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# Breadwinning Moms, Caregiving Dads: Double Standard in Social Judgments of Gender Norm Violators

Journal of Family Issues  
XX(X) 1–22  
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sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav  
DOI: 10.1177/0192513X12438686  
<http://jfi.sagepub.com>  


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## Abstract

This study explores the role of gender ideologies in moderating social judgments of gender norm violators. Three hundred and eleven participants evaluated a male or a female target who was either a primary breadwinner or a primary caregiver. Attributions of personal traits, moral emotions, and marital emotions were examined. Results showed that both traditional and egalitarian individuals applied a double standard when judging deviations from gendered family roles. However, and as predicted, traditional individuals evaluated the normative targets more favorably than the norm-violating targets, whereas egalitarians evaluated the norm-violating targets more favorably. These findings shed light on the important moderating role of gender ideologies and help account for the inconsistencies in previous findings regarding social judgments of gender norm violators.

## Keywords

double standard, gender ideology, gender roles, norm violation, shifting standards

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The past several decades have witnessed dramatic changes in women's political rights, economic privileges, and work patterns. The massive entry of women into the labor force has been followed by a considerable change in attitudes toward women's employment (Brewster & Padavic, 2000). Nevertheless, the change in attitudes regarding the roles of men and women in the family has been smaller (Scott & Braun, 2009), and the prevailing traditional views continue to define men as primary breadwinners and women as primary caregivers (Gershuny, Bittman, & Brice, 2005; Zuo, 2004).

Consistently, several studies attest to negative evaluations of men and women who violate these gender norms. Findings show that primary caregiving fathers and primary breadwinning mothers are viewed less favorably than caregiving mothers and breadwinning fathers (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2005; Coleman & Franiuk, 2011; Etaugh & Folger, 1998). On the other hand, a few findings document positive responses to involvement in nonnormative roles (Deutsch, Roska, & Meeske, 2003; Lobel, Slone, Ashuach, & Revach, 2001).

The present study draws on Hochschild's (1989) theorization to account for these conflicting findings. It explores gender ideologies as a moderating mechanism in the double standard applied to gender norm violators. It is argued that both traditional and egalitarian individuals apply a double standard when judging deviations from gendered family roles, but in opposite directions. Although the theoretical grounds for the moderating role of gender ideologies have been laid by Hochschild (1989) and later explicitly formulated by Deutsch and Saxon (1998), this mechanism has not been empirically investigated to date. The present study is aimed at filling this need.

Social judgments of normative and norm-violating couples are examined in this study with regard to three dimensions: attribution of warmth-related and competence-related traits (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008), which may reveal stereotype-based shifting standards (Biernat & Manis, 1994; Biernat, Manis, & Nelson, 1991); attribution of moral emotions to the target (e.g., pride, self-conscience); and attributions of reciprocal marital emotions to the spouses (e.g., appreciation, criticism), which may also reflect the perceivers' own moral judgments of the target's behavior.

### *The Shifting Standards Model*

The shifting standards model suggests that when people judge individual members of stereotyped groups on stereotyped dimensions, they compare them to within-category judgment standards (Biernat et al., 1991; Biernat & Manis, 1994). That is, stereotypic expectations serve as standards against

which a particular target is compared and evaluated. For example, given the stereotype that women are less task competent than men, people are likely to judge the competence of a particular woman against a lower standard of competence than the competence of a particular man. As a result, “good” for a woman does not mean the same thing as “good” for a man (Biernat et al., 1991). Similarly, judgments of a woman’s aggressiveness are made in comparison to the expected range of aggression among women, whereas judgments of a man’s aggressiveness are made in comparison to expectations for men. Behavior that is judged as “very aggressive” in a woman may be seen as only “moderately aggressive” in a man (Kobrynowicz & Biernat, 1997).

Evidence supporting the operation of stereotype-based standard shifts has been documented in a variety of judgment domains. It has been shown that judges shift their standards in ratings of women versus men on height and weight, verbal ability, writing competence, aggression, and job-related competence; standards for Blacks versus Whites similarly shift on verbal ability, athleticism, and job-related competence (Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997; Biernat & Manis, 1994).

### *Shifting Standards of Work and Family Roles*

Several studies have documented shifting standard effects in the domains of work and family. In a study on judgments of financial success, women were rated financially successful at a lower income than men (Biernat et al., 1991). That is, for a man to be perceived as financially successful, he had to earn much more money than a comparably perceived woman.

Similar shifting standard effects have been found in judgments of parenting roles. In one study, participants were asked to estimate the duration or frequency with which a target parent engaged in various parenting tasks. Findings showed that a woman described as either a “very good” parent or an “alright” parent was judged to perform significantly more parenting behaviors than a similarly described man (Kobrynowicz & Biernat, 1997). In two other studies, participants estimated a higher frequency of parenting behaviors for a mother who worked full-time, part-time, or stayed at home than for her male counterpart (Bridges, Etaugh, & Barnes-Farrell, 2002; Park, Smith, & Correll, 2008).

Finally, studies have showed how shifting standard effects for parenting result in shifting standards for employment. Specifically, participants rated mothers as less competent and committed to paid work than nonmothers and consequently discriminated against mothers when making hiring and salary

decisions. Such discrimination was not found with regard to fathers (Correll, Benard, & Paik, 2007; Fuegen, Biernat, Hains, & Deaux, 2004).

### *Social Judgments of Gender Norms Violators*

Relatively few studies have been conducted that specifically address people's perceptions of individuals who contest normative gender roles. The existing findings regarding social judgments of gender norms violators are inconsistent and conflicting.

