When Roles Reverse: Stigma, Status, and Self-Evaluation[1]

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Self-evaluations after interracial and dyadic interactions were examined. African American and White females interacted with either a same- or different-race partner in one of 3 role conditions: the high-status role of an interviewer, the low-status role of an applicant, or a peer of equal status. Following the interaction, responses to the Collective Self-Esteem scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) assessed social self-evaluation, while the Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale (Rosenberg, 1965) and the State Self-Esteem scale (Heatherton & Polivy, 1991) assessed personal self-esteem. Combinations of racial composition and situational role had striking influences on self-evaluations. For instance, when situational roles signaled a reversal from societal status, participants reported lower collective self-esteem than when situational and societal status were consistent. Thus, roles can have compelling consequences for self-evaluation after intergroup interactions.

Recent efforts aimed at the integration of members of stigmatized social groups into many arenas have increased the prevalence of interactions between members of stigmatized social groups (e.g., African Americans) and members of nonstigmatized social groups (e.g., Whites). For instance, it is becoming increasingly common for Whites and African Americans to encounter one another and to interact at work (Jackson & Ruderman, 1995; Triandis, Kurowski, & Gelfand, 1994). Recent research suggests, however, that such interactions between members of different groups may be quite challenging and difficult to negotiate for both the stigmatized and the nonstigmatized group member (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998; Devine, Evett, & Vasquez-Suson, 1996; Frable, Blackstone, & Sherbaum, 1990; Ickes, 1984; Stephan & Stephan, 1985).

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Further, in work environments in which many dyadic interactions involve specific hierarchical roles (e.g., the roles of employer and employee), interactions between members of stigmatized and nonstigmatized groups may take on additional significance. For instance, when the member of the nonstigmatized group is in a position of authority and power over the member of the stigmatized group, the dyadic participants may think and behave in ways that support the derogation of the low-status group (Fiske, 1993; Jost & Banaji, 1994). For example, during interactions in which nonstigmatized group members are in positions of authority over stigmatized group members, low-status individuals' respect for and deference to their superiors' legitimate authority may also unwittingly lead them to endorse illegitimate status hierarchies between their social groups (Fiske, 1993). Despite these potential implications, members of stigmatized and nonstigmatized groups may be familiar and comfortable with status-congruent interactions, precisely because of the consistency between their relative status in the interaction and the relative sociocultural status of their group memberships.

On the other hand, role-based dyadic interactions in which the status of the roles in the immediate interaction and the status of the participants' group memberships are reversed or deviate from what is typical may present problems (Crocker et al., 1998). For example, dyadic interactions in which a member of a stigmatized social group is in a position of authority relative to a member of a nonstigmatized group may be uncomfortable and perhaps even aversive for both the nonstigmatized and the stigmatized individual. During such status-incongruent interactions, for instance, participants may be relatively unfamiliar with their roles and less able to predict both their own and their partners' reactions and behaviors. The predictive uncertainty may, in turn, pose a threat to the public face of the participants and challenge the positivity of their self-evaluations (i.e., self-esteem). The primary aim of the present work is to examine how such role reversals may influence both stigmatized and nonstigmatized participants' evaluations of their racial group memberships (collective self-esteem) and their evaluations of themselves (personal self-esteem).

Social Identity and Self-Evaluation

There is mounting evidence suggesting that the self-views of individuals who belong to stigmatized groups may be quite sensitive to contextual influences regarding their group memberships (Crocker, 1999). In particular, recent research has demonstrated that situations that directly threaten the desirability and positivity of a group membership can have a considerable impact on individual group members' evaluations of themselves (e.g., Crocker, Cornwell, & Major, 1993; Frable, Platt, & Hoey, 1998; Steele & Aronson, 1995). For instance, Steele and Aronson found that African American students who thought that they were going to take a test that was presented as diagnostic of their intellectual ability were

significantly more likely to experience self-doubt than were African American students who were to take a nondiagnostic test. Presumably, the context of being evaluated by a diagnostic test made salient negative aspects (e.g., stereotypes) about their group and, consequently, about themselves as members of that group. Similarly, in another study Frable et al. found that in a certain context, individuals who had few opportunities to identify and interact with similar others (i.e., people with concealable stigmas) had more negative self-views than did individuals who had more opportunities to do so (i.e., visibly stigmatized and nonstigmatized individuals). Considered together, this work suggests that the effects of stigmatized group membership on self-evaluation may be moderated by aspects of the immediate social context.

The present research is designed to investigate the impact of a particular type of immediate social context on stigmatized group members' self-evaluation—status-defined, role-based dyadic interactions with a member of a nonstigmatized group. In addition to examining the influence of the context on stigmatized group members, however, we are also interested in the impact that the social context may have on the self-evaluation of members of nonstigmatized social groups. Although much of the work on social identity and self-esteem has focused solely on stigmatized individuals, we posit that the self-views of members of nonstigmatized groups also may be vulnerable to contextual factors. In particular, we expect that interracial dyadic interactions, in which the status of participants' situational roles and sociocultural group memberships are inconsistent, will be threatening social contexts for members of both stigmatized and nonstigmatized groups. Thus, the present study considers the potential effects of such status-incongruent dyadic interactions on participants' collective self-evaluation and personal self-evaluation.

Collective Self-Evaluation (Group-Associated Affect)

Social psychologists have long been intrigued by the meaning that individuals ascribe to their memberships in social groups (Brewer & Brown, 1998; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Recent research in this vein has begun to examine the positive affect associated with being a member of social identity groups, termed *collective self-esteem* (CSE; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). This work has shown that the more strongly one identifies with a group, the more one's CSE will be tied to that group. For example, one study found that CSE moderated the degree to which participants showed in-group-serving appraisals (Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990). Thus, individuals with higher CSE responded to negative group performance feedback by altering their ratings of above-average and below-average scorers in a manner that enhanced their in-group. Individuals low in CSE did not.

Although Crocker et al. (1992) initially suggested that CSE is traitlike (i.e., one's level of CSE associated with any particular group membership is relatively

stable), there is evidence that CSE might be both malleable and context sensitive (Jones et al., 1984). For instance, one recent study found that men exposed to a male target who acted counterstereotypically (e.g., behaved very emotionally) with a group of men (in-group condition) had lower levels of CSE associated with being male than did men who were exposed to a male target who acted counterstereotypically with a group of women (out-group condition; Richeson, Shih, & Ambady, 1998). Similarly, Ethier and Deaux (1994) found that Latino/Latina students who experienced more threats to their identity while attending a predominantly White Ivy League university had lowered CSE than did students who did not experience much threat. The primary goal of the present study, therefore, is to investigate the effects of a threatening dyadic structure (i.e., status-incongruent dyadic interactions) on individuals' CSE—the affect associated with their racial group membership.

