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**Do People Perceive Women as Worrying more than Men?
A Status Account of the Gender Stereotypes of Worry**

A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Psychology

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

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Abstract

Do People Perceive Women as Worrying more than Men? A Status Account of the Gender Stereotypes of Worry

Wendy Wood

Research indicates that people perceive women as experiencing more fear than men (Brody & Hall, 1993) and research also shows that worry is related to fear (Borkovec, Robinson, Pruzinsky, & Depree). The purpose of this Study 1 was to explore how people perceive men and women to worry overall as well as in specific domains. Three hundred and one Concordia University students completed two worry questionnaires to measure overall amount of worry and worry in specific domains. The results showed that people perceive women as experiencing more worry than men and men as experiencing more worry about achievement, finances, and incompetence. A second objective was to compare people's perceptions of men and women's worry to their perceptions of high and low-status individuals' worry to determine if a status model is a viable option for explaining the gender stereotypes of worry that emerged in Study 1. Women generally have lower status than men (Rhoadie, 1989), which leads to the hypothesis that people perceive low-status individuals as worrying more overall as well as worrying more about relationships. In contrast, people perceive high-status individuals as worrying more about achievement, finances and incompetence. Sixty-two Concordia University students listened to a tape describing a culture that consists of high and low-status individuals. Participants completed modified versions of the worry questionnaires used in Study 1 to measure their perceptions of low and high-status individuals' worry. The findings suggest that status is a viable model for explaining the stereotype of overall worry that emerged from Study 1.

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Introduction

Psychologists have extensively studied gender differences in social behaviour and this research has led to the view that gender is a primary determinant of identity and human interactions (Lenney, 1991). A main factor influencing gender differences is gender stereotypes. People's perceptions about men and women lead to the expectation that men and women will behave in a manner that reflects their stereotypical traits. In turn, this expectation can result in behaviour that matches the stereotype. This process is referred to as expectancy confirmation (Darley & Oleson, 1993). For example, women relative to men are perceived as more caring and understanding and as such women are more likely to pursue social roles that necessitate these characteristics because they are expected and encouraged to do so. By implication, women are less likely to pursue social roles that require more stereotypically male characteristics, regardless of whether they possess the attributes that are necessary to succeed in these roles. Gender stereotypes, then, can lead to restrictions on the social roles that women and men pursue. Understanding the nature of gender stereotypes provides insight into the origins of social role expectations, and thus, this topic remains an important aspect of psychological inquiry.

The primary goal of this research is to examine how people perceive men and women in terms of the amount of worry they experience and the specific issues that worry them. In the gender stereotype literature, there are no empirical studies, to my knowledge, that address how people perceive men and women to worry. An early review of gender research by Block (1976) suggested that people typically identified worry as a feminine characteristic, but this notion has not been demonstrated empirically.

Researchers have approached the study of gender stereotype content from a number of different perspectives. A substantial body of this literature focuses on how people

stereotype men and women in terms of stable traits, particularly characteristics that can be inferred from observable behaviour. Other research provides evidence to show that observers also stereotype men and women in terms of more subjective processes, such as emotional experiences (Brody & Hall, 1993). It is easy for people to form stereotypes about others' feelings, preoccupations, and ways of thinking as these are internal states that are only partially reflected in observable behaviour. Worry is one example of a subjective cognitive process. Observers generally cannot, with much accuracy, judge the extent of another person's worry based on behavioural observation because worry is largely an intrapsychic phenomenon. Although one may argue that the worry process is observable to the degree that people often share their concerns with others or express concern non-verbally, the extent to which people express worry may not match the degree to which they are preoccupied with worrisome thoughts. Thus, if a gender stereotype of worry exists, it is particularly interesting given that people cannot entirely base their perceptions of others' concerns on observable behaviour.

The second goal of this research is to examine how people perceive high and low-status individuals in terms of the amount of worry they experience and the specific issues that worry them. Research shows that gender and status are linked: women generally have lower status than men (Rhodie, 1989). The link between status and gender has led psychologists to argue that gender is a cue to identify the status of others, otherwise known as a status characteristic (Berger, Cohen, & Zelditch, 1972). Given this relation, an objective in the current research is to compare people's perceptions of men and women's worry to people's perceptions of high and low-status individuals' worry to determine if a status model is a viable option for explaining gender stereotypes of worry.

The current research examines how people perceive men and women as well as high

and low-status individuals on two separate, but related features of worry: amount and content. The first feature, amount of worry, refers to the magnitude or degree of worry experienced. This aspect of worry concerns individuals' overall propensity to worry. For example, one person may be overwhelmed by worry, while another spends very little time worrying. The second feature, worry content, refers to the specific concerns that preoccupy individuals. For example, one person may worry about not being able to pay the bills, while another may be more concerned about establishing a stable relationship with a partner.

Hypotheses

People's perceptions of men and women's worry are explored in Study 1, and people's perceptions of high and low-status individuals' worry are explored in Study 2. There were four hypotheses. The first hypothesis was that people perceive women relative to men as experiencing more worry. The second hypothesis was that people perceive men relative to women as worrying more about achievement, finances, and incompetence, whereas people perceive women relative to men as worrying more about issues concerning their interpersonal relationships. To address the first and second hypotheses, participants in Study 1 completed two questionnaires pertaining to worry: one reflecting amount of worry and the other reflecting worry content. Participants reported their perceptions of women and men.

The third hypothesis was that people perceive low relative to high-status individuals as experiencing more worry. The fourth hypothesis was that people perceive high relative to low-status individuals as worrying more about achievement, finances, and incompetence, whereas people perceive low relative to high-status individuals as worrying more about relationships. To address the third and fourth hypotheses, participants in Study 2 were presented with a description of a culture that consisted of a low-status group and a high-

status group: the description is that of Conway, Pizzamiglio, and Mount (1996). Upon completion, participants completed questionnaires pertaining to worry amount and content to measure how they perceived low and high-status individuals' worry.

A secondary set of hypotheses focused on the relation between the two features of worry explored in this research: overall amount of worry and worry content. As both features are related to the broader construct of worry, the expectation is that people's perceptions of women's overall amount of worry are positively correlated with their perceptions of women's worry about relationships. As well, the expectation is that people's perceptions of men's overall amount of worry are positively correlated with their perceptions of men's worry about achievement, finances, and incompetence.

Similar outcomes are expected for how people perceive high and low-status individuals in terms of amount of worry and worry content. The expectation is that people's perceptions of low-status individuals' overall amount of worry are positively correlated with their perceptions of low-status individuals' worry about relationships. As well, the expectation is that people's perceptions of high-status individuals' overall amount of worry are positively correlated with their perceptions of high-status individuals' worry about achievement, finances, and incompetence.

As worry is a focal point in the current research, the theoretical and empirical underpinnings of this cognitive process are now considered.

Nature of Worry

Worry has been defined as an automatic cognitive response that occurs when people are confronted with a threat in their environment (Tallis & Eysenck, 1994). The process does not typically result in problem solving, but rather it is a review of all of the possible fearful outcomes (Stavosky & Borkovec, 1988). Worry is a process of repeated negative

thoughts that are believed to originate from basic fears about rejection, failure, and social evaluation (McCann, Stewin & Short, 1990; Borkovec, Robinson, Pruzinsky, & Depree, 1983). In addition, there is “a negative, anxious emotional tone that is reflected in worry content and the mood of chronic worriers” (Stavosky & Borkovec, 1988, p. 78).

Worry correlates with measures of anxiety and depression (Meyer, Miller, Metzger & Borkovec, 1990), as well as fear (Stavosky & Borkovec, 1988; Borkovec, Robinson, Pruzinsky & DePree, 1983;). Worry is also believed to contribute to anxious states and worrisome thoughts are believed to lead to depression (Meyer et al., 1990). Research on worry has primarily been conducted with self-report measures. In studies on gender differences and worry, women relative to men report experiencing more worry. Borkovec et al. (1983) found that 80% of their subjects who reported high levels of worry were women. Stavosky and Borkovec (1988) found, while screening potential research participants, that women were two to three times more likely to report high levels of worry over men.

That women worry more than men raises the question of what accounts for this difference. Stavosky and Borkovec (1988) explained gender differences in worry in terms of what they referred to as the frustrative non-reward model. The basis of this theory is that traditional female roles compared to male roles result in fewer rewards and a higher perceived potential for failure. For example, more caretaker-type roles, traditionally held by women, tend to be less rewarding both in terms of social prestige, control, and monetary incentives. That these roles are limited in terms of benefits leads women to feel frustrated. In addition, women may envision their rewards and because they are not rewarded, they may see themselves as having failed.

Although women pursue careers in more traditionally male-dominated fields, they continue to receive fewer rewards, such as less power and control, and lower salaries (Neft &

Levine, 1997). According to this model, the combined economic, social, and political inequities that women face result in feelings of powerlessness, which again, leads to frustration. In turn, this frustration may lead to worry about a seemingly bleak future. Thus, in the context of the frustrative non-reward model, that women receive fewer rewards than men accounts for gender differences in self-reported worry.

The next question is why would people differentially perceive men and women in terms of worry? As discussed, worry is related to emotions such as fear, and thus a consideration of how gender stereotypes of emotional experience may be related to gender stereotypes of worry is warranted.

Perceived Worry Amount and Emotional Stereotypes

A gender stereotype concerning amount of worry may be linked to how people perceive men and women in terms of emotional experience. Worry is related to emotions, in that when people are confronted with a threat in their environment (an event that often initiates worry), they will most likely experience a negative emotion, such as fear (Shaver, 1987). Research shows that people perceive women and men to vary in terms of the degree to which they experience various emotional responses. For example, early research shows that people perceive women relative to men as experiencing more emotional responses, in addition to being more aware of the emotions of others (Broverman, Broverman, Clarkson, Rosenkrantz, & Vogel, 1970). Brody and Hall (1993) reviewed the literature on men and women's emotional experiences and studies indicate that people perceive women relative to men as experiencing more fear, and men relative to women as experiencing more anger. For instance, Birbaum and Croll (1984) found that working class parents and college students perceived men to experience more intense anger than women, and that for men anger was perceived as an acceptable emotional expression. Fabes and Martin (1991) found that people

perceive women relative to men as expressing more sadness, and interestingly, this perception emerges at a strikingly young age. Birbaum and Croll (1984) found that children, aged 3 to 5, perceived women to express more fear, sadness, and happiness than men. In sum, a number of studies indicate that women are perceived as being more fearful than men. That fear is correlated with worry leads to the prediction that people will perceive women as worrying more than men.