In line with the claim that people use "aligning actions" when interacting with norm violators (Stokes & Hewitt, 1976), there is some evidence of negative judgments directed toward individuals who violate prescriptive gender norms. In a study conducted more than two decades ago, a stay-at-home father who assumed primary responsibility for child care and housework was evaluated more negatively than a similar stay-at-home mother (Rosenwasser, Gonzales, & Adams, 1985). Nevertheless, these findings were recently replicated in several studies in which a stay-at-home father and an employed mother were evaluated more negatively than a stay-at-home mother and an employed father (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2005; Coleman & Franiuk, 2011). In Brescoll and Uhlmann (2005) study, participants felt less warmly toward the employed mother and the stay-at-home father than their traditional counterparts, believed that the stay-at-home father was a worse parent, and viewed the employed mother as more selfish than the employed father. Similarly, Coleman and Franiuk (2011) found that a woman who continued to work after the birth of a child was evaluated less favorably and attributed less warmth than a similarly described man. Similarly, male participants evaluated a stay-at-home father less favorably and attributed him less competence than a stay-at-home mother (Coleman & Franiuk, 2011; see also Etaugh & Folger, 1998).

Additional evidence along these lines emerged from Deutsch and Saxon's (1998) qualitative study on praise and criticism. In this study, women reported being criticized more than men for investing too little at home or too much in their jobs. Men reported being criticized more than women for investing too little in their jobs or too much at home (Deutsch & Saxon, 1998).

In contrast to the reports of negative judgments directed toward individuals who contest gender norms, several studies have documented positive responses to such individuals. Specifically, in Lobel et al.'s study (2001), participants perceived a man who participated in housework more favorably than a low-participating man, viewed him as more popular, and expressed more willingness to engage in activities with him (Lobel et al., 2001). In

Deutsch and Saxon's study (1998), men reported receiving praise for their involvement in child care significantly more than women, whereas women were more likely to be praised for successfully combining paid work and family life. Finally, Deutsch et al. (2003) found that the more the husband was involved in child care, the more grateful his wife was. Women also reported receiving praise for earning money more than men and felt more appreciation from their husbands for their earnings than vice versa (Deutsch et al., 2003).

In summary, several studies have shown that men and women in norm-violating roles constitute a target of criticism and are evaluated more negatively than those in normative roles. However, a few findings have indicated that involvement in nontraditional gender roles elicits praise and is evaluated more positively.

### *The Moderating Role of Gender Ideologies*

A possible mechanism that may account for these inconsistencies is the impact of gender ideologies on the standards used for social judgments. The theoretical basis for this mechanism was presented in Hochschild's (1989) seminal work on "the economy of gratitude." In her analysis of the meaning of gratitude in marital interactions, Hochschild proposed that spouses exchange "gifts" of income or housework. To be considered as a gift, a spouse's behavior must be viewed as something extra, more than is normally expected. Hochschild further suggested that cultural ideas shape spouses' expectations by forming a mental baseline against which any behavior is compared. That is, spouses' stances toward gender affect what is perceived as extra and thus, like a gift, elicits gratitude (Hochschild, 1989). This effect of gender ideologies explains why a traditional woman may feel grateful to her husband for helping around the house, whereas for an egalitarian woman such help may seem welcome but not extra. Likewise, a husband who endorses egalitarian gender norms may not feel grateful for his wife's income because it is taken-for-granted; a somewhat less egalitarian husband may regard his wife's additional income as a gift from her that deserves gratitude; and a traditional husband may regard his wife's employment as a gift from him, embodied in his readiness to let her work.

Drawing on Hochschild's analysis, Deutsch and Saxon (1998) explicitly speculated that gender ideologies moderate positive and negative responses to gender norm violations. According to their analysis, those who endorse traditional gender norms are likely to criticize men and women who violate these norms. They further argued, however, that egalitarian beliefs "do not

free one from possessing double standards” (p. 668). Instead, those who endorse egalitarian ideologies and who advocate change are likely to “give more praise to male and female gender violators than to their other-sex counterpart who is engaging in exactly the same behavior” (p. 668). In line with this reasoning, it is plausible that a double standard in judging deviations from gendered family roles is employed by both traditional and egalitarian individuals, although in opposite directions.

On the basis of this theorization, this study explores the moderating role of gender ideologies in the double standards for gender norm violators. It adopts Glick and Fiske’s Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001) as a comprehensive measure of gender ideology that encompasses traditional versus nontraditional attitudes. This measure assesses both hostile sexism, defined as negative attitudes toward nontraditional women (e.g., women seek to gain power by getting control over men), and benevolent sexism, defined as positive attitudes toward traditional women (e.g., women are purer than men). According to ambivalent sexism theory, hostile and benevolent sexism represent complementary attitudes that jointly function to justify and reinforce traditional gender roles (Glick & Fiske, 2001). Cross-national comparisons have confirmed that these attitudes are prevalent across cultures and are positively correlated with each other and with national measures of gender inequality (Glick et al., 2000).

### *Dimensions of Social Judgment*

To explore the role of ambivalent gender ideologies in moderating double standards toward gender norm violators, the present study examined participants’ judgments of a male or female target who is a primary breadwinner married to a primary caregiver or vice versa. Social judgments were reflected in participants’ attributions of personal traits, moral emotions, and emotions in the marital interaction.

*Personal traits of warmth and competence.* Fiske and colleagues (Cuddy et al., 2008; Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007) argued that warmth and competence are enduring fundamental dimensions of social judgment that result from structural conditions. According to the stereotype content model (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002), social status predicts perceived competence, and interdependence (cooperative or competitive) predicts perceived warmth. Because of the lower status of caregiving roles on the one hand (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004), and their cooperative interdependence on the other, this model predicts that the caregiving targets will be attributed a higher level of warmth and a lower level of competence than the breadwinning targets (cf. Eckes, 2002).

