

Race and Self-Esteem: Meta-Analyses Comparing Whites, Blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and American Indians and Comment on Gray-Little and Hafdahl (2000)

Jean M. Twenge
San Diego State University

Jennifer Crocker
University of Michigan

These meta-analyses examine race differences in self-esteem among 712 datapoints. Blacks scored higher than Whites on self-esteem measures ($d = 0.19$), but Whites scored higher than other racial minority groups, including Hispanics ($d = -0.09$), Asians ($d = -0.30$), and American Indians ($d = -0.21$). Most of these differences were smallest in childhood and grew larger with age. Blacks' self-esteem increased over time relative to Whites¹, with the Black advantage not appearing until the 1980s. Black and Hispanic samples scored higher on measures without an academic self-esteem subscale. Relative to Whites, minority males had lower self-esteem than did minority females, and Black and Hispanic self-esteem was higher in groups with high socioeconomic status. The results are most consistent with a cultural interpretation of racial differences in self-esteem.

Over the past 50 years, hundreds of studies involving thousands of participants have examined race differences in self-esteem. For historical and political reasons, most of this research has focused on differences in self-esteem between Americans of sub-Saharan African descent (i.e., non-Hispanic Blacks) and Americans of European, Middle Eastern, and North African descent (i.e., non-Hispanic Whites).¹ Generally, this research has found that Blacks have levels of self-esteem equal to or higher than that of Whites (e.g., Porter & Washington, 1979). These results suggest the optimistic conclusion that members of racial minority groups, who are frequently disadvantaged and the targets of prejudice and discrimination, do not suffer from low self-esteem. Because research has focused on Black–White differences in self-esteem, however, it is not clear if this conclusion can be generalized to other racial minority groups. The goal of the present study is to present a meta-analytic review of race differences in self-esteem that includes comparisons among Black Americans, Asian Americans, American Indians, Hispanic Americans, and White Americans. We use the term *race* to refer to the social identities into which people categorize themselves and are categorized by others. We emphasize that our use of the term *race* here reflects this social construction and not assumed biological differences among identity groups (Phinney, 1996; Zuckerman, 1990; see also Footnote 1).

Theoretical Perspectives Relevant to Race Differences in Self-Esteem

There are three key aspects of race that may account for differences between groups: minority status (or stigma), identity, and

culture (Phinney, 1996). In the context of race differences in self-esteem, these aspects of race have translated into four distinct theoretical perspectives: internalization of stigma, stigma as self-protection, racial identity, and cultural differences in self-concept. We consider each of these perspectives below.

¹ Researchers currently disagree about the labels for specific ethnic and racial groups. We decided to use the U.S. Census Bureau designations for the groups in question. As the Census also does, we use their abbreviated forms in some cases: *White* (for White, non-Hispanic), *Black* (for Black, non-Hispanic), *Hispanic* (for Hispanic origin), *Asian* (for Asian or Pacific Islander), and *American Indian* (for American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut, sometimes labeled as *American Indian* or *Alaska Native*). We refer to White and Black groups without the explicit label of *non-Hispanic* for the sake of brevity.

There is also debate about using the term *race* versus the term *ethnicity*. Although some authors suggest the blanket use of the term *ethnicity* to describe all of these groups (e.g., S. D. Johnson, 1990; Phinney, 1996), there is disagreement on this point (e.g., Helms & Talleyrand, 1997). *Ethnicity* is commonly used to refer to a group that shares a common language and cultural history—by this definition, the identity *Asian* or *Hispanic* includes people with many different ethnicities (e.g., Ferdman & Gallegos, 2001; Zuckerman, 1990). In this article, we use *race* and *racial* differences when we mean the larger categories of Black, White, Hispanic, Asian, or American Indian, and *ethnicity* to refer to people from a specific country (Japanese Americans, Mexican Americans). However, we recognize that neither the term *race* nor the term *ethnicity* fully captures the social identities of the groups included in our meta-analyses.

It is also important not to reify or essentialize categorizations that are social, rather than biological, constructs (e.g., S. D. Johnson, 1990). Racial and ethnic categories are socially constructed, rather than based in shared biological characteristics (e.g., L. Wright, 1994). Nonetheless, these racial categorizations are meaningful to many in the culture, are incorporated into institutions such as the U.S. Census Bureau, and may be increasingly meaningful to members of their subgroups (Porter & Washington, 1993).

Jean M. Twenge, Department of Psychology, San Diego State University; Jennifer Crocker, Department of Psychology, University of Michigan.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Jean M. Twenge, Department of Psychology, San Diego State University, 5500 Campanile Drive, San Diego, California 92182-4611. E-mail: jtwenge@mail.sdsu.edu

Internalization of Stigma

Social scientists have long hypothesized that the history of slavery, legalized segregation, and prejudice and discrimination experienced by Black Americans exacted a psychological toll, resulting in damage to the Black psyche (Scott, 1997). Theories arguing that self-esteem develops from other people's views of the self (C. H. Cooley, 1902; Mead, 1934) led to the hypothesis that Blacks, as the targets of prejudice and discrimination, should suffer from low self-esteem. Although C. H. Cooley (1902) originally proposed that only the views of "significant" others would be incorporated into the self-concept, Mead (1934) suggested that the views of "generalized" others, or the person's entire sociocultural context, may be incorporated into the self-concept. Thus, J. M. Jones (1999) has argued that one major aspect of racism is cultural racism, in which the dominant or more powerful group defines what is valued in a culture as well as the specific forms those valued characteristics may take. Because these definitions almost always favor the attributes of the dominant group, the result is a generalized devaluation of subordinate minority groups.

According to this hypothesis, internalization of stigma leads to low self-esteem among minority groups. By the 1950s, this view was so widely accepted that it was regarded as an obvious truth. For example, Cartwright (1950) argued that

the group to which a person belongs serves as primary determinants of his self-esteem. To a considerable extent, personal feelings of worth depend on the social evaluation of the group with which a person is identified. Self-hatred and feelings of worthlessness tend to arise from membership in underprivileged or outcast groups. (p. 440)

Erikson (1956) claimed that "there is ample evidence of inferiority feelings and of morbid self-hate in all minority groups" (p. 115). Since the 1950s, concern about the possible damage to Black self-esteem wrought by racial oppression served as the impetus for hundreds of studies.

A major question of the present research is the degree to which racial minority groups have low self-esteem, as predicted by the internalization of stigma perspective. According to this view, levels of self-esteem in U.S. racial minority groups should parallel the degree to which members of these groups are stereotyped or devalued by Whites, who are the culturally dominant group in the United States. Research suggests that the attitudes of White Americans are particularly negative toward Blacks and Hispanics and less negative toward Asian Americans. For example, a sample of college students reported very favorable attitudes toward Whites (81.8 on a scale ranging from 10 [*extremely unfavorable*] to 100 [*extremely favorable*]) and less favorable attitudes toward Asians (68.2), Blacks (61.2), and Hispanics (55.7; Stangor, Sullivan, & Ford, 1991). A nationally representative sample of adults who participated in the 1990 General Social Survey revealed a similar pattern, except that Blacks were rated more negatively than Hispanics (T. C. Wilson, 1996). On both an index of desire for social distance and on an index of negative stereotypes, Blacks were rated more negatively than Hispanics, who were rated more negatively than Asians, who were, in turn, rated more negatively than Whites. Unfortunately, neither of the studies cited above assessed attitudes toward American Indians. On the basis of this pattern of

negative attitudes, the internalization of stigma perspective would suggest that Blacks should show the lowest levels of self-esteem, followed by Hispanics, with Asians higher in self-esteem than Blacks or Hispanics but lower than Whites (e.g., Ockerman, 1979).

According to the internalization of stigma perspective, this general pattern of self-esteem across racial groups should be moderated by variables that affect the degree of devaluation of racial groups. Under this view, regional differences and cohort effects in racial prejudice and stereotypes should moderate race differences in self-esteem. Across all cohorts, Americans in the South prefer greater social distance from Blacks, Asian Americans, and Hispanics than do Americans in the North (T. C. Wilson, 1996). On measures of negative stereotypes, Southerners born 1930 and prior are more prejudiced than Northerners of the same cohort. Subsequent cohorts of Southerners are consistently less prejudiced with each generation. Among Northerners, however, the cohort born 1946–1960 was least prejudiced, and the most recent cohort of Northerners, born 1961–1972, actually reversed the trend for subsequent cohorts to be lower in prejudice, showing significantly more negative stereotypes than their Southern counterparts (T. C. Wilson, 1996). Overall, these findings suggest that the self-esteem of minorities should be lower in Southern U. S. samples than in Northern U. S. samples and lower in earlier studies than in later studies.

Asian Americans present an interesting case for the internalization of stigma perspective. Many stereotypes about Asian Americans are positive, particularly in the domain of academics, resulting in the label *model minority* for this group (Oyserman & Sakamoto, 1997). However, Whites hold stereotypes of Asian Americans that are, on balance, negative rather than positive, and they desire social distance from Asians (Stangor et al., 1991; T. C. Wilson, 1996). Furthermore, Asian Americans themselves do not necessarily perceive the stereotype of their group as positive (Oyserman & Sakamoto, 1997), and they perceive prejudice and discrimination against their group (e.g., Bell, Harrison, & McLaughlin, 1997; Kim, 2001; Oyserman & Sakamoto, 1997). Thus, although the model minority stereotype might suggest that internalization of stigma would lead to high self-esteem among Asian Americans, evidence of Whites' negative stereotypes, unfavorable attitudes, and desire for social distance from Asians, in concert with Asian Americans' beliefs that they are targets of prejudice and discrimination, suggest that internalization of stigma would lead to low, rather than high, self-esteem in Asian Americans. However, because attitudes toward Asian Americans are less negative than attitudes toward Blacks or Hispanics, the internalization of stigma perspective suggests that Asians' self-esteem should be higher than that of Blacks or Hispanics.

A recent quantitative review by Gray-Little and Hafdahl (2000) concluded that Blacks have significantly higher self-esteem than do Whites, raising doubts about the validity of the internalization of stigma perspective. Instead, their quantitative review suggests that many Blacks have psychological resources that enable them to deflect the negative views of them in the culture. One goal of the present study was to replicate Gray-Little and Hafdahl's analysis, and another was to examine whether other racial minority groups are similarly immune to low self-esteem resulting from the internalization of stigma.

Stigma as Self-Protection

One factor in the high self-esteem of Black Americans may be the self-protective properties that membership in a stigmatized or disadvantaged group affords. Several researchers have suggested that membership in racial minority groups may protect or buffer self-esteem (e.g., Crocker & Major, 1989; McCarthy & Yancey, 1971; Rowley, Sellers, Chavous, & Smith, 1998; Simmons & Rosenberg, 1971). For example, racial minorities may selectively compare their outcomes with those of similarly disadvantaged others (Broman, Neighbors, & Jackson, 1988; Crocker & Major, 1989; Major, 1994; Major, Sciacchitano, & Crocker, 1993; Pettigrew, 1967; Porter & Washington, 1979; Simmons & Rosenberg, 1971), attribute personal failures or rejections to prejudice (Crocker, Voelkl, Testa, & Major, 1991; Dion, 1986; Dion & Earn, 1975; Simmons & Rosenberg, 1971), or devalue the domains in which their group fares poorly, selectively valuing domains in which their group does well (Crocker & Major, 1989; Heiss & Owens, 1972; McCarthy & Yancey, 1971; Rosenberg & Simmons, 1972; Schmader & Major, 1999; Steele, 1997). Consistent with this view, research on racial minorities with quite different historical circumstances has found that they have relatively high self-esteem. For example, both Turkish and Surinamese adolescents in the Netherlands have higher self-esteem than do Dutch adolescents (Verkuyten, 1994, 1995), similar to the Black advantage in self-esteem in the United States (Gray-Little & Hafdahl, 2000). If membership in racial minority groups provides opportunities to protect self-esteem, one would expect to find similar results for other U.S. minority groups as well.

Positive Racial Identity

Positive racial identity may also contribute to high self-esteem in Black Americans. According to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; see Gray-Little & Hafdahl, 2000, for a discussion), when group identity is salient and their group is devalued or compares unfavorably with other groups, people strive to achieve a positive in-group identity by emphasizing the desirable aspects of their group, redefining negative stereotypical qualities as positive, and favoring in-group members over out-group members. According to the theory, members of the devalued or disadvantaged racial groups attempt to redefine their group identity in positive terms (see, e.g., the racial identity development work of Carter, 1995; Cross, 1978, 1991; Helms, 1990; Rowe, Behrens, & Leach, 1995). When racial identity is central (i.e., important to the self-concept) and positive (i.e., favorably evaluated), racial self-esteem and ultimately personal self-esteem will be high. Studies of racial identity and self-esteem in Blacks support the hypothesis that personal self-esteem and psychological well-being are higher in Blacks whose racial identity is both central and positive (e.g., Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997; Pope, 2000; Rowley, Sellers, Chavous, & Smith, 1998; Wilson & Constantine, 1999). In general, there is a positive correlation between identification with social groups and personal self-esteem (Christensen, 2001).

Having a central and positive racial identity may have both direct and indirect effects on self-esteem. In addition to contributing directly to high self-esteem, a positive and central racial identity may facilitate the self-protective mechanisms afforded by

membership in a stigmatized group (Crocker & Major, 1989). For example, attributing negative outcomes to prejudice against one's racial group is more likely among people whose racial identity is central to their self-concept and who have positive views of their group (Branscombe et al., 1999). In addition, having a positive and central racial identity may be related to using in-group members as a reference group for social comparison and disengaging one's self-esteem from reflected appraisals (Crocker & Wolfe, 2001), particularly the appraisals of Whites. Wolfe, Crocker, Coon, and Luhtanen (1999) found that among Black American college students, positivity of racial identity was correlated with lower levels of basing self-esteem on the opinions of generalized others.

From a developmental perspective, the positive racial identity perspective and the internalization of stigma perspective are not incompatible. Most developmental models of racial and ethnic identity assume that racial identity develops over the life span (Adams, 2001; Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 2001; Helms, 1990; Jackson, 2001; Kim, 2001; Phinney, 1996). Many different models of racial identity development have been proposed, and the process of identity development varies within and across racial groups. Nonetheless, most of these models assume that racial identity develops as a result of encounters with racial prejudice and discrimination, often in adolescence and young adulthood. As a result of these encounters, people with devalued racial identities experience transformed consciousness, which entails moving from awareness and acceptance of their devaluation to resistance and ultimately redefinition of the meaning and value of their racial identity (Adams, 2001). Thus, the process of racial identity development frequently involves moving from internalization of stigma to rejection of stigma and redefinition of the meaning of one's identity. The racial identity perspective suggests developmental trends in the self-esteem of racial minorities, with young minority children showing lower self-esteem than Whites, but with this gap diminishing, disappearing, or even reversing through adolescence and young adulthood. This pattern was observed in Gray-Little and Hafdahl's (2000) meta-analysis of Black-White differences in self-esteem, leading them to favor a racial identity interpretation of Blacks' higher self-esteem.

It is not entirely clear what the racial identity perspective would predict about Hispanic, Asian American, or American Indian self-esteem relative to that of Whites. Because racial minority groups are numerically distinctive, discriminated against, and culturally devalued, racial identity is likely to be salient for all of these groups, triggering the motivation to achieve a positive social identity. Thus, from a social identity perspective, we might expect to find relatively high self-esteem in all racial minority groups (see, e.g., Christensen, 2001). However, the development of a positive social identity is not simply a personal undertaking. Collective processes such as social movements and ideologies may support the development of a positive racial identity for members of some groups. The civil rights, Black power, and Black nationalism movements in the United States, for example, provided a collective understanding that the problems faced by many Black Americans result from institutional and personal racism, rather than from the failings of Black Americans themselves (e.g., Gurin & Epps, 1975; Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998). Beliefs in collective action continued to increase in popularity among Blacks throughout the 1980s (Tripp, 1991). Thus, as Twenge (2001) argued, change over time may differentially affect

specific groups who have undergone cultural change and social movements. Although other racial groups also experienced changing identities as a result of social movements soon after the civil rights movement transformed the racial consciousness of many U.S. Blacks in the 1960s, these other movements have generally been less sweeping and dramatic than the social movements in which Black Americans participated. Nonetheless, recent evidence indicates that Blacks, Whites, and Asians in the United States do not differ much in the positivity of racial identity (e.g., Phinney, Ferguson, & Tate, 1997); it is unclear if this was always the case.

From this perspective, the year in which data were collected for a study may be an important moderator of race differences in self-esteem. Studies conducted prior to the civil rights and Black power movements, for example, might show lower self-esteem in Blacks than studies conducted after those movements, because of a rise in group consciousness and increased positivity of racial identity. Although the seeds of movements for other racial groups were probably sown earlier, historians generally date the rise of social movements in Asians, Hispanics, and American Indians to the late 1960s, roughly a decade after the Black civil rights movement took hold in the United States (Takaki, 1993). The transformational effects of these social movements on self-esteem may be lagged somewhat for all groups, because birth cohort effects seem to be strongest during childhood (Caspi, 1987; Twenge, 2000, 2001).

Cultural Differences in the Self-Concept

Cultural differences in the self-concept also suggest that the relatively high self-esteem characteristic of Blacks may not characterize other racial minority groups. For example, both cultures and individuals within cultures differ in their endorsement of individualism, with its conception of people as independent of one another and its focus on personal goals, personal uniqueness, and personal control. Individuals and cultures also differ in their endorsement of collectivism, with its conception of people as members of groups that bind and obligate people to each other (Oyserman, Coon, & Kimmelmeier, 2002). Collectivism and individualism are not bipolar opposites—both cultures and individuals within cultures can be high or low in individualism and high or low in collectivism—and sweeping generalizations about levels of individualism and collectivism across geographic regions or even within countries are likely to be oversimplifications (Oyserman et al., 2002). Nonetheless, the dimension of individualism has particular relevance to self-esteem.