The research on people's perceptions of men and women's emotional experiences is congruent with research on how men and women experience emotion. Research has shown that women relative to men are more likely to experience more fear and sadness (Brody & Hall, 1993; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974), whereas men relative to women are more likely to experience more anger (Brody & Hall, 1993). Although research shows that gender differences in emotion exist, these studies are often criticised because they rely on self-report measures. Manstead (1998, p.243) argued that researchers cannot rely on people accurately reporting their subjective emotional experiences because "those who are old enough to provide reliable responses to questionnaires are also sufficiently well socialised to have a fair idea of how appropriate it is for males and females to experience and express emotions—including fear." Implied in this argument is that when people are aware of gender-related behaviours, their responses to items on a self-report measure will be influenced by this knowledge. Manstead's argument is reminiscent of the theory of expectancy confirmation whereby people behave in a manner that is congruent with their respective stereotype (Darley & Oleson, 1993). In the context of this theory, when women report experiencing more fear than men, their response is a function of the sex role expectation that women are supposed to experience more fear than men. LaFrance and Banaji (1992) argued along similar lines: women, when asked to report on their tendency to visibly express their

emotions, may be reporting on their beliefs about how they are expected to behave. In addition, these researchers review a number of studies that have employed more indirect measurements, and conclude that with these measures reliable gender differences are less likely to emerge. Despite this continuing controversy over the reliability of self-report measures, the general consensus is that emotional experiences differ across gender.

In sum, research shows that women are perceived as more fearful than men and that women experience more fear than men. By implication, one would expect that people would perceive women as experiencing more worry than men because presumably women have more to worry about. Other stereotypes, such as stereotypes concerning men and women's needs, may also support similar predictions.

Perceived Worry Amount and the Need for Security Stereotype

A gender stereotype of worry may be linked to people's perceptions of men and women's needs. The findings from research on how people view men and women in terms of their need for security show that women relative to men are perceived as having a stronger need for security (Spence, Helmreich, & Holahan, 1979; Broverman et al., 1970). This stereotype implies that women need to be stable and feel protected; however, women generally have lower status (Rhoadie, 1989) and because of their inferior position, they may often find themselves in unstable positions. Given that women have lower status than men, yet are perceived as having a stronger need for security, this leads to the prediction that women would be perceived as worrying more than men because their uncertainty would presumably lead them to experience more worry.

Thus far, the focus has been on the relation between existing stereotypes concerning emotions and needs, on the one hand, and amount of worry, on the other. The next section reviews the stereotype literature related to agency and communality and how these

stereotypes may be related to how people perceive men and women in terms of worry content.

Perceived Worry Content and Agentic and Communal Stereotypes

When people think about the issues that men and women worry about, they may base their judgements on their existing notions of the characteristics of men and women. A substantial body of research shows that women relative to men are perceived as more communal and men relative to women are perceived as more agentic (Eagly, Wood & Diekmann, 2000). Communality is an expressive orientation that includes characteristics such as being warm and caring. Agency is an instrumental orientation that includes characteristics such as having confidence and being independent. Communality and agency are considered core characteristics of gender stereotypes and are typically measured with the short form of the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI-SF; Bem, 1981) and the Extended Personality Attributes Questionnaire (EPAQ; Spence et al., 1979).

The personality traits associated with agency and communality may provide insight into the issues that people perceive men and women to worry about. For example, people may perceive men and women to be primarily preoccupied with issues related to their agentic and communal traits, respectively. As women are perceived as more communal, presumably they would also be perceived as engaging in activities that are interpersonally oriented and therefore will be perceived to worry about the maintenance of their close relationships. In contrast, as men are perceived as more agentic, presumably they would also be perceived as engaging in activities that are more achievement oriented, such as pursuing careers that result in financial rewards, and therefore will be perceived to worry about issues related to this success.

A similar conclusion can be drawn on the basis of social desirability. Researchers

have studied the role that social desirability plays in terms of gender stereotypes and these studies may provide insight into whether people think about men and women's worry in terms of those activities associated with their stereotypical traits. Studies have shown that stereotypic behaviour is generally perceived as socially desirable (Broverman, Clarkson, & Rosenkrantz, 1972, Spence & Helmreich, 1978; Williams & Best, 1990). Conversely, researchers have examined the consequences of violating one's gender stereotype (Rudman, 1998; Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992; Butler & Geis, 1990). For example, Rudman (1998) found that women who self-promote in an attempt to enhance their agentic-type qualities are perceived as less likeable, as well as less hireable than their male counterparts. Thus, agentic women risk social sanctions for engaging in counterstereotypical behaviour. The negative consequences resulting from stereotype violation act as a deterrent to individuals who want to pursue activities that reflect traits stereotypically associated with the other gender. Given that gender stereotypes consist of socially desirable constructs and that research shows that people risk social repercussions for violating gender stereotypes, one can argue that people will perceive men to worry about issues related to their socially desirable agentic orientation. In contrast, people will perceive women as worrying about issues related to their socially desirable communal orientation.

An alternative argument is that people perceive men and women as competent in those activities in which they are regularly engaged, activities that are presumably in line with their stereotypical characteristics. Therefore, they may perceive men and women to worry in the domains in which they do not possess the characteristics that are necessary for success. In this case, as people perceive men as more agentic, they may be more likely to perceive men as worrying about issues in the interpersonal realm. Likewise, as people perceive women as more communal, they may be more likely to perceive women as worrying about

issues such as pursuing a career and attaining financial stability.

That gender stereotypes of worry may exist leads to the question of what accounts for such beliefs. Status is related to gender and thus, a status model may account for differential perceptions of men and women's worry.

Perceived Worry, Status and Gender

The second objective of this research is to examine if people's perceptions of men and women's worry parallel people's perceptions of high and low-status individuals' worry. In recent years, social psychologists have explored in more detail the relationship between gender and status. Men have higher status than women (Rhoadie, 1989) in a gender hierarchy: men are more highly valued than women. The gender hierarchy is particularly evident in the workplace, where the specific roles occupied by men tend to be higher in status and power. However, status and power extend beyond the workplace and can arguably affect a wide range of social circumstances, including how people behave during any interaction. For example, upon initially meeting, individuals may determine each other's status in order to establish how they will interact (Glick & Fiske, 1999). Goffman (1955) argued that during social interactions, the person with the highest status controls the level of intimacy. As status plays a significant role in interactions, it raises the question as to how people determine other individuals' status. Researchers have shown that individuals use gender, physical attractiveness, age, race and other factors to identify the status of individuals during social interactions (Berger, Wagner, & Zelditch, 1972; Wagner & Berger, 1997). Social psychologists, in particular, view gender as an important status determinant: when individuals are presented with limited information, they may judge others as having high or low-status based on whether they are male or female (Berger et al., 1985).

Fiske (1993) exemplifies the relationship between gender and status as it emerged in

a sexual harassment trial in which she served as an expert witness. The case concerned a shipyard in Jacksonville, Florida where less than 1% of the workforce were women. The few women who were employed by Jacksonville Shipyards Inc. (JSI) were victims of extreme harassment: they were subject to nude pictures of women on the walls and continual verbal harassment involving sexually explicit jokes and name calling. When one woman approached upper management about the harassment, she was simply dismissed by her male superiors, which subsequently led her to file a lawsuit against the company. Fiske argued that the male workers at JSI were using gender stereotypes to exert control over their environment. Upper management, consisting of men, condoned sexist behaviour as employees did not risk punishment for acting in sexist ways toward women. This example illustrates the typical status differentials between men and women and reflects empirical studies indicating that male-dominated roles tend to be higher in status than female-dominated roles (see Eagly et al., 2000 for a review).

That gender may be understood in terms of status has implications for the stereotype of worry. More specifically, the notion that women may experience more overall worry than men may be accounted for by status. As previously described women experience more fear than men, which presumably leads them to experience a greater amount of worry. The factors that underlie the stereotype that women experience more fear than men remain unclear, but one account of these differences is in terms of women's lower status. As women have lower status in western society (Rhoadie, 1989), these differences may have a substantial impact on a wide range of women's experiences and behaviour (Lips, 1987; Connell, 1991). By this account, women may experience more negative emotions, such as fear, than men because women have lower status than men and, because lower status individuals are more likely to experience hardships, then it follows that they are more likely

to harbour fears about the future. As such, when people think about the amount of worry that men and women experience, the status differential that leads women to experience more fear (Conway, DiFazio, & Mayman, 1999) may result in the perception that women worry more than men.

Status may also account for other stereotypes such as the stereotype that women relative to men are perceived as having a stronger need for security. The perception that women have a strong need for security is interesting in light of the fact that women have lower status and that having lower status can lead to instability. As low-status positions do not generally provide individuals with a sense of security, it may lead to uncertainty about the future.

As illustrated, status can account for various gender stereotypes and therefore the expectation is that how people perceive high and low-status individuals may reflect how they will perceive men and women, respectively. For example, that men are seen as having higher status, may lead to similarities between how people perceive men and how they perceive high-status individuals in terms of subjective experiences. Likewise, that women are seen as having lower status, may lead to similarities between how people perceive women and how people perceive low-status individuals in terms of subjective experiences. Research on status shows that people's perceptions of how men and women experience emotion is similar to people's perceptions of how high and low-status individuals' experience emotion, respectively. Women relative to men are perceived as experiencing more negative emotions, such as fear and sadness (Brody & Hall, 1993), and these findings parallel the research focusing on people's perceptions of low-status individuals. Conway et al. (1999) showed that low relative to high-status individuals are perceived as more likely to experience and express less potent emotions, such as fear and sadness. Likewise, the perception that men

relative to women express more anger is similar to the perception that high-status individuals express more anger (Conway et al., 1999).

Stereotypes of men and women concerning agency and communality are also consistent with perceptions of high and low-status individuals. As previously described, as women are perceived as more communal, the expectation is that women would presumably worry more about interpersonal relationships. Likewise, low-status individuals are also perceived as more communal (Conway et al., 1996) and, as such, would also be perceived as worrying more about interpersonal relationships. In contrast, as men are perceived as more agentic, the expectation is that men would presumably worry more about achievement, finances and incompetence. Similarly, high-status individuals are also perceived as more agentic (Conway et al., 1996), and, as such, would also be perceived as worrying more about achievement, finances and incompetence.

The parallel findings in the gender stereotype and status literatures, as described above, support the notion that status can be used as framework for understanding how people perceive men and women. In the current study, status is examined to determine if perceptions of high and low-status individuals' worry are consistent with perceptions of men and women's worry. In line with previous research, the expectation is that the findings will provide evidence for the notion that status can act as a viable framework for understanding how people perceive men and women in terms of cognitive processes such as worry.

As a goal in the current research was to compare people's perceptions of gender to people's perceptions of status, it was important to ensure that status was measured independent of gender. For example, studying status in terms of occupational differences is problematic: people's perceptions of social targets with different occupations are influenced by the targets' gender (Conway et al., 1996). In the current research, a minimal status

manipulation was employed to measure status (Conway et al., 1996). This procedure entails people listening to a description of a culture that consists of high and low-status individuals with men and women in each group. As this methodology employs a general instantiation of status—*independent of gender*—it was deemed an appropriate methodology for the current research.