Drawing on the shifting standards model (Biernat et al., 1991), the present study further suggests an interaction between role and gender, which is moderated by the participants' gender ideology. Thus, beyond the hypotheses derived from the stereotype content model regarding the main effects of the target's role, it is hypothesized that egalitarian participants will attribute particularly high competence to the female breadwinner and particularly high warmth to the male caregiver. Conversely, traditional participants will attribute particularly high competence to the male breadwinner and particularly high warmth to the female caregiver.

*Target's moral emotions.* Moral emotions, or "self-conscience emotions" (e.g., shame, guilt, pride), are evoked by self-evaluation and reflect internalized norms and standards (Tangney, Stuewig, & Mashek, 2007). Participants' assessments of the target's positive and negative moral emotions presumably reflect their own social judgments of the target's behavior. Thus, attributions of guilt and bad conscience may reflect participants' negative moral judgments of the target, whereas attributions of pride and self-fulfillment may reflect positive moral judgments. In line with the reasoning outlined above, it is hypothesized that egalitarian participants will attribute more positive and less negative moral emotions to the female breadwinner and the male caregiver. Conversely, traditional participants will attribute more positive and less negative moral emotions to the male breadwinner and the female caregiver.

*Target's and spouse's emotions in the marital interaction.* As proposed by Hochschild's (1989) concept of the economy of gratitude, spouses' emotions of gratitude and other forms of appreciation are indicative of their views of each other's behavior as exceeding normative expectations. In the same way, participants' assessments of the feelings of appreciation or criticism experienced by the target and his/her spouse toward each other presumably reflect their own social judgments of the spouses' behaviors. It is thus hypothesized that egalitarian participants will view the female breadwinner and the male caregiver as experiencing more positive and less negative emotions toward each other. Conversely, traditional participants will view the male breadwinner and the female caregiver as experiencing more positive and less negative emotions toward each other.

## *Overview and Hypotheses*

To summarize, the extant literature shows that people use a double standard when judging the personal traits of men and women in nontraditional roles. Several findings attest to negative evaluations of norm violators: the primary

caregiving father is viewed as less competent and a worse parent and is criticized for investing too little in his job; the full-time employed mother is viewed as selfish and less nurturant and is criticized for investing too little at home. On the other hand, a few findings document positive evaluations of norm violators: the primary caregiving father is viewed more favorably and elicits praise and gratefulness; the employed mother receives praise and appreciation for her earnings.

Based on Hochschild's (1989) and Deutsch and Saxon's (1998) theorization, the present study explores gender ideologies as a moderating mechanism that may account for these inconsistent findings. It is hypothesized that both traditional and egalitarian individuals will use double standards in judging gender norm violators. In particular, traditional individuals are expected to evaluate the primary caregiving mother and the full-time employed father more favorably than the caregiving father and employed mother. Furthermore, egalitarian individuals are expected to evaluate the primary caregiving father and the full-time employed mother more favorably than the caregiving mother and employed father.

To test these predictions, an experiment was conducted using hypothetical scenarios. Participants were presented with a target person who varied systematically in terms of gender and role: a male or a female target was described as a full-time employee married to a part-time employee who is the primary caregiver or as a part-time employee who is the primary caregiver and is married to a full-time employee. Participants evaluated the target's traits and emotions with regard to three dimensions of social judgment: personal traits of warmth and competence, the target's positive and negative moral emotions, and reciprocal emotions of appreciation and criticism between the target spouses.

## **Method**

### *Participants*

Participants were 311 adults (154 men and 157 women) recruited by research assistants as part of a larger research project. The participants' ages ranged from 18 to 59 years ( $M = 28.31$ ,  $SD = 6.06$ ), with 78% of the participants between 24 and 30 years of age. Of the participants, 13% had a high school diploma, 25% had some college education or technical training, and 62% had a university degree. The majority of the participants were unmarried, 24% were married, and 14% had children.



Participants were randomly assigned to one of four experimental conditions, which consisted of a 2 (target gender: male vs. female)  $\times$  2 (role: breadwinner vs. primary caregiver) between-participants factorial design.

## Measures

**Gender ideologies.** Participants' gender ideologies were measured using the 22-item Ambivalent Sexism Inventory developed by Glick and Fiske (1996, 2001). Participants responded to the items by using a 6-point scale labeled *disagree strongly* (0), *disagree somewhat* (1), *disagree slightly* (2), *agree slightly* (3), *agree somewhat* (4), and *agree strongly* (5). The average score for the 22 items was computed to obtain the respondent's gender ideology score. A high score reflected more traditional gender ideologies. Cronbach's alpha for this measure was .92.

**Target manipulation.** Participants in the primary caregiving target condition read the following:

Dan (Dina) is 34 years old, married and a parent to Adam (age 5) and Mika (age 2). Dan (Dina) is at work until 1:00 p.m., and then picks up the children from kindergarten and takes care of the housework and childcare (cooking, feeding the children, giving them a bath, doing the laundry, driving the children to social and other activities, etc.). His wife (Her husband) is a successful manager in a big firm. She (He) leaves home early in the morning, and usually returns between 7 and 8 p.m.

Participants in the breadwinning target condition read the following:

Dina (Dan) is 34 years old, married and a parent to Adam (age 5) and Mika (age 2). She (He) is a successful manager in a big firm. She (He) leaves home early in the morning, and usually returns between 7 and 8 p.m. Her husband (His wife) is at work until 1:00 p.m., and then picks up the children from kindergarten and takes care of the housework and childcare (cooking, feeding the children, giving them a bath, doing the laundry, driving the children to social and other activities etc.).

