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Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences 1987 9: 427
DOI: 10.1177/07399863870094005

Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences
1987, Vol. 9, No. 4, 427–443

Race, Gender and Self-Esteem Among Youth

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This study examines the impact of race and gender on self-esteem among youth. Comparisons of the different groups on private (satisfaction with self) and public (intelligence) domain aspects of self-esteem indicate that patterns differ across race and gender. In general, minorities tend to have lower levels of self-esteem than whites on public domain traits, but this pattern does not hold for private domain traits, with blacks and Chicanos having levels greater than those of whites. The impact of gender also differs across the groups, with black, Native American, and Asian women having higher levels of self-esteem on public domain traits than their male counterparts.

In the 1940s and 1950s studies of the effects of racism on self-conception and self-esteem supported the view that dominant group members feel better about themselves than do minorities (See Gordon, 1971; Wright, 1985). Later studies in the 1960s and 1970s contradicted this view by finding either that race does not have a systematic effect (Yancey, Rigsby & McCarthy, 1972) or that blacks have higher (rather than lower) self-esteem than whites (Rosenberg, 1979; Rosenberg & Simmons, 1972). Still, other studies have shown that race does have an impact on self-conception and self-esteem (Heiss & Owens, 1972; Turner & Turner, 1982). They indicated that an individual's self-conception consists of a multitude of evaluations on different traits (Heiss & Owens, 1972; Turner & Turner, 1982). These traits have been shown to cluster into at least two groupings which have been labeled private and

A preliminary version of this paper was presented at the 28th Annual Conference of the Western Social Science Association April, 1986, at Reno, Nevada.

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public domain traits. Members of racial minority groups do not evaluate themselves solely on the basis of the standards presented by the dominant group (Parry, 1982). For example, traits relating to intimate interaction and primary group activities are evaluated by racial minorities using their own cultural standards rather than those of the dominant group. However, traits relating to activities associated with one's success in society, such as educational and occupational performance, tend to be evaluated using the standards of the dominant group. Indeed, it is in these areas that the dominant group is able to impose its standards upon the minority groups.

Research findings showing that minorities do not evaluate themselves exclusively by dominant group standards are not inconsistent with Mead's (1934) notion of many selves distinguishable by particular response-patterns in differing social environments (See Scheier & Carver, 1981). Neither are they inconsistent with Merton's theory of reference groups (1957). Indeed, Rosenberg and Simmons (1972), whose research findings have been widely cited, invoked the concept of *comparison* reference group to interpret the high levels of self-esteem among blacks.

The attribute frequently emphasized by the dominant group as being of considerable importance regarding the differences between superior and inferior groups is intelligence. This trait belongs within the public rather than the private domain category (Turner & Turner, 1982). That is, racial minorities tend to use the dominant group's standards when evaluating themselves on this trait. Not only is the dominant group in control of the institutions which assess an individual's intelligence, notably education, but negative stereotypes relating to intelligence are presented by its members and institutions on a daily basis to all racial minorities. Such negative stereotypes tend to influence the self-conceptions developed by members of minority groups. Additionally, the general conditions of minority lives are constant reminders of inferiority.

With regard to the sexes, men are believed to be more rational (Ward & Balswick, 1978), more self-confident and more intelligent than women (Broverman et al., 1972; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974; Wallston & O'Leary, 1981). These beliefs are shared by both men and women. The famous research by Goldberg (1968) and over two dozen subsequent studies dealing with the public production sphere have shown men to be evaluated more highly than women on *identical* job performances. For a recent representative source in this literature, see Etaugh and Kasley (1981).

Recently, the focus of research has shifted into performance in more domestic-supportive (i.e., the private domain, see Turner & Turner, 1982) situations such as parenting. Even here, men are evaluated more highly than women (Bryan, Coleman, Ganong & Bryan, 1986; Fine, 1986). Also, there is evidence that men have higher evaluations of themselves than do women on more subtle indicators of esteem such as feelings of existential purpose (Harlow, Newcomb & Bentler, 1986; Jenks, Kahane, Bobinski & Piermarini, 1979; Meier & Edwards, 1974). So far very little research has been done on the joint effects of race and gender on esteem. Notable exceptions to this trend are MacCorquodale (1986, Chicanos and whites) and Turner and Turner (1982, blacks and whites).