Study 1

Participants

Three hundred and one undergraduate students completed a packet of questionnaires at a booth on Sir George William campus of Concordia University. Participants were eligible to win cash prizes in return for filling out the packet. The sign read as follows: "Volunteers Needed; Psychology project; Dr. Conway." The only other information on the sign was the dollar amount of different prizes to be won in a lottery "for completing questionnaires." One hundred and sixty-nine women and 132 men completed the questionnaire: the mean age was 25.7 years (range: 18-74).

Measures

The Modified Penn State Worry Questionnaire (PSWQ; Meyer, Miller, Metzger, & Borkovec, 1990). The PSWQ is a 16-item questionnaire designed to measure pathological worry, in particular worry associated with Generalized Anxiety Disorder (DSM-IV, American Psychiatric Association, 1994). The PSWQ is also used to assess worry in non-clinical samples and was found highly reliable in college samples: the internal consistency ranged from .88 to .95 in studies by Davey (1993). Test-retest assessments indicate that the PSWQ is stable over time (Ladouceur et al., 1992). Factor analyses have indicated that the PSWQ consists of one general factor: in a study by Brown et al. (1992), the factor analysis resulted in one general factor that accounted for 51.1% of the variance in a sample of anxiety disordered patients.

The PSWQ is a valid measure of worry. Meyer et al. (1990) showed that the PSWQ correlates with trait ($r = .64$) and state ($r = .49$) anxiety (State Trait Anxiety Inventory; Spielberger, Gorsuch, Lushene, Vagg, & Jacobs, 1983), as well as with depression ($r = .36$) (Beck Depression Inventory; Beck, Ward, Mendelson, Mock, & Erbaugh, 1961).

In the current study, the PSWQ was modified to measure how individuals perceive men or women's worry. The questionnaire consisted of 16 items that were identical in content to the items in the original questionnaire, but were written in the third person as opposed to the first (see Appendix A). Two versions of the scale were created. In the first version respondents were asked to rate women in terms of issues related to amount of worry. The second version is identical to the first version except respondents were asked to rate men instead of women. Participants completed one of the two versions.

The Modified Worry Domain Questionnaire (WDQ; Tallis, Eysenck, & Mathews, 1992). The WDQ is a 25-item questionnaire designed to measure worry content. Worry content refers to the issues that people in a non-clinical population are likely to worry about, including concerns that might arise in either their personal or work environments (Tallis et al., 1992). The WDQ is correlated with anxiety: in two studies by Tallis et al. (1992), the WDQ correlated ($r=.79$ and $r=.85$) with the State Trait Anxiety Inventory (Spielberger et al., 1983).

Originally the WDQ consisted of 30 items and a 6-factor solution emerged from a factor analysis carried out by the originators: future, finances, confidence, relationships, socio-political issues, incompetence, and work (Tallis et al., 1992). The socio-political factor was dropped from the scale because it was considered qualitatively different from the other domains.

In the current study, the WDQ was modified to measure how individuals perceive men and women's worry content. The questionnaire consists of 25 items that are identical in content to the items in the original questionnaire, but are written in the third person as opposed to the first (see Appendix B). Two versions of the scale were created. The first version asked respondents to rate women on 25 items related to worry content. The second

version is identical to the first version except respondents rated men instead of women.

Participants completed one of the two versions.

Procedure

As previously described, a booth was set up on the downtown campus and participants, in return for filling out a packet of questionnaires, were eligible to win cash prizes. Students conducting research with Dr. Conway ran the booth during the first two weeks of the fall semester. Students who approached the booth were told that the questionnaire packet would require fifteen minutes to complete and that the packet must be completed at the booth. Participants who inquired about the content of the packet were informed that the questionnaires were being used to assess different psychological measures as well as to identify individuals who may be eligible to participate in future paid research. The first sheet in the packet was a consent form. Next, two questionnaires appeared in the following sequence: general demographic questionnaire (e.g., age and gender) and future contact sheet (for participants interested in volunteering for future studies). The remaining questionnaires were counterbalanced: the modified WDQ, the modified PSWQ, and five questionnaires unrelated to worry.

Results

Amount of Worry

The first hypothesis was that people perceive women relative to men as experiencing more worry. The average of ratings for women on the modified PSWQ was calculated for each participant as well as the average of ratings for men; higher numbers reflect more perceived worry. An ANOVA with target gender as the between-subject factor was conducted on the ratings on the modified PSWQ and the results revealed a significant main

effect for target gender, $F(1,299) = 21.04, p < .001$. As expected, women ($M = 3.20$) were perceived as worrying more than men ($M = 2.88$) (see Figure 1).

Additional analyses were used to address possible participant gender effects. An ANOVA with participant gender introduced as an additional between-subject factor (in addition to target gender) was conducted on ratings of the modified PSWQ. There were no significant participant gender effects.

Worry Content

The second hypothesis was that people perceive men relative to women as worrying more about achievement, finances, and incompetence, whereas people perceive women relative to men as worrying more about relationships. Analyses were conducted on participants' ratings of men and women on the modified WDQ.

Principal Components Analyses

Principal Components Analyses (PCA) were conducted on participants' ratings of men and women, separately. Factors were compared across gender and inclusion of an item on a factor was based on a loading of over .35 for both ratings of male and female targets (see Table 1 for factor loadings). The solution revealed the following four factors with eigenvalues greater than 1 for both male and female targets: achievement (items 2, 3, 5, 6, and 22), finance (items 1, 9, 11, and 12), incompetence (items 8, 14, and 17), and relationship (items 10, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, and 23).¹ Items 4, 7, 24, and 25 did not load over .35 on similar factors. By averaging responses to items for each factor, four indices were derived.

¹ The factor scores derived differ slightly from those derived by the authors of the WDQ. This discrepancy may be because the scale is used to measure people's perceptions of others whereas the original scale is used to measure self-reported worry.

Table 1

PCA Factor Loadings on Participants' Ratings of Men and Women on the Modified WDO*

Items	Factor 1 Relationship		Factor 2 Achievement		Factor 3 Incompetence		Factor 4 Finances	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
19. That they are unattractive to the opposite sex	.72	.81	.20	.23	.00	.00	.16	.00
20. That they might make themselves look stupid	.71	.76	.28	.24	.00	.00	.25	.00
18. That they lack confidence	.71	.54	.00	.16	.18	.38	.21	.23
21. That they will lose close friends	.71	.41	.17	.24	.25	.31	.00	.12
23. That they are not loved	.65	.69	.10	.34	.18	.20	.00	.00
16. That they will find it difficult to maintain a stable relationship	.47	.59	.00	.00	.39	.21	.00	.44
10. That they feel insecure	.45	.64	.00	.00	.00	.27	.78	.40
15. That others will not approve	.42	.66	.00	.00	.23	.33	.15	.35
13. That their lives have no purpose	.38	.37	.11	.37	.20	.55	.00	.11
6. That they will not keep their workload up to date	.39	.13	.73	.54	.30	.30	.00	.32
5. That they'll never achieve their ambitions	.23	.31	.64	.71	.00	.28	.11	.48
3. That their future job prospects are not good	.38	.11	.56	.71	.00	.00	.33	.34
22. That they haven't achieved much	.44	.36	.43	.40	.31	.40	.00	.11
2. That they cannot be assertive or express their opinions	.42	.25	.41	.62	.36	.00	.00	.27
17. That they leave work unfinished	.31	.00	.19	.15	.72	.67	.00	.27
14. That they don't work hard enough	.00	.34	.10	.00	.68	.69	.24	.11
8. That they have no concentration	.28	.18	.33	.00	.52	.43	.26	.47
1. That their money will run out	.00	.00	.00	.23	.13	.00	.78	.66
9. That they are not able to afford things	.23	.22	.38	.27	.13	.00	.64	.73
11. That they can't afford to pay bills	.00	.11	.46	.21	.24	.14	.50	.73
12. That their living arrangements are inadequate	.00	.15	.21	.19	.22	.22	.35	.56

4. That their family will be angry with them or disapprove of something they do	.23	.49	.32	.18	.00	.25	.00	.48
7. That financial problems will restrict holidays and travel	.00	.30	.64	.29	.00	.00	.31	.58
24. That they will be late for an appointment	.00	.23	.00	.16	.79	.00	.00	.34
25. That they will make mistakes at work	.46	.20	.19	.18	.40	.24	.17	.21

* Highlighted items indicate loadings over .35 for both men and women.

Participants' Perceptions of Men versus Women

To analyse respondents' ratings of men and women's worry on the four worry domains (achievement, finance, incompetence, and relationship), an ANOVA with target gender as the between-subject factor was conducted on ratings on the modified WDQ. The results revealed a significant target gender main effect, $F(1, 299) = 14.45, p < .001$. T-tests were conducted to compare respondents' ratings of men and women on each of the four worry domains and expected differences emerged for the achievement, finance, and incompetence domains (see Figure 2). Participants rated men ($M = 2.16$) as worrying more than women ($M = 1.80$) about achievement, $t(1,299) = 3.71, p < .001$. Participants also rated men ($M = 2.19$) as worrying more than women ($M = 1.90$) about finances, $t(1,299) = 3.10, p < .002$. In addition, participants rated men ($M = 1.47$) as worrying more than women ($M = 1.16$) about incompetence, $t(1,299) = 3.37, p < .002$. However, participants only tended to perceive women ($M = 2.04$) as worrying more than men ($M = 1.88$) about relationships, $t(1,299) = 1.58, p > .11$.

Participant Gender Effects

Additional analyses were conducted to address possible participant gender effects. A 2 (participant gender) x 2 (target gender) x 4 (worry domain) ANOVA was conducted on ratings of the modified WDQ. This analysis revealed a significant three-way interaction,

$F(1, 297) = 10.40, p < .001$. A 2 (participant gender) \times 2 (target gender) ANOVA with participant gender and target gender as between-subject factors was conducted on ratings on the modified WDQ for each worry domain separately (achievement, finance, incompetence, and relationship). No significant interactions emerged; however, the analyses did reveal that male and female respondents were differentially perceiving men and women depending on the worry domain in question. More specifically, the three-way interaction appears to be due to different patterns of responses for male and female respondents on the finance and relationship domains. For the relationship domain, male respondents perceived women ($M = 2.09$) as worrying more than men ($M = 1.78$), $t(1,130) = 2.14, p < .04$. In contrast, female respondents perceived women ($M = 1.99$) and men ($M = 1.97$) as worrying almost equally about relationships, $t(1,167) < 1$.