**Manipulation checks.** To assess whether work and family roles were successfully manipulated, participants were asked to estimate the target's and spouse's number of work hours per week. Participants also rated the earnings of the target relative to those of the spouse on a 5-point Likert-type scale

ranging from *Dan (Dina) earns much more* (1) through *their earnings are approximately equal* (3) to *His wife (Her husband) earns much more* (5).

**Attribution of warmth and competence.** Participants' perceptions of the target's warmth and competence were assessed using a 12-item measure consisting of 6 competence-related traits (e.g., intelligent, hardworking) and 6 warmth-related traits (e.g., nice, selfish; Fiske et al., 2002). Half of the traits in each category were positive and half were negative. Participants rated the extent to which they thought that the target person was characterized by each of the 12 traits on 5-point Likert-type scales anchored by *not at all* (1) and *very much* (5). Responses were recoded so that a high score reflected more positive trait attribution. The average scores for the 6 warmth-related traits and 6 competence-related traits were computed to obtain the respondent's warmth and competence attribution scores. Internal reliabilities (Cronbach's alphas) for these measures were .84 and .69, respectively.

**Attribution of moral emotions.** Participants' attributions of moral emotions to the target person were assessed using a 10-item measure consisting of 5 positive emotions (e.g., pride, self-fulfillment) and 5 negative emotions (e.g., shame, guilty conscience). Participants rated the extent to which they thought that the target person experienced each of the 10 emotions on 5-point Likert-type scales anchored by *not at all* (1) and *very much* (5). The average scores for the 5 positive emotions and 5 negative emotions were computed to obtain the respondent's attributions of positive and negative moral emotions. Internal reliabilities (Cronbach's alphas) for these measure were .84 and .80, respectively.

**Attribution of emotions in the marital interaction.** Participants' attributions of the target's and his/her spouse's emotions toward each other were assessed using two 4-item measures consisting of two positive emotions (appreciation, gratefulness) and two negative emotions (criticism, contempt). Participants first rated the extent to which they thought that the target person experienced each of the 4 emotions toward the spouse and then rated the extent to which they thought that the target's spouse experienced these emotions toward the target. Responses were indicated on 5-point Likert-type scales anchored by *not at all* (1) and *very much* (5). The average scores for the 2 positive and 2 negative target's emotions toward the spouse and the 2 positive and 2 negative spouse's emotions toward the target were computed to obtain the respondent's attributions of emotions in the marital interaction. Cronbach's alphas for these measures were .65 and .58 for the target's positive and negative emotions toward the spouse, respectively, and .69 and .56 for the spouse's positive and negative emotions toward the target, respectively.

*Demographic variables.* Participants reported their gender, age, level of education, and family status.

## **Procedure**

Participants were personally approached by the assistants in public areas such as cafes, work places, and university campuses. The study was introduced to them as investigating the process of forming impression of others. Participants were not compensated and all responses were anonymous. Data from additional five respondents were discarded because they were incomplete.

## **Results**

### *Preliminary Analyses*

The analysis of the manipulation check variables confirmed that the participants correctly comprehended the division of roles. Participants estimated the breadwinning target's number of work hours ( $M = 57.77$ ) as significantly greater than the caregiving target's number of work hours ( $M = 26.58$ ),  $t(1, 309) = 53.57, p < .001$ . In addition, participants rated the breadwinning target's relative earnings ( $M = 4.94$ ) as significantly higher than the caregiving target's relative earnings ( $M = 1.07$ ),  $t(1, 309) = 138.89, p < .001$ .

All dependent measures were then submitted to a series of 2 (target gender: male vs. female)  $\times$  2 (role: breadwinner vs. primary caregiver)  $\times$  2 (gender ideology: traditional vs. egalitarian)  $\times$  2 (participant's gender: male vs. female) analyses of variance (ANOVAs). Because gender of participant did not interact with the manipulated independent variables for any of the dependent variables, this factor is excluded from the analyses reported below.

### *Warmth and Competence*

To test the hypotheses that norm-violating targets would be evaluated more positively by egalitarian participants and less positively by traditional participants, participants' warmth ratings were analyzed in a 2 (gender: male vs. female)  $\times$  2 (role: breadwinner vs. primary caregiver)  $\times$  2 (gender ideology: traditional vs. egalitarian) ANOVA. This analysis yielded three significant main effects: egalitarian participants attributed greater warmth ( $M = 3.88$ ) than traditional participants ( $M = 3.63$ ),  $F(1, 309) = 12.60, p < .001$ ; participants attributed greater warmth to the male target ( $M = 3.83$ ) than to the

female target ( $M = 3.69$ ),  $F(1, 309) = 4.92$ ,  $p < .05$ ; and they attributed greater warmth to the caregiver ( $M = 4.21$ ) than to the breadwinner ( $M = 3.31$ ),  $F(1, 309) = 205.30$ ,  $p < .001$ . This latter main effect of role is consistent with the prediction derived from the stereotype content model (cf. Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004; Fiske et al., 2002).

These main effects were qualified, however, by the hypothesized three-way Gender  $\times$  Role  $\times$  Gender Ideology interaction,  $F(1, 309) = 6.25$ ,  $p < .01$  (see Table 1). This interaction indicates that egalitarian participants attributed greater warmth to the male caregiver ( $M = 4.44$ ) than the female caregiver ( $M = 3.94$ ),  $t(75) = 3.36$ ,  $p < .001$ , with no equivalent effect among traditional participants ( $M_s = 4.15$  and  $4.33$ , respectively,  $t[80] = .06$ , *ns*).