The institutions of society, notably education, the labor market and the family, are vehicles by which discrimination is translated into negative self-evaluation which is then expressed as lower self-esteem. Since racism and sexism occur at the level of the group, the influence of ideology cuts across class boundaries. That is, members of the dominant group will tend to feel better about themselves than do minorities irrespective of whether they are poor, well-to-do, or rich. This process is blunted to the extent that minorities have access to alternative ideologies, utilize their own cultural standards to evaluate themselves, and blame the system for their "failures."

The purpose of this paper is to examine the influence of ideologies of racism and sexism on the self-conception and self-esteem of secondary school students. The United States has from its very beginning been characterized by discrimination against racial minorities and women. Today, a central element of the ideologies of supremacy is an emphasis on intelligence, with minorities and women seen as being of inferior intellectual ability and of less inherent worth.

METHODS

Subjects

This study is based on the population of students in grades seven through twelve in the four contiguous school districts located in the Pikes Peak region of Colorado, which is basically a middle-stratum metropolitan area where minorities constitute approximately one-fifth of the population. Questionnaires were administered during a single class period within each school as part

of a community-wide effort to assess lifestyle and illegal substance (drug) use among area youth. The schools had an aggregate attendance rate of 95% for the day that questionnaires were administered. Of those students in attendance, 87% particpated in the study. Hence, the results are based on 81% of the students enrolled in the four school districts (N = 13,878). For our purposes, the number of respondents is much less (somewhere between 11,547 and 8,519 depending on the particular analysis) principally because the questionnaire was rather long, and only about 40% of the seventh graders were able to complete it (older students had higher completion rates).

Variables

Information on perceived intelligence was obtained by asking students to indicate on a seven-point continuum how intelligent they thought they were compared with others their age. The item tapped a dimension of self-esteem in the public domain. On the other hand, overall satisfaction with self is not limited to the public domain. It has a strong private domain component within it. Information on satisfaction with self was obtained by asking students to respond on a five-point continuum to the question, "How satisfied are you with yourself?" Ideally, these concepts would have been measured with a multi-item scale, however, constraints on the length of the questionnaire led to these measurements. Still, we believe the measurements are strong enough to shed light on the relationship between racism and sexism and self-conception.

The questionnaire did not contain a comprehensive measure of socioeconomic status of the family, but students were asked to indicate the level of education obtained by their parent who went to school the longest.

A number of other variables have been shown to exert important influences on self-esteem. Academic performance, for example, has been shown to be positively related to self-conception (Gordon, 1971). It is likely, then, that high performance blunts the negative effects of racism on self-conception. And, because educational aspirations have been shown to be positively related to academic performance, they also can have the same effect (Gordon, 1971), at least indirectly. Additional factors also are important. Due to the inability of younger students to complete the questionnaire, grade in school is an important qualifier; differential dropout rates for older minority males may also be impor-

tant, so grade in school must be accounted for in the analysis. Finally, Bachman and O'Malley (1984) have identified response sets which artificially raise the self-esteem scores of blacks.

In sum, it is hypothesized that members of minority groups will see themselves as less intelligent than members of the dominant group but they will feel equally or more satisfied with themselves. Within each group females will see themselves as less intelligent than their male counterparts, and they will feel less satisfied with themselves than males. However, it is hypothesized that this relationship will not hold for black women (Heiss & Owens, 1972; Turner & Turner, 1982). Also it may not hold for other minority women, but because of the dearth of research on this relationship, it is not clear whether or not it will.

RESULTS

After examining similar results from both regression analysis and multiple classification analysis (Andrews, Morgan & Sonquist, 1969), we decided that the results could be presented more clearly using the latter technique. Our use of multiple classification analysis almost exactly parallels that of Thomas and Hughes (1986) in which they showed that adult blacks scored lower than whites on measures of well-being and quality of life after social class, age, and marital status had been controlled statistically. These control variables will be discussed below. Overall, our strategy will be to let the controls explain all of the variance in self-esteem that they can, and then we will examine the differences among ethgender groupings on self-esteem.

Analysis of variance showed that gender and race interacted statistically in the prediction of perceived intelligence and self-esteem; however, the typical multiple classification analysis table does not show statistical interaction, so we chose to treat the interaction of race and gender as a main effect in the analyses for the sake of clarity. Tables 1 and 2 present ethgenders as the independent variable (Jeffries & Ransford, 1980; Ransford & Miller, 1983).

Ethgender is related to parental education (ETA = .24; not shown). All minority group respondents are below the grand mean (4.31, indicating "some college"). Blacks are below the grand mean by about .25 scale points, and Chicanos are below it by about .75 scale points. Analysis of variance (not shown) indicated that parental education did not interact statistically with race, gen-

der or ethgender. Even when parental education is controlled statistically, the effects of ethgender still are important in the determination of esteem.