For the finance domain, the reverse pattern emerged: female respondents perceived men ($M = 2.23$) as worrying more than women ($M = 1.91$) about finances, $t(1,167) = 2.58, p < .01$. In contrast, male respondents only tended to perceive men ($M = 2.14$) as worrying more than women ($M = 1.86$) about finances, $t(1,130) = 1.80, p < .07$.

For the achievement and incompetence domains, ratings of men and women showed patterns consistent with the general results, but the effects were slightly stronger for male respondents.

Relation between Amount of Worry and Worry Content

The modified versions of the PSWQ and the WDQ measure two features of perceived worry: amount of worry and worry content. As both features are related to the broader construct of worry, the expectation was that people's perceptions of women's overall amount of worry would be positively correlated with their perceptions of women's worry about relationships. In addition, the expectation was that people's perceptions of

men's overall amount of worry would be positively correlated with their perceptions of men's worry about achievement, finances, and incompetence. To address these hypotheses, correlational analyses were conducted to determine the association between participants' ratings of men and women on amount of worry (ratings on the modified PSWQ) and the four domains of worry (ratings on the modified WDQ). The analyses were conducted for participants' ratings of men and women, separately and in both analyses all of the zero-order correlations were positive and significant (see Tables 2 and 3).

Table 2

Zero-order Correlations Between Participants' Ratings for Women on the Modified PSWQ and Ratings for Women on the Four Domains on the Modified WDO

	Overall worry	Relationship	Finance	Incompetence	Achievement
Overall worry		.47**	.36**	.30**	.38**
Relationship			.54**	.58**	.67**
Finance				.52**	.63**
Incompetence					.67**
Achievement					

**p<.01 level

Table 3

Zero-order Correlations Between Participants' Ratings for Men on the Modified PSWQ and Ratings for Men on the Four Domains on the Modified WDO

	Overall worry	Relationship	Finance	Incompetence	Achievement
Overall worry		.37**	.36**	.32**	.40**
Relationship			.52**	.57**	.67**
Finance				.51**	.58**
Incompetence					.59**
Achievement					

**p<.01 level

Next, partial correlations were conducted to determine the association between ratings on the modified PSWQ and ratings on each of the four worry domains of the modified WDQ (achievement, finance, incompetence, and relationship). It was expected that people's perceptions of women's worry about relationships would be positively correlated with their perceptions of the overall amount of worry that women experience, while holding worry for the achievement, finance and incompetence domains constant. In contrast, it was expected that people's perceptions of men's worry about achievement, finances and incompetence would be positively correlated with people's perceptions of men's overall worry, while holding worry for the relationship domain constant.

Partial correlations were conducted to address these hypotheses. Participants' ratings of women's overall worry (i.e., ratings on the modified PSWQ) were correlated with participants' ratings of women's worry about relationships (i.e., ratings on the relationship domain on the modified WDQ), controlling for participants' ratings of women's worry about achievement, finances, and incompetence (i.e., ratings on the achievement, finance, and incompetence domains on the modified WDQ). As expected, the results revealed a significant partial correlation, $r(301) = .27, p < .001$. In contrast, the partial correlations between participants' ratings for women's overall worry on the one hand, and participants' ratings of women's worry about achievement, finances, and incompetence, on the other, while controlling for participants' ratings of women's worry about relationships, were not significant.

Participants' ratings of men's overall worry (i.e., ratings on the modified PSWQ) were correlated with participants' ratings of men's worry about achievement, finance, and incompetence (i.e., ratings on the achievement, finances, and incompetence domains on the modified WDQ), controlling for participants' ratings of men's worry about relationships (i.e.,

ratings on the relationship domain on the modified WDO). As expected, the results revealed significant partial correlations for the finance domain, $r(301) = .21, p < .01$, and the achievement domain, $r(301) = .22, p < .01$. The partial correlation for the incompetence domain was not significant, $r(301) = .09, p = .09$. The partial correlation between participants' ratings for men's overall amount of worry, on the one hand, and participants' ratings of men's worry about relationships, on the other, while controlling for participants' ratings of men's worry about achievement, finances, and incompetence, was not significant.

Discussion

As expected, participants perceived women relative to men as experiencing more worry. As well, men relative to women were perceived as worrying more about achievement, finances, and incompetence. Participants showed a weak tendency to perceive women relative to men as worrying more about relationships. As expected, a positive correlation emerged between how people perceive women to worry overall and how they perceive women to worry about relationships. Also, positive correlations emerged between how people perceive men to worry overall and how they perceive men to worry about achievement, finances, and incompetence.

A participant gender analysis was conducted to examine whether there were differences between how male respondents perceived men and women and how female respondents perceived men and women. The findings for male respondents' ratings of men and women's overall amount of worry were consistent with female respondents' ratings of men and women's overall amount of worry. Likewise, the findings for male respondents' ratings of men and women's worry across domains were generally consistent with female respondents' ratings of men and women's worry across domains, although perceptions of men and women's worry about finances and relationships tended to be stronger for one

gender than the other. For example, both male and female participants perceived women as worrying more about relationships; however, the differential perceptions were stronger for male participants than for female participants. This gender difference accounts for the overall results of the relationship domain, which were not as strong as expected.

The finding that people perceive women as experiencing more worry than men is consistent with previous research on gender stereotypes. Women are perceived as experiencing more fear than men (Brody & Hall, 1993). Given that fear is related to worry and that women are perceived as more fearful than men, one would expect that women would be perceived as worrying more than men and the findings of this study supported this prediction. Similarly, the stereotype of amount of worry is consistent with early gender stereotype research that shows that women relative to men are perceived as having a stronger need for security (Broverman et al., 1970; Spence et al., 1979).

The finding that men relative to women are perceived as worrying more about issues related to achievement, financial status, and incompetence is consistent with previous research that shows that men are perceived as more agentic than women. In addition, that people tend to perceive women relative to men as worrying more about relationships is consistent with previous research that shows that women are perceived as more communal than men. The results suggest that people perceive men and women to worry about issues related to their respective stereotypical characteristics. For example, as women are perceived as more communal, presumably they engage in interpersonally oriented activities, and, as such, are perceived as worrying about developing and maintaining close relationships. In contrast, as men relative to women are perceived as more agentic, presumably they engage in more achievement oriented activities and, as such, are perceived as worrying about succeeding in the workplace and maintaining a career whereby they are financially rewarded

for their efforts.

Overall, the findings for men and women were generally consistent with expectations. The stereotypes that emerged raise the question of what accounts for the fact that people differentially perceive men and women in terms of overall amount of worry and worry content? As previously described, a status model may account for the gender stereotypes of worry. To determine the relation of gender to status, the next study focuses on how people perceive high and low-status individuals in terms of overall amount of worry and worry content.

Study 2

Participants

As previously described, participants in Study 1 who were interested in volunteering for future research completed a contact form. Two months later a subset of these participants were telephoned and asked if they would be interested in participating in a study. Students enrolled in psychology programs were excluded (because most were beyond the introductory level), as were those who had already participated in similar research. Thirty-one women and 31 men participated in Study 2. Mean age was 25.18 years (range: 17-64). One to four participants were present at each 50-minute session and at the conclusion of each session participants were paid \$8.

Measures

The Modified Penn State Worry Questionnaire (PSWQ; Meyer et al., 1990). A modified version of the PSWQ was used to assess participants' perceptions of high and low-status individuals. As described in Study 1, the Penn State Worry Questionnaire is both a reliable and valid measure of worry. The modified PSWQ in Study 2 was similar to the modified PSWQ used in Study 1 in terms of both item content and the use of the third person (see Appendix C). Six items that were used in Study 1 were arbitrarily excluded in Study 2 in order to shorten the questionnaire. Two versions of the scale were created. In the first version, respondents rated low-status individuals on 10 items related to the extent to which they worry overall. The second version was identical to the first except respondents were asked to rate high-status individuals as opposed to low-status individuals. Participants completed both versions, in counterbalanced order.

The Modified Worry Domain Questionnaire (WDQ; Tallis et al., 1991). A modified

version of the Worry Domain Questionnaire was used to assess participants' perceptions of high and low-status individuals' worry. As described in Study 1, the WDQ is both a reliable and valid measure of worry. The items were similar to the items used on the modified version of the WDQ in Study 1 with the exception of four items that were removed because the content of those items referred to finances or work related issues, and were thereby not applicable to the status groups presented in Study 2. One additional item was arbitrarily excluded in order to shorten the questionnaire. Two questions were added to measure what might be considered the equivalent of financial transactions or materialistic pursuits in the presented status groups: "worry about not being able to collect enough wild fruit and nuts to survive" and "worry about whether they have enough goods to trade with the government."

Two versions of the scale were created (see Appendix D). In the first version, people rated low-status individuals on 20 items related to worry content. The second version is identical to the first version except respondents rated high-status individuals as opposed to low-status individuals. Participants completed both versions, in counterbalanced order.

Materials

Participants were provided a passage detailing "the life of the Gunada and the Ngwani" who form a society living in the Amazonian jungle. This description was loosely based on Murdock (1934) and included fictitious material (see Appendix E). The description of the tribal community focuses on the culture as a whole, but the Ngwani are described as having higher status than the Gunada. The differences between the groups, in terms of status, are introduced and explained one third of the way into the description with an appeal to cultural mythology (i.e., direct vs. indirect descentance from a first couple created by gods from twigs and clay). No other rationale is provided for status. The features that distinguished low and high-status were that the high-status Ngwani, relative to the low-status

Gunada, were seen as being in closer contact with the spirits, wore elaborate ornamentation, and had priority access to food. In addition, the Ngwani were also seen as holding the land from the gods, even though both the Ngwani and the Gunada worked side by side in the fields. The location and colour of the huts also differed as a function of status group. No information was provided in regard to personality characteristics or style of social behaviour, and there was no indication of inter-group conflict.

Procedure

The purpose of the study was partially disguised. Participants were informed that the study concerned the initial impressions people form of members of another culture on the basis of limited information, but they were not told that the focus of the study was on determining people's perceptions of high and low-status individuals. Each participant listened twice to a recording of the description of a culture over headphones; the double exposure was to ensure familiarity with the material. Participants could take notes if they wished. After listening to the recording, they completed the modified versions of the PSWQ and the WDQ questionnaires in counterbalanced order. To check the status manipulation, participants were asked to indicate, in a forced choice format, which group had higher status. In addition, participants completed questionnaires for other unrelated research. Finally, participants were debriefed and remunerated.

Results

Participant Gender Effects

An ANOVA with participant gender and target gender as the between-subject factors was conducted on responses to the modified versions of the WDQ and PSWQ to determine if participant gender effects were present. There were no significant differences between how male and female respondents perceived low and high-status individuals.

The relationship domain consisted of items 10, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, and 21. Indices for the four domains were derived by averaging ratings of each domain.