Participants' ratings of the target's competence were similarly subjected to a 2 (gender: male vs. female)  $\times$  2 (role: breadwinner vs. primary caregiver)  $\times$  2 (gender ideology: traditional vs. egalitarian) ANOVA. There were three significant main effects in this analysis: egalitarian participants attributed greater competence ( $M = 4.15$ ) than traditional participants ( $M = 3.90$ ),  $F(1, 309) = 16.51$ ,  $p < .001$ ; and participants attributed greater competence to the female target ( $M = 4.11$ ) than to the male target ( $M = 3.96$ ),  $F(1, 309) = 6.57$ ,  $p < .05$ , and greater competence to the breadwinner ( $M = 4.36$ ) than to the caregiver ( $M = 3.72$ ),  $F(1, 309) = 117.02$ ,  $p < .001$ . Again, the main effect of role provides support for predictions based on the stereotype content model (Fiske et al., 2002) regarding the greater competence attributed to high-status groups.

More important, and as hypothesized, a three-way Gender  $\times$  Role  $\times$  Gender Ideology interaction was obtained,  $F(1, 309) = 4.04$ ,  $p < .05$ . As indicated in Table 1, egalitarian participants attributed greater competence to the female breadwinner ( $M = 4.69$ ) than the male breadwinner ( $M = 4.33$ ),  $t(72) = 3.49$ ,  $p < .001$ , whereas traditional participants rated them as equally competent ( $M_s = 4.32$  and  $4.10$ , respectively,  $t[76] = 1.23$ , *ns*).

Examining each of the items included in the warmth and competence indices separately revealed similar patterns of results for the individual items. For example, Figure 1 illustrates as an example the results for participants' views of the target as a hardworking person. As can be seen in this figure, egalitarian participants viewed the caregiving man ( $M = 3.73$ ) and the breadwinning woman ( $M = 3.72$ ) as significantly more hardworking than the caregiving woman and breadwinning man ( $M_s = 3.20$  and  $3.27$ , respectively),  $F(1, 154) = 13.24$ ,  $p < .001$ . In contrast, traditional participants viewed the caregiving woman ( $M = 3.42$ ) as significantly more hardworking than the breadwinning woman ( $M = 2.83$ ),  $t(66) = 2.24$ ,  $p < .05$ , and the two male targets as equally hardworking ( $M_s = 3.19$  and  $3.10$ , respectively,  $t[82] = .20$ , *ns*).

**Table 1.** Mean Trait and Emotion Ratings by Gender Ideology, Target Gender, and Target Role

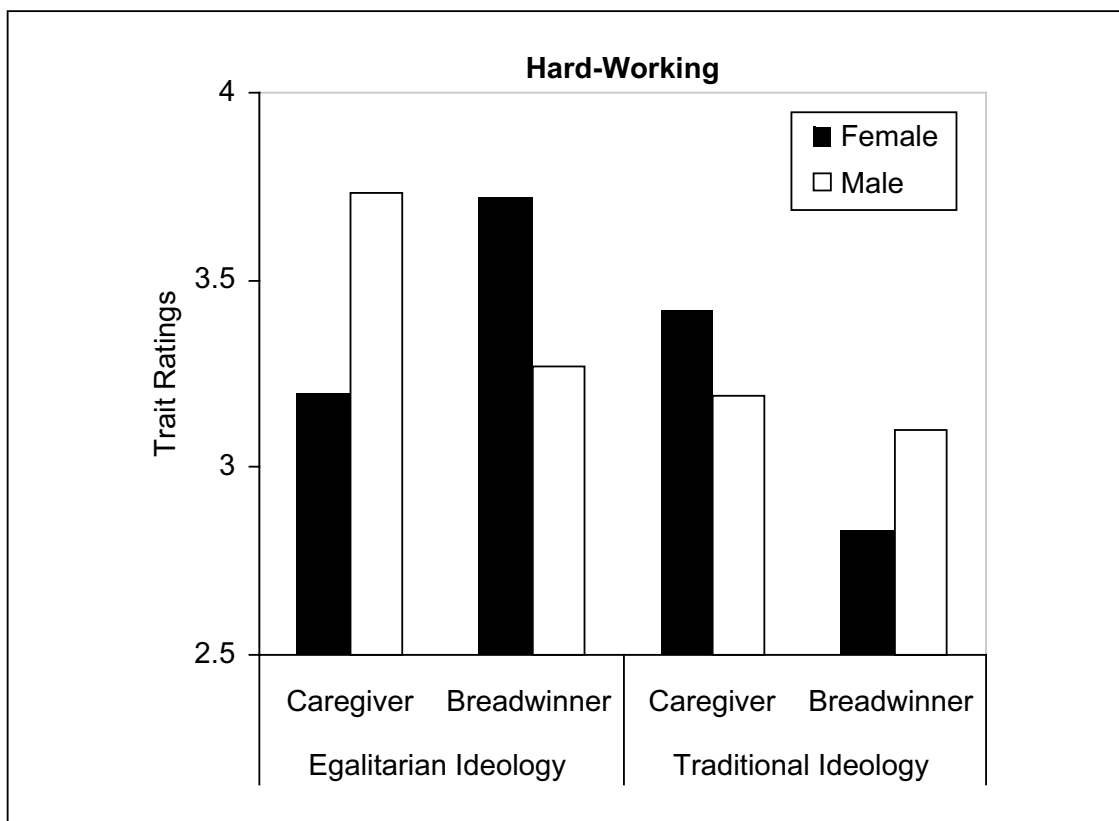
Condition		Egalitarian Ideology		Traditional Ideology		F(int)
		Male	Female	Male	Female	
Personal traits						
Warmth	Caregiver	4.44	> 3.94	4.15	= 4.33	6.25**
	Breadwinner	3.50	= 3.52	3.13	= 3.03	
Competence	Caregiver	3.88	= 3.73	3.54	= 3.72	4.04*
	Breadwinner	4.33	< 4.69	4.10	= 4.32	
Moral emotions						
Positive	Caregiver	3.48	> 3.25	3.15	= 3.16	6.41**
	Breadwinner	3.94	= 4.14	3.97	= 3.81	
Negative	Caregiver	2.11	< 2.37	2.69	= 2.56	4.08*
	Breadwinner	2.41	= 2.46	2.64	< 2.94	
Marital emotions						
Toward spouse						
Positive	Caregiver	4.19	> 3.52	4.11	= 4.00	10.30***
	Breadwinner	4.00	= 4.22	4.00	= 3.87	
Negative	Caregiver	2.07	< 2.36	2.61	> 2.10	5.04*
	Breadwinner	2.10	= 1.91	2.31	= 2.12	
From spouse						
Positive	Caregiver	4.14	= 4.11	4.31	> 4.00	.90
	Breadwinner	4.10	< 4.38	4.04	= 3.80	
Negative	Caregiver	2.06	< 2.33	2.31	> 1.84	8.30**
	Breadwinner	2.33	> 2.02	2.64	= 2.50	