CSE is thought to be composed of four relatively distinct components: membership, private, importance to identity, and public CSE (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Each component has been shown to tap a different aspect of individuals' affective state regarding particular group memberships. The membership component assesses how "worthy" a member of the group a person considers himself or herself. The private component is an index of how positively one views one's group, while the importance-to-identity component measures the degree to which the particular group membership is central to one's self-concept. Finally, the public component measures how positively individuals think others view their group.

How might status-incongruent dyadic structures influence these various aspects of CSE? As mentioned earlier, role reversals may threaten the public face of participants, and thus public CSE (how positively individuals think that others perceive their group) may be most vulnerable. For instance, previous work within and outside psychology has demonstrated that members of stigmatized groups are quite aware that others expect them to conform to stigma-consistent roles (Deaux & Major, 1987). Furthermore, that there are penalties (often severe in nature) for failing to do so (Allport, 1954; Kanter, 1977; Patterson, 1997; Poskocil, 1975; Rudman, 1998).

Similarly, nonstigmatized group members may also anticipate social disapproval for out-of-role behavior. In addition, the turning of the status tables may provide nonstigmatized participants with a situation that is unfamiliar for them, but that is also typical and familiar for their stigmatized partners. Such an experience may, in turn, lead them to perceive members of their own group as members of stigmatized groups might perceive them. Thus, for members of stigmatized groups and members of nonstigmatized groups, public CSE should be reduced when the status of individuals' situational roles is incongruent with the status of their sociocultural group membership in the presence of an out-group member. Hence, participants' public CSE (rather than the other aspects of the CSE) would be impacted most likely after interactions with a member of the out-group

(i.e., interracial interactions) involving status incongruence primarily because (a) public CSE taps how others (e.g., out-group members) view one's group, and (b) taking on an unfamiliar role is often unexpected and unrewarded, particularly for members of stigmatized social groups.

Personal Self-Evaluation

In addition to CSE, we also investigate the effects of role-based dyadic interactions on individuals' personal self-evaluation. The relationship between the status of group membership and individuals' self-evaluation has been one of the most interesting and historically debated areas in research on stigma and intergroup relations. Several theories, including social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), suggest that members of stigmatized groups should have lower self-esteem than members of dominant groups (Clark & Clark, 1947; Rubin & Hewstone, 1998). For instance, because stigmatized group memberships are viewed negatively by out-group members, the self-concept of individual members of low-status groups should reflect these negative appraisals (Cooley, 1956; Mead, 1934).

More recent work, however, has challenged the assumption that stigmatized group members should have low self-esteem relative to nonstigmatized group members. This work has shown, quite convincingly, that members of low-status stigmatized groups do not typically have negative self-views (Baumeister, 1997; Crocker & Major, 1989; Josephs, Markus, & Tafarodi, 1992). Stigmatized group members possess strategies of social comparison and attribution that protect their self-esteem (Crocker & Major, 1989; Crocker, Voelkl, Testa, & Major, 1991). In addition, research suggests that members of nonstigmatized groups also make considerable efforts to maintain positive self-regard in the face of threats to the self (see Tesser & Martin, 1996, for a review).

Nevertheless, a second goal of this work is to examine the effects of role-based dyadic interactions on participants' personal self-evaluation. We posit that while personal self-esteem may not differ for members of stigmatized and nonstigmatized groups, it may be sensitive to contextual cues, such as the status of participants' situational roles. Thus, for example, individuals in low-status, subordinate situational roles may have lower self-esteem than individuals in high-status superior roles, regardless of the social status of their group. Further, in contrast to CSE, this pattern of influence on personal self-esteem may be particularly pronounced in same-race dyadic conditions in which social identity group membership should not be particularly salient.

The Present Study

The present study examines the influence of situational roles (and their associated status) on stigmatized and nonstigmatized individuals' collective and

personal self-esteem after same-race or interracial dyadic interactions. Specifically, we examine African American and White females[3] engaged in a dyadic interaction with either another member of their racial group or a member of their racial out-group under one of three role conditions: interviewer, applicant, or conversation partner. Further, interaction goals associated with each of the situational roles are explicitly activated. For instance, the role of an interviewer is used to trigger a high-status situational role and is accompanied by the explicit goal of impression formation. The role of an applicant is used to trigger a low-status situational role and is reinforced by the goal of impression management. Finally, the role of a conversation partner and the goal to attempt to get along are used to invoke an interaction in which the participants have equal status (Bargh & Gollwitzer, 1994; see also Schlenker & Weigold, 1992; Snyder, 1992; Snyder & Cantor, 1998). Thus, the collective and personal self-evaluations of African American and White female participants are assessed after they engage in a dyadic interaction with a same-race or different-race partner under the explicit induction of one of three roles associated with low, equal, or high relative status in the interaction (i.e., interviewer [HIGH], partner [EQ], or applicant [LOW]). In addition to participants' group-associated affect (CSE), we also examine their trait and state personal self-esteem.

Hypotheses

CSE. As mentioned previously, we are primarily interested in participants' levels of public CSE. For interracial dyadic interactions, we expect a strong influence of the situational roles on how positively nonstigmatized participants (Whites) and stigmatized participants (African Americans) think that others feel about their respective racial-group memberships (public CSE). Specifically, we expect the public CSE of participants in interracial dyadic conditions, in which the status of their group membership is incongruent with the status of their situational role, to be lower than the public CSE of participants in dyadic interactions, in which sociocultural and situational role status are congruent.

> *Hypothesis 1.* African American participants (low group status) in interracial dyadic interactions are expected to have lower public CSE in the role of the interviewer (high-status role) than in the role of the applicant (low-status role). Because out-group members will not be present in same-race dyadic conditions, this pattern is not

[3]In order to control for possible status differences and thus role-reversal effects that may stem from mixed-gender dyadic interactions, we decided to control for the gender composition of the dyad while manipulating racial dyad composition. Thus, we investigate only same-gender dyadic interactions between females.

expected for the public CSE of African American participants in same-race interactions.

Hypothesis 2. Similarly, we also predict that White participants (high group status) in interracial dyadic conditions will have lower public CSE after interactions in which they are the applicant (low-status role), compared to interactions in which they are the interviewer (high-status role). White participants in same-race interactions are not expected to follow this role-reversal pattern because of the absence of out-group members in the dyad.

Personal self-esteem. Previous research has demonstrated that, on average, White and African Americans do not typically differ in their levels of personal self-esteem (Crocker & Major, 1989). Thus, we expect no main effect of participant race for either participants' state or trait self-esteem. However, we do expect the situational roles to influence participants' personal self-evaluation.