Individualism and collectivism are associated with somewhat different views of the self. Within many North American and European cultural contexts, the person is more likely to be viewed as having a self that is stable and that transcends relationships and situations. In many other, more collectivist cultures, the person is more likely to be viewed as having a self that is flexible and context-dependent (Fiske, Kitayama, Markus, & Nisbett, 1998). Associated with individualism and the independent self-construal is the tendency to maintain and enhance self-esteem, particularly through efforts to stand out or be superior to others. This tendency is weaker or even absent in some cultures that emphasize the interdependent self-construal, in which harmony in social relations

is a more important goal (Fiske et al., 1998; Heine, Lehman, Markus, & Kitayama, 1999; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Indeed, Heine et al. (1999) argued that in some cultures in which the self is construed as interdependent, there is a common, elaborated practice of self-criticism in the service of self-improvement, which promotes harmony in relationships (Kitayama, Markus, Matsumoto, & Norasakkunkit, 1997). Such a practice, they argued, can account for the low levels of self-esteem found in some East Asian countries, such as Japan. Cultures that emphasize collectivism also frequently have a norm of modesty in self-presentations, which also contributes to low scores on measures of self-esteem (Tafarodi & Swann, 1996). Oyserman et al. (2002) reviewed studies of the relationship between individualism, collectivism, and self-esteem and reported that individual differences in individualism are correlated with individual differences in self-esteem, both in North America and in Japan. Collectivism, however, was not consistently correlated with low self-esteem.

Oyserman and her colleagues (Oyserman et al., 2002) also conducted a meta-analysis of individualism and collectivism among Whites, Asian Americans, Hispanics, and Black Americans. Their analysis showed that Whites were (a) higher in individualism and lower in collectivism than Asians, (b) lower in collectivism but not lower in individualism than Hispanics, and (c) lower in individualism but not different in collectivism relative to Blacks. These differences, combined with the association between individualism and self-esteem, lead to the prediction that White Americans' self-esteem should be lower than that of Blacks, similar to that of Hispanic Americans, and higher than that of Asian Americans. Although Oyserman et al. did not include American Indians in their study, American Indian cultures have been described as less individualistic than the dominant White culture. As a general rule, American Indian cultures emphasize cooperative living and the importance of the group and the extended family (DuBray, 1985; M. W. Garrett, 1995; J. T. Garrett & Garrett, 1994; Kasten, 1992). Consequently, from a cultural perspective, American Indians might also be expected to have low self-esteem because they are relatively low in individualism.

If cultural differences account for some of the differences in self-esteem, regional effects should be evident. For example, we should see smaller differences in studies conducted in the United States (e.g., comparing Asian Americans and White Americans) compared with samples collected in two different locations (e.g., comparing Asians living in Asia with White Americans). This is likely to occur because Asian Americans will be more acculturated to the United States and the independent model of the self. This theory would also predict that self-esteem differences should grow larger with age, as children learn the expectations of their racial group through cultural exposure.

Note that these different theoretical perspectives on race and self-esteem need not compete with each other. Instead, there may be mutual influences. For example, people who are low in individualism may be less likely to attribute negative outcomes to prejudice or to devalue domains on which their group fares poorly. Thus, the experience of being stigmatized may be less self-protective for them. In addition, the development of a positive and central racial identity could counter the internalization of stigma (Cross, 1991; Helms, 1990).

Overview of the Present Research

In sum, there are strong theoretical reasons to suspect that the relatively high self-esteem characteristic of Black Americans might not similarly characterize other racial minority groups in North America. Consequently, we conducted 10 meta-analyses comparing five racial groups to each other (see Table 1), including a replication and extension of Gray-Little and Hafdahl's (2000) findings on Black-White differences.

Our analysis differed from that of Gray-Little and Hafdahl's (2000) in several important respects. First, we included studies that compared the self-esteem of Whites, Blacks, Asian Americans, Hispanics, and American Indians. Second, we included samples of all ages, whereas Gray-Little and Hafdahl included only studies of people up to the age of 22. Third, because our major interest was in overall judgments of self-worth, not in evaluations of the self in specific domains, we did not include studies that assessed self-evaluations in a single domain such as appearance or academics. We included only studies that measured global self-esteem (e.g., with the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale [RSE]; Rosenberg, 1965), or a composite of self-evaluations in several domains (e.g., Coopersmith, 1967), whereas Gray-Little and Hafdahl included measures of academic self-esteem as well as global self-esteem. As James (1890) suggested more than a century ago, self-evaluations in specific domains are related to global self-esteem only in those who have staked their self-worth on achieving in that domain (see also Pelham, 1995; Pelham & Swann, 1989). Thus, including studies that assess self-evaluations in a single domain only may lead to misleading conclusions about overall or global self-esteem, particularly for minority students. Of course, self-esteem scales that assess self-evaluations in several domains may still yield a distorted picture of global self-esteem if groups differ in the weight they give those domains as sources of self-esteem; consequently, we compare studies that include an academic self-esteem subscale with those that do not.

Method

General Search and Inclusion Rules

To locate studies for the meta-analyses, we searched three databases: PsycINFO (journal articles in psychology), ERIC (journal articles in education), and *Dissertation Abstracts International* (dissertations and master's theses, major sources of unpublished data). These sources were searched by matching the key words *self-esteem* and *self-concept* with the following words: *race, racial, ethnicity, ethnic, Black, Blacks, Hispanic, Hispanics, Latino, Latinos, Indian, Indians, American Indian, American Indians, Asian, Asians, Chinese, Japanese, Vietnamese, Cambodian, Puerto Rican, Puerto Ricans, Cuban, Cubans, Mexican, and Mexicans*. To supplement the database searches, we also located all of the studies mentioned in Porter and Washington's (1979) review of race differences in self-esteem. This search yielded both studies reporting primary data and those reporting data from national, large-scale studies; data from national studies representing the same samples from the same year were entered only once. As also noted below, publication status (published journal article vs. unpublished dissertation) was not a significant moderator variable in any of the analyses. This suggests that the effect size is free of publication bias in the effect sizes.

Studies using any measure of general self-esteem were retained for the analyses. This included classic global scales such as the RSE, semantic differential or adjective scales, omnibus measures summing over several

areas of competence (e.g., the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale [TSCS], the Piers-Harris Self-Competence Scale for Children), and scales such as the Texas Social Behavior Inventory and the Janis-Field Feelings of Inadequacy Scale. It did not include measures tapping only single, narrow domains of self-esteem (e.g., academic self-esteem, body image). Studies examining abnormal populations were excluded (e.g., psychiatric or hospital patients, alcoholics, drug addicts, children in foster home care, delinquents, hyperactive children, mentally retarded individuals, gang members, or abuse survivors). Studies including less than 10 respondents were also eliminated for the initial search.

Each study was then examined to determine if an effect size could be calculated from the information provided. Formulas specified by Wolf (1986) were used to convert these statistics into the effect size d , or the difference between two groups in terms of standard deviations. The formula provided by Hedges and Becker (1986) was used to compute the reciprocal of the variance for each d (called w , an equation including d and sample size), and the total d was weighted for this number. We chose not to cap the weighting for d , as Gray-Little and Hafdahl (2000) did, for several large samples. First, our analysis did not include two of the seven large samples that Gray-Little and Hafdahl capped because both measured academic self-esteem only (Kohr, Coldiron, Skiffington, Masters, & Blust, 1988; Lay & Wakstein, 1985). In addition, we ran the analyses for overall effect size and moderator variables with and without the caps and found a few differences in magnitude only (not direction); the differences are noted in the text.

Studies were coded for the following possible moderating variables: age of respondents, year of data collection (assumed to be 2 years prior to publication unless otherwise specified in the article, a technique used previously by Oliver & Hyde, 1993), measure of self-esteem used, sex composition of sample, region or country, socioeconomic status (SES), specific ethnic group studied (for Asian and Hispanic samples: e.g., Mexican American, Chinese), urban/rural/suburban location, and publication status of the data source (journal article vs. dissertation or master's thesis). Publication status and urban/rural/suburban location and were not significant in any of the comparisons; thus, they are not discussed further.

Within the United States, region was coded into the four main U.S. Census regions, as noted in the Statistical Abstract (U.S. Census Bureau, 1998): Northeast, Midwest, South, and West. Studies reporting statistics separately for male and female samples were counted as two separate datapoints, as were studies reporting statistics for substantially different age groups (e.g., fourth grade and eighth grade), self-esteem measures, or years of data collection. Studies were also included in more than one comparison if they tested more than two racial groups; for example, a study including Hispanics, Whites, and Asians would provide data for the White-Hispanic, White-Asian, and Hispanic-Asian effect sizes.

These methods yielded 712 datapoints: 354 samples comparing Whites and Blacks (n of participants = 232,997), 118 comparing Whites and Hispanics (n = 65,999), 58 Whites and Asians (n = 21,976), 28 Whites and American Indians (n = 10,835), 88 Blacks and Hispanics (n = 31,436), 26 Blacks and Asians (n = 3,766), 11 Blacks and American Indians (n = 2,460), 18 Hispanic and Asian (n = 2,951), 8 Hispanics and American Indians (n = 2,277), and 3 comparing Asians and American Indians (n = 557). As discussed further below, primary analyses for the White-Asian comparison concentrates on the 38 samples (n = 14,940) comparing Whites and Asians within one country (and not between participants in two different countries; none of the other comparisons include a substantial number of between-country effect sizes). These studies are listed in the Appendix.

Comparison to Gray-Little and Hafdahl (2000) for Black-White Data

Our methods of gathering Black-White data differed from those of Gray-Little and Hafdahl (2000) in two primary ways: (a) We did not

Table 1
Summary of Main Effects and Moderating Variables in Self-Esteem Among Racial Groups

Racial groups	<i>k</i>	<i>d</i>	95% CI	Total <i>H</i>	Age	Moderating variables				
						Year/birth cohort (U.S. only)	Measure	Sex	Region	SES
White and Black	354	0.19	0.18, 0.20	2410.74***	School-age continually larger; elderly negative differences; few no pattern	<i>r</i> = .40; Blacks increase relative to Whites	RSE largest; academic subscale smaller	All-female larger	South larger	High-SES groups larger
White and Hispanic	118	-0.09	-0.11, -0.07	494.42***	Few negative differences; no pattern	Smaller differences in later years	SEI largest; academic subscale larger	All-male larger	None	Larger in low-SES groups; high-SES groups positive
White and Asian (within country)	38	-0.30	-0.35, -0.25	169.65***	Children continually larger; adults smaller	Smaller differences in later years	None	All-male larger	West smaller	None
White and Am. Indian	28	-0.21	-0.27, -0.15	61.88**	None	None	None	None	None	None
Black and Hispanic	88	-0.23	-0.25, -0.21	232.32***	In adults, Hispanics higher	<i>r</i> = -.31, larger differences later	RSE and P-H larger	None	None	High-SES groups larger
Black and Asian	26	-0.34	-0.41, -0.27	143.26***	College largest	<i>r</i> = -.27, larger differences later	None	None	None	None
Black and Am. Indian	11	-0.18	-0.26, -0.10	25.96***	None	None	None	None	None	None
Hispanic and Asian	18	-0.13	-0.21, -0.05	66.42***	None	None	None	None	None	None
Hispanic and Am. Indian	8	-0.12	-0.22, -0.02	19.28**	None	None	None	None	None	None
Asian and Am. Indian	3	0.01	-0.16, 0.18	0.06	None	None	None	None	None	None

Note. A positive *d* indicates that the minority (or smaller) group scored higher; a negative *d* indicates that the majority (or larger) group scored higher. For moderating variables, *d* growing larger means larger in terms of absolute value, more positive when *d* is positive (for the White-Black comparison), and more negative when *d* is negative (for all others). Likewise, growing smaller means getting closer to zero. *k* = number of studies; *d* = difference in terms of standard deviations; CI = confidence interval; Total *H* = total heterogeneity; SES = socioeconomic status; RSE = Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale; SEI = Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory; Am. Indian = American Indian; P-H = Piers-Harris Self-Competence Scale for Children.
*** *p* < .01. ** *p* < .001.

include samples measuring only academic self-esteem (as they did) and (b) we did include samples of adults—respondents aged 23 and over (as they did not). In practice, however, our search yielded about twice as many sources and data than Gray-Little and Hafdahl; we located 245 sources compared with their 120. It is more difficult to directly compare the number of samples or datapoints (as opposed to sources) because of Gray-Little and Hafdahl's splitting of sources into more samples. For example, we combined samples into age groups (such as elementary school, ages 5–10), whereas Gray-Little and Hafdahl counted each discrete age (e.g., 5-year-olds, 6-year-olds, 7-year-olds) as a separate sample. Gray-Little and Hafdahl also preserved breakdowns by school racial composition; we did not code this variable (mostly because this information was not available very often, particularly in the comparisons including Hispanic, Asian, and American Indian groups). In the end, our Black–White analysis included 354 samples from 245 sources compared with Gray-Little and Hafdahl's 261 samples from 120 sources. Our samples included 29 samples of adults (29,439 participants who were systematically excluded from Gray-Little and Hafdahl) but did not include the 37 samples measuring academic self-esteem included by Gray-Little and Hafdahl. Excluding the adult and academic self-esteem samples, this analysis included about 125 more sources than Gray-Little and Hafdahl. Thus, this analysis doubled the number of data sources available for examination.

Our total includes four sources (yielding eight datapoints) from Gray-Little and Hafdahl's (2000) article that we did not locate by our own search rules: two books and two articles obtained from writing to authors. Gray-Little and Hafdahl graciously provided these effect sizes. As noted above, we excluded samples measuring only academic self-esteem. We also excluded six general self-esteem datapoints included in Gray-Little and Hafdahl: one because it included inmates (Harris & Stokes, 1978), two because the samples were mentally retarded or "low-performing" individuals (Blackbourn & Blackbourn, 1987; Pratt, 1992), one because a projective measure of self-concept was used (Kearney, 1973), one because the study compared Whites with all other minority groups and not specifically to Blacks (Keith Pottebaum, & Eberhart, 1986), and one because the data were identical to another study in the analysis (Moses, Zirkel, & Greene, 1973, identical to Zirkel & Moses, 1971). Analyses including these datapoints did not alter the overall effect size or the results for the moderator variables; thus, the tables reflect the data without these studies. In one case involving two different sources reporting the same data, we used the study we had located rather than Gray-Little and Hafdahl's study (Van Melis-Wright, 1988/1990, instead of Griffith, 1985).

Results

Table 1 displays a summary of the meta-analyses of race differences in self-esteem.² As noted previously, each d was weighted by w , a formula including d and sample size (Hedges & Becker, 1986). The overall results (see Figure 1) demonstrated that Blacks scored higher than Whites, but Whites scored higher than the other groups (Hispanics, Asians, and American Indians). Comparing the minority groups with each other, Blacks scored higher than Hispanics, Asians, and American Indians, and Hispanics scored higher than Asians and American Indians. From highest to lowest self-esteem scores, the groups are ordered as follows: Blacks, Whites, Hispanics, American Indians, and Asians (see Figure 1; American Indians and Asians did not differ in the three studies comparing them directly, but the effect sizes comparing Asians with Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics were all more negative than those comparing American Indians with these groups).

This general pattern is not consistent with the internalization of stigma hypothesis, which predicts that Blacks should have the lowest self-esteem relative to Whites, and Asian Americans should have the highest self-esteem of the racial minority groups. It is also

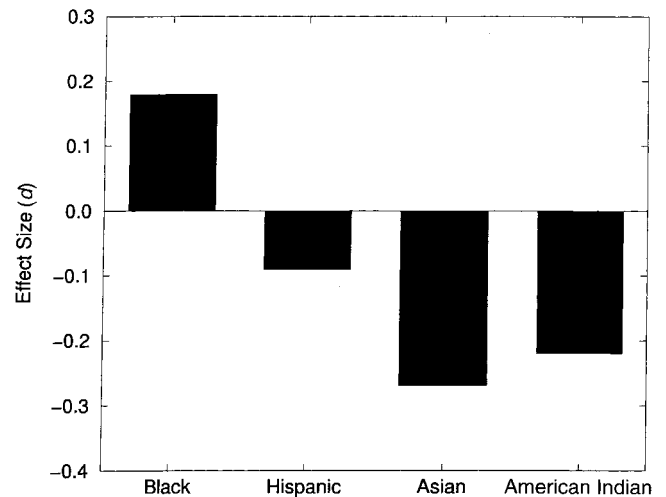


Figure 1. Black, Hispanic, Asian, and American Indian self-esteem scores compared with Whites.

not consistent with the racial identity hypothesis, which suggests that the groups should be comparable in self-esteem because they are comparable in positivity of racial identity. It is most consistent with the cultural hypothesis: The pattern of results on self-esteem closely matches the pattern of race differences in individualism identified by Oyserman et al. (2002).

In 9 of the 10 meta-analyses, a homogeneity statistic (H ; Hedges & Becker, 1986) indicated significant heterogeneity between studies (all $p < .01$ or $p < .001$, using a chi-square distribution). The heterogeneity could be traced to several moderator variables (see Table 1 for a summary). The significant variables for each effect size are discussed in turn for all meta-analyses except for the three comparing American Indians with the other minority groups; of these, two indicated significant heterogeneity between the samples, but none of the coded moderator variables showed significant effects (possibly because these studies often had lower sample size). The third (Asians–American Indians) did not show significant heterogeneity.