Table 1 presents findings for *Perceived Intelligence*. Table 2 presents them for *Satisfaction with Self*. Within the numbered columns on each table are presented the mean deviations for each ethgender grouping using various statistical controls. Column 1 on each table presents the mean deviations for each ethgender. Column 2 on each table presents the mean deviations for each subgroup when parents' education (the measure of socioeconomic status) is controlled. The number of cases is smaller than analyses without controls (not shown) because of missing data on the variable of parental education. We examined the data without control variables to see if this loss of respondents made a difference. It did not.

For the variable of perceived intelligence, Table 1, Column 2 shows the effects of ethgender after parental education has explained all of the variance it can. This occurs within limits, of course. A comparison of Chicanos and Chicanas before and after the adjustments (see Columns 1 and 2, $-.45$ becomes $-.27$, and $-.40$ becomes $-.35$, respectively) shows that the effects are lessened for both subgroups. In fact, if one compares the changes due to the adjustment, the effects are strongest for Chicanos, that is, they are the group that is most influenced by controlling socioeconomic status. Yet, they still score substantially lower than their white counterparts meaning that racism has an influence across class boundaries. Another subgroup which appears to be positively influenced by statistical control of parents' lower educational attainment are Native American women and men (.11 and .12 scale points, respectively). They are followed by Asian men (.11) and black women (.06), Asian women lose ground (very slightly) when controls on parents' lower than average educational level are introduced. White women and white men lose ground when the higher average level of the education of their parents is controlled, as expected. Though the changes are quite small, these findings suggest that parents' education is an important buffer between the racism of the society and the public domain portion of the self.

A measure of statistical association (BETA) between the ethgender categories and perceived intelligence is presented at the bottom of Table 1, Column 1. Its value is .20. When the control variable is introduced, the BETA statistic is .14 (see Column 2). In this situation the BETA is equivalent to a partial correlation

Table 1
Mean Deviations in Perceived Intelligence Among Ethgender Groups by Various Controls

	N	1	2	3	4
Native American Women	147	−.35	−.24	−.22	−.15
Native American Men	135	−.42	−.30	.00	−.01
Black Women	211	−.17	−.11	−.11	−.13
Black Men	209	−.51	−.44	−.20	−.16
Chicanas	315	−.45	−.27	−.16	−.13
Chicanos	292	−.40	−.35	−.15	−.12
Asian Women	93	.07	.05	−.24	−.21
Asian Men	116	−.04	.07	.04	−.03
White Women	3045	.11	.05	−.04	−.03
White Men	2816	.21	.16	.18	.15
Other Women	614	−.24	−.20	−.27	−.21
Other Men	526	−.18	−.15	−.02	−.05
Total Cases	8519				
Grand Mean	4.99				
BETA		.20	.14	.13	.12
Multiple R		.200	.275	.515	.519

Comparison 1: No Controls
Comparison 2: Controlling for Parental Education
Comparison 3: Controlling for Parental Education, Academic Achievement, and Educational Aspirations
Comparison 4: Controlling for Parental Education, Academic Achievement, Aspirations, Grade, and Response Set

coefficient. Its magnitude of .14 shows the relationship between the categories and perceived intelligence is not as strong after socioeconomic status is controlled, but it still is there, and substantively, it has considerable implications, especially when it is interpreted in terms of the self-fulfilling prophecy: if people believe themselves to be of lower intelligence, then their behavior will reflect that aspect of their self-image.

At the bottom of Table 1, Column 2 is presented a multiple correlation coefficient. Its numerical value is .275. This number represents the combined effects of the categories and the control variable on perceived intelligence. The reader can see that the introduction of the control variable has resulted in an increase in the coefficient of .075 (.200 without the control; .275 after it was introduced).

The addition of socioeconomic status as a control did not have nearly as strong an effect on the scores of the private domain item of satisfaction with self. This finding makes sense because socio-

Table 2
Mean Deviations in Satisfaction with Self Among Ethgender Groups by Various Controls

	N	1	2	3	4
Native American Women	147	−.12	−.11	−.11	−.04
Native American Men	135	−.09	−.15	−.10	−.09
Black Women	211	.14	.16	.17	.03
Black Men	209	.18	.16	.20	.02
Chicanas	315	.11	.11	.12	.05
Chicanos	292	.15	.12	.15	.08
Asian Women	93	−.16	−.25	−.29	−.20
Asian Men	116	−.01	.07	.07	−.02
White Women	3045	−.13	−.13	−.14	−.06
White Men	2816	.10	.11	.11	.07
Other Women	614	−.13	−.08	−.09	−.06
Other Men	526	.09	.08	.10	.02
Total Cases	8519				
Grand Mean	3.64				
BETA		.12	.13	.14	.10
Multiple R		.120	.127	.154	.137