Hypothesis 3. We expect participants in the low-status role of the applicant to have lower personal self-esteem than participants in dyadic interactions in which they have equal status or are in the high-status role of the interviewer of their partners. This pattern is expected to emerge most in same-race dyadic interactions in which race is not particularly salient.

Method

Participants

Ninety-five female students at a private New England university (48 African American, 47 White) completed the present experiment for a monetary reward of $6.

Procedure and Stimuli

The data from this experiment were collected as part of a larger study (Richeson & Ambady, 2001a, 2001b). Upon arrival at the laboratory, each participant was greeted by a same-race female experimenter, escorted into a room, and seated in front of a monitor and video camera. Then, the participant was told that the study examined "communication via different media, namely video and telephone," and that in the course of the study she would have a conversation with another student and would also be videotaped. Participants were randomly assigned to an interaction partner and a role condition upon their scheduled

participation in the study according to participant number. The participant then read and signed a consent form prior to continuing with the study.

Video manipulation. Each participant viewed a videoclip (2-min duration) of a same-race or different-race person. The pretaped video clip consisted of either an African American or a White female target discussing "her favorite movie." However, the content of the target video clip was scripted and standardized and therefore identical for both targets. The participant was told that the target was her interaction partner and that the purpose of watching the tape was for her to learn a bit about her interaction partner before having a short conversation over the telephone with her.

After the participant viewed the tape, she was videotaped discussing her favorite movie, ostensibly for the interaction partner to gain information about her prior to the conversation. After about 2 min, the experimenter stopped the participant. The purpose of the video manipulation was to ensure that the participant knew the race and gender of her interaction partner and knew that her interaction partner had the same information about her. Next, the experimenter prepared the participant for the telephone conversation and introduced the situational role.

Conversation. Participants engaged in a 7-min telephone conversation with either a same-race or different-race confederate[4] who served as the interaction partner. Prior to the conversation, the participant was given one of three roles, according to which she should approach the conversation. Further, each role included the explicit introduction of a particular interaction goal: (a) interviewer role with the goal of impression formation, (b) applicant role with the goal of impression management, or (c) conversation partner with the goal of "getting along" (see Appendix).

In the high-status interviewer role condition (HIGH), participants were instructed to approach the conversation as though it were an informal interview in which they were the interviewers and to evaluate their partners' performance—to form an impression of their partners. In the low-status applicant role condition (LOW), participants were told that they should approach the conversation with the tone of an informal interview, but they were to assume the role of applicants. They were told that they were being evaluated, and therefore they should attempt to manage the impressions they were making with their partners. Finally, in the equal-status partner condition (EQ), participants were simply told that it was important for the study that they make every effort to get along with their partners, without mention of relative roles or status. Confederates were in another room while talking to the participants and were audiotaped.

[4]Although the participants would not see their "interaction partner," the race of the confederate was kept consistent with the race of the pretaped target.

Confederates. Two female confederates (1 African American, 1 White) served as interaction partners for the participants during the telephone conversation.[5] Confederates were blind to the experimental conditions and the hypotheses. Further, they were instructed to talk with participants about the initial video, life at Harvard, or both. Hence, the conversations were unstructured in order for the interactions to be as ecologically valid as possible, while also maintaining considerable experimental control through the use of trained, yet blind confederates.

Interaction partner ratings. Immediately after the conversation, the participant made ratings of her interaction partner (i.e., the confederate). On 9-point Likert-type scales, each participant rated her interaction partner on each of the following traits: warm, friendly, responsive, rigid, aloof, anxious, talkative, sincere, intelligent, supportive, tense, dominant, boring, confident, and patronizing.

Ratings of group-associated affect and self-esteem. After participants made their ratings of their partners, they were taken to a separate room in which they completed the Collective Self-Esteem scale (CSES; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992), the State Self-Esteem scale (SSES; Heatherton & Polivy, 1991), and the Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale (RSES; Rosenberg, 1965), in that order. As mentioned previously, the CSES taps the positive affect associated with being a member of one's social groups. Participants indicated the extent of agreement with each of 16 items on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Luhtanen and Crocker report internal consistency reliabilities (alphas) ranging from .85 (total scale) to .73 (membership subscale). Similarly, the SSES was used to measure participants' state personal self-esteem. Participants indicated their extent of agreement to 20 items on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). The SSES has been shown to have an internal consistency reliability of .92. Finally, the RSES assessed the positivity of participants' global personal self-evaluation. The scale has been shown to have an internal consistency reliability greater than .80 (see Rosenberg, 1965). These three scales provide the dependent variables for all analyses. After the participant completed the three scales, she was debriefed and paid for her participation.

Results

Manipulation Checks

Confederate conversation. Since the conversations were not scripted, an independent rater coded the audiotape of each conversation in order to check for

[5]Unfortunately, we only employed one confederate of each race and one target of each race in the present study, although confederates and targets were not the same individual. To ensure generalizability, a greater number of targets and confederates is needed.

consistency in the content. The degree to which the confederate spoke about each of the following topics was rated on a 9-point Likert-type scale: favorite movie, residential house, the university, future plans, extracurriculars, and major field. The coder also rated the degree to which confederates talked about topics other than those prescribed, and wrote in what those topics were. One coder rated all 96 conversations, while another rated 45 conversations chosen at random as a reliability check. The ratings enlisted sufficient reliability (mean $r = .60$[6]).

Overall, the results showed that the confederates did talk about the anticipated topics. Prior to the conversation, the only topic that had been formally introduced was the favorite movie during the pretaped greetings. Thus, confederates tended to talk about a movie more than any other topic ($M = 4.55$). The topic that was rated as discussed most often after a movie was "future plans" ($M = 2.88$), which was discussed considerably less than the movie. The mean rating for "other" was 2.43, suggesting that even in conversations in which the topics deviated somewhat, not much discussion was far from what was anticipated and intended. Furthermore, a principal-components analysis on the ratings of the prescribed topics suggested a one-factor solution with "movie" reverse-scored. The interrater reliability of the composite derived from this factor solution was fairly high ($r = .70$).

It was extremely important to check for differences in the content of the conversations as a function of the situational role condition and the race of the participant. Thus, an ANOVA on the composite ratings was conducted. Results suggest that there were no reliable differences in the conversation content as a result of situational role, $F(2, 78) = 1.29$, $p = .28$. Additionally, there were no statistically reliable patterns in the interactions among participant race, target race, and role (all $ps > .30$). Furthermore, there were also no differences in the conversation content as a result of the race of the participant, $F(1, 78) = 1.18$, $p = .28$; or the interaction between the race of the confederate and the race of the participant, $F(1, 78) = 0.31$, $p = .58$.