Note: The scales ranged from 1 to 5. Within rows, > or < indicate that these means differ significantly. Tests of significance were two-tailed.

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

### Moral Emotions

To test the hypothesis that both traditional and egalitarian individuals use double standards in judging gender norm violators, participants' ratings of the target's positive moral emotions were analyzed with a 2 (gender: male vs. female)  $\times$  2 (role: breadwinner vs. primary caregiver)  $\times$  2 (gender ideology: traditional vs. egalitarian) ANOVA. This analysis yielded significant main effects of participant's ideology and target's role. Egalitarian participants

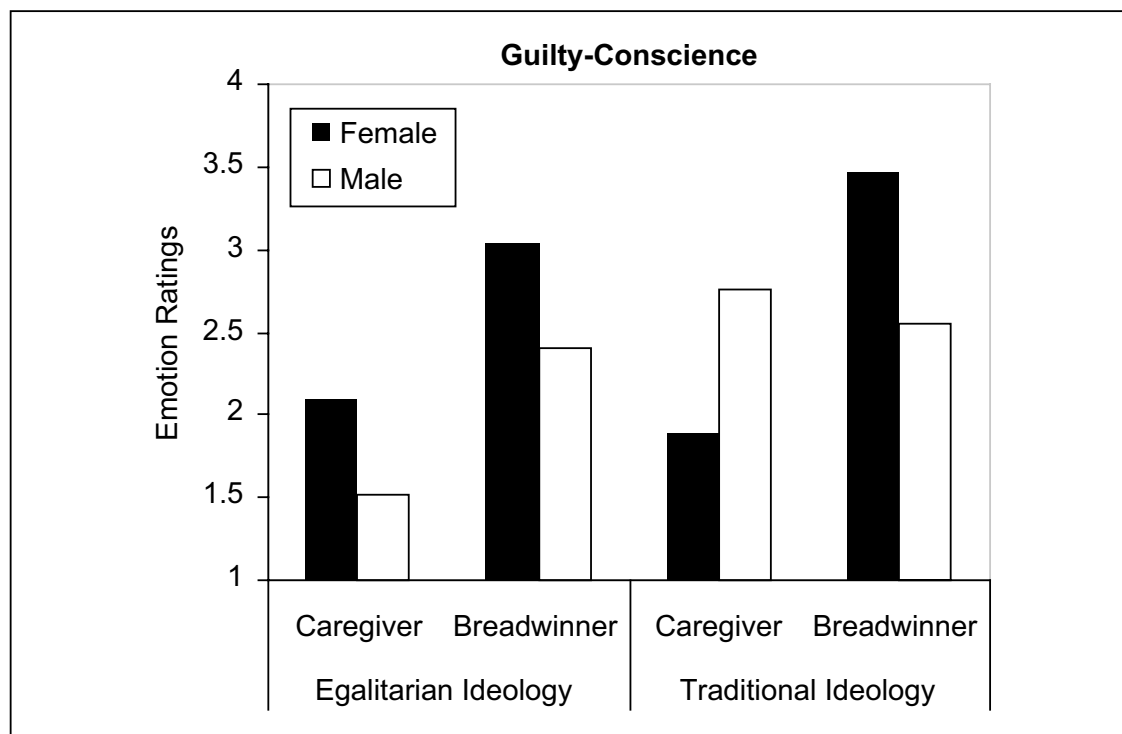


**Figure 1.** Mean hardworking trait ratings by gender ideology, target gender, and target role

attributed more positive emotions ( $M = 3.69$ ) than traditional participants ( $M = 3.53$ ),  $F(1, 309) = 5.07$ ,  $p < .05$ ; and breadwinning targets ( $M = 3.97$ ) were attributed more positive emotions than caregiving targets ( $M = 3.26$ ),  $F(1, 309) = 152.33$ ,  $p < .001$ .

As predicted, these main effects were qualified by a Gender  $\times$  Role  $\times$  Gender Ideology interaction,  $F(1, 309) = 6.41$ ,  $p < .01$  (see Table 1). This interaction indicates that egalitarian participants attributed more positive emotions to the male caregiver ( $M = 3.48$ ) than the female caregiver ( $M = 3.25$ ),  $t(81) = 2.45$ ,  $p < .05$ , whereas traditional participants attributed an equivalent level of positive emotions to the two caregiving targets ( $M_s = 3.15$  and  $3.16$ ).

A mirroring pattern of results was obtained for the attribution of negative emotions. In addition to the main effects of the target's role and the participant's gender ideology, a three-way interaction showed that egalitarian participants attributed a particularly low level of negative emotions to the male caregiver ( $M = 2.11$ ), whereas traditional participants attributed a particularly high level of negative emotions to the female breadwinner ( $M = 2.94$ ).



