leans right	Katie Binion (f)

79	Study Shows Increasing Female Breadwinners - But...	Access	The Gazette	USA (IA)	Newspaper (Factual)	30-May-13	No bias	Kiran Sood (f)
80	Tackling the Female Financial Paradox in....	Access	The Birmingham Post	England	Newspaper (Opinion)	01-May-14	N/A	Lisa Johnson (f)
81	Motherhood Gap Leaves Moms with Lower Pay, More Stress	Access	The Allegheny Times	USA (Beaver, PA)	Newspaper (Factual)	08-May-16	No bias	Daveen Rae Kurutz (f)
82	Breadwinner Moms Change the Face of American Life	Access	The Daily Telegraph	England	Newspaper (Factual)	20-May-13	Conservative	Philip Sherwell (m)
83	The Image of a Modern Woman	Access	The Independent	England	Newspaper (Factual)	13-Mar-16	Leans left	Joanna Moorhead (f)
84	Growing Number of Women Out-earn Husbands	Access	Pittsburgh Tribune-Review	USA	Newspaper (Factual)	06-Apr-14	Conservative	Rachel Weaver (f)
85	What She Said: Lisa Michelle Borders, Time's Up CEO, Answers your Work-Related Dilemma	Access	The Sunday Times	England	Newspaper (Opinion)	20-Jan-19	Conservative	Fleur Britten
86	How Being a Kept Man Could Raise your Heart Attack Risk	Access	The Times	England	Newspaper (Factual)	05-Sep-17	Conservative	Tom Whipple (m)
87	Husbands Happiest When they Earn	Access	The Times	England	Newspaper (Factual)	19-Aug-16	Conservative	Tom Whipple (m)

	Half as Much as Wives							
88	Why America is Waiting to Get Married (Hint: It's not because we don't value relationships)	Access	Deseret News	USA (Salt Lake City, Utah)	Newspaper (Factual)	09-Oct-14	Conservative	Herb Scribner (m)
89	Why are More Women Divorced	Access	Air Force Times	USA	Newspaper (Factual)	05-May-14	N/A	N/A
90	Women on the Move...	Access	The Register-Guard	USA (Eugene, OR)	Newspaper (Factual)	04-Jun-13	No bias	N/A
91	Women in the U.S. Still Do Way More Housework Than Men	Access	Bloomberg News via Bay City Times	USA (MI)	Newspaper (Factual)	06-Jul-15	N/A	Sheelah Kolhatkar (f)
92	Women the Main Breadwinners in Record 40% of US Homes	Access	Financial Times	England	Newspaper (Factual)	29-May-13	Leans right	Norma Cohen (f)
93	Work Demands Rising for Moms, but Not Pay	Access	Dayton Daily News	USA (OH)	Newspaper (Factual)	08-May-16	Leans right	Randy Tucker (m)
94	Our View: More Female Breadwinners	Access	Standard-Examiner	USA (Ogden, UT)	Newspaper (Opinion)	10-Jun-13	No bias	N/A

Appendix B

Table 8		
<i>Prevalence of Each Topic Code Within Their Subgroup and Within the Total Sample</i>		
Topic Code	Number and % within subgroup	Number and % within total sample
Theme 1: Change in Society	58	58/94 (62%)
Theme 1a: Rise of the Female Breadwinner (FBW)	43 (100%)	43/94 (46%)
Matter-of-fact	23/43 (53%)	23/94 (24%)
Importance/Magnitude	5/43 (12%)	5/94 (5%)
Accomplishment	7/43 (16%)	7/94 (7%)
Undermined	4/43 (9%)	4/94 (4%)
Theme 1b: Reasons for the Social Change	38 (100%)	38/94 (40%)
Women's achievements	32/38 (84%)	32/94 (34%)
Men's inability	15/38 (39%)	15/94 (16%)
Theme 1c: Distinguishing FBW from Other Groups	22 (100%)	22/94 (23%)
Personal characteristics	14/22 (64%)	14/94 (15%)
Differentiating characteristics	13/22 (59%)	13/94 (14%)
Theme 2: Gender Roles	51	51/94 (54%)
Theme 2a: Traditional Gender Roles	41 (100%)	41/94 (44%)
Men should be breadwinners	20/41 (49%)	20/94 (21%)
Women should be domestic	16/41 (39%)	16/94 (17%)
Theme 2b: Non-traditional Gender Roles	18 (100%)	18/94 (19%)
Phasing out traditional expectations	7/18 (39%)	7/94 (7%)
Egalitarian is better for health & well-being	4/18 (22%)	4/94 (4%)
Theme 3: Costs & Benefits	69	69/94 (73%)
Theme 3a: Costs	61	61/94 (65%)
To women	28 (100%)	28/94 (30%)
Worse health or well-being	11/28 (39%)	11/94 (12%)
Problems with work-life balance	9/28 (32%)	9/94 (10%)
Relationship dissatisfaction	4/28 (14%)	4/94 (4%)
To men	24 (100%)	24/94 (26%)
Worse health or well-being	5/24 (21%)	5/94 (5%)
Emasculation	7/24 (29%)	7/94 (7%)
Bruised ego	4/24 (17%)	4/94 (4%)
To the relationship	37 (100%)	37/94 (39%)
Lack of social/institutional support	14/37 (38%)	14/94 (15%)
Divorce	9/37 (24%)	9/94 (10%)
Male infidelity	9/37 (24%)	9/94 (10%)
Theme 3b: Benefits	24	24/94 (26%)
To women	6 (100%)	6/94 (6%)
Improved health or well-being	3/6 (50%)	3/94 (3%)
Career advancement	2/6 (33%)	2/94 (2%)

To men	5 (100%)	5/94 (5%)
Improved health or well-being	2/5 (40%)	2/94 (2%)
Career flexibility	1/5 (20%)	1/94 (1%)
To the relationship	18 (100%)	18/94 (19%)
Relationship stability	6/18 (33%)	6/94 (6%)
Higher family income	4/18 (22%)	4/94 (4%)
Theme 4: Societal Response	33	33/94 (35%)
Theme 4a: Negative Response	25 (100%)	25/94 (27%)
Negative impact on children	15/25 (60%)	15/94 (16%)
Marital instability	8/25 (32%)	8/94 (9%)
Theme 4b: Positive Response	14 (100%)	14/94 (15%)
Economic benefits to family	5/14 (36%)	5/94 (5%)
Better than the traditional alternative	5/14 (36%)	5/94 (5%)
Theme 5: Tips for Female Breadwinner Relationships	16 (100%)	16/94 (17%)
Equal household contribution	6/16 (38%)	6/94 (6%)
Cater to husband's needs & protect his feelings	4/16 (25%)	4/94 (4%)
Find specific type of man	4/16 (25%)	4/94 (4%)

Note. Table format adapted from Skopp, Holland, Logan, Alexander, & Floyd (2018).