One note on language is necessary for presenting the results on moderator variables: When the effect size moves away from zero (in either direction), it is described as *larger*, and when it moves toward zero, it is described as *smaller*. That is, *larger* means larger in terms of the absolute value of d . Thus, when d is negative overall (as it is in eight of the meta-analyses here), a d described as *larger* is a larger negative number; when d is positive (as in the White–Black meta-analysis), a *larger* d is a larger positive number.

² In computing an effect size, deciding which group is entered first in the equation (and thus produces a positive d when it scores higher) is an arbitrary decision. In each of the 10 effect size computations here, a positive number indicates that the minority group scored higher on the measure than the majority group, whereas a negative number indicates that the majority group scored higher. *Majority* and *minority* are defined here only in comparing two groups. Ordered for their percentage of the U.S. population, the racial groups here are, in order of decreasing numbers: Whites, Blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and American Indians. In each case, the majority group is listed first in column one of Table 1.

Whites and Blacks

Overall effect size. Combining all 354 studies, Blacks scored higher than Whites on measures of self-esteem in our analysis (weighted $d = 0.19$). This was higher than Gray-Little and Hafdahl's (2000) overall weighted d of 0.15 but very close to their weighted d for samples measuring general self-esteem, which was 0.20. Thus the overall effect size for general self-esteem was very similar to that obtained by Gray-Little and Hafdahl, although this analysis includes more sources and samples.

Year of data collection and birth year. We found that there were highly significant differences in effect size due to year of data collection. (Only the 345 U.S. samples were included in the year analyses; it was expected that any time-based cultural changes would differ for the nine samples collected outside the United States.) Keeping year as a continuous variable, d and year (weighted by w) showed a beta of 0.40 ($p < .001$), using the necessary corrections when including effect size in a regression equation (e.g., Hedges & Becker, 1986).³ Gray-Little and Hafdahl (2000) reported only unstandardized regression coefficients (URCs) for publication year; they found a URC of 0.001, or an increase of 0.001 d s with each year. Our analysis found a URC of 0.011, meaning that d increases a little more than 0.01 with each passing year. When we included only samples under the age of 22 (as Gray-Little & Hafdahl's, 2000, analysis did), the relationship remained similar ($\beta = 0.45$, URC = 0.013, $p < .001$). Changes in instrumentation over the years were not an issue, as the correlation was actually slightly higher for samples using the RSE ($\beta = 0.47$, URC = 0.013, $p < .001$).

Breakdowns by time period (turning year of data collection into a categorical variable) were also significant and showed progressive increases (see Table 2 and Figure 2). The effect size began near zero in the 1950s–1960s and rose steadily, indicating that the Black advantage in self-esteem increased over time. The largest gains appeared during the 1980s, with the effect size in the early 1980s twice that of the late 1970s. By the 1990s, Blacks scored one third of a standard deviation higher than Whites. Thus, Black respondents scored progressively higher on self-esteem measures from the 1960s to the 1990s when compared with Whites. These results changed slightly when a cap of 700 was placed on the weights, with $d = 0.22$ from 1981–1984 and $d = 0.23$ from 1985–1989 (the other time periods were unchanged).

Birth year (calculated by subtracting the age of the sample from the year the data were collected) also produced significant effects, suggesting that the change over time may be traced to birth cohort as well as time period (e.g., Schaie, 1965). It is important to examine birth year as well as study year because researchers may study one age group more than another during some eras. For example, in the present study, there is a significant correlation between study year and participant age ($\beta = 0.12$, URC = 0.10, $p < .01$); more recent studies have examined older people. Examining birth year directly eliminated this bias. Birth year showed a beta of 0.39 when correlated with d ($p < .001$). The URC was 0.009, meaning that the effect size increased about 0.01 with each birth year. In addition, breakdowns by decade of birth (see Table 2 and Figure 2) demonstrated a linear progression toward higher Black self-esteem relative to that of Whites. For samples born in 1949 or before (and thus before the civil rights movement), there was a slight White advantage in scores. Blacks born during the

1950s and 1960s (while the civil rights movement was occurring) scored progressively higher on self-esteem measures, and those born after 1970 (after the movement had made significant progress) scored the highest of all (see Figure 2). These results provide support for the social identity hypothesis because the civil rights and Black pride movements promoted positive views of Blacks among themselves, which likely worked to increase self-esteem.

Why did these results differ from those of Gray-Little and Hafdahl (2000)? There are two plausible explanations. First, Gray-Little and Hafdahl used the year of publication in the regression with effect size. Instead, we used the reported year of data collection or, if this was not available, 2 years less than the date of publication (see, e.g., Oliver & Hyde, 1993). The reported year of data collection differed by 4 or more years from the date of publication in 63 of our samples; in some of these cases the years differed by 10 years or more. The datapoints differing by the largest number of years were often from databases with large numbers of respondents, which would strongly affect an analysis using weighted d s. Consequently, Gray-Little and Hafdahl's use of year of publication may have produced a significant amount of error variance, reducing any correlation between year and effect size in their data.

Second, Gray-Little and Hafdahl (2000) included samples measuring academic self-esteem. According to their analyses, these samples produced a very different effect size ($d = 0.035$, compared with $d = 0.201$ for general self-esteem). Thus, the correlation between effect size and year may have been attenuated because of increased variance. In addition, it is plausible that academic self-esteem does not respond to cultural changes in the same way that general self-esteem does. Although the samples measuring academic self-esteem were only 37 of Gray-Little and Hafdahl's 261 samples, they included several large samples (including the six largest samples in their analysis). Although the weight for these samples was capped at 700, they most likely still had a substantial influence on the correlation. Third, our analysis included data from almost twice as many sources, which may have affected the results.

Age differences. We found that the Black advantage in self-esteem increased from elementary school to college age (see Table 2). The effect size began in elementary-age children at 0.00, became positive beginning with junior high school samples, and peaked at college age ($d = 0.23$). Keeping age as a continuous variable, age demonstrated a beta of 0.22 ($p < .001$) when correlated with d for samples college age and younger ($k = 323$). The URC was 0.016, smaller than Gray-Little and Hafdahl's (2000) URC of 0.030. Because the range of age was the same, our lower URC must be due to the differences in the samples (our inclusion

³ Although we concentrate on reporting standardized regression coefficients for the sake of brevity and clarity, we used several other statistics to compute the p values for the regression analyses. Hedges and Becker (1986) gave two equations for computing the correct z for these analyses: $S(B_j) = SE(B_j)/\sqrt{MS_E}$, and then $z = B_j/S(B_j)$. (They gave the B s as Betas, but most statistical output uses B to represent a URC, therefore that is the notation we use here.) $SE(B_j)$ is the standard error B from the output, MS_E is the residual mean square, and B_j is the B (the URC). Once this z was computed, we consulted a table of values to ascertain the p values corresponding to the z in each case.

Table 2
Moderating Variables in White-Black Self-Esteem Effect Size

Variable and class	Between-groups <i>H</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>d</i>	95% CI for <i>d</i>	Within-group <i>H</i>
Age group	232.57***				
Elementary school (5–10)		91	0.00	−0.03, 0.03	183.60***
Junior high (11–14)		79	0.21	0.20, 0.22	533.25***
High school (15–17)		101	0.23	0.21, 0.25	1046.36***
College age (18–22)		55	0.23	0.21, 0.25	288.75***
Adults (23–60)		24	0.09	0.06, 0.12	59.04***
Older adults (61+)		4	−0.10	−0.19, −0.01	35.90***
Time period (U.S. samples only)	454.41***				
1956–1969		55	0.02	0.00, 0.04	332.20***
1970–1974		58	0.05	0.02, 0.08	153.12***
1975–1979		89	0.10	0.07, 0.13	376.47***
1980–1984		55	0.23	0.11, 0.25	536.25***
1985–1989		36	0.20	0.19, 0.21	223.56***
1990–1995		52	0.33	0.31, 0.35	258.96***
Birth year (U.S. samples only)	349.03***				
1949 and before		26	−0.02	−0.06, 0.02	107.12***
1950–1959		87	0.10	0.08, 0.12	475.89***
1960–1969		148	0.18	0.17, 0.19	953.12***
1970 and after		85	0.29	0.27, 0.31	447.72***
Measure	229.06***				
Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale		90	0.23	0.22, 0.24	1244.70***
Coopersmith SEI		45	−0.03	−0.07, 0.01	91.80***
Tennessee Self-Concept Scale		46	0.05	0.01, 0.09	159.62***
Piers-Harris		43	0.18	0.12, 0.24	58.91***
Adjectives (semantic differential)		29	0.14	0.10, 0.18	124.70***
All other scales		101	0.15	0.13, 0.17	509.04***
Sex	40.76***				
Male		95	0.13	0.11, 0.15	437.95***
Female		102	0.21	0.19, 0.23	549.78***
U.S. region	33.45***				
South		150	0.15	0.13, 0.17	852.00***
East, Midwest, or West		154	0.07	0.05, 0.09	448.14***
SES group	134.65***				
Low		76	0.10	0.07, 0.13	369.36***
Low to middle		48	0.10	0.06, 0.14	111.84***
Middle		58	0.25	0.24, 0.26	918.14***
High		19	0.23	0.15, 0.31	29.26*

Note. A positive number indicates that Blacks scored higher; a negative number indicates that Whites scored higher. *k* = number of samples in each group; *d* = difference in terms of standard deviations; CI = confidence interval; SEI = Self-Esteem Inventory; SES = socioeconomic status.

* $p < .05$. *** $p < .001$.

of more studies or their inclusion of academic self-esteem). These results can support a cultural explanation for the difference in self-esteem; children may gradually learn the norms and expectations of their group, and thus racial differences in self-esteem grow progressively larger over the course of development. The results can also support a racial identity explanation, as children and adolescents typically develop more positive racial identities as they grow older.

Because we included adult samples, we were able to examine the effect size across the life span. (Gray-Little & Hafdahl, 2000, limited their analysis to respondents age 22 or younger.) These samples displayed an intriguing result: Among elderly respondents, Whites scored higher than Blacks on self-esteem measures ($d = -0.10$, see Table 2). A quadratic regression across all ages was significant ($R^2 = 0.11$, $R = 0.34$, $p < .001$). This result corroborated the results for change over time and birth cohort, as these elderly respondents were raised before the civil rights movement. If we assume that self-esteem is primarily formed by middle

age, this was most likely a birth cohort rather than an age effect. However, this cannot be conclusively determined with the present data. If elderly Blacks still have lower self-esteem than Whites in 2050, we will know that this is an age effect. If birth cohort is at work, however, elderly Blacks will have higher self-esteem than Whites in 2050, just as younger Blacks do now.

In addition, adult samples showed a considerably smaller Black advantage ($d = 0.09$) than college samples ($d = 0.23$), a difference that could be due to SES or life experience as well as birth cohort. Previous research suggests that part of the change may be a developmental or age effect. Using a longitudinal data set, Tashakkori and Thompson (1991) found that the Black advantage in self-esteem decreased as the respondents aged from 18 to 24.

As a continuous variable, age showed a beta of -0.40 ($p < .001$, $k = 29$) with the effect size in the adult and older samples, reflecting the lower effect size in the older samples. The URC was -0.005 ; therefore, effect size decreased 0.005 with each year of age over 23 (this number was fairly small because age in this group

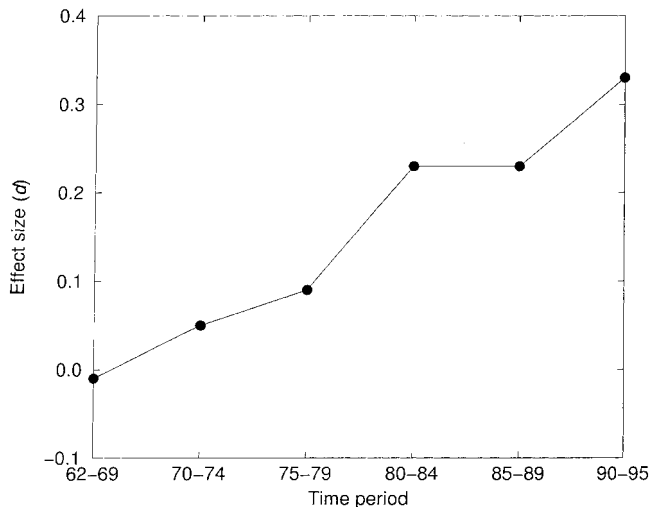


Figure 2. Black-White effect size over time. Time periods are given by 20th century calendar year.

ranged from 23 to 70; another way to conceptualize the change is that effect size decreased 0.01 with every 2 years of increasing age). Thus, the trend of a greater Black advantage with age (found in the younger samples included in Gray-Little & Hafdahl, 2000) reversed in older respondents, most likely because of a birth cohort effect.

SES. As Table 2 shows, we found larger differences in middle- and high-SES groups than in low-SES groups. Gray-Little and Hafdahl (2000) found the opposite result, with smaller differences in the middle- and high-SES groups. This discrepancy could have occurred due to variances in coding SES; however, most of the studies included here explicitly identified the high-SES samples, and these are the groups with the most discrepant results between the two analyses. The more likely culprits are the inclusion of academic self-esteem and the differences in the number of samples included. The difference did not occur due to our inclusion of adult samples; the effect size for high-SES samples under age 22 was 0.23 ($k = 16$, identical to the d for all age groups), and that for middle class was 0.29 ($k = 50$, actually larger than the 0.25 for all age groups). A larger difference in middle- and high-SES groups is clearly counter to the stigma as self-protection hypothesis; if this hypothesis were true, then the low-SES groups, able to use both race and SES as self-protection, would show the largest Black advantage in self-esteem.

Gray-Little and Hafdahl's (2000) inclusion of academic self-esteem could be responsible for the differences between our results. This is especially likely given that six of Gray-Little and Hafdahl's middle- and high-SES datapoints were large samples measuring academic self-esteem (from Kohr et al., 1988) and therefore not included by us. We analyzed our data again selecting only the studies of general self-esteem included in Gray-Little and Hafdahl's article. The effect sizes for our low-SES and middle-to-low-SES groups were very similar to Gray-Little and Hafdahl's low-SES group (0.11 and 0.10, compared with 0.14 for their low-SES group with academic self-esteem included). However, the middle- and high-SES groups showed very different results. For the middle-SES group, the effect size was 0.29 without academic self-esteem samples included; with them included, Gray-

Little and Hafdahl reported an effect size of 0.02. For the high-SES group, without academic self-esteem the effect size was 0.17, compared with -0.02 with it included. This strongly suggests that the inclusion of academic self-esteem led to the discrepant results.

The effect size for the high-SES group increased even more when we included the additional samples we located ($d = 0.23$), bringing it very close to the effect size for middle-class samples in our analysis ($d = 0.25$; see Table 2 for the SES breakdowns for our data). Thus, the results for SES looked very different when only studies of general self-esteem were included. The inclusion of more samples also changed the SES results somewhat, although excluding the samples measuring academic self-esteem had the largest effect.

Region. We found significant differences by U.S. region, a moderator not analyzed in Gray-Little and Hafdahl (2000). Samples collected in the South showed a larger effect size than those originating elsewhere in the United States (see Table 2; this calculation excluded samples collected across more than one region, including nationally representative samples). Thus, the Black advantage in self-esteem was larger in samples collected in the Southern United States.

Self-esteem measurement. The effect size also varied depending on the self-esteem measure used (see Table 2). The Black advantage was largest on the RSE scale. In contrast, Whites actually scored slightly higher on the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory (SEI; Coopersmith, 1967). The difference between the RSE and SEI was significant (between-groups $H = 156.73$, $p < .001$). The Piers-Harris, another domain-focused measure, yielded a Black advantage ($d = 0.18$) closer to, but still smaller than, that produced by the RSE (the RSE and Piers-Harris show a marginally significant difference, $H = 2.94$, $p < .07$). Overall, a comparison of the effect size for the RSE ($d = 0.23$) with all of the other scales combined ($d = 0.11$) was highly significant ($H = 133.75$, $p < .001$). Thus, the more global RSE produced a much larger Black advantage compared with more domain-focused measures.

This difference also appeared when we compared measures that have an academic self-esteem subscale (the SEI and the Piers-Harris scales) with those that do not (the RSE, the TSCS, and semantic differential measures). Scales with an academic self-esteem measure yielded an effect size of 0.04, whereas those without one produced an effect size of 0.19. The difference was significant ($H = 95.63$, $p < .001$). Although the SEI and Piers-Harris include subscales from many domains, their inclusion of an academic self-esteem scale seemed to be enough to nearly eliminate the Black advantage in self-esteem scores. This effect was not confounded by age; the results remain nearly identical when examined within age groups (e.g., high school and younger, junior high and younger). It is also possible, however, that these differences could be caused by other variations between the measures, apart from the inclusion of an academic self-esteem scale. Nevertheless, these data suggest that Blacks' global judgments of self-worth are more independent of their self-evaluations in specific domains (and thus their judgments are more noncontingent).

Gender differences. Sample sex composition also influenced the effect size. The Black-White difference was larger in all-female samples (see Table 2). Thus there was a larger difference between Black females and White females than between Black males and White males. Gray-Little and Hafdahl (2000) found a similar difference, although their comparison was not statistically

significant (most likely because it included a smaller number of samples).