Table 4

The Modified WDQ Items Categorised by each Domain for Study 2 and Items Excluded from Study 2*

Domains	Items
Achievement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2. That they cannot be assertive or express their opinions 5. That they'll never achieve their ambitions 6. That they will not keep their workload up to date 22. That they haven't achieved much
Finance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 12. That their living arrangements are inadequate 26. *(New) Worry about being able to collect enough wild fruit and nuts to survive 27. *(New) Worry about whether they have enough goods to trade with the local government 17. That they leave work unfinished
Incompetence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 8. That they have no concentration 14. That they don't work hard enough 17. That they leave work unfinished
Relationship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 10. That they feel insecure 13. That their lives have no purpose 15. That others will not approve 16. That they will find it difficult to maintain a stable relationship 18. That they lack confidence 19. That they are unattractive to the opposite sex 20. That they might make themselves look stupid 21. That they will lose close friends
Excluded Items	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. That their money will run out 3. That their future job prospects are not good. 4. That their family will be angry with them or disapprove of something they do 7. That financial problems will restrict holidays and travel 9. That they are not able to afford things 11. That they can't afford to pay bills 23. That they are not loved 24. That they will be late for an appointment 25. That they will make mistakes at work

*(The numbers correspond to the items used in the modified WDQ in Study 1)

** (Items only used for Study 2)

Participants' Perceptions of Low Versus High-Status Individuals

To analyse respondents' ratings of low and high-status individuals on worry content (achievement, finance, incompetence, and relationship), an ANOVA with worry domain and status defined as the within-subject factors was conducted on ratings of the modified WDQ. The results revealed a significant target status main effect, $F(1,60) = 19.04, p < .001$. For each worry domain, paired t -tests were conducted to compare respondents' ratings of high and low-status individuals (see Figure 4). As expected, participants rated low-status individuals ($M = 3.05$) as worrying more than high-status individuals ($M = 2.50$) about relationships, $t(1,61) = 3.61, p < .02$. However, the results for the achievement, finance, and incompetence domains were unexpected in that low-status individuals were perceived as worrying more on all three domains. Participants rated low-status individuals ($M = 3.18$) as worrying more than high-status individuals ($M = 2.25$) about achievement, $t(1,61) = 4.56, p < .001$. Likewise, participants rated low-status individuals ($M = 3.72$) as worrying more than high-status individuals ($M = 2.88$) about finances, $t(1,61) = 4.02, p < .001$. Finally, participants rated low-status individuals ($M = 2.60$) as worrying more than high-status individuals ($M = 2.20$) about incompetence, $t(1,61) = 3.61, p < .002$.

Overall, the findings indicate that people perceive low-status individuals to worry more overall as well as across the worry domains considered here.

Manipulation Check

Participants were asked to indicate, in a forced choice format, which group had higher status. Sixty respondents correctly identified the high-status group and one participant left the item blank.

Relation between Perceptions of Amount of Worry and Worry Content

The modified versions of the PSWQ and the WDQ measure two features of perceived worry: amount of worry and worry content. As both features are related to the broader construct of worry, the expectation was that people's perceptions of low-status individuals' overall amount of worry would be positively correlated with their perceptions of low-status individuals' worry about relationships. In addition, it was expected that people's perceptions of high-status individuals' overall amount of worry would be positively correlated with their perceptions of high-status individuals' worry about achievement, finances, and incompetence. To address these hypotheses, correlational analyses were conducted to determine the association between participants' ratings of high and low-status individuals on amount of worry (ratings on the modified PSWQ) and the four domains of worry (ratings on the modified WDQ). The correlational analyses were conducted for participants' ratings of high and low-status individuals, separately. For low-status targets' ratings, all of the zero-order correlations were positive and significant (see Table 5). For high-status targets' ratings, the zero-order correlation between the amount of worry and worry in the achievement domain was positive and significant. The correlations between amount of worry and worry in the finance, incompetence, and relationship domains were not significant (see Table 6).

Table 5

Zero-Order Correlations between Participants' Ratings for Low-Status Individuals on the Modified PSWQ and the Four Domains on the Modified WDO

	Overall worry	Relationship	Finance	Incompetence	Achievement
Overall worry		.64**	.66**	.63**	.74**
Relationship			.65**	.65**	.84**
Finance				.63**	.65**
Incompetence					.70**
Achievement					

** p < .01

Table 6

Zero-Order Correlations between Participants' Ratings for High-Status Individuals on the Modified PSWQ and the Four Domains on the Modified WDO

	Overall worry	Relationship	Finance	Incompetence	Achievement
Overall Worry		.22	.20	.22	.28*
Relationship			.62**	.64**	.69**
Finance				.55**	.55**
Incompetence					.69**
Achievement					

* p < .05

** p < .01

Next, partial correlations were conducted to determine the association between ratings on the modified PSWQ and ratings for the domains of the modified WDQ (achievement, finance, incompetence, and relationship). It was expected that people's perceptions of low-status individuals' overall amount of worry would be positively correlated with people's perceptions of low-status individuals' worry about relationships, while holding worry for the achievement, finance, and incompetence domains constant. Partial correlations were conducted to address this hypothesis. Participants' ratings of low-status individuals' overall worry (i.e., ratings on the WDQ), on the one hand, were correlated with participants' ratings of low-status individuals' worry about relationships (i.e., ratings on the relationship domain on the modified WDQ), on the other, while controlling for participants' ratings of low-status individuals' worry about achievement, finances, and incompetence (i.e., ratings on the achievement, finance and incompetence domains on the modified WDQ). Unexpectedly, the partial correlation was not significant, $r(61) = -.12$, ns. Also unexpectedly, the correlations between participants' ratings for low-status individuals' overall worry, on the one hand, and participants' ratings of low-status individuals' worry about achievement, finance, and incompetence, on the other, while controlling for participants' ratings of low-status individuals' worry about relationships were significant: achievement, $r(61) = .50$, $p < .001$, finances, $r(61) = .43$, $p < .001$, and incompetence, $r(61) = .36$, $p < .01$.

In contrast, it was expected that people's perceptions of high-status individuals' overall amount of worry would be positively correlated with people's perceptions of high-status individuals' worry about achievement, finances, and incompetence, while holding worry for the relationship domain constant. The results of the zero-order correlational analyses between overall worry and worry across the four domains revealed only one positive significant correlation between overall worry and achievement, and, as such, the

partial correlations are not reported.

In sum, neither the zero-order correlations nor the partial correlations were consistent with expectations.

General Discussion

Gender and Status

The purpose of the present thesis was twofold: the first goal was to explore people's perceptions of men and women's worry, and the second goal was to explore people's perceptions of low and high-status individuals' worry. Gender and status, the two foci of this study, are linked as evidenced by research in both psychology and sociology (Berger et al., 1972; Conway et al., 1996; Wagner & Berger, 1997). Psychologists have argued that status can account for gender stereotypes. As women have lower status than men (Rhodie, 1989), the expectation in the current study was that people's perceptions of women's worry would be consistent with their perceptions of low-status individuals' worry. Similarly, as men have higher status than women, the expectation was that people's perceptions of men's worry would be consistent with their perceptions of high-status individuals' worry. For amount of worry, the expectation was confirmed: people perceived women and low-status individuals as worrying more than men and high-status individuals, respectively. For worry content, the expectation was partially confirmed: people perceived women and low-status individuals as worrying more about relationships than men and high-status individuals, respectively. As expected, men relative to women were perceived as worrying more about achievement, finances, and incompetence, but unexpectedly, low relative to high-status individuals were perceived as worrying more about these issues.

The stereotype of the amount of worry that emerged raises the question as to the reasons that women and low-status individuals are perceived as worrying more than men and high-status individuals. One explanation has to do with the inherent power differentials between men and women, and high and low-status individuals. Power has been defined as the ability to control one's outcomes in addition to others' outcomes (Dépret & Fiske, 1993).

For example, having higher status is deemed prestigious and thus people with higher status are respected and admired more than people with lower status. Additionally, people with high-status also have more access to resources, such as education. Having higher status, then, is advantageous because it places high-status individuals in a position of power whereby they can exert an influence over low-status individuals' outcomes. This power differential is apparent in many work environments as people in high-status positions, such as managers, control the outcomes of their subordinates. As women are more likely to assume low-status positions than are men, by implication women have less control over their own outcomes than do their male counterparts, and as such, women have reason to feel uncertain and insecure about the future. The stereotype of the amount of worry, then, may in fact reflect reality: as women typically have lower status than men, presumably they have more to worry about. Thus the finding that women are perceived as worrying more than men may be explained by the inherent status differentials between men and women.

In terms of worry content, the stereotype that emerged was that people perceive low relative to high-status individuals and women relative to men as worrying about relationships (although the results for gender were only significant for male participants). The results also revealed a positive correlation between how people perceive low-status individuals and women to worry overall and how people perceive low-status individuals and women to worry about relationships. The findings are in concordance with research that shows that low-status individuals and women are perceived as communally oriented. By implication, low-status individuals and women would presumably worry about issues related to the maintenance of their interpersonal relationships. As people's perceptions of women and low-status individuals' worry about relationships converge, the results support the notion that status may be an appropriate model to explain the gender stereotype of worry about

relationships.

The findings for perceptions of worry about achievement, finances, and incompetence were inconsistent across gender and status: people's perceptions of men and women's worry differed from people's perceptions of high and low-status individuals' worry. It was expected that people would perceive men and high-status individuals as worrying more than women and low-status individuals about achievement, finances, and incompetence. The findings for gender supported this hypothesis, while the findings for status did not. As people perceive men relative to women as agentic, it was expected that men would be worried about issues related to this orientation, such as achievement, finances, and incompetence and this hypothesis was confirmed. The results for gender also revealed a positive correlation between how people perceive men to worry overall and how they perceive men to worry about achievement, finances, and incompetence, while holding worry for the relationship domain constant.

Previous research also shows that people perceive high relative to low-status individuals as more agentic (Conway et al., 1996) and thus it was expected that high-status individuals would be perceived as worrying more about issues related to this orientation, such as achievement, finances and incompetence. However, unexpectedly, people perceived low relative to high-status individuals as worrying more about these issues. The unexpected findings for status may be due to the fact that perceptions of lower status individuals reflect the difficulties that low-status individuals encounter in a society that values power and prestige and that this power is often attained through achievement and financial stability. However, this argument is problematic given that financial concerns were not relevant for the status group presented in the current study. It may be, however, that financial and achievement concerns are part of individuals' schemas where status is concerned, and thus

regardless of the nature of the presented status groups, people would perceive low-status individuals as worrying more about those concerns.