**Figure 2.** Mean guilty conscience ratings by gender ideology, target gender, and target role

Figure 2 illustrates the results for the guilty conscience item as an example of the negative emotions index. It is obvious that both egalitarian ( $M = 3.04$ ) and traditional participants ( $M = 3.47$ ) viewed the breadwinning woman as experiencing the greatest intensity of guilty conscience feelings compared with the other three targets. However, whereas egalitarian participants viewed the male caregiver as experiencing a lower level of such negative feelings than the other targets ( $M = 1.51$ ), traditional participants viewed the female caregiver as experiencing a lower level of guilty conscience feelings ( $M = 1.88$ ),  $F_{int}(1, 309) = 16.18, p < .001$ . For the traditional participants, the norm-violating targets ( $M = 3.12$ ) were viewed as having guilty conscience significantly more than the two normative targets ( $M = 2.21$ ),  $F(1, 149) = 25.33, p < .001$ . The results for the egalitarian participants did not fully mirror this pattern: norm violation did not lead them to attribute guilty consciences to the male caregiver ( $M = 1.51$ ), but the female breadwinner was still attributed a greater guilty conscience ( $M = 3.04$ ) than the male breadwinner ( $M = 2.40$ ).

### *Marital Emotions*

In line with Hochschild's (1989) argument that marital emotions of appreciation are moderated by spouses' gender norms, it was hypothesized

that egalitarian participants would view the norm-violating couples as experiencing more appreciation and showing less criticism toward each other, whereas traditional participants will hold such views with regard to the normative couples. To test these hypotheses, participants' ratings of the positive and negative emotions experienced by the target toward his/her spouse were analyzed in a Gender  $\times$  Role  $\times$  Gender Ideology ANOVA. The analysis of positive emotions yielded a two-way interaction between the target's gender and role,  $F(1, 309) = 10.06, p < .01$ . In general, participants viewed the male caregiver ( $M = 4.15$ ) and the female breadwinner ( $M = 4.04$ ) as experiencing more positive emotions of appreciation and gratefulness toward their spouses than the female caregiver ( $M = 3.76$ ) and the male breadwinner ( $M = 3.95$ ).

This interaction was moderated, however, by the participant's gender ideology, as reflected in the hypothesized three-way Gender  $\times$  Role  $\times$  Gender Ideology interaction,  $F(1, 309) = 10.30, p < .001$ . As indicated in Table 1, egalitarian participants attributed the female caregiver a particularly low level of positive emotions toward her husband ( $M = 3.52$ ) relative to the male caregiver ( $M = 4.19, t[75] = 6.34, p < .001$ ), the female breadwinner ( $M = 4.00, t[70] = 4.77, p < .001$ ), and the male breadwinner ( $M = 4.22, t[66] = 2.03, p < .05$ ). In contrast, traditional participants attributed similar levels of positive emotions to the four targets.

Similarly, a Gender  $\times$  Role  $\times$  Gender Ideology ANOVA on the target's negative emotions toward his/her spouse yielded the predicted three-way interaction,  $F(1, 309) = 5.04, p < .05$ . As Table 1 shows, egalitarian participants attributed more negative emotions toward the spouse to the female caregiver ( $M = 2.36$ ) than the male caregiver ( $M = 2.07$ ), whereas traditional participants attributed more negative emotions toward the spouse to the male caregiver ( $M = 2.61$ ) than the female caregiver ( $M = 2.10$ ),  $F(1, 309) = 4.83, p < .05$ .

Finally, to assess the participants' double standard toward men and women in caregiving and breadwinning roles, they were asked to rate the extent to which the target's spouse experienced positive and negative emotions toward the target. These ratings were analyzed in a Gender  $\times$  Role  $\times$  Gender Ideology ANOVA. Contrary to the hypotheses, analysis of the spouse's positive emotions did not yield any main effects or interactions. However, simple effects tests indicated that egalitarian participants attributed the husband of the female breadwinner a particularly high level of positive emotions toward his wife ( $M = 4.38$ ) whereas traditional participants attributed him the lowest level of positive emotions toward his wife ( $M = 3.80$ ),  $t(74) = 4.09, p < .001$ .

The analysis of spouse's negative emotions yielded significant main effects of target's gender and role. Spouses of breadwinning targets ( $M = 3.39$ )



were attributed more negative emotions of criticism and contempt toward their partner than spouses of caregiving targets ( $M = 2.13$ ),  $F(1, 309) = 9.28$ ,  $p < .01$ ; and wives were attributed more negative emotions toward their husbands ( $M = 2.35$ ) than vice versa ( $M = 2.17$ ),  $F(1, 309) = 4.48$ ,  $p < .05$ .

As predicted, these main effects were qualified by a Gender  $\times$  Role  $\times$  Gender Ideology interaction,  $F(1, 309) = 8.30$ ,  $p < .01$ . Egalitarian participants attributed less negative emotions toward the spouse to the spouses of the two norm-violating targets ( $M = 2.04$ ) than the spouses of the two normative targets ( $M = 2.33$ ),  $t(143) = 3.14$ ,  $p < .01$ , whereas traditional participants attributed the husband of the female caregiver a particularly low level of negative emotions toward his wife ( $M = 1.84$ ) relative to the husband of the female breadwinner ( $M = 2.50$ ,  $t[76] = 3.77$ ,  $p < .001$ ), the wife of the male caregiver ( $M = 2.31$ ,  $t[80] = 2.06$ ,  $p < .05$ ), and the wife of the male breadwinner ( $M = 2.64$ ,  $t[78] = 4.50$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

## Discussion

Results from the current study provide support for the hypothesized moderating role of gender ideologies in social judgments of gender norm violators. Overall, the three-way interactions of gender ideologies with the target's gender and role reflect the difference in double standards between individuals with traditional attitudes toward gender and those who hold egalitarian gender attitudes. Whereas traditional individuals tended to evaluate the primary caregiving mother and the breadwinning father more favorably than the male caregiver and female breadwinner, egalitarians tended to evaluate the primary caregiving father and the breadwinning mother more favorably.