Regression of moderators. We then entered all of the moderator variables into a regression equation (weighted by w) to determine their unique influences. SES could not be entered because many studies did not report it, and birth year was excluded because it creates perfect multicollinearity when both year and age are in the regression equation. Region was coded using dummy variables (comparing non-South and South to national samples), and measure was coded dichotomously, as the RSE versus all other measures. The regression analysis showed that year of data collection had the strongest effect ($\beta = 0.29$, $URC = 0.008$, $p < .0001$), followed by age ($\beta = -0.20$, $URC = -0.007$, $p < .001$), non-South samples ($\beta = -0.18$, $URC = -0.015$, $p < .001$), self-esteem measure ($\beta = -0.13$, $URC = -0.064$, $p < .01$), and percentage female ($\beta = 0.10$, $URC = 0.001$, $p < .05$).

Whites and Hispanics

The comparison between Whites and Hispanics provides a test of one of our central questions: Is the high self-esteem displayed by Black Americans unique, or is it shared by other minority groups? The results suggest that it is unique. The weighted effect size for the 118 studies examining White-Hispanic differences in self-esteem was -0.09 . Thus, Hispanics in the United States scored slightly lower than White Americans on self-esteem measures. Though small, this difference was highly significant; the 95% confidence interval was only ± 0.02 .

Age moderated the effect size; however, the differences were not large or systematic (see Table 3). The effect size began very negative, indicating a large difference favoring Whites, and approached zero in older samples. College-age individuals were an exception to this pattern, showing a larger White advantage ($d = -0.15$). Age was not significantly correlated with effect size when kept as a continuous variable.

As a continuous variable, year of data collection was not significantly correlated with the effect size. However, a comparison between time periods as a categorical variable was significant (see Table 3). Samples from the 1970s demonstrated a larger difference favoring Whites compared with samples from the 1980s (though the effect is somewhat curvilinear, with d increasing again in the 1990s). Though weaker than the White-Black data, this comparison shows the same pattern, with minorities' self-esteem increasing relative to Whites over time.

Self-esteem measurement was also a significant moderator. The RSE produced a small White advantage and the SEI, a larger one (for the two measures only, $H = 28.22$, $p < .001$). However, the TSCS, another more domain-specific measure, actually showed a Hispanic advantage. We also compared measures with an academic self-esteem subscale (the SEI and the Piers-Harris) to those without one (the RSE and the TSCS). Measures including academic self-esteem produced a larger White advantage in self-esteem scores ($d = -0.19$) compared with measures without such a subscale ($d = -0.04$, $H = 30.85$, $p < .001$). This is similar to the effect found in the White-Black comparison, in which the

Table 3
Moderating Variables in White-Hispanic Self-Esteem Effect Size

Variable and class	Between-groups H	k	d	95% CI for d	Within-group H
Age group	32.02***				
Elementary school (5–10)		37	–0.21	–0.26, –0.16	127.28***
Junior high (11–14)		35	–0.10	–0.13, –0.07	184.10***
High school (15–17)		24	–0.06	–0.09, –0.03	109.68***
College age (18–22)		12	–0.15	–0.25, –0.05	30.60**
Adults (23+)		10	–0.04	–0.12, 0.04	17.20*
Time period	68.98***				
1967–1974		24	–0.19	–0.25, –0.13	159.12***
1975–1979		21	–0.27	–0.34, –0.20	63.84***
1980–1984		24	–0.03	–0.04, 0.00	102.72***
1985–1989		17	–0.04	–0.07, –0.01	18.87
1990–1995		32	–0.15	–0.19, –0.11	81.92***
Measure	71.80***				
Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale		32	–0.04	–0.06, –0.02	156.80***
Coopersmith SEI		28	–0.21	–0.27, –0.15	56.00***
Tennessee Self-Concept Scale		8	0.06	–0.04, 0.16	15.76*
Piers-Harris		17	–0.11	–0.20, –0.02	75.31***
All other scales		33	–0.20	–0.24, –0.16	143.88***
SES group	54.89***				
Low		27	–0.31	–0.38, –0.24	133.38***
Low to middle		25	–0.10	–0.16, –0.04	54.00***
Middle		28	–0.04	–0.07, –0.01	128.52***
High		2	0.11	–0.18, –0.40	9.30**
Ethnic group	96.06***				
Hispanic		69	–0.05	–0.08, –0.04	222.18***
Mexican American		49	–0.29	–0.34, –0.24	179.83***

Note. A positive number indicates that Hispanics scored higher; a negative number indicates that Whites scored higher. k = number of samples in each group; d = difference in terms of standard deviations; CI = confidence interval; SEI = Self Esteem Inventory; SES = socioeconomic status.

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

Table 4
Moderating Variables in White-Asian Effect Size

Variable and class	Between-groups <i>H</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>d</i>	95% CI for <i>d</i>	Within-group <i>H</i>
Age group	30.90***				
Elementary school (5–10)		3	0.16	–0.08, 0.40	1.74
Junior high (11–14)		6	–0.07	–0.24, 0.10	10.68
High school (15–17)		12	–0.35	–0.40, –0.24	62.52***
College age (18–22)		12	–0.42	–0.51, –0.33	43.56***
Adults (23+)		6	–0.23	–0.36, –0.10	20.88***
Time period (U.S. samples only)	8.34*				
1962–1984		10	–0.43	–0.54, –0.32	67.80***
1985–1989		11	–0.23	–0.31, –0.15	30.47***
1990–1994		13	–0.31	–0.40, –0.22	59.80***
Birth year (U.S. samples only)	5.60*				
1969 and before		15	–0.36	–0.44, –0.28	97.35***
1970 and after		19	–0.24	–0.30, –0.18	68.59***
Sex	13.42***				
Male		5	–0.38	–0.37, –0.19	10.90*
Female		10	–0.07	–0.18, –0.04	14.50
U.S. region	7.22**				
West		19	–0.28	–0.35, –0.21	107.73***
East, South, or Midwest		11	–0.40	–0.50, –0.30	39.05***

Note. A positive number indicates that Asians scored higher; a negative number indicates that Whites scored higher. *k* = number of samples in each group; *d* = difference in terms of standard deviations; CI = confidence interval.

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

Black advantage in self-esteem was considerably larger on measures without an academic self-esteem subscale. Thus, both Blacks and Hispanics (when compared with Whites) score lower on measures including academic self-esteem, compared with measures that do not include this domain.

Considering SES, the White advantage in self-esteem grew smaller as SES increased (see Table 3). Whites scored almost a third of a standard deviation higher in low-SES groups ($d = -0.31$), whereas there was little difference in middle-class samples and even a Hispanic advantage in high-SES samples ($d = 0.11$). Thus, low-SES Hispanic samples scored considerably lower than low-SES Whites, whereas middle- and high-SES Hispanics scored about the same as Whites in those SES groups. These results were similar to those in the Black-White comparison, in which the Black advantage in self-esteem was larger in middle- and high-SES samples. This is also further evidence against the stigma as self-protection hypothesis.

Did the effect size change with the specific ethnic group of Hispanics studied? Some studies included Mexican Americans only, whereas other studies combined all people of Hispanic origin into one group. Samples composed exclusively of Mexican Americans scored considerably lower ($d = -0.29$) compared with Whites than samples described only as Hispanic ($d = -0.05$; see Table 3), suggesting that ethnic group did have an effect on self-esteem. Because very few samples reported data for other specific Hispanic groups (e.g., Puerto Ricans, Cubans, South Americans), it was not possible to say which groups scored higher than others. However, the higher scores of mixed-ethnicity Hispanic samples suggest that other Hispanic ethnicities scored higher on self-esteem than Mexican Americans did. As for the remaining moderator variables, birth year, sex composition, and region of the country did not produce statistically significant effects.

When all of the moderators (except SES) were entered into a regression equation, ethnic group produced by far the strongest

effect ($\beta = -0.39, p < .001$). Measure (RSE vs. other scales) was also significant, ($\beta = -0.23, p < .001$). None of the other variables (age, year, percentage female) reached $p < .05$ significance in the equation.

Whites and Asians

Across 38 samples, Whites scored higher on self-esteem measures than Asians did ($d = -0.30$). The 95% confidence interval of ± 0.04 indicates that this effect size was significantly different from zero. These results provide further evidence that Black Americans are unique in scoring higher than Whites, and further evidence that cultural factors may be at work. To maintain consistency with the other group comparisons, Table 1 and Table 4 report only within-country White-Asian comparisons (usually, White Americans compared with Asian Americans). We did collect data-points comparing White Americans to Asians across countries; this effect size was larger than that for Asian Americans.⁴

Age was a significant moderator of the effect size. Asians actually scored higher than Whites in elementary school samples (see Table 4). The effect size grew progressively more negative through junior high, high school, and college-age samples, indicating an increasing Asian disadvantage in self-esteem. When kept as a continuous variable, age correlated $-.46$ ($p < .001$) with

⁴ There was a greater Asian disadvantage in self-esteem ($k = 20, d = -0.43$) in the between-countries samples than in the within-country samples ($k = 39, d = -0.30; H$ between groups = 12.97, $p < .001$). The across-countries comparisons were significantly heterogeneous ($H = 312.80, p < .001$). Some of this heterogeneity can be traced to the specific countries where the data were collected. Japanese samples scored the lowest relative to White Americans ($k = 3, d = -0.98$), followed by Indian samples ($k = 7, d = -0.44$) and Chinese samples ($k = 8, d = -0.30; H$ between groups = 82.96, $p < .001$).

effect size in the college-age and younger samples. These results were similar to those in the Black–White comparison, in which the Black advantage in self-esteem increased with childhood development. This suggests a racial identity or cultural explanation, with children learning a group standard or racial identity over time. A higher proportion of foreign students in these samples could have caused the larger Asian disadvantage in college-age samples⁵; high school samples are much less likely to include participants on student visas. The Asian disadvantage for adult samples was smaller, closer to the effect size for high school samples.

Different time periods also showed varying effect sizes. Year of data collection did not correlate significantly with effect size as a continuous variable, but time period breakdowns demonstrated significant differences (see Table 4; these analyses involve U.S. samples only). The Asian disadvantage began fairly large (-0.43), decreased to -0.23 during the late 1980s, and ended at -0.31 during the 1990s. It demonstrates a somewhat curvilinear pattern, with Asians gaining significantly during the 1980s and then falling back somewhat during the 1990s. An analysis by birth year showed a greater Asian disadvantage earlier (see Table 4). Thus, Asian Americans born later scored higher relative to White Americans, perhaps as a result of cultural changes or because the later-born participants and their families had been in the United States longer. Like the results comparing Blacks and Whites, these results showed that Asians have been increasing in self-esteem with successive birth cohorts, at least when compared with Whites.

In the fifteen samples broken down by sex, male samples ($d = -0.38$) produced a significantly larger effect size than female samples ($d = -0.07$). Thus, the Asian disadvantage in self-esteem was greater for male samples than for female samples. Compared with Whites of the same sex, Asian women and girls reported higher self-esteem than Asian men and boys. This was similar to the results for Blacks and Hispanics, in which men and boys also scored lower relative to Whites when compared with women and girls.

The effect size also differed by U.S. region (see Table 4). Samples collected in the eastern, southern, and midwestern United States demonstrated a greater Asian disadvantage than those collected in the western United States (here, California, Oregon, and Washington state). This provides a complement to the across-country differences. Because more Asians came to the West Coast in earlier decades, Asian Americans on the West Coast are more likely to be second-, third-, or higher generation immigrants than those in other areas of the United States. Therefore, the longer an individual (and/or an individuals' family) has been in the United States, the smaller the self-esteem disadvantage relative to White Americans. This supports a cultural explanation for the differences in self-esteem. Alternatively, racial density could explain these results. Concentrations of Asians are higher in the West (where they are a larger percentage of the population); this could serve as a boost to self-esteem. This would support a racial identity hypothesis. As for the remaining moderator variables, self-esteem measurement and SES produced no significant differences.

With the moderator variables (except SES) entered into the regression equation, only the percentage of females in the sample was significant ($\beta = 0.35, p < .01$). None of the other moderator variables reached significance at $p < .05$.

Blacks and Hispanics

The effect size comparing Blacks with Hispanics was -0.23 ($k = 88$). Therefore, Blacks scored higher on measures of self-esteem than Hispanics, as might be expected from the Black advantage and the Hispanic disadvantage in self-esteem relative to Whites. This difference was highly significant; the 95% confidence interval was only ± 0.02 .

Age was grouped somewhat differently for this comparison (see Table 5). Because there were a very small number of college-age samples ($k = 3$), all samples with an average age of 18 or over were placed in the same group. The Hispanic disadvantage relative to Blacks increased progressively from elementary school until high school-age; as a continuous variable, age correlated at $-.31$ ($p < .001$) for high school and younger samples. In the samples over age 18, Hispanics actually scored higher than Blacks. Because only three of these samples were college-age, we cannot draw any conclusions about Black versus Hispanic self-esteem during college.

Year of data collection also showed a significant effect, with the Black advantage relative to Hispanics growing larger with time. The pattern was almost exactly the same as that for Whites compared with Blacks, with Blacks increasing relative to both Whites and Hispanics over time (see Table 5). As a continuous variable, year correlated $-.31$ ($p < .001$) with effect size. The dramatic increase in Black self-esteem (compared with Whites) after 1980 might explain the larger Black advantage over Hispanics in the 1980s and 1990s, especially because the increase in Hispanics' self-esteem relative to Whites was smaller and less consistent.

Birth year showed a similar pattern. For samples born 1959 or before, the Black advantage relative to Hispanics was very small, with the confidence interval including zero. The Black advantage then rose to about a quarter of a standard deviation for participants born 1960–1969, 1970, and after. Thus the Black–Hispanic difference in self-esteem scores was larger in samples born after 1960. As a continuous variable, birth cohort correlated $-.27$ ($p < .001$) with the effect size. As with the year results, this change was most likely caused by later-born Black Americans scoring higher on self-esteem measures.

Self-esteem measure was also a significant moderator of the effect size. Similar to the White–Black comparison, the RSE and the Piers–Harris showed larger Black advantage compared with the SEI and TSCS scales (see Table 5). There were no differences between measures including an academic self-esteem scale (the SEI and the Piers–Harris) and those without a subscale tapping this domain (the RSE and the TSCS).

SES information was available for 65 studies. The Black advantage was progressively larger in high-SES samples. This was similar to the pattern in the Black–White data, in which high-SES samples also showed larger differences (and thus higher Black

⁵ For the within-country comparisons between White Americans and Asian Americans discussed in the body of the text, *Asian Americans* includes all individuals of Asian descent who completed the self-esteem questionnaire while residing in the United States. In practice, this means that some of the respondents may have been on student visas and thus were not permanent residents of the country. (However, this might also be true for some of the White respondents.)

Table 5
Moderating Variables in Black-Hispanic Self-Esteem Effect Size

Variable and class	Between-groups <i>H</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>d</i>	95% CI for <i>d</i>	Within-group <i>H</i>
Age group	54.37***				
Elementary school (5–10)		25	–0.15	–0.21, –0.11	51.75**
Junior high (11–14)		29	–0.26	–0.30, –0.22	53.65**
High school (15–17)		24	–0.28	–0.32, –0.24	42.96***
College age and adults (18+)		10	0.13	0.01, 0.25	29.90***
Time period	39.25***				
1967–1974		19	–0.11	–0.18, –0.04	37.24**
1975–1979		14	–0.07	–0.16, 0.02	62.86***
1980–1984		15	–0.27	–0.31, –0.23	22.50*
1985–1989		18	–0.24	–0.27, –0.21	27.72*
1990–1995		22	–0.33	–0.39, –0.27	43.12**
Birth year	30.72***				
1959 and before		14	–0.04	–0.11, 0.03	51.10***
1960–1969		34	–0.25	–0.29, –0.21	78.54***
1970 and after		40	–0.26	–0.29, –0.23	72.00***
Measure	20.01***				
Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale		26	–0.25	–0.27, –0.23	54.60***
Coopersmith SEI		19	–0.12	–0.20, –0.04	39.24**
Tennessee Self-Concept Scale		6	–0.12	–0.27, –0.03	12.60*
Piers-Harris		12	–0.32	–0.42, –0.22	21.96**
All other scales		23	–0.18	–0.24, –0.12	92.92***
SES	21.32***				
Low		34	–0.13	–0.19, –0.07	68.34***
Low to middle		13	–0.17	–0.26, –0.08	26.52*
Middle		18	–0.28	–0.31, –0.25	45.36***

Note. A positive number indicates that Hispanics scored higher; a negative number indicates that Blacks scored higher. *k* = number of samples in each group; *d* = difference in terms of standard deviations; CI = confidence interval; SEI = Self-Esteem Inventory; SES = socioeconomic status.

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

scores). Region, ethnic group, and sex composition of the sample did not produce significant effects.

In a regression equation including all of the moderators except SES, age produced the strongest effect ($\beta = 0.33$, $p < .001$), followed by year ($\beta = -0.27$, $p < .001$). None of the other moderators was significant at $p < .05$.

Blacks and Asians

Across 26 studies, the effect size comparing Blacks and Asians was -0.34 , indicating that Blacks scored significantly higher than Asians on self-esteem measures. This was the expected outcome, given that Blacks scored higher than Whites but Whites scored higher than Asians. The confidence interval varied ± 0.07 and thus the difference was significant. Total heterogeneity was significant ($H = 143.26$, $p < .001$), indicating the existence of moderator variables.