In sum, the findings were convergent for gender and status in terms of overall amount of worry and worry about relationships. The findings suggest that status may account for the gender stereotype of amount of worry and the gender stereotype of worry about relationships. The discrepant results between how people perceive high-status individuals and men in terms of worry about achievement, finances, and incompetence, indicates that the status model may not be appropriate to explain the gender stereotypes of worry concerning these issues. However, the finding that low relative to high-status individuals worry more about these issues, could reflect the difficulties that low-status individuals typically face.

Implication of Worry Stereotypes

Are the stereotypes of the amount of worry and worry content negative in the sense that the process is considered dysfunctional and, if so, could the gender stereotypes of worry lead to detrimental outcomes for men or women? The question of whether stereotypes of worry are positive or negative may depend on whether worry is defined as a global process or a process concerning specific issues.

The stereotype of the amount of worry that emerged in the current study was based on participants' ratings of men and women in terms of issues such as being overwhelmed by worry, finding it difficult to dismiss worrisome thoughts, and having to worry all the time. Thus, worry was defined as dysfunctional, a more or less all-encompassing cognitive process that could potentially override alternative methods of dealing with difficult situations, especially given that the process is both time-consuming and distracting. In addition, the worry process typically involves a cognitive review of negative outcomes, and has not been

considered by theorists and clinicians as leading a person to actively solve the problem at hand. In fact, excessive worry is a main component of certain anxiety disorders defined in the DSM-IV (American Psychiatric Association, 1994), and thus the nature of overall amount of worry measured in the current thesis could be construed as pathological in nature (Molina & Borkovec, 1994). Perhaps, then, participants in Study 1 may have considered global worry as dysfunctional. That people perceive women relative to men as experiencing more worry may lead to more global attributions about women, such as the extent to which women are capable of dealing with problems in any given situation.

In contrast, the stereotypes concerning worry content that emerged in the current study were based on ratings of men and women in terms of specific concerns, such as worry about having enough money to take a vacation and worry about making mistakes at work. Perceptions concerning specific worry may differ conceptually from perceptions of global worry. For example, the perception that people perceive men relative to women as worrying about finances does not necessarily lead to negative overall assumptions about how men will respond to problems in any given situation. Worriers defined in this manner may be construed as goal-oriented and, therefore, productive. For example, if a person worries about not having enough money to pay their bills, it may be possible to envision a solution to the problem, that is, to start saving money. In contrast, the problem with global worry is the worry process itself, and the solution in this case becomes more complex. In clinical terms, excessive worry is a component of anxiety and therefore is conceived of as pathological. In theoretical terms, one could argue along similar lines: perhaps the lay population perceives global worry, as assessed in Study 1, as pathological. For instance, if a person is overwhelmed by worry, the process may be seen as dysfunctional in that the solution concerns the cognitive process itself: the solution is to stop worrying. Excessive

worry may be perceived as more difficult to deal with than problems with tangible solutions, such as saving money in order to be able to pay the bills. Thus, the stereotype of worry content is one that could be a positive response in that it potentially initiates problem solving whereas global worry may actually interfere with problem solving and by implication may be perceived as more dysfunctional.

That the stereotype of amount of worry could be construed as a belief that is more negative than stereotypes concerning worry content raises the issue of whether the stereotype of amount of worry results in negative outcomes for women. One argument is that the stereotype of the amount of worry is not as harmful as more obviously unacceptable stereotypes, such as the stereotype that women are less intelligent than men. That women are perceived as less intelligent than men could potentially lead to hiring biases, whereas one could argue that the consequences for the gender stereotype of amount of worry are not as clear.

Alternatively, one could argue that because the stereotype of amount of worry is a negative belief, that that alone could result in detrimental outcomes for women. As previously described, extensive worry, in addition to being distracting and time-consuming, does not result in active problem solving. As such, the stereotype of amount of worry may result in pervasive judgements about how women cope. Women may be perceived as having less emotional control. Independent of the situational context, people may perceive women to worry when faced with any difficult situation. As well, global worry, as assessed here, may be associated with negative attributes for the layperson, and therefore it may result in outcomes similar to the negative types of outcomes that result from more clearly unacceptable stereotypes, such as the stereotype that women are less intelligent than men.

In light of the fact that women have lower status than men, and therefore face more

difficult situations than do men, the findings here suggest that the stereotype of the amount of worry could result in negative consequences for women. Thus, the current research indicates that gender stereotype research remains an important area of psychological inquiry.

Alternative Theoretical Model

A reoccurring theme in the current thesis is that status accounts for differential gender perceptions of overall worry; however, it should be noted that other researchers have proposed alternative theories to account for gender differences in social behaviour. A popular model is the social role theory developed by Eagly (1987). This theory emerged from an effort to understand the underlying causes of sex differences in social behaviour. The main point of this theory is that differential gender roles are due to society's distributions of men and women into two types of roles: the roles associated with providing for the family (a stereotypically male role) and the roles associated with caring for the family (a stereotypically female role) (Eagly et. al, 2000). Traditionally, this division of labour resulted in women spending fewer hours in paid employment (Shelton, 1992).

Within social role theory, gender stereotypes stem from the characteristics associated with the social roles that men and women traditionally fill. For example, women typically filled more domestic-type roles than men and therefore women were ascribed communal characteristics related to such roles, such as being loving and caring. Men typically participated in the workforce and thus were ascribed more agentic characteristics associated with this role, such as being strong and assertive. Social roles continue to evolve as more women continue to enter the workforce. However, the division of labour still exists as women's careers are concentrated in different fields than men's and these positions are both lower in pay and considered more interpersonally oriented.

As such, the social role theory is based on the notion that this social organization,

that is, the sexual division of labour, is the driving force of sex-differentiated behaviour. The social role theory is in contrast to the status account of gender differences as exemplified in this thesis. The argument in the current thesis is that the gender stereotype of overall worry can be explained within the context of a status model. Social role theory can also account for the gender stereotype of overall worry. For example, as men relative to women are more perceived as strong, assertive, and independent, it follows that men would not be perceived as worrying more than women.

In terms of psychosocial models, status is a preferential model because it provides a more parsimonious and general account of gender stereotypes.

Limitations

As with all stereotype research, the results of this study may be influenced by factors such as social desirability. For example, people may be reluctant to disclose personal viewpoints about gender differences because they feel as though it not socially acceptable to hold such opinions. However, this study was at an advantage in that gender differences in worry could arguably be considered more acceptable than other characteristics that are more clearly taboo, such as gender differences and intelligence.

Another limitation in the current thesis involves the comparison of the concerning the worry domains in Study 1 and the results of concerning worry domains in Study 2. The organization of factors into categories for the modified WDQ in Study 2 was based on the factor structure that emerged from the Principle Components Analysis (PCA) in Study 1, which was done in order to allow for comparisons between the two studies. This is potentially problematic in that the actual factor structure in Study 2 may have differed from that which emerged from Study 1. However, due to a small sample size, a PCA could not be conducted in Study 2. In addition, due to the nature of the Study 2, certain items that

appeared on the worry questionnaires in Study 1 were removed for Study 2. Thus the comparison between perceptions of worry content in Study 1 and perceptions of worry content in Study 2 should be interpreted with caution.

Future Research

Future research on perceptions of men and women's worry should consider contextual elements. Recent research illustrates that emotional stereotypes are context dependent. Kelly and Hutson-Comeaux (1999) showed that specific emotions that are differentially associated with men and women are dependent on whether the target is perceived to be in an interpersonal or an achievement context. In this study, female emotional stereotypes were judged as more characteristic of women in an interpersonal context, whereas male emotional stereotypes were judged as more characteristic of men in an achievement context. A future direction might be to explore how people perceive men and women to worry in different contexts. In line with Kelly and Hutson-Comeaux's (1999) study, one might expect that men would be perceived as experiencing more worry in an achievement context, whereas women would be perceived as experiencing more worry in an interpersonal context.