The evidence for a double standard was stronger and more consistent among egalitarian individuals than among traditional ones. These individuals held particularly positive views of the primary caregiving father. Compared with the female caregiver, the male caregiver was attributed more warmth, more positive feelings such as pride and self-fulfillment, and less negative feelings such as shame and guilty conscience. Moreover, compared with female caregiver, egalitarian individuals perceived the caregiving father as experiencing more appreciation and gratefulness and less criticism toward his breadwinning spouse as well as receiving similarly positive responses from her.

The evidence for a double standard applied by individuals with traditional gender ideologies was weaker and less consistent. In line with the hypotheses, these individuals attributed the breadwinning woman more negative moral emotions and a particularly high level of guilty conscience. Moreover,

the caregiving father and his wife were viewed as experiencing more negative emotions toward each other. Nevertheless, traditional individuals also attributed the wife of a primary caregiving father greater feelings of gratefulness, presumably because he “releases her” from her normatively prescribed caregiving role.

Egalitarian individuals’ *trait attributions* provide additional support for the shifting standards model (Biernat et al., 1991; Kobrynowicz & Biernat, 1997). In line with this model, a man and a woman in similar parenting roles were attributed significantly different levels of warmth. Because a primary caregiving role is stereotypic of women but not of men, a man in this role was attributed particularly high levels of warmth. Similarly, a woman in a stereotypically masculine breadwinning role was attributed higher levels of competence than a man in the same role.

For traditional individuals, the absence of interaction effects between gender and role in trait attributions may reflect the mutual nullifying effects of stereotype-based shifting standards on the one hand and moral double standards on the other. Shifting standards should lead to an enhanced attribution of warmth to the counter-stereotypic male caregiver and an enhanced attribution of competence to the counter-stereotypic female breadwinner. However, because of traditional individuals’ preference for normative targets, their moral double standard should lead them to evaluate the female caregiver and the male breadwinner more favorably, and thus attribute greater warmth to the former and greater competence to the latter. These opposite effects may therefore have cancelled each other out.

The pattern of findings for *attribution of moral emotions* to the target demonstrates the workings of the double standard in social judgments of deviations from gendered family roles. For traditional individuals, this double standard reflects the prescriptive nature of gender stereotypes (Prentice & Carranza, 2002). In particular, the significantly higher levels of negative moral emotions attributed to the breadwinning woman compared with the caregiving woman attest to the strong prescriptive tone of the female caregiving stereotype. The absence of equivalent difference in attributions of moral emotions for the male targets suggests that the male breadwinning stereotype involves a lesser prescriptive tone. This is consistent with Glick and Fiske’s (1999) claim that prescriptive stereotypes result from stable social systems in which the dominant group is significantly dependent on the subordinate group. In these conditions, women who defy the stereotypic expectations of warmth and caregiving are evaluated particularly negatively (Glick & Fiske, 1999).

In contrast, the attributions of moral emotions by egalitarian individuals reveal substantial changes in gender beliefs. Among advocates of change, violations of traditional family roles elicit applause rather than criticism. Consistently, egalitarian individuals' attributions of *marital emotions* portrayed the role-reversing couples as exchanging appreciation and gratefulness while experiencing decreased levels of negative feelings. These findings indicate that the new ideal of a free, nongendered choice of family roles is powerful in shaping expectations for harmonious and fulfilling relationships and increased marital happiness.

The present study examined social judgments of fully employed men and women in highly prestigious jobs and their part-time employed spouses. Its findings may therefore not generalize to different family structures. It is possible, for example, that a fully employed woman in a less prestigious job would elicit less negative judgments among traditional individuals, because she might be perceived as working out of financial necessity rather than for personal fulfillment (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2005). Similarly, a career woman whose children are taken care of by a nonparental caregiver may be judged more harshly than the woman described in the current study. Finally, a stay-at-home caregiver may be judged more negatively than the part-time working caregiver portrayed in this study (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2005). Future research is needed to reveal the interactive effects of various work statuses and gender ideologies.

In conclusion, the findings from the current study expand the existing literature on judgments of gender norm violators in several important ways. The moderating role of gender ideologies has not been previously examined. The findings shed light on the role of this important factor, which apparently reverses the direction of standards for evaluation. This moderating mechanism thus accounts for the conflicting evidence regarding evaluations of men and women in nontraditional roles (e.g., Deutsch & Saxon, 1998; Etaugh & Folger, 1998; Lobel et al., 2001). Moreover, the findings extend the empirical evidence on the workings of shifting standards in evaluations of men and women (Biernat et al., 1991), by showing that individuals in counter-stereotypic roles are attributed higher levels of the corresponding traits. Thus, a male caregiver was attributed greater warmth than the female caregiver, whereas the female breadwinner was attributed greater competence than the male breadwinner. Finally, the findings show that in the domain of family roles, the new ideal of equality is even more powerful in creating a double standard than the old traditional gender norms. Egalitarian individuals who advocate change respond favorably to violations of traditional norms. If societal

change continues along the same lines (Deutsch, 2007; Smith, 2009; Sullivan, 2004), this egalitarian double standard is likely to be attenuated in the future by the prevalence of role-reversing couples and the adoption of new norms.

### **Declaration of Conflicting Interests**

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

### **Funding**

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

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