Age produced differences in the effect size ($H = 56.42$, $p < .001$). Asians actually had a self-esteem advantage over Blacks in elementary and junior high school samples but showed an increasingly larger disadvantage from high school to college age (0.10 in 7 elementary to junior high school samples, -0.42 in 10 high school samples, -0.76 in 6 college-age samples, and -0.29 in 4 adult samples). Examining only college-age and younger samples, age as a continuous variable correlated $-.72$ ($p < .001$) with the Black advantage, consistent with the results for age in the Black-White and Asian-White comparisons. Like the other results for

age differences, these data suggest that children acquire cultural standards as they grow up.

The deletion of an outlier produced a significant correlation between effect size and year in U.S. samples ($\beta = -0.40$, $p < .01$), with the Black advantage relative to Asians growing larger over time. With the same outlier deleted, there was a significant relationship between effect size and birth year, ($\beta = -0.35$, $p < .01$). Given the increases in Black self-esteem relative to Whites, this change is most likely due to the rise in Black self-esteem.

As for the remaining moderator variables, sex composition, self-esteem measure, and region did not produce significant differences in this effect size. Data for SES and Asian ethnic group were not diverse enough for examination here. With the moderator variables (except SES) entered into a regression equation, year of data collection emerged as the strongest individual influence ($\beta = -0.50$, $p < .01$). None of the other variables reached significance at $p < .05$.

Hispanics and Asians

The effect size comparing Hispanics and Asians was -0.13 , meaning that Hispanics scored higher on self-esteem measures; again, these findings agree with the differences between these groups and Whites. The confidence interval varied ± 0.08 and thus did not include zero. Age produced a significant effect ($H = 23.85$, $p < .001$). The effect size for elementary through junior high school students ($d = 0.27$, $k = 6$) was actually positive, favoring

Asians. High school ($d = -0.23$, $k = 9$) and adult samples ($d = -0.30$, $k = 3$) produced progressively more negative effect sizes, favoring Hispanics.

The correlation between year of data collection and effect size was not significant; however, birth year correlated .38 with effect size. Respondents born 1969 and before showed an effect size of -0.31 ($k = 5$), whereas for those born 1970 and after showed an effect size of -0.07 ($k = 13$). Thus, the Hispanic advantage over Asians has moved closer to zero over time, similar to the White-Asian and Black-Asian comparisons. None of the other moderating variables were significant. When entered into a regression equation together, only age produced a significant effect ($\beta = -0.46$, $p < .01$). None of the other moderators reached significance.

Discussion

These analyses indicate that the effects of membership in a racial minority group on self-esteem are not uniform—the effects differ considerably across groups not only in magnitude but also in direction. The high self-esteem characteristic of Black Americans is not apparent among other minority groups in the United States. Blacks are the only group included in our analyses that scored higher than Whites, and Blacks scored significantly higher than every other racial group. In addition, several moderator variables influence the effect size.

Theoretical Perspectives

We consider, in turn, how well each theoretical perspective outlined in the first section can account for the results across the racial groups included in our study.

Internalization of stigma. Overall, the results of these meta-analyses do not support the internalization of stigma hypothesis, which predicts that levels of self-esteem should parallel prejudice and devaluation of racial minority groups. Based on surveys of representative U.S. samples (e.g., T. C. Wilson, 1996), this leads to the prediction that Whites should have higher self-esteem than Asians, who should have higher self-esteem than Hispanics, who should have higher self-esteem than Blacks. The data show nearly the opposite pattern, with Blacks scoring highest in self-esteem despite being the most devalued and negatively stereotyped and Asians scoring low in self-esteem despite being the least devalued and negatively stereotyped of the minority groups. Furthermore, the internalization of stigma hypothesis predicts that all racial minority groups should have lower self-esteem in the South, where Whites' preference for social distance is consistently greater. Where regional comparisons were significant, they showed that Blacks' advantage in self-esteem relative to Whites is actually greater in the South.

Although most analyses of stigma emphasize the importance of the general devaluation of groups in society as the crucial variable (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998; J. M. Jones, 1986), the internalization of stigma hypothesis might be salvaged if it is not the attitudes of generalized others but rather those of significant others that are internalized. To account for the pattern of data we observed, however, we would need to assume that Blacks' significant others have more positive attitudes toward Blacks than Whites' significant others have of Whites, than Hispanics' significant others

have of Hispanics, and so on. When viewed in this way, the internalization of stigma hypothesis becomes indistinguishable from the racial identity hypothesis, because the crucial variable then becomes differences in the positivity of attitudes of significant (typically in-group) others toward their racial group, which would seem to be synonymous with the positivity of racial identity. It is clear from the present study that the generalized devaluation and negative stereotypes that some Americans hold about racial groups cannot account for the levels of self-esteem observed in those groups.

Stigma as self-protection. The stigma as self-protection hypothesis predicts that patterns of in-group comparison, attributions to prejudice, and devaluation of domains in which one's group fares poorly protect the self-esteem of members of so-called devalued racial groups. Although the high self-esteem observed in Blacks is consistent with the view that membership in a disadvantaged or stigmatized group protects self-esteem, the data for the other three groups are not. Hispanics, as a category, show slightly lower self-esteem than Whites. Within this category, Mexican Americans show significantly lower self-esteem, and they are, as a group, more stigmatized and disadvantaged than other Hispanic groups in the United States (e.g., their unemployment rate is more than twice that of Cuban Americans; U.S. Census Bureau, 1998). Thus, increasing levels of stigma do not seem to yield increased protection of self-esteem among Hispanics. In addition, Black and Hispanic low-SES groups show lower self-esteem compared with higher SES groups; if stigma has a self-protective function, self-esteem should be highest in low-SES groups. The lower self-esteem scores of low-SES groups are consistent with a recent meta-analysis showing that SES is positively correlated with self-esteem (Twenge & Campbell, 2002). In addition, the birth cohort change for Blacks suggests that their self-esteem was increasing during a time when they won greater rights and opportunities. Both the data for SES and for birth cohort are clearly inconsistent with the notion that membership in a stigmatized group, in itself, protects self-esteem.

The data for Asians and American Indians also do not fit the view that membership in a disadvantaged or stigmatized group protects self-esteem, because these groups have much lower self-esteem than do Whites. To salvage the view that stigma protects self-esteem, some between-groups moderator variable must be invoked—a variable that enables Blacks and, to a lesser extent, Hispanics to use the self-protective mechanisms that stigma affords, or that prevent Asians and American Indians from doing so.

Racial identity. Positivity of racial identity also does not provide a compelling account for the results of our meta-analysis. The limited data available suggest that racial identity is about equally high among Asian Americans, Hispanics, and Blacks (Phinney, 1996), yet we found considerable differences among these groups in levels of self-esteem. Although positivity of racial identity does not provide a compelling account across the racial groups we studied, it does seem to provide a compelling account of Blacks' self-esteem relative to Whites'. The effects of year of data collection, cohort, and age of participant all converge in suggesting a shift in Blacks' self-esteem around the time of the civil rights and Black power movements in the United States, consistent with a racial identity explanation (Gray-Little & Hafdahl, 2000). Furthermore, the high self-esteem in college-age Blacks (in which college students are heavily represented) suggests that education, and

perhaps particularly exposure to information about the history and cultural contributions of Black Americans, may boost self-esteem. This is supported by research finding that Black-centered education increases Black Americans' self-esteem and racial self-consciousness (e.g., Baldwin, Brown, & Rackley, 1990; Berger & Milem, 2000). This is also consistent with a racial identity interpretation. Thus, like Gray-Little and Hafdahl, we agree that the positivity and centrality of racial identity may be key to Blacks' self-esteem being higher than Whites'.

The timing of the increase in Blacks' self-esteem relative to that of Whites, which occurred considerably after the civil rights and Black pride movements in the United States, suggests there is some delay between social and cultural changes and changes in self-esteem in stigmatized groups. For example, the civil rights movement began during the 1950s, but Black Americans' self-esteem was not significantly higher than Whites' until the early 1980s. A similar lag effect occurs for women's assertiveness (Twenge, 2001). It seems likely that societal changes have a greater impact on children, whose self-esteem is still being formed, than they do on the self-esteem of adults (especially older adults, whose self-worth may have been well established prior to these societal changes). This argument is supported by the finding that older samples of Blacks (over age 60) actually have lower self-esteem than older Whites. It seems possible that these older people's self-esteem was largely formed prior to the civil rights movement. Consistent with this view, personality traits tend to be fairly stable after adolescence (e.g., Conley, 1984; Costa & McCrae, 1988; Costa, McCrae, & Arenberg, 1980; Finn, 1986; Kelly, 1955), and the influence of birth cohort and the larger sociocultural environment is strongest during the childhood years (Twenge, 2000, 2001).

However, the data are not as consistent with a racial identity interpretation of other minority groups' self-esteem relative to Whites'. Hispanics' self-esteem generally tends to increase over time and with age relative to that of Whites, consistent with a racial identity formulation, but the large disadvantage for college-age Hispanics relative to Whites is the opposite of the pattern we observed for Blacks. Because young adulthood is an age at which individuals are hypothesized to develop positive racial identity (e.g., Cross, 1991), and because the college experience should provide information about the disadvantage and oppression experienced by one's racial group, the low self-esteem in college-age Hispanics relative to that of Whites is both surprising and alarming from a racial identity perspective. It is possible that the developmental and educational experiences that raise Blacks' self-esteem relative to Whites' at this age are not present for Hispanics, but it is unclear what might account for this pattern. One factor might be the relative isolation of Hispanics on college campuses; whereas there are historically Black universities, for example, there are no historically Hispanic universities. African American studies courses are common, but Hispanic studies courses are not. The relatively low self-esteem in college-age Hispanics is clearly a topic that requires further research.

The trend over time for Asian-White comparisons is less clear, with a curvilinear pattern resulting in a greater disadvantage for Asians relative to Whites for studies conducted in the 1990s than for studies conducted in the 1980s. In addition, the Asian disadvantage in self-esteem increases with age, with Asians showing an advantage in self-esteem in the elementary school years that be-

comes increasingly low relative to that of Whites through college. This again is inconsistent with the increase in self-esteem that is hypothesized by theories of the development of racial identity (e.g., Kim, 2001). Furthermore, studies of racial self-esteem in Asians are not consistent with the racial identity explanation of Asians' low self-esteem relative to Whites'. For example, Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine, and Broadnax (1994) studied racial self-esteem in a sample of Black, White, and Asian college students. Asian students' personal self-esteem (measured by the RSE) was significantly lower than that of Whites, but their private regard for their racial group was not significantly lower than that of Whites, and the importance of their racial identity to their self-concept was higher than that of Whites. Asian's views of their own racial group are also just as positive as Hispanics' and Blacks' in-group perceptions (Phinney, Ferguson, & Tate, 1997).

Thus, positivity of racial identity may explain Blacks' high self-esteem relative to Whites', but it does not, on its own, provide a compelling account for the results across racial groups. Again, to salvage the racial identity account for our results, one would need to invoke a moderator variable such that Blacks' relatively high self-esteem is due to their positive racial identity but that Asians' low self-esteem is not a function of racial identity.

Cultural differences in the self-concept. Several findings of these meta-analyses are consistent with the view that self-esteem in racial minority groups is a function of cultural differences in the self-concept. For example, individualism is associated with high self-esteem, both within and between cultures. The pattern of racial differences in individualism almost exactly mirrors the differences we find in self-esteem: Blacks are higher in individualism than are Whites, who do not differ significantly from Hispanics, who in turn are higher than Asian Americans (Oyserman et al., 2002). Although American Indians were not included in Oyserman et al.'s study of individualism in North American racial groups, it seems likely that American Indians are also relatively low in individualism (Horse, 2001), which also would be consistent with our results.

Other results of our meta-analyses, particularly results for Asian Americans, also point to the importance of cultural differences. For example, the finding that Asians' self-esteem becomes increasingly low relative to Whites' from elementary school through college is consistent with the view that cultural influences are learned and internalized in childhood and adolescence. (The Black advantage in self-esteem over Whites also showed this trend with age, with effect sizes beginning very small in elementary school children and growing progressively larger.) Furthermore, studies that compared Asians in their country of origin with White North Americans found a larger disadvantage in self-esteem than did studies that compared Asians in North America to Whites in North America. These data strongly suggest that Asians' self-esteem becomes more positive with greater exposure to North American culture (see Heine et al., 1999, for a review and discussion). Although there is variability within cultures, East Asians' self-concepts are generally more interdependent than are North Americans' (e.g., Kwan, Bond, & Singelis, 1997). In addition, research on self-esteem indicates that the self-enhancing tendencies that are so pervasive in North America are attenuated or even absent in several East Asian countries. Instead, Asian cultures tend to encourage modesty and self-criticism (see Fiske et al., 1998; Heine & Lehman, 1997; Heine et al., 1999, for reviews).

It is less clear whether cultural effects can account for the effects of some of the moderators of the Black advantage in self-esteem relative to Whites. For example, to account for the increases in the Black advantage in self-esteem over time, we would need to posit dramatic increases in Black individualism relative to Whites, and to account for regional differences in the Black advantage in self-esteem, we would need to posit that Southern Blacks are higher in individualism than Northern Blacks. Clearly, more data are needed to determine how far the cultural explanation of our results can be pushed.

Interaction Hypotheses

Of the major perspectives we have reviewed, the cultural perspective seems to best fit the data across racial groups. However, we do not believe that the other perspectives are totally lacking in merit. Rather, we suspect that cultural differences in the self-concept and in individualism affect the likelihood that stigma will be internalized versus used as self-protection, and that individuals will develop a positive racial identity. In our view, researchers need to step back from simple accounts of race differences in self-esteem involving only a single construct, such as stigma or racial identity, and move toward accounts involving moderator variables that specify which racial groups are vulnerable to low self-esteem and which are not. For example, having a positive racial identity may enable racial minorities to attribute negative outcomes to prejudice, make in-group comparisons, or use other self-protective mechanisms that membership in a stigmatized group affords (Branscombe, et al., 1999; Crocker & Major, 1989). On the other hand, low individualism, or having an interdependent self-concept in which the self is viewed relationally, may make it difficult to use these self-protective mechanisms or may facilitate internalization of stigma. Thus, we would suggest that researchers move away from single-variable accounts of self-esteem in racial groups and focus instead on the psychological processes by which those variables affect self-esteem (e.g., Does a positive racial identity encourage attributions to prejudice? How does individualism protect against internalization of stigma?).

Other Notable Findings

Birth cohort differences. In general, minority self-esteem has been increasing relative to that of Whites. We find this result for Black Americans in particular, but some evidence suggests that Hispanics and Asians have also been increasing in self-esteem. This increase is not due to Whites' self-esteem decreasing over time. On the contrary, Twenge and Campbell (2001) have shown that self-esteem significantly increased in U.S. college samples from the 1960s to the mid-1990s, and these samples were predominantly White. Thus, the self-esteem of minority group members must have been increasing at an even greater rate over this time. These results suggest that the civil rights movement and other racial equality movements have had a substantial effect on minority group members' self-esteem. The effect lags about 10–20 years behind the social movements. For example, Black self-esteem shows the most striking gains after 1980, more than 20 years after the first struggles of the civil rights movement. Relative to Whites, Black self-esteem is highest in those born after 1970, and thus after the civil rights movement was largely past. These results suggest,

once again, that personality traits such as self-esteem form during childhood and are most influenced by the political, social, and cultural influences during those years (see Twenge, 2000, 2001, for discussions).

Gender differences. Across three different racial groups (Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians), men and boys have lower self-esteem relative to Whites than do women and girls. Thus, although the general pattern of results does not seem to be consistent with an internalization of stigma perspective for these groups, this perspective may fit the data better for male rather than for female members of these groups. Sidanius and Pratto (1999) argued that racial discrimination disproportionately affects men and boys rather than women and girls. If so, minority males' greater disadvantage (or smaller advantage, for Blacks) in self-esteem relative to Whites may, indeed, reflect some degree of internalization of stigma for men and boys in these three groups. It also provides an interesting companion to studies finding a gender difference in self-esteem favoring males (Kling, Hyde, Showers, & Buswell, 1999; Major, Barr, Zubek, & Babey, 1999); apparently this conclusion holds for Whites more than for other groups.

Another explanation for these results may lie in the consequences of being female. Perhaps being female carries more negative implications for Whites than for other groups. For example, White girls tend to have more negative body images than girls of color do (Root, 1990; Rucker & Cash, 1992), and this may have a negative effect on their self-esteem. Being female may cause a small deficit in self-esteem in Black, Hispanic, and Asian groups, but a larger deficit among Whites.

Regional differences. Both Blacks and Asians showed regional differences within the United States. In both cases, self-esteem was higher where racial density was higher (the West for Asians, the South for Blacks). For example, Asian Americans are 12% of the population in California and 6% in Washington state, versus 2.6% in the rest of the country (all of these statistics are based on the 1990 Census; U.S. Census Bureau, 1998). The South also has a higher concentration of Blacks compared with other regions; of the 12 metropolitan areas that are more than 30% Black, all 12 are located in the South (U.S. Census Bureau, 1998). The same is true at the state level; the only states with Black populations over 30% are Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, and those with percentages between 25% and 30% are Alabama, Georgia, and Maryland. In addition, the overall effect sizes roughly follow the percentage of the U.S. population represented by each group. Out of the minority groups studied here, Blacks scored the highest (and they were 12% of the population in the 1990 Census), followed by Hispanics (9% of the population), American Indians (1% of the population), and Asians (3% of the population; U.S. Census Bureau, 1998).