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Figures

Figure 1

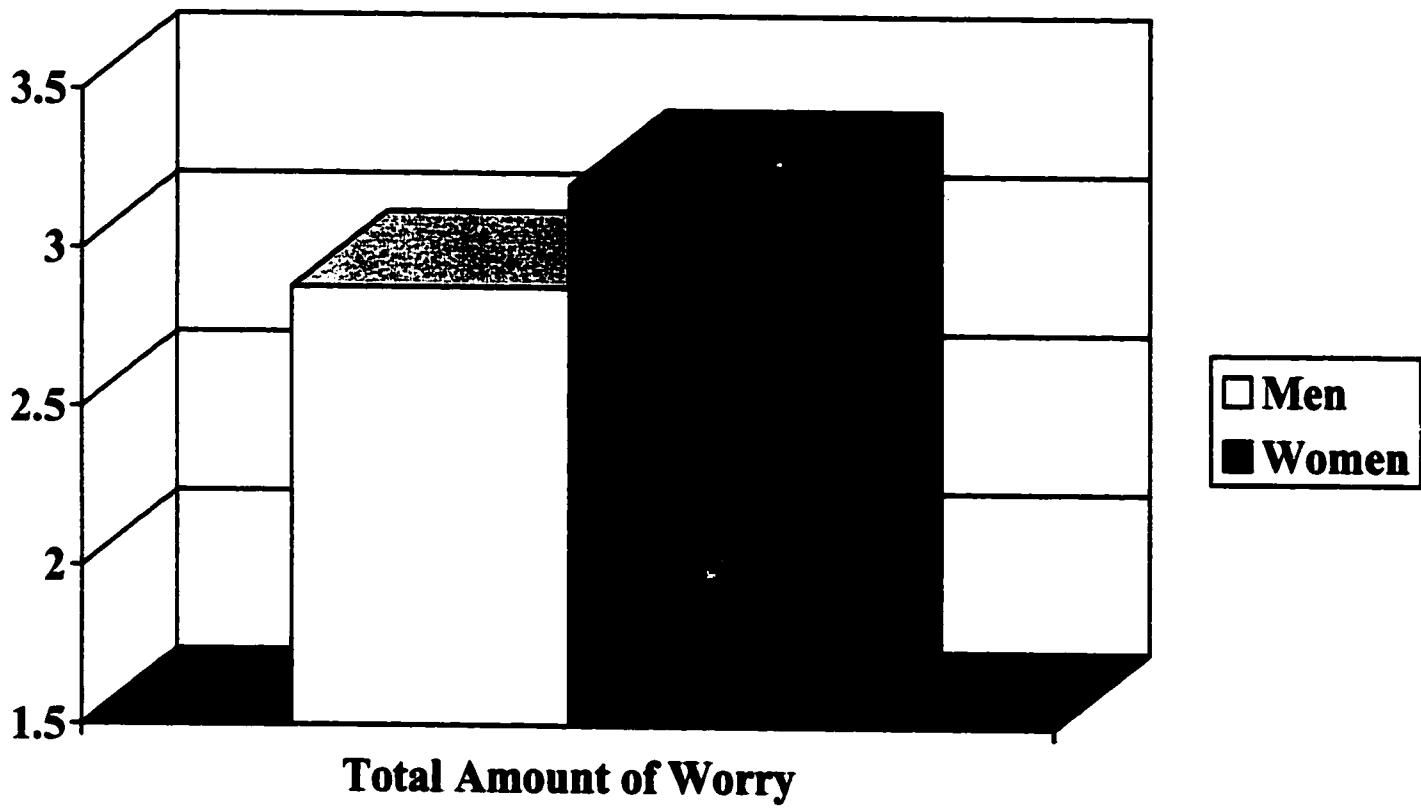


Figure 1. Ratings of men and women on the modified PSWQ in Study 1

Figure 2

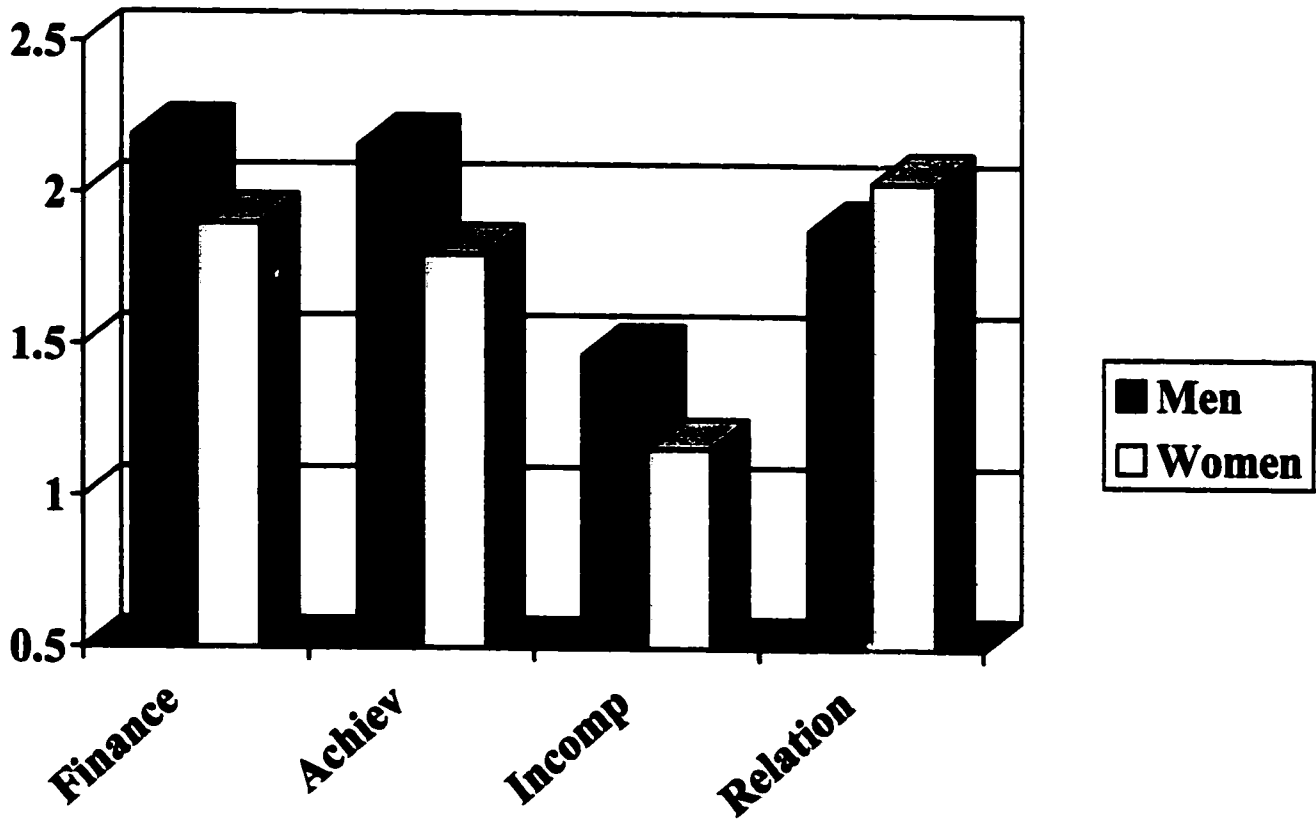


Figure 2. Ratings of men and women on the four domains of the modified WDQ in Study 1

Figure 3

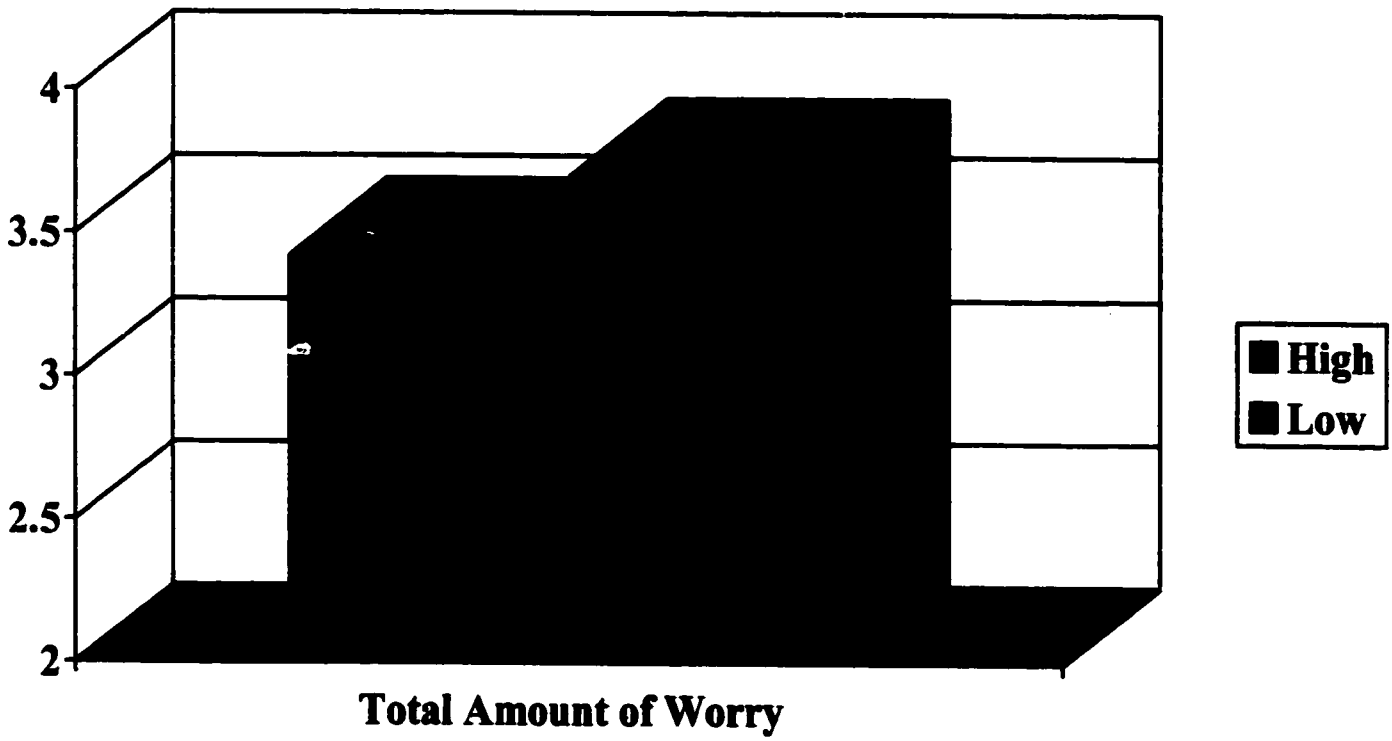


Figure 3. Ratings of high and low-status individuals on modified PSWQ in Study 2

Figure 4

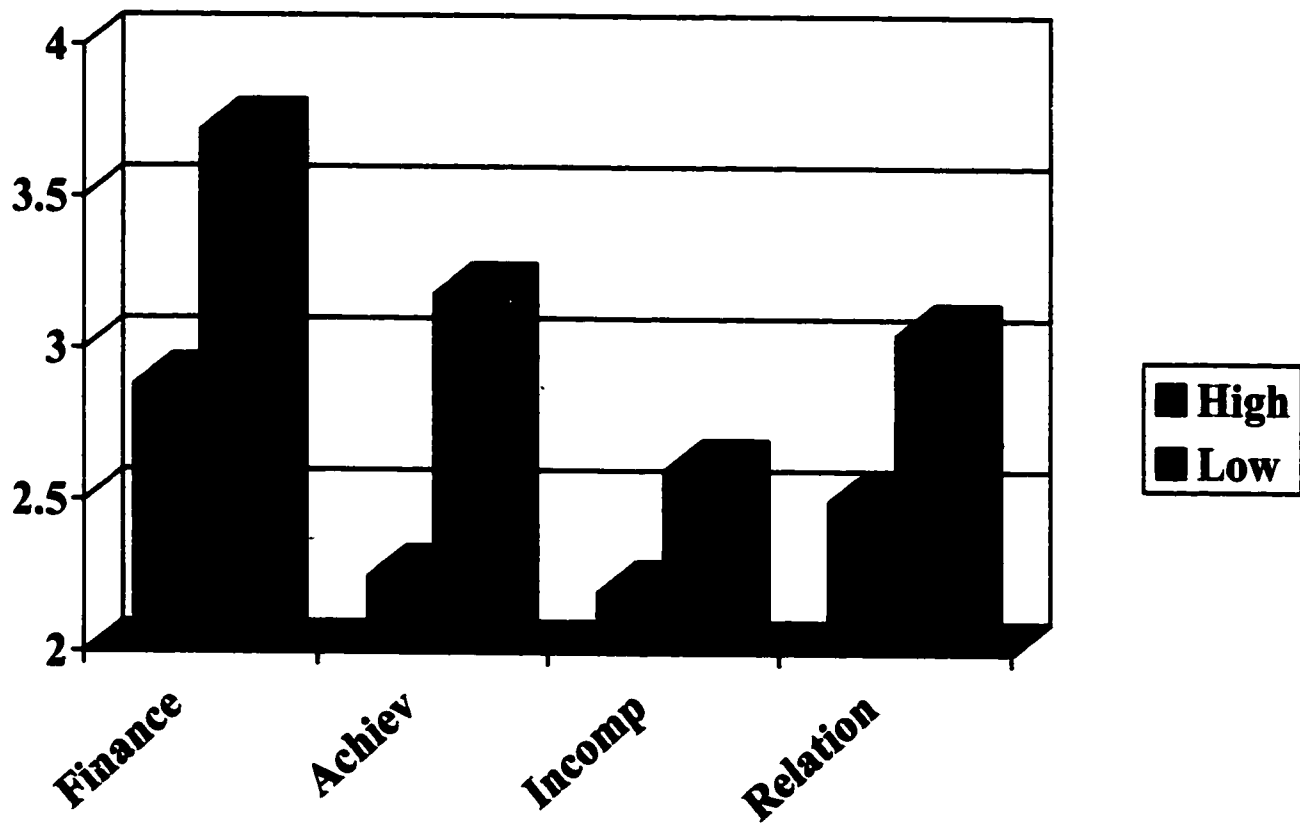


Figure 4. Ratings of high and low-status individuals on the four domains of the modified WDQ

Appendices

Appendix A

There are two versions of the modified PSWQ. The version shown here asks respondents about their perceptions of women's worry. The second version is identical to this version, except that "women" is substituted with "men." Participants filled out either version one or version two. For each of the 16 items, participants rated individuals using a five-point Likert scale:

1 2 3 4 5
Not at all true Somewhat true Very True

PSWQ-GQM

In this section, we are again interested in your personal beliefs about the characteristics that are typical of women. In particular, we are interested in your personal beliefs regarding how much women worry in their daily lives.