Ratings of the confederate. In addition, it is possible that the confederates may have treated participants in different role conditions differently, despite being blind to the experimental conditions and hypotheses. To examine this possibility, the ratings of the interaction partners (described earlier) made by participants after the phone conversation were submitted to a principal-components analysis that revealed a one-factor solution. Thus, all variables were combined to form one composite variable assessing how positively the participant felt about her interaction partner (Armor's $\theta = .89$).

[6]The reliability of each topic was calculated individually and then averaged. Not surprisingly, the topic "other" was rated least reliably ($r = .43$). Further, the topic about which confederates spoke most ("movie") was rated quite reliably ($r = .74$). Hence, we used the single coder's ratings for subsequent analyses.

To examine differences in how positively participants rated the confederate as a function of their role conditions, an ANOVA on the composite variable was conducted. No reliable differences among participants' role conditions were revealed, $F(2, 84) = 0.15$, $p = .86$. Furthermore, none of the other factors, nor interactions between participant race or target race and situational role condition, were statistically significant (all Fs < 1). Thus, the explicitly introduced role did not seem to generate differential behavior on the part of confederates. Analyses of participants' explicit positivity ratings of their interaction partners also revealed that confederates did not treat participants of different races differently, $F(1, 78) = 0.25$, $p = .62$; and they behaved quite consistently in the different dyad compositions, $F(1, 78) = 0.36$, $p = .55$.

CSE

Participants' responses to the 16-item CSES (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) were used to assess the positive affect that they associated with their racial group membership. As outlined previously, the CSES is composed of four subscales thought to tap different aspects of one's affective orientation to a particular group membership (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). The four subscales are as follows: public, private, importance to identity, and membership. Often, the mean overall score (i.e., average of the 16 items) is used to assess an individual's level of CSE. However, Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine, and Broadnax (1994) suggest that, under many circumstances, each of the subscales should be considered separately. In addition, with the exception of a fairly high intercorrelation between the membership and private subscales ($r = .66$), the modest to low intercorrelations among participants' scores on the other subscales also suggest that they should be examined separately (Table 1). Further, because we expect hypothesized effects to emerge regarding specific aspects of participants' CSE (i.e., public CSE), we evaluated each subscale separately. Additionally, examinations of the internal consistency of each subscale suggest that the scales' reliabilities were comparable with the those reported by Luhtanen and Crocker (M reliability $r = .76$[7]). Thus, the mean of the four items contributing to each of the subscales was computed for each participant (items were reverse-scored where appropriate).

In order to investigate the influence of dyad composition (i.e., same race or interracial) and situational roles on participants' CSE, a 2 × 2 × 3 (Participant Race: African American/ White × Interaction Partner Race: African American/

[7]The internal consistency reliability for each subscale was calculated both over the full sample as well as within each racial sample separately. Reliabilities for the membership, private, and importance-to-identity subscales were similar for each racial subgroup as well as for the full sample. Reliabilities for the public and importance-to-identity subscales, however, were slightly lower when calculated for the full participant sample ($r = .62$), compared to when calculated separately for each racial group (mean $r = .76$).

Table 1

Intercorrelations of Subscales of the Collective Self-Esteem (SE) Scale

	Private	Public	Importance to identity	State self-esteem	Trait self-esteem
Membership	.66††	.04	.37†	.36†	.45††
Private	—	.04	.42††	.33†	.32†
Public		—	-.01	.34†	.31†
Importance to identity			—	-.05	-.01
State SE				—	.73††
Trait SE					—

†$p < .005$. ††$p < .0001$.

White × Situational Role Status: interviewer [HIGH]/partner [EQ]/applicant [LOW]) factorial ANOVA was conducted on each of the four dependent variables: public CSE, importance-to-identity CSE, private CSE, and membership CSE.

Public CSE. Recall that public CSE is an assessment of how positively people think that others view their group. Results of the 2 × 2 × 3 ANOVA, outlined previously, reveal that participants' racial group memberships directly influenced their public CSE. Specifically, and consistent with previous research (Crocker et al., 1994; Frable et al., 1998), African American participants had much lower levels of public CSE compared to White participants ($M = 4.01$, $SD = 1.60$, and $M = 5.35$, $SD = 0.94$, respectively), $F(1, 83) = 24.80$, $p = .0000034$, $r = .48$. This finding suggests that African American participants were aware of the stigmatized status of their group membership, including the negative stereotypes and attitudes associated with their racial group (see Devine, 1989). In addition to this overall racial difference in participants' public CSE, the interaction between the race of the target and participants' interaction roles moderated public self-esteem as well, $F(2, 83) = 3.26$, $p = .04$. Thus, as predicted, results suggest that both African American and White participants' public CSE was affected by the experimental manipulations of the race of the interaction partner (target) and their role in the dyad.

In order to investigate the predicted patterns of influence of combinations of partner race and role, we conducted separate analyses for the African American (stigmatized) and White (nonstigmatized) participants. We predicted in Hypothesis 1 that African American participants' public CSE would be influenced by the incongruence of societal and situational roles. Thus, we predicted that African American participants in interracial dyad conditions would think that others held

relatively negative opinions of their group membership (i.e., have low public CSE) when they were in the high-status role of the interviewer, but would expect others to have relatively positive opinions when they were in the low-status role (i.e., the applicant) in the interaction. Examinations of the condition means suggest that African American participants' public CSE was so influenced. Specifically, while African American participants in same-race dyad conditions showed nearly no variability as a result of the situational role, $F(2, 21) = 0.07$, $p = .93$, the role condition did influence African American participants in interracial dyadic interactions, $F(2, 21) = 3.08$, $p = .06$.[8] African American participants in interracial dyads who were in the low-status role felt that the public perception of their racial group was most positive ($M = 4.69$, $SD = 2.21$), compared to participants who were in the high-status role in the interaction and to participants with equal situational status as their partners ($M = 2.94$, $SD = 1.07$, and $M = 3.13$, $SD = 1.08$, respectively).

As shown in Figure 1, there was a dramatic decrease in public CSE from the low-status condition participants to the high-status condition participants. Again, African American participants involved in interactions with African American partners (i.e., same-race dyadic interactions) showed no such differences ($M = 4.25$, $SD = 1.68$; $M = 4.53$, $SD = 1.74$; and $M = 4.53$, $SD = 1.61$, for HIGH-, EQ-, and LOW-status role conditions, respectively). A planned contrast on the overall pattern of means reached conventional levels of statistical significance, $t(42) = 2.17$, $p = .036$, $r = .32$.[9]

Perhaps for a member of a stigmatized social group, being in a low-status subordinate role (i.e., the applicant) with a nonstigmatized out-group member is consistent with societal norms and is, therefore, expected to be responded to positively by out-group members. By contrast, it is likely that members of stigmatized social groups feel that being in a role of relatively high status with a member of a nonstigmatized social group may be threatening for their nonstigmatized interaction partners, and thus they may expect to be evaluated with low public approval.