These results suggest that racial density is associated with increased self-esteem in minority groups. The psychological mechanism at play here is not obvious, but it may involve the frequency or proportion of same-race contact relative to other-race contact. For example, Berger and Milem (2000) found that Blacks at historically Black colleges demonstrate greater increases in their well-being over the college years when compared with Blacks at predominantly White institutions. They also found a small correlation between same-race contact and well-being. Thus, for minority groups there may be a benefit to having frequent contact with people of your own race or feeling that you are included in a

critical mass of people of your race. Such contact may be more likely to affirm one's value and worth than contact with out-group members. Further research should explore more precisely how racial density and same-race contact affects self-esteem and psychological well-being.

Measurement effects. We found that the Black advantage in self-esteem was greater for studies that used the RSE. Studies using the SEI actually showed a slight advantage for Whites. The major difference between these measures is that the RSE (Rosenberg, 1965) measures global judgments of self-worth without reference to specific domains of self-evaluation (e.g., "I feel I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others"), whereas scores on the SEI (Coopersmith, 1967) are calculated by summing across items intended to measure self-regard in four specific areas: peers (e.g., "I'm popular with kids my own age"), parents (e.g., "My parents understand me"), school (e.g., "I'm not doing as well in school as I'd like"), and personal interests (e.g., "I can make up my mind and stick to it"). The TSCS, which showed only a trivial Black advantage, uses a similar method of adding together domain-based subscales. We also found that measures that included a subscale of academic self-esteem produced a much smaller Black advantage compared with measures without a scale tapping this domain. Thus, although Blacks on average have higher global self-esteem than Whites, their self-esteem in specific domains does not appear to be higher.

Overall, this pattern of results suggests that Blacks' high levels of global self-worth cannot be explained by their self-evaluations in specific domains. Blacks' self-esteem may be less contingent on their specific attributes or accomplishments or may be based on relatively stable, noncontingent sources. Compared with White college students, Black college students are less likely to base their self-esteem on others' opinions (Crocker, Luhtanen, & Bouvrette, 2001; Crocker & Wolfe, 2001; see also Crocker & Lawrence, 1999). Blacks also are less likely to base their self-esteem on school competency than Whites; in adolescence, the correlation between school self-esteem and global self-esteem is lower for Blacks than for Whites (Osborne, 1995). Steele (1997) has argued that negative stereotypes about their intellectual ability pose a threat to the self-concept of Black students (called *stereotype threat*). In response to this threat, Black students gradually disengage their self-esteem from academics (see also Major & Schmader, 1998; Major, Spencer, Schmader, Wolfe, & Crocker, 1998; Schmader, Major, & Gramzow, 2001). Our results, and those of Gray-Little and Hafdahl (2000), suggest that global self-esteem in Black Americans is quite distinct from their domain-specific self-evaluations, as James (1890) suggested over a century ago (see also Crocker & Wolfe, 2001).

We do not mean to suggest that academic self-esteem is not important, however. Self-evaluations in a specific domain such as academics may be a better predictor of outcomes in that domain than is global self-esteem (Rosenberg, Schooler, Schoenbach, & Rosenberg, 1995). Rather, our results suggest that low levels of self-esteem in the domains of academics, appearance, or other specific domains should not be interpreted as reflecting judgments of low overall self-worth. This is particularly true in minority groups who may not adopt the same contingencies of self-worth as members of the majority or dominant group do. The ability to disengage self-esteem from specific domains in which one's group is negatively stereotyped or in which the cultural standards put

one's group at a disadvantage may be crucial to maintaining high self-esteem in members of stigmatized groups.

Limitations

Like all research methods, meta-analysis has limitations. Perhaps the most important of these is that meta-analysis can only examine the effects of variables that have been included in several previous studies. Consequently, although we have used patterns of results across and within groups to evaluate the plausibility of several theoretical perspectives on race and self-esteem, we were not able to test those theories directly because few studies included the relevant variables (such as measures of racial identity, individualism, or attributions to prejudice). Nevertheless, meta-analysis can be extremely useful for identifying areas in which more research needs to be done. The results of our analyses, for example, suggest that cultural differences provide the best account of race differences in self-esteem, but it is not clear that culture can account for all of the effects we observed. The psychological processes by which cultural differences (such as individualism or modesty) might lead to high or low self-esteem in racial minority groups are also not clear. Consequently, we believe that both theory and research need to move away from single-variable explanations to examine such processes.

Just as we are limited in the present analyses to examining the effects of variables that have been included in previous research, we are also limited to examining the types of measures that are commonly used in research. Consequently, all of the studies in our meta-analyses used self-report measures of self-esteem. These measures are vulnerable to effects of self-presentation and of self-deception, or both (e.g., Paulhus, 1984). Thus, we cannot rule out the possibility that the race differences we observed in our meta-analyses are due, in part, to group differences in the tendency to present the self in a favorable or modest light or to group differences in self-deception. For example, some scholars have attributed low self-esteem in East Asians to a cultural emphasis on modesty (but see Heine et al., 1999, for a discussion). Similarly, the items included in the measures of self-esteem may have different meanings for members of different groups. This is a possibility that we cannot rule out. However, we note that the measures of self-esteem used in the present analyses are commonly used measures. In addition, Verkuyten (1994) reviewed the literature and concluded that there were no systematic methodological and technical explanations for race differences in self-esteem. For example, the factor structure and variability of self-esteem measures are similar across groups. Furthermore, it is useful to understand how people think about the self when they answer these sorts of questions. Tice (1994) has argued that even when self-presentational concerns affect how people respond to self-report measures, the expressed self will eventually become consistent with people's private beliefs about themselves.

Conclusions

Overall, the results of these meta-analyses make several important points. First, levels of self-esteem differ widely between racial groups. No single pattern of higher, lower, or equal levels of self-esteem relative to Whites described all of the groups in our meta-analyses. Second, the between-groups differences we ob-

served were moderated by a number of variables, including year of data collection and age, sex composition, and SES of the sample, as well as the type of measure used to assess self-esteem. Thus, sweeping conclusions about the level of self-esteem in any racial group are, at best, oversimplifications. Nonetheless, the single theoretical perspective that best fit the overall pattern of results was the cultural perspective. The internalization of stigma, stigma as self-protection, and racial identity perspectives were less successful in explaining the results.

Our results suggest that researchers need to move away from questions about which racial group has higher or lower self-esteem to questions about which members of these groups have high or low self-esteem and why. As argued above, multiple-variable models may be necessary (e.g., studying how self-criticism affects the ability to use stigma as self-protection). Furthermore, variations based on self-esteem measurement (global judgments vs. specific domains) suggest that different groups will construct the self through different processes. The opinions or approval of others and specific competencies may not constitute the basis of self-esteem in the same way for all racial groups (Crocker & Wolfe, 2001). Future research should examine how self-esteem is constructed in different racial groups.

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Appendix

Studies Included in the Meta-Analysis

Reference	Measure	Region	Year	SES	Age	% female	n	
							Black	White
White and Black datapoints not included in Gray-Little and Hafdahl (2000)								
K. K. Abrams (1991)	RSE	South	1989	4	College	100	99	99
Adelmann (1993)	RSE	Non	1991	—	Older	100	242	622
Akan & Grilo (1995)	RSE	Non	1993	4	College	100	36	28
Akoodie (1980)	TSCS	Canada	1978	—	College	50	49	52
Aldridge (1971/1972)	Adj	Non	1969	—	College	55	89	268
Baharudin (1992/1993)	RSE	Natl	1988	—	Adults	100	347	551
Bisgay-Dehan (1993)	P-H	Non	1991	2	Elem	43	12	28
Blaine & Crocker (1995)	RSE	Non	1993	—	College	58	66	59
Booker (1974)	P-H	South	1972	—	Elem	50	37	142
I. C. Butler (1973/1974)	Other	Non	1971	2	HS	100	29	46
O. P. Butler (1970/1971, Sample 1)	TSCS	Non	1968	—	College	0	22	24
O. P. Butler (1970/1971, Sample 2)	TSCS	Non	1968	—	College	100	18	25
O. P. Butler (1970/1971, Sample 3)	TSCS	South	1968	—	College	0	27	22
O. P. Butler (1970/1971, Sample 4)	TSCS	South	1968	—	College	100	22	20
Calhoun et al. (1976)	Other	Non	1974	—	Elem	0	15	15
Calhoun et al. (1984)	Other	Non	1982	1	HS	0	15	15
Cameron et al. (1996)	RSE	Non	1994	1	Adults	100	36	96
Christian (1992/1993)	RSE	Non	1990	—	College	57	45	185
Clark (1985)	TSCS	South	1983	2	HS	50	125	48
M. R. Cooley et al. (1991)	Other	South	1989	—	JH	51	34	34
Coyle (1995, Sample 1)	RSE	Natl	1991	3	HS	0	3,000	3,000
Coyle (1995, Sample 2)	RSE	Natl	1991	3	HS	100	3,000	3,000
Cunningham (1997)	P-H	Non	1995	2	Elem	50	12	74
C. L. Davis (1987/1988, Sample 1)	SEI	Non	1985	—	HS	0	62	22
C. L. Davis (1987/1988, Sample 2)	SEI	Non	1985	—	HS	100	80	23
S. F. Davis et al. (1978, Sample 1)	Other	South	1976	—	College	0	36	129
S. F. Davis et al. (1978, Sample 2)	Other	South	1976	—	College	100	56	162
DeVoe (1977)	P-H	South	1975	2	Elem	47	18	142
DiCindio et al. (1983)	RSE	South	1981	—	HS	50	128	108
Donaldson (1974)	SEI	Non	1972	—	Elem	51	60	243
Dormire (1992/1993)	RSE	South	1990	2	HS	100	184	184
Douglas (1969/1970)	SEI	Non	1967	—	JH	56	155	105
Douglas (1971)	SEI	Non	1969	—	JH	56	151	109
Dukes & Martinez (1994, Sample 1)	RSE	Non	1989	—	HS	0	1,396	5,583
Dukes & Martinez (1994, Sample 2)	RSE	Non	1989	—	HS	100	1,396	5,583
Dunkerley (1997)	P-H	Non	1995	2	Elem	58	51	43
Dunn (1977/1978)	SEI	Non	1977	2	Elem	50	48	48
Durant (1993)	TSCS	South	1991	—	College	50	308	141

(Appendix continues)

Appendix (continued)

Reference	Measure	Region	Year	SES	Age	% female	<i>n</i>	
							Black	White
Edwards (1992)	P-H	Non	1990	2	Elem	47	69	28
Emmons (1989/1990, Sample 1)	Other	Non	1987	—	HS	0	106	368
Emmons (1989/1990, Sample 2)	Other	Non	1987	—	HS	100	193	569
Emms et al. (1986)	Other	Europe	1984	1	College	0	27	28
Fine (1983)	RSE	Non	1981	3	Adults	100	52	94
Fischer (1994/1995)	Other	Non	1992	2	Adults	50	60	60
Ford & Drake (1982)	RSE	South	1980	—	College	100	68	164
Fu (1979, Sample 1)	Other	South	1974	3	Elem	100	52	58
Fu (1979, Sample 2)	Other	South	1975	3	Elem	100	52	58
Fu (1979, Sample 3)	Other	South	1976	3	JH	100	52	58
Fu (1979, Sample 4)	Other	South	1974	1	Elem	100	65	51
Fu (1979, Sample 5)	Other	South	1975	1	Elem	100	65	51
Fu (1979, Sample 6)	Other	South	1976	1	JH	100	65	51
Fuller (1994)	Other	South	1992	—	College	72	36	25
Garwood & Allen (1979)	TSCS	South	1977	2	JH	100	102	130
Gathron (1981/1982)	TSCS	South	1979	2	HS	100	123	220
Gattis (1984, Sample 1)	P-H	South	1982	4	JH	0	16	16
Gattis (1984, Sample 2)	P-H	South	1982	4	JH	100	16	16
Gillmann (1969/1970, Sample 1)	Other	South	1967	1	Elem	0	54	65
Gillmann (1969/1970, Sample 2)	Other	South	1967	1	Elem	100	68	60
Gillmann (1969/1970, Sample 3)	Other	South	1967	1	JH	0	69	76
Gillmann (1969/1970, Sample 4)	Other	South	1967	1	JH	100	106	70
Goodstein (1995)	RSE	Non	1993	—	College	45	61	136
Graham (1993)	RSE	South	1991	—	JH	57	968	555
Gruber (1980)	RSE	Natl	1973	3	College	0	317	3,126
Halstead (1994/1996)	Other	South	1992	—	JH	55	89	231
Hare (1977)	Other	Non	1975	3	Elem	50	105	105
D. J. Harris (1980, Sample 1)	RSE	Non	1974	—	Adults	0	30	51
D. J. Harris (1980, Sample 2)	RSE	Non	1974	—	Adults	100	41	83
Harvey (1995/1996)	RSE	Non	1993	—	College	50	83	71
Heaven & Nieuwoudt (1981)	Adj	Africa	1979	—	College	50	111	469
Hoffman & Gellen (1984)	TSCS	South	1977	3	Adults	50	69	633
Holland (1981)	P-H	South	1978	—	JH	50	105	195
Howell (1988/1989, Sample 1)	P-H	South	1987	3	HS	0	49	47
Howell (1988/1989, Sample 2)	P-H	South	1987	3	HS	100	54	65
Irvin (1995/1996, Sample 1)	SEI	Non	1993	—	HS	0	104	158
Irvin (1995/1996, Sample 2)	SEI	Non	1993	—	HS	100	103	159
Jacques & Chason (1977, Sample 1)	RSE	South	1974	—	College	50	223	355
Jacques & Chason (1977, Sample 2)	RSE	South	1974	—	Adults	54	23	96
Jarrett (1980)	Other	South	1978	2	Elem	51	48	48
J. B. Johnson (1970/1971)	TSCS	South	1968	—	JH	0	56	79
R. E. B. Johnson (1980, Sample 1)	RSE	South	1978	—	College	55	103	71
R. E. B. Johnson (1980, Sample 2)	Other	South	1978	—	College	55	103	71
Karper & Martinek (1982)	Other	Non	1981	—	Elem	47	68	68
Keefer (1984/1985)	Other	South	1982	1	Adults	70	49	9
Keller (1987)	RSE	South	1985	2	Adults	41	33	127
Lanza (1969/1970)	SEI	Natl	1967	—	College	50	203	102
Larkin (1972)	RSE	Non	1968	2	Elem	50	356	1,067
Leung & Drasgow (1986)	RSE	Natl	1980	All	HS	50	1,241	2,690
Linn et al. (1979)	Other	South	1977	—	Older	48	141	142
Long (1983)	RSE	Non	1974	1	HS	57	417	553
E. M. Lopez & Greenhaus (1978)	RSE	Non	1976	2	Adults	50	261	262
M. A. Lopez & Heffer (1998)	Other	South	1992	—	College	55	13	514
Marr et al. (1995)	RSE	Natl	1988	3	JH	100	61	669
Marshall (1996/1997)	P-H	South	1994	1	JH	63	72	52
Martinek et al. (1978)	Other	Non	1976	—	Elem	50	150	194
Mason (1979)	Other	South	1977	—	College	100	20	20
Maton et al. (1996)	RSE	South	1994	3	College	55	97	118
Mboya (1984)	SEI	Non	1983	—	HS	30	211	229
Mboya (1994, Sample 1)	Other	Africa	1992	2	College	0	325	203
Mboya (1994, Sample 2)	Other	Africa	1992	2	College	100	489	111
McCarty (1993/1995)	P-H	South	1992	1	Elem	50	14	20
McCormick & Karbinus (1976)	SEI	Non	1973	2	Elem	50	43	197
McElroy (1971, Sample 1)	SEI	Non	1969	—	Elem	0	26	27
McElroy (1971, Sample 2)	SEI	Non	1969	—	Elem	100	26	27

Appendix (continued)