Please answer each question. If you are not sure, please give us your best guess.

1. If women don't have enough time to do everything, they don't worry about it.
2. Women are overwhelmed by their worries.
3. Women don't tend to worry about things.
4. Many situations make women worry.
5. Women know they shouldn't worry about things but they just can't help it.
6. When they're under pressure, women worry a lot.
7. Women are always worrying about something.
8. Women find it easy to dismiss worrisome thoughts.
9. As soon as women finish one task, they start to worry about everything else they have to do.
10. Women never worry about anything.
11. When there is nothing more that women can do about a concern, they don't worry about it anymore.
12. Women are worriers all of their lives.
13. I notice that women worry about things.

14. Once women start worrying, they can't stop.

15. Women worry all the time.

16. Women worry about projects until the projects are all done.

Appendix B

There are two versions of the modified WDQ. The version shown here asks respondents about their perceptions of women's worry. The second version is identical to this version, except that "women" is substituted with "men." Participants filled out either version one or version two. For each of the 25 items, participants rated individuals using a five-point Likert scale:

1 2 3 4 5
Not at all true Somewhat true Very True

WDQ-GQM

In this section, we are interested in your personal beliefs about the characteristics that are typical of women. In particular, we are interested in your personal beliefs regarding what women worry about in their daily lives.

Women worry...

...that their money will run out. (1)

...that they cannot be assertive or express their opinions. (2)

...that their future job prospects are not good. (3)

...that their family will be angry with them or disapprove of something that they do. (4)

...that they'll never achieve their ambitions. (5)

...that they will not keep their workload up to date. (6)

...that financial problems will restrict holidays and travel. (7)

...that they have no concentration. (8)

...that they are not able to afford things. (9)

...that they feel insecure. (10)

...that they can't afford to pay bills. (11)

...that their living conditions are inadequate. (12)

...that their lives may have no purpose. (13)

...that they don't work hard enough. (14)

- ...that others will not approve of them. (15)
- ...that they find it difficult to maintain a stable relationship. (16)
- ...that they leave work unfinished. (17)
- ...that they lack confidence. (18)
- ...that they are unattractive to the opposite sex. (19)
- ...that they might make themselves look stupid. (20)
- ...that they will lose close friends. (21)
- ...that they haven't achieved much. (22)
- ...that they are not loved. (23)
- ...that they will be late for an appointment. (24)
- ...that they will make mistakes at work. (25)

Appendix C

There are two versions of the modified PSWQ. The version shown here asks respondents about their perceptions of Gunada's worry. The second version is identical to this version, except that "Gunada" is substituted with "Ngwani." Participants filled out both versions of the questionnaire. For each of the 10 items, participants rated individuals using a seven-point Likert scale:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all true		Somewhat true		Quite True		Very True

PSWQ-GQM

In this section, we are again interested in your personal beliefs about the characteristics that are typical of Gunada. In particular, we are interested in your personal beliefs regarding how much Gunada worry in their daily lives.

Please answer each question. If you are not sure, please give us your best guess.

- 1.If Gunada don't have enough time to do everything, they don't worry about it.
- 2.Gunada are overwhelmed by their worries.
- 3.Gunada know they shouldn't worry about things but they just can't help it.
- 4.When they're under pressure, Gunada worry a lot.
- 5.Gunada are always worrying about something.
- 6.Gunada find it easy to dismiss worrisome thoughts.
- 7.As soon as Gunada finish one task, they start to worry about everything else they have to do.
- 8.Gunada never worry about anything.
- 9.When there is nothing more that Gunada can do about a concern, they don't worry about it anymore.
- 10.Gunada worry about projects until the projects are all done.

Appendix D

There are two versions of the modified WDQ. The version shown here asks respondents about their perceptions of Gunada's worry. The second version is identical to this version, except that "Gunada" is substituted with "Ngwani." Participants filled out both versions of the questionnaire. Two additional items were included in Study 2 that were not used in Study 1 and these are the last two items in the questionnaire. For each of the 18 items, participants rated individuals using a seven-point Likert scale:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all true		Somewhat true		Quite True		Very True

WDQ-GQM

In this section, we are interested in your personal beliefs about the characteristics that are typical of Gunada. In particular, we are interested in your personal beliefs regarding what Gunada worry about in their daily lives.

Gunada worry...

...that they cannot be assertive or express their opinions. (1)

...that they'll never achieve their ambitions. (2)

...that they will not keep their workload up to date. (3)

...that they have no concentration. (4)

...that they feel insecure. (5)

...that their living conditions are inadequate. (6)

...that their lives may have no purpose. (7)

...that they don't work hard enough. (8)

...that others will not approve of them. (9)

...that they find it difficult to maintain a stable relationship. (10)

...that they leave work unfinished. (11)

...that they lack confidence. (12)

...that they are unattractive to the opposite sex. (13)

...that they might make themselves look stupid. (14)

...that they will lose close friends. (15)

...that they haven't achieved much. (16)

...worry about being able to collect enough wild fruit and nuts to survive. (17)

...worry about whether they have enough goods to trade with the local government. (18)

Appendix E

Description of a Culture Presented in Study 2 (*Explicit references to status are italicised*)

The community lies in the remoter region of the Amazonian jungle, just beyond the borders of Brazil. Here, the flooded lowlands begin to rise slowly towards the Andes, although the altitude is still only a few hundred feet above sea level. Torrential rains occur frequently in the early morning and mid-afternoon, but despite the dampness, the heat is not excessive. Fresh breezes, frequent thunderstorms, and heavy evaporation maintain the temperature at an average 28C.

The members of the community work neither metal, stone, nor leather. Many tools, utensils, and containers are fashioned from animal teeth, wood, fibre, leaves, and the shells of wild fruits and nuts. The community engages in some commerce with the local government and traders, exchanging woven baskets and other handcrafts that they make themselves for pottery, fabric, clothing, metal pots, and leather goods made by others.

In terms of the housing, community members live in huts that are simple structures build of wood and thatched leaves. The huts are built away from the river with a number of pathways leading from the river to the village. The members of the village obtain food from hunting, fishing, and collecting various wild fruits and plants. They depend largely on hunting for their meat foods, securing large game such and tapirs with lights spears of cane, their tips dipped in poison. The poison does not make the meat dangerous to eat. For smaller game, such as birds and monkeys, a blowgun is used, the tip of the dart filled with a poison taken from the curare plant. In addition, to hunting, the community members also catch fish using a variety of methods. They also collect wild fruits and nuts, eggs from nests, and catch frogs, snakes, and lizards when larger game is hard to find. In addition, there are a number of small plantations in the jungle where the village members cultivate maize, yams, sweet potatoes, peanuts, peppers, pineapples, and tobacco.

The community is composed of two distinct groups, the Ngwani and the Gunada. Forklore tells of how the gods fashioned the first man and women from twigs and clay. The gods were so pleased with their work that they decided to make a whole people. Although both groups are from the same racial stock and are identical in physical characteristics, tradition holds that the Ngwani are the direct descendants of the first man and woman. The Ngwani hold higher *status* in the society. According to common belief, the Gunada are not direct descendants of the first family; this seems to be tied to the fact that the Gunada hold a lower *status* position than the Ngwani. The difference in *status* is evident upon entering the village; the Gunada huts are on the outer peripheral edge of the village while the huts of the Ngwani are clustered around a larger hut in the centre of the village. This larger hut is used for gatherings of the community. Another noticeable difference is that the leaves used in the roofs of their huts a characteristic deep green colour; this colour contrasts with the pale green of the roofs of the Gunada huts.

Clothing is functional; men wear a simple loincloth around their waist which they seem to wear continuously. Women wear simple dresses of light fabric. In addition to the clothing, both men and women wear many ornaments. The Ngwani wear more ornaments than the Gunada. Tight bands are worn on the upper arms of the men and on the ankles and upper calves of the women. These bands are delicately woven from fine fibre threads with interesting geometric designs. The designs on the bands of the Ngwani are more complex

and are woven with threads dipped in red and black dyes. In contrast, the simpler designs worn by the Gunada are woven with threads dipped in white and black dyes. Necklaces are made with shells, teeth, bone discs, and coloured seeds. Traditionally, the Ngwani wear a line of deep red dye across their foreheads.

The activities in the community are shared. Much of the time is spent in search of and preparation of food. After bathing in the river at dawn, the village members disperse to hunt and fish and to work in the fields. The Ngwani are seen as holding the land for the gods even though both the Ngwani and the Gunada work side by side in the fields. Usually the community gather in the communal hut for the principal meal of the day. As part of the privileges, the Ngwani are entitled to the best of the hunt and the best of the crop; however, great care is taken to ensure that everyone has enough to eat.

The tribe's religious beliefs centre around a number of gods, including both celestial and terrestrial gods. They also believe that all objects, both animate and inanimate, possess a spirit, which can either be good or evil. According to the beliefs of the community, the Ngwani are seen as being in closer contact with the spirits. The members of the community also have a strong belief in magic.

Many of traditional ways of life are transmitted through songs and dances. Some songs are quite lengthy and tell the history of the people. Many of the dances seem to re-enact important community events. The hunt is a central theme in many of the dances.

Because the Ngwani hold a higher *status* and the Gunada a lower one, intermarriage and sexual contact between the two groups is strictly forbidden. Other types of social interaction are allowed. The members of the two groups interact on a daily basis in farming, gathering, and hunting, and preparing food. Marriages are monogamous, but adultery is not unknown. Chastity is expected of the unmarried. The prevalent family unit is the nuclear family, but the extended family has a lot of influence.

The tribe is led by a council that is composed of the elders of both the Ngwani and the Gunada. This council is responsible for taking decisions, which affect the whole village.