Similar to the African American participants, there is also evidence for our prediction regarding the incongruence between situational and societal status

[8]Data-analytic strategy: In accordance with the guidelines set by the recent American Psychological Association Task Force on Statistical Inference, planned contrasts are employed to directly examine the statistical significance associated with our predictions (Wilkinson & ADA Task Force, 1999). Particularly since in several of our hypotheses two or more of the means were predicted not to differ, the omnibus (i.e. > 1 *df* in numerator) *F* statistic and its associated *p* value is unlikely to accurately reflect the true probability of the predicted pattern of means. In addition, an effect-size estimate (*r*) is computed for each contrast, as well as the two-tailed *p* level. Furthermore, the contrast weights used to assess the statistical significance of all focused comparisons is provided.

[9]Contrast weights: African American participants with White partners = 0, -1, and +1 for EQ, HIGH, and LOW conditions, respectively.

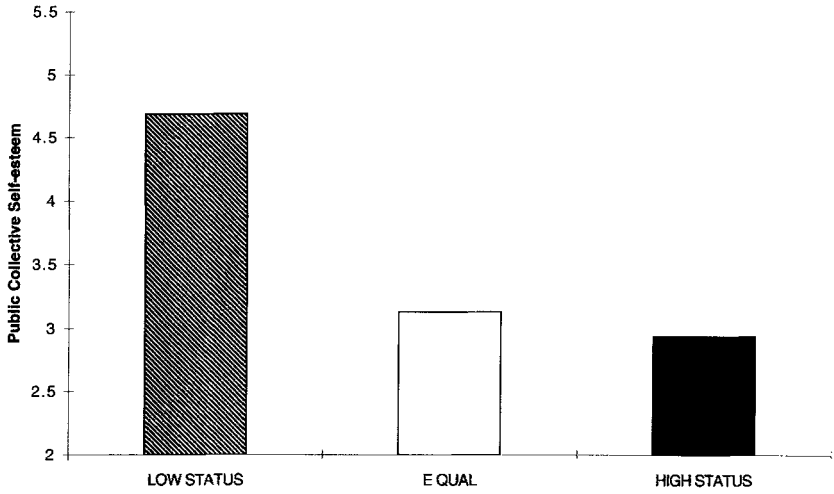

Figure 1. Role-reversal effects: African American participants' public collective self-esteem by situational role status after interracial dyadic interactions.

(Hypothesis 2) in White participants' levels of public CSE. The results reveal a Partner Race × Role interaction for how positively White participants thought nongroup members felt about their group (i.e., public CSE), $F(2, 41) = 3.16$, $p = .05$. An examination of the means suggests that White participants in the low-status role who interacted with an African American partner felt that out-group members held relatively negative opinions of their racial group membership ($M = 5.09$, $SD = 0.76$), compared with White participants in interracial dyadic interactions who were in the equal-status condition ($M = 5.56$, $SD = 1.08$) or in the high-status role of the interviewer ($M = 5.56$, $SD = 0.82$; see Figure 2). Conversely, White participants in same-race dyadic interactions felt that people generally had relatively positive opinions of their racial group membership when they were in the low-status role ($M = 5.94$, $SD = 0.72$) compared to White participants who were of equal status ($M = 5.16$, $SD = 0.88$), or participants who had relatively high status ($M = 4.84$, $SD = 1.16$) compared to their partners. A contrast examining the significance of this pattern reached conventional levels of significance, $t(41) = 2.49$, $p = .016$, $r = .36$.[10] Perhaps for White (i.e., nonstigmatized) participants, being interviewed by an African American, and thus being in a low-status position with a stigmatized group member, was threatening to the public evaluation of their racial groups.

[10]Contrast weights: African American partners = +1, +1, and -2; and White partners = -1, -1, and +2 for EQ, HIGH, and LOW conditions, respectively.

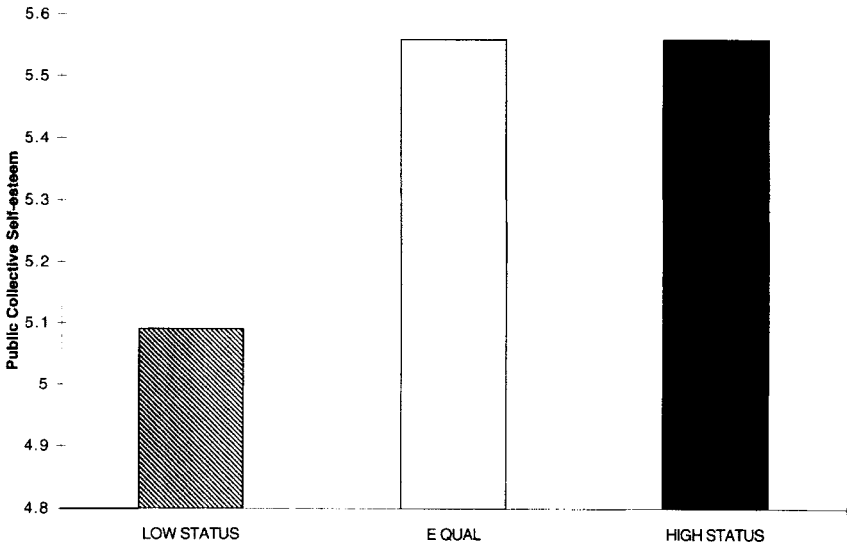

Figure 2. Role-reversal effects: White participants' public collective self-esteem by situational role status after interracial dyadic interactions.

Considered in tandem with the results for African American participants' public CSE, these results are particularly fascinating. Specifically, while the low-status role was associated with highest public CSE for African Americans in interracial dyadic interactions, this same low-status role led White participants in interracial dyads to feel the worst about the public evaluation of their racial group—they had the lowest levels of public CSE in this condition. Thus, the same condition (low-status situational role and interracial dyad composition) had opposite influences on White (nonstigmatized) and African American (stigmatized) participants. Taken together, these results provide compelling evidence for the effects of status incongruence in interactions between members of stigmatized and nonstigmatized groups on public CSE.

It is also interesting, however, that unlike the African American participants, the public CSE of White participants in same-race dyads was also affected. Specifically, a White participant in a dyadic interaction with another White participant had extremely high public CSE after being in the low-status situational role (i.e., applicant), compared to interactions in which she was in the high-status role of the interviewer. This finding suggests that situational status differences, even when race is not particularly salient, can impact nonstigmatized participants' evaluations of their group membership, but not in the same manner as when roles are reversed with a member of a stigmatized out-group.