Reference	Measure	Region	Year	SES	Age	% female	<i>n</i>	
							Black	White
McKelvey (1996)	RSE	Natl	1988	—	Adults	100	235	662
Meaux (1995/1996)	SEI	Non	1993	2	HS	53	55	56
Meng (1994, Sample 1)	P-H	South	1992	—	JH	0	11	20
Meng (1994, Sample 2)	P-H	South	1992	—	JH	100	17	10
Merighi (1996/1997)	Other	Non	1994	—	College	0	18	25
Millet (1994/1995)	RSE	Non	1992	—	College	55	64	64
Miskimins & Baker (1973)	Other	Non	1971	1	Adults	50	176	126
Momberg & Page (1977)	SEI	Africa	1975	—	College	50	41	229
Morable (1983)	TSCS	South	1981	—	College	50	35	307
Morris (1990)	P-H	Non	1988	1	JH	0	40	23
Morris (1990)	P-H	Non	1988	1	JH	100	48	50
Murk (1992/1993)	Other	Non	1990	1	Elem	52	238	59
Nasseri (1975/1976)	SEI	Non	1974	3	JH	50	143	1,864
Nordstrom (1980/1981)	RSE	Non	1978	—	College	60	79	57
O'Donnell (1979)	TSCS	South	1977	—	HS	50	130	131
Olowu (1983)	Adj	Europe, Africa	1981	—	HS	51	372	314
Owens (1982/1983)	TSCS	Non	1981	4	Adults	100	17	28
Palmieri (1981)	RSE	South	1979	—	HS	50	15	17
L. D. Phillips (1994/1995)	RSE	Natl	1988	—	HS	50	34	292
Pinderhughes (1984)	TSCS	Non	1979	—	College	100	50	65
Platz (1982)	SEI	South	1980	1	JH	51	77	83
Pogue (1964/1968)	SEI	Non	1963	—	Elem	51	130	131
Portes & Wilson (1976)	RSE	Natl	1974	—	Adults	52	383	374
Pound (1978, Sample 1)	TSCS	Non	1975	2	HS	0	66	435
Pound (1978, Sample 2)	TSCS	Non	1975	2	HS	100	80	419
Prather (1981)	TSCS	Non	1979	1	HS	100	42	25
Pyskoty et al. (1990)	RSE	Non	1987	4	Adults	35	19	90
Ray (1990/1991)	P-H	Non	1989	—	JH	50	15	90
Reitzes et al. (1994, Sample 1)	RSE	South	1992	—	Older	0	197	198
Reitzes et al. (1994, Sample 2)	RSE	South	1992	—	Older	100	209	210
Rhea (1995)	RSE	South	1993	—	HS	100	389	227
Rhodes (1988/1989, Sample 1)	TSCS	South	1986	—	College	0	9	15
Rhodes (1988/1989, Sample 2)	TSCS	South	1986	—	College	100	24	18
Robinson (1977/1979)	SEI	Non	1976	—	College	100	124	87
Rovaris (1992/1993)	RSE	South	1990	—	College	100	50	50
Rozee-Koker et al. (1985)	RSE	South	1983	—	Adults	100	31	51
Ruhe & Eatman (1977)	Other	South	1975	—	College	0	48	48
Runyon (1958, Sample 1)	Other	South	1956	—	College	0	50	38
Runyon (1958, Sample 2)	Other	South	1956	—	College	100	59	51
Sampson (1980/1981, Sample 1)	Adj	South	1978	—	Elem	50	96	95
Sampson (1980/1981, Sample 2)	Adj	South	1978	—	JH	50	111	117
Sampson (1980/1981, Sample 3)	Adj	South	1978	—	HS	50	101	87
Sampson-Malone (1985/1986)	RSE	Non	1980	4	Adults	55	36	124
Samuels (1973, Sample 1)	Other	Non	1968	1	Elem	40	26	17
Samuels (1973, Sample 2)	Other	Non	1968	3	Elem	40	25	25
Scanlan (1979/1982)	RSE	South	1977	—	JH	64	25	25
Schneider (1995/1996)	RSE	Non	1993	—	College	55	50	49
Sena (1983/1984, Sample 1)	SEI	Non	1981	—	Elem	0	81	161
Sena (1983/1984, Sample 2)	SEI	Non	1981	—	Elem	100	81	161
Simon (1981)	PH	Non	1979	3	JH	50	84	20
Skube (1995, Sample 1)	SEI	Non	1993	—	JH	51	18	59
Skube (1995, Sample 2)	SEI	Non	1993	—	HS	51	20	57
Skuy et al. (1995)	P-H	Africa	1993	2	JH	36	64	57
Smith et al. (1994)	Other	South	1992	1	HS	100	41	59
Solomon (1993)	P-H	Non	1991	2	Elem	50	177	327
Spomer (1995/1996, Sample 1)	RSE	Non	1993	—	HS	49	15	74
Spomer (1995/1996, Sample 2)	SEI	Non	1993	—	HS	49	15	74
Stein (1988/1989, Sample 1)	RSE	Natl	1986	3	Adults	0	23	135
Stein (1988/1989, Sample 2)	RSE	Natl	1986	3	Adults	100	74	297
Stephan & Kennedy (1975)	Other	South	1973	2	JH	0	36	36
Stephenson (1981/1982)	SEI	Non	1979	—	HS	53	73	228
Storm (1970/1971)	Other	South	1968	2	Elem	50	36	36
Strocchia-Rivera (1988)	RSE	Natl	1979	3	HS	100	95	223
Swartz (1991/1993)	RSE	South	1989	4	College	55	30	168
Talley (1981)	RSE	Non	1979	—	College	56	79	57

(Appendix continues)

Appendix (continued)

Reference	Measure	Region	Year	SES	Age	% female	<i>n</i>	
							Black	White
Throckmorton (1975/1976)	SEI	Non	1974	3	Elem	50	37	61
Tucker-Hogan (1980)	TSCS	Non	1978	3	College	59	49	43
Van Cleave (1982/1983)	SEI	South	1980	—	JH	53	735	438
Van Melis-Wright (1988/1990)	RSE	Natl	1980	3	HS	53	2,223	2,299
Washington-Carpenter (1986/1987)	Other	South	1985	1	Elem	55	24	96
Watson (1974)	Other	Non	1972	4	Adults	0	64	64
M. O. White (1968–1971)	RSE	Non	1966	1	HS	52	1,549	2,335
Whitehead (1983, Sample 1)	P-H	South	1980	2	Elem	0	107	124
Whitehead (1983, Sample 2)	P-H	South	1980	2	Elem	100	120	116
D. D. Williams (1972)	TSCS	Non	1970	—	College	0	50	65
D. T. Williams (1995/1997)	SEI	South	1995	3	JH	53	32	97
Wiltfang & Scarbecz (1990)	RSE	Non	1965	—	HS	51	2,035	2,042
Woods et al. (1994)	RSE	Non	1992	3	Adults	100	91	295
Yancey et al. (1972)	RSE	Natl	1969	3	Adults	25	541	602
Zirkel & Gable (1977)	SEI	Non	1975	1	JH	51	45	41

Reference	Measure	Year	SES	Age	% female	<i>n</i>		Ethnic group
						Hispanic	White	
White and Hispanic								
Aguero (1981/1982, Sample 1)	P-H	1980	2	JH	0	24	26	Mex
Aguero (1981/1982, Sample 2)	P-H	1980	2	JH	100	20	32	Mex
Aldava (1996/1997)	RSE	1994	3	College	48	89	90	His
Baez (1997, Sample 1)	P-H	1995	1	Elem	0	47	23	Mex
Baez (1997, Sample 2)	P-H	1995	1	Elem	100	73	31	Mex
Barr (1995, Sample 1)	RSE	1993	3	College	0	47	169	His
Barr (1995, Sample 2)	RSE	1993	3	College	100	57	184	His
Barr (1995, Sample 3)	RSE	1993	3	Adults	0	29	87	His
Barr (1995, Sample 4)	RSE	1993	3	Adults	100	29	89	His
Barr (1995, Sample 5)	RSE	1993	3	Adults	0	13	43	His
Barr (1995, Sample 6)	RSE	1993	3	Adults	100	12	106	His
Beckwith (1984)	P-H	1982	2	JH	0	205	45	Mex
Benson & Rentsch (1988)	P-H	1986	—	Elem	40	338	213	His
Bisgay-Dehan (1993)	P-H	1991	2	Elem	43	77	28	His
Black (1986/1987)	P-H	1984	—	JH	58	70	262	His
Blume (1989/1990)	SEI	1987	—	Elem	50	45	70	His
Bohon et al. (1993)	SEI	1991	4	College	55	49	83	Mex
Bowler et al. (1986)	RSE	1984	—	HS	51	124	120	His
Brissette (1987)	TSCS	1985	—	College	66	38	38	His
Burger (1973, Sample 1)	SEI	1971	1	Elem	0	58	75	His
Burger (1973, Sample 2)	SEI	1971	1	Elem	100	58	75	His
Calhoun et al. (1978, Sample 1)	SEI	1976	—	JH	0	25	25	Mex
Calhoun et al. (1978, Sample 2)	SEI	1976	—	JH	100	25	25	Mex
Calhoun et al. (1984)	Other	1982	1	HS	0	15	15	Mex
Cardona (1980)	P-H	1978	—	JH	50	90	30	Mex
Castillo (1983/1984)	RSE	1981	3	College	51	35	93	His
Clark (1985)	TSCS	1983	2	HS	50	42	48	Mex
Collins (1992/1993)	RSE	1988	3	JH	52	3,171	16,317	His
Crain & Bracken (1994)	Other	1992	3	HS	53	993	1,888	His
Donaldson (1974)	SEI	1972	—	Elem	51	319	243	His
Dukes & Martinez (1994, Sample 1)	RSE	1989	—	HS	0	292	2,816	His
Dukes & Martinez (1994, Sample 2)	RSE	1989	—	HS	100	315	3,045	His
Dunn (1977/1978)	SEI	1977	2	Elem	50	48	48	Mex
Franco (1983)	P-H	1981	—	Elem	50	25	31	Mex
Fu (1979, Sample 1)	Other	1974	3	Elem	100	20	58	Mex
Fu (1979, Sample 2)	Other	1975	3	Elem	100	20	58	Mex
Fu (1979, Sample 3)	Other	1976	3	JH	100	20	58	Mex
Fu (1979, Sample 4)	Other	1974	1	Elem	100	14	51	Mex
Fu (1979, Sample 5)	Other	1975	1	Elem	100	14	51	Mex
Fu (1979, Sample 6)	Other	1976	1	JH	100	14	51	Mex
Fu et al. (1983, Sample 1)	Other	1980	1	Elem	100	70	349	Mex
Fu et al. (1983, Sample 2)	Other	1980	3	Elem	100	76	249	Mex
Gillmann (1969/1970, Sample 1)	Other	1967	1	Elem	0	123	65	Mex
Gillmann (1969/1970, Sample 2)	Other	1967	1	Elem	100	89	60	Mex

Appendix (continued)

Reference	Measure	Year	SES	Age	% female	<i>n</i>		Ethnic group
						Hispanic	White	
Gillmann (1969/1970, Sample 3)	Other	1967	1	JH	0	122	76	Mex
Gillmann (1969/1970, Sample 4)	Other	1967	1	JH	100	94	70	Mex
Giltzow (1981/1982)	Other	1981	2	Elem	50	72	56	His
Grossman (1981/1982)	RSE	1975	—	JH	49	98	320	Mex
Healey & DeBlassie (1974)	TSCS	1969	2	JH	52	142	425	His
Holaday et al. (1996)	Other	1994	All	HS	50	61	84	Mex
J. P. Hunt (1991/1992)	Other	1989	1	JH	49	168	232	Mex
Keefer (1984/1985)	Other	1982	1	Adults	70	11	9	Mex
Keller (1987)	RSE	1985	2	Adults	41	30	127	His
Kluessendorf (1985/1986)	SEI	1983	2	College	100	23	35	Mex
Knight et al. (1978)	SEI	1976	1	Elem	52	100	44	Mex
Knight et al. (1994)	Other	1992	2	JH	55	271	697	Mex
Kugle et al. (1983)	P-H	1981	2	Elem	51	15	45	Mex
Larkin (1972)	RSE	1968	2	Elem	50	288	1,067	Mex
Lauver & Jones (1991)	RSE	1989	2	HS	53	220	587	His
Leung & Drasgow (1986)	RSE	1980	All	HS	0	2,690	687	His
Linn et al. (1979)	Other	1977	—	Adults	48	141	142	His
Lopez & Heffer (1998)	Other	1992	—	College	55	77	514	His
Marr et al. (1995)	RSE	1988	3	JH	100	123	669	His
Marsh (1974/1975)	SEI	1972	1	JH	0	101	101	His
McCarty (1993/1995)	PH	1992	1	Elem	50	26	20	His
McCormick & Karbinus (1976)	SEI	1973	2	Elem	50	47	197	His
Miskimins & Baker (1973)	Other	1971	1	Adults	50	321	126	Mex
Moore (1988/1989)	Other	1986	—	JH	53	49	29	His
Morable (1983)	TSCS	1981	—	College	50	23	307	His
Morales (1994, Sample 1)	RSE	1992	—	College	0	37	25	Mex
Morales (1994, Sample 2)	RSE	1992	—	College	100	50	40	Mex
Morrison (1974/1975)	TSCS	1972	2	HS	62	116	140	His
Muller & Leonetti (1974)	Other	1972	2	Elem	50	45	45	Mex
Murk (1992/1993)	Other	1990	1	Elem	52	37	59	His
Nasseri (1975/1976)	SEI	1974	3	HS	50	227	1,864	His
Oanh & Michael (1977)	P-H	1975	—	Elem	50	30	30	Mex
Ortiz (1982/1983)	TSCS	1980	3	College	50	140	140	His
Padelford (1969/1970, Sample 1)	SEI	1966	3	Elem	0	18	41	Mex
Padelford (1969/1970, Sample 2)	SEI	1966	1	Elem	0	34	19	Mex
Padelford (1969/1970, Sample 3)	SEI	1966	3	Elem	100	15	55	Mex
Padelford (1969/1970, Sample 4)	SEI	1966	1	Elem	100	24	17	Mex
Petersen & Ramirez (1971)	Other	1969	1	HS	50	15	67	Mex
L.D. Phillips (1994/1995)	RSE	1988	—	HS	51	68	292	His
Phinney, Cantu & Kurtz (1997, Sample 1)	RSE	1995	3	HS	0	157	34	His
Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz (1997, Sample 2)	RSE	1995	3	HS	100	215	31	His
Plank (1996/1997, Sample 1)	SEI	1994	1	JH	52	64	86	His
Plank (1996/1997, Sample 2)	P-H	1994	1	JH	52	64	86	His
Pyskoty et al. (1990)	RSE	1987	4	Adults	35	17	90	His
Ray (1990/1991)	P-H	1989	—	JH	50	23	90	His
Rhea (1995)	RSE	1993	—	HS	100	278	227	His
Riedel (1980, Sample 1)	SEI	1980	2	JH	0	45	131	His
Riedel (1980, Sample 2)	SEI	1980	2	JH	100	52	98	His
Rio (1979/1980)	TSCS	1978	2	HS	50	49	152	Mex
Sena (1983/1984, Sample 1)	SEI	1981	—	Elem	0	199	162	His
Sena (1983/1984, Sample 2)	SEI	1981	—	Elem	100	199	162	His
Simon (1981)	PH	1979	3	JH	50	27	20	His
Simone (1995/1996)	Other	1993	2	HS	53	136	50	His
Skube (1995, Sample 1)	SEI	1993	—	JH	51	46	59	His
Skube (1995, Sample 2)	SEI	1993	—	HS	51	29	57	His
Snow (1979)	SEI	1977	—	JH	52	244	245	Mex
Solomon (1993)	P-H	1991	2	Elem	50	40	327	His
Spomer (1995/1996, Sample 1)	RSE	1993	—	HS	49	72	74	His
Spomer (1995/1996, Sample 2)	SEI	1993	—	HS	49	72	74	His
Stein (1988/1989, Sample 1)	RSE	1986	3	Adults	0	15	135	His
Stein (1988/1989, Sample 2)	RSE	1986	3	Adults	100	49	297	His
Stephan & Kennedy (1975)	Other	1973	2	JH	0	36	36	Mex
Stephan & Rosenfield (1978)	Other	1975	—	JH	50	487	528	Mex
Stephan & Rosenfield (1979)	RSE	1977	—	Elem	47	103	192	Mex
Strocchia-Rivera (1988)	RSE	1979	3	HS	100	48	223	Mex

(Appendix continues)

Appendix (continued)

Reference	Measure	Year	SES	Age	% female	<i>n</i>		Ethnic group
						Hispanic	White	
Tansy & Miller (1997)	Other	1995	—	JH	51	246	458	His
Tilley (1977, Sample 1)	Other	1975	—	Elem	0	14	15	His
Tilley (1977, Sample 2)	Other	1975	—	Elem	100	18	21	His
Van Melis-Wright (1988/1990)	RSE	1980	3	HS	53	4,372	2,299	His
Welch (1983)	TSCS	1981	3	HS	50	120	120	Mex
Widaman et al. (1992)	Other	1990	—	JH	50	341	603	His
Wisnia (1989/1990)	RSE	1987	2	HS	100	55	52	His
Zirkel & Gable (1977)	SEI	1975	1	JH	51	41	132	His
Zirkel & Moses (1971)	SEI	1969	1	JH	51	40	40	His

Reference	Measure	Region	Year	SES	Age	% female	<i>n</i>	
							Asian	White
White and Asian								
Akan & Grilo (1995)	RSE	Non	1993	4	College	100	34	28
Akoodie (1980)	TSCS	Canada	1978	—	College	50	46	52
Aldava (1996/1997)	RSE	West	1994	3	College	48	88	89
Basow (1984)	Other	Fiji	1982	3	HS	47	430	26
Bowler et al. (1986)	RSE	West	1984	—	HS	51	172	120
Campbell (1991, Sample 1)	Other	Non	1985	4	HS	0	95	96
Campbell (1991, Sample 2)	Other	Non	1985	4	HS	100	55	55
Chen & Yang (1986)	Other	Non	1985	4	College	50	68	492
Christopherson-Choudry (1982)	TSCS	West	1982	—	Adults	50	103	137
Crocker et al. (1994)	RSE	Non	1992	—	College	53	35	96
Dukes & Martinez (1994, Sample 1)	RSE	West	1989	—	HS	0	116	2,816
Dukes & Martinez (1994, Sample 2)	RSE	West	1989	—	HS	100	93	3,045
Heaven & Nieuwoudt (1981)	Other	Africa	1979	—	College	50	53	469
Hu (1993/1994)	SEI	Non	1991	—	College	50	69	66
Husaini (1974)	RSE	Non	1972	4	College	50	66	108
Larkin (1972)	RSE	West	1968	2	Elem	50	31	1,067
B. P. Leung (1979/1980, Sample 1)	SEI	West	1978	2	JH	0	36	44
B. P. Leung (1979/1980, Sample 2)	SEI	West	1978	2	JH	100	32	37
Lopez & Heffer (1998)	Other	Non	1992	—	College	55	39	514
Marr et al. (1995)	RSE	Natl	1988	3	JH	100	52	669
Mori et al. (1995)	Other	West	1993	—	College	53	160	142
Oanh & Michael (1977)	P-H	West	1975	—	Elem	50	72	30
Pang (1991)	P-H	West	1989	—	JH	50	24	63
Pang et al. (1985)	P-H	West	1983	—	Elem	50	29	47
L. D. Phillips (1994/1995)	RSE	Natl	1988	—	HS	50	152	292
Powers et al. (1987)	RSE	West	1984	—	College	77	132	63
Ray (1990/1991)	P-H	West	1989	—	JH	50	14	90
Rhea (1995)	RSE	Non	1993	—	HS	100	52	227
Sahay (1994/1996)	Other	Canada	1992	—	College	100	100	100
Schneider (1995/1996)	RSE	Non	1993	—	College	55	27	49
Skube (1995, Sample 1)	SEI	West	1993	—	JH	51	28	59
Skube (1995, Sample 2)	SEI	West	1993	—	HS	51	16	57
Spomer (1995/1996, Sample 1)	RSE	West	1993	—	HS	49	70	74
Spomer (1995/1996, Sample 2)	SEI	West	1993	—	HS	49	70	74
Stein (1988/1989, Sample 1)	RSE	Natl	1986	3	Adults	0	19	135
Stein (1988/1989, Sample 2)	RSE	Natl	1986	3	Adults	100	42	297
W. G. White & Chan (1983)	Other	Non	1981	—	Adults	58	50	50
Woods et al. (1994)	RSE	West	1992	3	Adults	100	75	295