Finally, note that for both African American and White participants, the equal-status role condition across both same-race and interracial dyad conditions was relatively akin to the high-status role of the interviewer. That is, during interracial dyads, both African American and White participants revealed similar levels of public CSE after interactions in which they were assigned the equal-status or high-status role, compared to when they were assigned the low-status role. Although the equal-status condition was designed originally as a control for the role-based hierarchical conditions, the results suggest that it also may be psychologically meaningful.

Importance-to-identity CSE. Recall that importance-to-identity CSE is an assessment of the degree to which a particular group membership is central to the self-concept. The same $2 \times 2 \times 3$ ANOVA, outlined previously, was conducted on participants' importance-to-identity CSE. Results reveal that African American participants had slightly higher levels of importance-to-identity CSE, compared with White participants ($M = 5.27$, $SD = 1.25$, and $M = 4.90$, $SD = 1.45$). However, this difference did not reach conventional levels of significance, $F(1, 83) = 1.86$, $p = .17$, $r = .15$. The racial composition of the dyad (same race or interracial), however, did significantly influence participants' importance-to-identity CSE, $F(1, 83) = 3.92$, $p = .05$, $r = .21$. Examination of the means reveals that White participants who interacted with African American partners felt that their race was less important to their identity ($M = 4.51$, $SD = 1.66$) than White participants who interacted with a partner who was also White ($M = 5.28$, $SD = 1.22$), $F(1, 41) = 3.57$, $p = .06$. By contrast, African American participants showed no differences in the importance of their race to their identity as a function of the race of their interaction partner ($M = 5.10$, $SD = 1.70$, and $M = 5.43$, $SD = 1.24$, for White and African American partners, respectively), $F(1, 42) = 0.81$, $p = .37$. Perhaps these results reflect White participants' attempts to establish common ground with their partners by decreasing the importance and relevance of race during interracial interactions.

Finally, there was also a main effect of the situational roles on participants' importance-to-identity CSE, $F(2, 83) = 4.21$, $p = .02$. Specifically, participants who were applicants (low-status role) reported that their group membership was less important to their identity ($M = 4.56$, $SD = 1.46$) than did either participants who were conversation partners ($M = 5.50$, $SD = 1.23$) or participants who were interviewers ($M = 5.21$, $SD = 1.23$) during the interaction, $F(1, 83) = 8.17$, $p = .006$, $r = .30$.[11] Being in the low-status position is associated with a threat of evaluation. Perhaps evaluative threat may have led participants to distance themselves (affectively) from the relevant identity or group membership (Crocker et al., 1993; Steele & Aronson, 1995).

[11]Contrast weights: +1, +1, and -2 for EQ, HIGH, and LOW conditions, respectively.

Private CSE. Recall that private CSE assesses how positively one views one's group. Similar to the analyses of public CSE, we performed a 2 × 2 × 3 ANOVA on participants' self-reported private CSE to examine differences as a function of racial group membership, dyad composition, and situational roles. In line with previous research (e.g., Crocker et al., 1994), African American participants had higher levels of private CSE relative to Whites ($M = 6.03$, $SD = 0.87$, and $M = 5.44$, $SD = 0.97$, respectively), $F(1, 83) = 9.88$, $p = .002$, $r = .32$. There were no reliable effects of the roles, dyad composition, or interactions between them on participants' private CSE (all $ps > .25$).

Membership CSE. Finally, recall that membership CSE concerns how "worthy" a member of the group a person considers himself or herself and furthermore is considered the least "collective" aspect of CSE (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Consistent with this conceptualization, results of the 2 × 2 × 3 ANOVA reveal only a main effect for participant race. Similar to private and importance-to-identity CSEs, African American participants reported higher levels of membership CSE ($M = 6.17$, $SD = 0.88$) than did White participants ($M = 5.72$, $SD = 0.86$) $F(1, 83) = 6.03$, $p = .017$, $r = .26$. This finding replicates previous research examining the CSE of members of different racial groups (Crocker et al., 1994). However, membership CSE was not influenced by any of the experimental manipulations (all $Fs < 1$).

In sum, several aspects of participants' CSE were influenced by the racial composition of the dyad or the explicitly introduced situational roles. Most importantly, however, dyadic interactions in which there was an incongruence between situational and societal roles affected both White participants' and African American participants' public CSE. Hence, these results suggest that interactions between members of stigmatized and nonstigmatized groups that involve status incongruence (i.e., role reversals) may be quite meaningful for both group members.

Personal Self-Esteem

In addition to our interest in participants' group-associated affect, a second goal of this work was to investigate whether dyadic interactions between stigmatized and nonstigmatized group members influenced personal self-evaluation. Thus, we measured participants' trait self-esteem as well as their state self-esteem; that is, participants completed both the RSES (Rosenberg, 1965) and the SSES (Heatherton & Polivy, 1991). Although we expected participants' levels of trait and state self-esteem to differ somewhat, our results suggest they were far more interrelated than anticipated ($r = .73$; Table 1). Therefore, we formed a composite of the scores on these two measures to index participants' personal self-esteem. To correct for differences in the variance in the scores of the two scales, each scale was first z-transformed, then participants' transformed scores

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics for Personal Self-Esteem

Statistic	Value
N	95
M	0.05
SD	0.89
Minimum	-1.86
Maximum	1.62

on each scale were averaged. Thus, each participant had one score assessing their personal self-esteem: a composite of their scores on the trait and state self-esteem scales (see Table 2 for descriptive statistics for the personal self-esteem composite).

In order to investigate differences in participants' levels of personal self-esteem, a 2 × 2 × 3 factorial ANOVA was conducted. As expected (Hypothesis 3) and in contrast to most aspects of participants' CSE, there were no differences in participants' personal self-esteem as a function of their race (i.e., the status of their group membership), $F(1, 83) = 0.27$, $p = .60$, $r = .06$. Thus, this finding replicates other work showing that members of stigmatized groups typically do not have lower personal self-esteem than do members of nonstigmatized groups (see Crocker & Major, 1994, and Frable et al., 1998, for exceptions). Furthermore, there were no statistically reliable effects whatsoever in the interactions between the participants' race and any of the other factors (all $ps > .60$).

The results of this analysis, however, did reveal a main effect of the role condition, $F(2, 83) = 3.76$, $p = .03$. Counter to expectations, on average, participants had relatively lower personal self-esteem after being in the high-status role with their partners ($M = -0.34$, $SD = 0.86$) compared to having equal status ($M = 0.06$, $SD = 0.96$) and had relatively higher personal self-esteem after interactions in which they were in the low-status situational role ($M = 0.27$, $SD = 0.90$), $t(83) = 2.69$, $p = .016$, $r = .28$.[12] However, this main effect was moderated by an interaction with the race of the interaction partner, $F(2, 83) = 3.40$, $p = .04$. Therefore, the race of the interaction partner considerably influenced the impact of the situational roles. Specifically, with White interaction partners, participants followed the overall pattern of role influence: HIGH, $M = -0.37$, $SD = 0.80$; EQ, $M = -0.27$, $SD = 0.80$; and LOW, $M = 0.54$, $SD = 0.85$. By contrast, after interactions with African American partners, participants had the highest levels of personal self-esteem when they were of equal status ($M = 0.39$, $SD = 1.00$),

[12]Contrast weights: 0, -1, and +1 for EQ, HIGH, and LOW conditions, respectively.

considerably lower personal self-esteem when they were in the low-status role ($M = 0.01$, $SD = 0.89$), and reported the lowest personal self-esteem again when they were in the high-status role ($M = -0.32$, $SD = 0.94$). A post hoc contrast examining this pattern of means also reached conventional levels of significance, $t(83) = 3.64$, $p = .0004$, $r = .37$.[13] Thus, regardless of the race of the interaction partner, being her interviewer (i.e., high-status role) led to relatively low levels of personal self-esteem. However, with a White interaction partner, having low status led to the highest levels of personal self-esteem, but when the interaction partner was African American, being equals led to the most positive self-evaluations.

Similar to the main findings for participants' CSE, these results may reflect an interesting influence of societal status on the meaning and significance of situational roles. Although both White and African American students found being in the high-status position with another student fairly uncomfortable, being in a low-status role was apparently less aversive when the superior was White compared to when she was African American. Participants had lower personal self-esteem after an interaction in which they were in a low-status role with a stigmatized group member, compared to an interaction in which they were in a low-status role with a nonstigmatized group member. Thus, it seems as if all participants (irrespective of their race) preferred to have a member of a visible, nonstigmatized group be their interviewer rather than a member of a visible, stigmatized group. Again, it is fascinating that both African American and White participants were influenced in this way. This finding contributes to research on implicit stereotyping (Banaji & Greenwald, 1995) and to recent work on system justification theory (e.g., Jost & Banaji, 1994), revealing in-group-derogating cognition, attitudes, and behaviors on the part of members of low-status groups.

Relationship Between CSE and Personal Self-Esteem

Despite the lack of direct impact of the status of a group membership on group members' personal self-evaluation, how group members evaluate the group (i.e., their group-associated affect) may have important consequences for their psychological well-being, particularly if they are members of a stigmatized group. That is, there may be an important relationship between CSE and personal self-esteem. Therefore, we computed the correlations between the separate subscales of the CSE scale and personal self-esteem (Table 3). The mean correlation between the different subscales of the CSE scale and personal self-esteem was larger for African American participants than for White participants. Thus,

[13]Contrast weights: African American partners = +1, -1, and 0; and White partners = 0, -1, and +1 for EQ, HIGH, and LOW conditions, respectively.

Table 3

Correlations Between Collective Self-Esteem Subscales and Personal Self-Esteem

Personal self-esteem	Full sample ($N = 95$)	White participants ($N = 47$)	African American participants ($N = 48$)
Membership	.44**	.30*	.61**
Private	.35**	.34*	.43**
Public	.35**	.13	.50**
Importance to identity	-.03	-.20	.16

*$p < .05$. **$p < .005$.

African American participants had an average correlation of .43[14] between their group-associated affect (again, the different subscales of the CSE scale) and their personal self-esteem; but White participants' mean correlation was considerably smaller ($r = .15$). A test of the difference between the mean correlation obtained for the African American participants and the mean correlation for the White participants approached conventional levels of significance ($Z = 1.47$, $p = .07$). Recent research suggests that minority-group membership may be more psychologically meaningful and valuable than majority-group membership (Brewer, 1991). Hence, it follows that, in general, the evaluation of minority-group membership and self-esteem would be more interrelated than the evaluation of majority-group membership and self-esteem.

This differential correlation between CSE and personal self-esteem for African American and White participants is perhaps most profoundly divergent for the importance-to-identity subscale and personal self-esteem. An examination of this correlation separately by participant race reveals that it was positive for the African American participants ($r = .16$), but negative for the White participants ($r = -.20$). Thus, while for members of stigmatized groups the centrality of the group membership (its importance to their identity) was positively related to self-evaluation, the reverse was true for members of nonstigmatized groups. This result supports previous work finding that stigmatized group members who identify more with their group memberships are less subject to negative impacts of their stigma on their self-evaluation (Crandall, 1994; Hammersmith & Weinberg,

[14]The mean correlation was computed by first transforming each individual r to its corresponding value of Fisher's Zr. All calculations were conducted on the Zrs. The obtained value was reconverted to units of Pearson r.

1973). However, recent work by Ashmore et al. (1998) found that psychological identification with an ethnic group membership was negatively correlated with life satisfaction. Our results suggest that perhaps Ashmore et al.'s findings may be moderated by the status of the group membership. Nevertheless, the results of this work support previous research that has argued "Considering each racial group separately, it is clear that CSE is related to psychological well-being in different ways for different groups" (Crocker et al., 1994, p. 509).

Discussion

Membership in social groups forms an integral aspect of individuals' self-concepts and has profound influences on cognition, affect, and behavior (see Brewer & Brown, 1998, for a review). A wealth of recent research on stereotyping and group membership has shown that belonging to a low-status stigmatized group can have negative consequences for participants' self-evaluations (Crocker et al., 1998; Steele & Aronson, 1995). Consistent with this research, the work presented here suggests that it is the stigma in a particular context, not the stigma alone, that is associated with these negative effects. Previous work has shown that social contexts ascribe meaning to group membership for both stigmatized and nonstigmatized individuals, influencing affect (Pittinsky, Shih, & Ambady, 1999), performance (Shih, Pittinsky, & Ambady, 1999; Steele & Aronson, 1995), and self-esteem (Frable et al., 1998). The present work extends research in this vein, demonstrating that contexts that are threatening to the positive evaluation of the group membership are also associated with profound effects on participants' CSE.[15]

The present work focused on a particular set of potentially threatening contexts: dyadic interactions between a member of a stigmatized group and a member of a nonstigmatized group. In a recent review of the literature, Crocker et al. (1998) suggest that these interactions may be particularly meaningful for both stigmatized and nonstigmatized group members. In the research reported in this paper, we were primarily interested in the positive affect that participants associated with their racial group memberships—their CSE. The results suggest that in dyadic interactions between stigmatized and nonstigmatized group members, the congruence (or lack thereof) between the status and goals associated with their situational role and their social group membership can have considerable influence on their group-associated affect.