Reference	Measure	Year	Age	% female	<i>n</i>	
					Am. Indian	White
White and Am. Indian						
Anderson (1983)	PH	1981	JH	50	26	22
Bruneau (1984)	Other	1980	Elem	0	23	22
Dukes & Martinez (1994, Sample 1)	RSE	1989	HS	0	135	2,816
Dukes & Martinez (1994, Sample 2)	RSE	1989	HS	100	147	3,045
Gathron (1981/1982)	TSCS	1979	HS	100	80	220

Appendix (continued)

Reference	Measure	Year	Age	% female	<i>n</i>	
					Am. Indian	White
Halpin et al. (1981, Sample 1)	SEI	1979	JH	0	22	14
Halpin et al. (1981, Sample 2)	SEI	1979	JH	100	19	23
Halpin et al. (1981, Sample 3)	SEI	1979	HS	0	29	54
Halpin et al. (1981, Sample 4)	SEI	1979	HS	100	27	37
Harvey (1995/1996)	RSE	1993	College	50	23	71
Holaday et al. (1996)	Other	1994	JH	50	61	84
Lauver & Jones (1991)	RSE	1989	HS	53	86	587
Long & Hamlin (1988)	P-H	1986	Elem	50	153	88
Martin (1978, Sample 1)	SEI	1976	Elem	50	135	119
Martin (1978, Sample 2)	SEI	1976	JH	57	149	141
Martin (1978, Sample 3)	SEI	1976	HS	52	111	108
Mason (1979)	Other	1977	College	100	20	20
Plank (1996/1997, Sample 1)	SEI	1994	JH	52	239	86
Plank (1996/1997, Sample 2)	P-H	1994	JH	52	239	86
Rhea (1995)	RSE	1993	HS	100	14	227
Sampson (1980/1981, Sample 1)	Other	1978	Elem	50	104	95
Sampson (1980/1981, Sample 2)	Other	1978	JH	50	106	117
Sampson (1980/1981, Sample 3)	Other	1978	HS	50	91	87
Scruggs & Mastropieri (1983)	SEI	1981	JH	50	20	26
Solomon (1993)	P-H	1991	Elem	50	12	327
J. R. Williams (1975/1976)	TSCS	1973	Adults	0	25	25
Withycombe (1970/1971)	Other	1969	Elem	50	50	58
S. C. Wright & Taylor (1995)	Other	1991	Elem	50	59	12

Reference	Measure	Year	SES	Age	% female	<i>n</i>	
						Hispanic	Black
Black and Hispanic							
Benson & Rentsch (1988)	P-H	1986	—	Elem	40	338	334
Bisgay-Dehan (1993)	P-H	1991	2	Elem	43	77	12
Bowler et al. (1986)	RSE	1984	—	HS	51	124	91
Burger (1973, Sample 1)	SEI	1971	1	Elem	0	58	75
Burger (1973, Sample 2)	SEI	1971	1	Elem	100	58	75
Calhoun et al. (1984)	Other	1982	1	HS	0	15	15
Castillo (1983/1984)	RSE	1981	3	College	51	35	55
Clark (1985)	TSCS	1983	2	HS	50	42	125
Collins (1992/1993)	RSE	1988	3	JH	52	3,171	3,009
Crain & Bracken (1994)	Other	1992	3	JH	53	993	207
Dobier (1997)	RSE	1995	1	JH	38	35	28
Donaldson (1974)	SEI	1972	—	Elem	51	319	60
Dukes & Martinez (1994, Sample 1)	RSE	1989	—	HS	0	292	209
Dukes & Martinez (1994, Sample 2)	RSE	1989	—	HS	100	315	211
Dunn (1977/1978)	SEI	1977	2	Elem	50	48	48
Forester (1991/1992, Sample 1)	P-H	1989	1	JH	0	10	10
Forester (1991/1992, Sample 2)	P-H	1989	1	JH	100	10	10
Fu (1979, Sample 1)	Other	1974	3	Elem	100	20	52
Fu (1979, Sample 2)	Other	1975	3	Elem	100	20	52
Fu (1979, Sample 3)	Other	1976	3	JH	100	20	52
Fu (1979, Sample 4)	Other	1974	1	Elem	100	14	65
Fu (1979, Sample 5)	Other	1975	1	Elem	100	14	65
Fu (1979, Sample 6)	Other	1976	1	JH	100	14	65
Fu et al. (1983, Sample 1)	Other	1980	1	Elem	100	70	349
Fu et al. (1983, Sample 2)	Other	1980	3	Elem	100	76	325
Gabriel (1988/1989, Sample 1)	P-H	1986	1	JH	0	95	99
Gabriel (1988/1989, Sample 2)	P-H	1986	1	JH	100	119	99
Gillmann (1969/1970, Sample 1)	Other	1967	1	Elem	0	123	54
Gillmann (1969/1970, Sample 2)	Other	1967	1	Elem	100	89	68
Gillmann (1969/1970, Sample 3)	Other	1967	1	JH	0	122	69
Gillmann (1969/1970, Sample 4)	Other	1967	1	JH	100	94	106
Grossman (1981/1982)	RSE	1975	—	JH	49	98	21
Healey & DeBlassie (1974)	TSCS	1969	2	JH	52	142	40
Holaday et al. (1996)	Other	1994	All	HS	50	61	147
Hunt (1991/1992)	Other	1989	1	JH	49	168	64

(Appendix continues)

Appendix (continued)

Reference	Measure	Year	SES	Age	% female	<i>n</i>	
						Hispanic	Black
Keefer (1984/1985)	Other	1982	1	Adults	70	11	49
Keller (1987)	RSE	1985	2	Adults	41	30	33
Kimbauer (1993)	RSE	1993	—	HS	60	26	16
Kineavy (1994/1995)	TSCS	1993	1	College	100	21	55
Kugle et al. (1983)	P-H	1981	1	Elem	50	15	23
Laneri (1995/1996)	RSE	1993	—	HS	56	65	33
Larkin (1972)	RSE	1968	2	Elem	50	288	356
Leung & Drasgow (1986)	RSE	1980	All	HS	0	678	1,241
Linn et al. (1979)	Other	1977	—	Adults	48	141	142
Louck (1993/1994)	Other	1991	1	Elem	50	115	149
Marr et al. (1995)	RSE	1988	3	JH	100	123	61
Marsh (1974/1975)	SEI	1972	1	JH	0	101	101
McCarty (1993/1995)	P-H	1992	1	Elem	50	26	14
McCormick & Karbinus (1976)	SEI	1973	2	Elem	50	47	43
Miskimins & Baker (1973)	Other	1971	1	Adults	50	321	176
Morable (1983)	TSCS	1981	—	College	50	23	35
Morrison (1974/1975)	TSCS	1972	2	HS	62	116	104
Murk (1992/1993)	Other	1990	1	Elem	52	37	238
Nasseri (1975/1976)	SEI	1974	3	HS	50	227	143
Nunn (1993)	SEI	1991	1	HS	100	98	85
Oanh & Michael (1977)	P-H	1975	—	Elem	50	30	18
Petersen & Ramirez (1971)	Other	1969	1	JH	50	15	23
L. D. Phillips (1994/1995)	RSE	1988	—	HS	50	68	34
Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz (1997, Sample 1)	RSE	1995	3	HS	0	157	117
Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz (1997, Sample 2)	RSE	1995	3	HS	100	215	115
Pyskoty et al. (1990)	RSE	1987	4	Adults	35	17	19
Ray (1990/1991)	P-H	1989	—	JH	50	23	15
Rhea (1995)	RSE	1993	—	HS	100	278	389
Riedel (1980, Sample 1)	SEI	1980	2	JH	0	45	53
Riedel (1980, Sample 2)	SEI	1980	2	JH	100	52	50
Rio (1979/1980)	TSCS	1978	2	HS	50	49	100
Sena (1983/1984, Sample 1)	SEI	1981	—	Elem	0	199	81
Sena (1983/1984, Sample 2)	SEI	1981	—	Elem	100	199	81
Simon (1981)	P-H	1979	3	JH	50	27	84
Skube (1995, Sample 1)	SEI	1993	—	JH	51	46	18
Skube (1995, Sample 2)	SEI	1993	—	HS	51	29	20
Solomon (1993)	P-H	1991	2	Elem	50	40	177
Spomer (1995/1996, Sample 1)	RSE	1993	—	HS	49	72	15
Spomer (1995/1996, Sample 2)	SEI	1993	—	HS	49	72	15
Stein (1988/1989, Sample 1)	RSE	1986	3	Adults	0	15	23
Stein (1988/1989, Sample 2)	RSE	1986	3	Adults	100	49	74
Stephan & Kennedy (1975)	Other	1973	2	JH	0	36	36
Stephan & Rosenfield (1978, Sample 1)	Other	1975	—	JH	50	487	309
Stephan & Rosenfield (1979, Sample 2)	RSE	1977	—	Elem	47	103	51
Strocchia-Rivera (1988)	RSE	1979	3	HS	100	48	95
Van Melis-Wright (1988/1990)	RSE	1980	3	HS	53	4,372	2,223
Vo (1994/1995, Sample 1)	SEI	1992	1	JH	0	29	26
Vo (1994/1995, Sample 2)	SEI	1992	1	JH	100	30	31
Wasserman et al. (1990, Sample 1)	RSE	1987	1	HS	100	99	45
Wasserman et al. (1990, Sample 2)	RSE	1987	1	Adults	100	111	28
Widaman et al. (1992)	Other	1990	—	JH	50	341	190
Zirkel & Gable (1977)	SEI	1975	1	JH	51	132	45
Zirkel & Moses (1971)	SEI	1969	1	JH	51	40	40

Reference	Measure	Region	Year	Age	% female	<i>n</i>	
						Asian	Black
Black and Asian							
Akan & Grilo (1995)	RSE	Non	1993	College	100	34	36
Akoodie (1980)	TSCS	Canada	1978	College	50	46	49
Bowler et al. (1986)	RSE	West	1984	HS	51	172	91
Chang (1975)	P-H	Non	1973	Elem	51	151	144
Crocker et al. (1994)	RSE	Non	1992	College	53	35	91

Appendix (continued)

Reference	Measure	Region	Year	Age	% female	<i>n</i>	
						Asian	Black
Dobier (1997)	RSE	Non	1995	JH	38	7	28
Dukes & Martinez (1994, Sample 1)	RSE	West	1989	HS	0	116	209
Dukes & Martinez (1994, Sample 2)	RSE	West	1989	HS	100	93	211
Heaven & Nieuwoudt (1981)	Other	Africa	1979	College	50	53	111
Kimbauer (1993)	RSE	Non	1993	HS	53	18	16
Kineavy (1994/1995)	TSCS	Non	1993	College	100	21	55
Larkin (1972)	RSE	West	1968	Elem	50	31	356
Legge-Eszlinger (1989/1990)	SEI	West	1987	HS	50	40	40
Marr et al. (1995)	RSE	Natl	1988	JH	100	52	61
Oanh & Michael (1977)	P-H	West	1975	Elem	50	72	18
L. D. Phillips (1994/1995)	RSE	Natl	1988	HS	50	152	34
Ray (1990/1991)	P-H	West	1989	JH	50	14	15
Rhea (1995)	RSE	Non	1993	HS	100	52	389
Schneider (1995/1996)	RSE	Non	1993	College	55	27	50
Skube (1995, Sample 1)	SEI	West	1993	JH	51	28	18
Skube (1995, Sample 2)	SEI	West	1993	HS	51	16	20
Spomer (1995/1996, Sample 1)	RSE	West	1993	HS	49	70	15
Spomer (1995/1996, Sample 2)	SEI	West	1993	HS	49	70	15
Stein (1988/1989, Sample 1)	RSE	Natl	1986	Adults	0	19	23
Stein (1988/1989, Sample 2)	RSE	Natl	1986	Adults	100	42	74
Woods et al. (1994)	RSE	West	1992	Adults	100	75	91

Reference	Measure	Year	Age	% female	<i>n</i>	
					Am. Indian	Black
Black and Am. Indian						
Dukes & Martinez (1994, Sample 1)	RSE	1989	HS	0	135	209
Dukes & Martinez (1994, Sample 2)	RSE	1989	HS	100	147	211
Gathron (1981/1982)	TSCS	1979	HS	50	80	123
Harvey (1995/1996)	RSE	1993	College	50	23	83
Holaday et al. (1996)	Other	1994	HS	50	61	147
Mason (1979)	Other	1977	College	100	20	20
Rhea (1995)	RSE	1993	HS	100	14	389
Sampson (1980/1981, Sample 1)	Other	1978	Elem	50	104	96
Sampson (1980/1981, Sample 2)	Other	1978	JH	50	106	111
Sampson (1980/1981, Sample 3)	Other	1978	HS	50	91	101
Solomon (1993)	P-H	1991	Elem	50	12	177

Reference	Measure	Year	Age	% female	<i>n</i>	
					Asian	Hispanic
Hispanic and Asian						
Bowler et al. (1986)	RSE	1984	HS	51	172	124
Dobier (1997)	RSE	1995	JH	38	7	35
Dukes & Martinez (1994, Sample 1)	RSE	1989	HS	0	116	292
Dukes & Martinez (1994, Sample 2)	RSE	1989	HS	100	93	315
Kimbauer (1993)	RSE	1993	HS	56	18	26
Kineavy (1994/1995)	TSCS	1993	College	100	21	21
Larkin (1972)	RSE	1968	Elem	50	31	288
Marr et al. (1995)	RSE	1988	JH	100	52	123
Oanh & Michael (1977)	P-H	1975	Elem	50	72	30
L. D. Phillips (1994/1995)	RSE	1988	HS	50	152	68
Ray (1990/1991)	P-H	1989	JH	50	14	23
Rhea (1995)	RSE	1993	HS	100	52	278
Skube (1995, Sample 1)	SEI	1993	JH	51	28	46
Skube (1995, Sample 2)	SEI	1993	HS	51	16	29
Spomer (1995/1996, Sample 1)	RSE	1993	HS	49	70	72
Spomer (1995/1996, Sample 2)	SEI	1993	HS	49	70	72
Stein (1988/1989, Sample 1)	RSE	1986	Adults	0	19	15
Stein (1988/1989, Sample 2)	RSE	1986	Adults	100	42	49

(Appendix continues)

Appendix (continued)

Reference	Measure	Year	Age	% female	<i>n</i>	
					Am. Indian	Hispanic
Hispanic and Am. Indian						
Dukes & Martinez (1994, Sample 1)	RSE	1989	HS	0	135	292
Dukes & Martinez (1994, Sample 2)	RSE	1989	HS	100	147	315
Holaday et al. (1996)	Other	1994	HS	50	61	61
Lauver & Jones (1991)	RSE	1989	HS	51	86	220
Plank (1996/1997, Sample 1)	SEI	1994	JH	52	239	64
Plank (1996/1997, Sample 2)	P-H	1994	JH	52	239	64
Rhea (1995)	RSE	1993	HS	100	14	278
Solomon (1993)	P-H	1991	Elem	50	12	40

Reference	Measure	Year	Age	% female	<i>n</i>	
					Am. Indian	Asian
Asian and Am. Indian						
Dukes & Martinez (1994, Sample 1)	RSE	1989	HS	0	135	116
Dukes & Martinez (1994, Sample 2)	RSE	1989	HS	100	147	93
Rhea (1995)	RSE	1993	HS	100	14	52

Note. Dashes represent information missing from the article. SES = socioeconomic status (1 = low SES; 2 = low to middle SES; 3 = middle SES; 4 = middle to high SES); RSE = Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale; Non = non-South (East, Midwest, or West); TSCS = Tennessee Self-Concept Scale; Adj = Adjectives (semantic differential); Natl = national; P-H = Piers-Harris Self-Competence Scale for Children; Elem = elementary school; HS = high school; JH = junior high school; SEI = Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory; Mex = Mexican American; His = Hispanic; Am. Indian = American Indian.

Received April 24, 2000

Revision received October 5, 2001

Accepted October 5, 2001 ■

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