For instance, for African American participants (i.e., stigmatized group members), we found that public CSE plummeted when they were in a high-status role

[15]Recent work has begun to demonstrate that supportive environments also can have a profound influence on the impact of group memberships on performance (Shih et al., 1999) and affect (Pittinsky et al., 1999).

with a White interaction partner, but not with another African American. We propose that these participants were responding to the discordance between the status associated with their stigmatized group membership (i.e., low-status role) and the status of their situational role (i.e., high-status role). In other words, when they were not in the low-status role with White interaction partners, African American participants expected to face considerably more public disapproval than when the status of their group membership and the status of their situational role status were consistent. Furthermore, White participants in interracial dyads were also influenced by the incongruence of social group status and situational role status, as indicated by their lower levels of public CSE after interactions in which they were in the low-status role compared to when they had equal status or when in the high-status role during interracial dyads. These effects were not revealed, however, for White participants in same-race dyads; they showed the opposite pattern. Again, this pattern seems to reflect an effect of status discordance. That is, White participants usually are not in low-status positions, having to manage their impressions with African Americans. The nonstigmatized do not typically or automatically expect to manage the impressions that they are making on the stigmatized. Apparently, instructing them to do so led to lowered public CSE.

Limitations

The external validity of the present study is somewhat limited in an attempt to retain a high degree of experimental control. For instance, participant roles and goals were introduced explicitly. Roles and goals that are introduced either implicitly by virtue of expectations, the context, or perhaps subliminally via a priming procedure may impact self-evaluation differently and should be investigated. Also, we used trained confederates as interaction partners in the present work. It is a possibility that interactions between two naïve individuals would produce different results. Thus, an obvious next step in this line of research is to investigate real interactions.

In a similar vein, we also chose to control for the gender of the participant in the current investigation, only manipulating the racial composition of the dyads. We anticipated that in an investigation of situational role status versus sociocultural status, the gender composition of the dyad may be a factor worthy of independent analysis, especially given the workplace scenario employed in the present study. Because gender groups, like racial groups, are also associated with a sociocultural status hierarchy, we limited our examination to interracial and same-race dyadic interactions between females. Future research is needed to examine the influence of gender-role status versus situational status on self-evaluations, as well as how the influences of race and gender may interact with one another to shape individuals' self-views, particularly during status-incongruent dyadic interactions.

Implications

Despite these limitations, the results of this research have important theoretical and practical implications. For instance, the findings of the present work demonstrate that CSE is sensitive to contextual changes and the influence of temporary, explicitly introduced situational roles. Thus, CSE is more state-like than was previously understood. This is some of the first experimental work, to our knowledge, to systematically examine the effects of a potentially threatening and aversive situation on CSE (see also Crocker et al., 1998). Furthermore, the present results demonstrate that relevant situational stressors, are just that—situational. Therefore, members of nonstigmatized groups are also at risk. Of course, members of stigmatized groups are particularly at risk for negative outcomes associated with their stigma because, by definition, far more contexts are threatening for them than for members of nonstigmatized groups. Nevertheless, these effects appear to be context-dependent.

The results of this study also speak to the importance of examining the various aspects of CSE separately. Had the overall mean score been used in this work instead, none of the effects would have been revealed. Particularly, in investigations of the group-associated affect of members of stigmatized and nonstigmatized groups, it is important to tease apart and examine separately individuals' perceptions of how others view their group (public CSE), how they feel privately about their group memberships (private CSE), as well as how important or central to their identity they consider their group membership (importance-to-identity CSE). As in previous research, we found that sociocultural status influenced aspects of CSE differently (Crocker et al., 1994; Frable et al., 1998). For instance, in this work, stigmatized group members had more positive feelings about their group membership than did nonstigmatized group members, but felt that others (i.e., nongroup members) had more negative perceptions of their group than did nonstigmatized group members.

Thus, our results highlight the complexity of the evaluation of the social self-concept. During interactions between members of stigmatized and nonstigmatized groups, participants can both distance themselves from their group membership (e.g., have lowered importance-to-identity CSE), yet maintain their positive perceptions of how non-group members feel about their group (i.e., their public CSE). At the same moment, one aspect of an individual's CSE (e.g., importance to identity) can drop while another increases (e.g., public). Such shifting of the various aspects of an individual's CSE may be a self-protective strategy that aids in the maintenance of positive global self-views. Regardless of the purpose of such shifts, however, clearly multiple aspects of group-associated affect are impacted by role-based interactions between stigmatized and nonstigmatized group members.

Finally, our examination reveals important differences in the experience of the self for stigmatized and nonstigmatized group members. We found that CSE

was far more positively related to personal self-esteem for members of stigmatized groups than for members of nonstigmatized groups. The divergence in this relationship was particularly true for how important to their self-concept participants considered their group membership (i.e., their importance-to-identity CSE). This finding supports previous work arguing that there is value in low-status, minority-group membership (Brewer, 1991; Brewer, Manzi, & Shaw, 1993; Crocker et al., 1998; White & Langer, 1999).

In conclusion, the results of the present research suggest that the relationship between group membership (both stigmatized and nonstigmatized) and self-evaluation is far more complex than previously understood. Future work should carefully consider the contexts that lead to increasingly negative views of the self at both the social and personal levels of analysis. Furthermore, an investigation of the types of contexts that are threatening to different group memberships is also necessary. For instance, this work has isolated dyadic contexts that seem to be meaningful for members of visibly identifiable stigmatized and nonstigmatized racial groups. However, different contexts (even at the dyadic level) are likely to be threatening for members of groups with concealable stigmas (e.g., bulimics). In sum, an examination of the dynamics of dyadic interactions between stigmatized and nonstigmatized group members, from both participants' perspectives, reveals that such dyads can have profound influences on participants' personal and collective self-evaluations. Furthermore, these results lend insight into how perceptions of social (dis)approval for taking on uncharacteristic situational roles may support the maintenance of existing social hierarchies between stigmatized and nonstigmatized groups; that is, the maintenance of the status quo.

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Appendix

Instructions for the Situational Role Conditions

Instructions for the equal-status (EQ) condition. Now you are about to have the telephone conversation. Previous research has shown that it is easier to get accurate information from pleasant conversations or from the conversations of friends. Hence, it is important to the study that you make every effort to get along with your interaction partner.

Instructions for the interviewer (HIGH status) role condition. Now you are about to have the telephone conversation. Your interaction partner is in need of feedback on her conversational skills. She is attempting to prepare for a telephone interview and wants to improve her presentation. Please try your best to evaluate her and form an impression of her based on her overall performance. Afterward, you will be given the opportunity to rate your partner on several relevant characteristics.

Instructions for the applicant (LOW status) role condition. Now you are about to have the telephone conversation. Your interaction partner is attempting to improve her skills as an interviewer. She is preparing for a new position in which she will have to interview several people over the telephone and choose the best candidate for the position. She will try to evaluate you as if you were having an informal interview, and thus you should make every effort to manage the impression you are making.