Comparison 1: No Controls
Comparison 2: Controlling for Parental Education
Comparison 3: Controlling for Parental Education, Academic Achievement, and Educational Aspirations
Comparison 4: Controlling for Parental Education, Scholastic Performance, Educational Aspirations, Grade, and Response Set

economic status is a public domain concept. Nevertheless, since it is such an important variable, it should be taken into account. A comparison of Columns 1 and 2 on Table 2 shows that for Native American men and Asian women, controlling for the lower than average education of their parent results in a *decrease* in their satisfaction with self. Apparently, for these two groupings, the educational level of their parents, even though it is lower than that of the dominant group, acts as a buffer for the self. This finding is quite unexpected, and it leads one to question whether the variables work differently for each grouping. This notion will be explored below under the heading, "hierarchy of statuses."

The slight increase in the BETA indicates that the variable of parents' education was a suppressor, because when it was controlled, the relationship between ethgender and satisfaction with self increased by a very small amount. The multiple correlation increased by a small amount to .127.

Additional Control Variables

Academic achievement. Ethgender also is related to the students' self-reported grade point average (ETA = .25; not shown). The questionnaire item asked, "What was your average grade on your last nine-week report card?" Response categories ranged from "A or A−" (scaled "9") to "F" (scaled "1"). Females earned higher grades than did males within each racial category. The difference was about one-half point on the 9-point scale. Some effect of the racial groups also was present. Minority respondents (except Asians) all were below the grand mean by about one-half point on the scale. Some interaction between gender and race also was observed. The highest grades were reported by Asian females (.9 point above the grand mean), and the lowest grades were reported by black and Chicano males (.9 point below the grand mean). Grades, a measure of scholastic performance, are used here as a measure of academic achievement. If a student earned good grades, this achievement should on the average increase both perceived intelligence and satisfaction with self.

College aspirations. Ethgender is related to college aspirations (ETA = .18; not shown). The item on the questionnaire asked, "How far are you planning to go in your education?" Response categories matched those for parental education (above). Females were more likely than males to have higher educational aspirations within every racial group except Chicanos where aspirations were equal. Black (+.17), Asian (+.35) and white (+.14) females all scored above the grand mean (3.79, "Attend some college or a technical school but not obtain a four year college degree.").

Grade point average and college aspirations also affect the dependent variables. For example, a rather strong correlation was observed between grade point average and ratings of one's intelligence (about .40; not shown). Also, correlations were observed between educational aspirations and perceived intelligence (about .30; not shown) and between parental education and perceived intelligence (.23; not shown). Apparently, grades are a direct feedback on intellectual matters, so their correlation with perceived intelligence is stronger than it is with satisfaction with self. Incidentally, the variable of educational aspirations was related only weakly to the private domain esteem measure, satisfaction with self. Apparently, aspirations of a college degree are not a necessary condition for being satisfied with oneself. At this stage of the analysis we investigated interactions between grade point av-

erage, educational aspirations and ethgender. No interactions were observed.

Table 1, Column 3 presents mean deviations on perceived intelligence when parental education, academic performance, and educational aspirations have been controlled statistically. All women are below the grand mean of 4.99. Other women (−.27), Asian women (−.24) and Native American women (−.22) are well below it. Of particular interest are Asian women. Before these last controls, they were above the grand mean (.05), but when their higher scores on academic achivement and educational aspirations are controlled statistically, their perceived intelligence decreases substantially. This trend is similar to that for white females, but it is more pronounced for Asian females.

Among the groups with lower academic achievement and educational aspirations, the use of the control variables brings up the perceived intelligence. This trend is strongest for Native American males, black males, Chicanos, Chicanas, and Other males (in that order). The BETA for the relationship between ethgender and perceived intelligence (with the other variables controlled statistically) has decreased slightly to .13 from the previous analysis. The multiple correlation coefficient has increased to .515 due to the additional explanatory power of academic achievement and educational aspirations on perceived intelligence.

Table 2, Column 3 presents mean deviations on satisfaction with self when parental education, academic achievement, and educational aspirations are controlled. Inspection of the table shows that Column 3 (with the additional controls) is almost identical to Column 2 (controlling only for parental education). Native American men have moved slightly toward the grand mean (−.15 before the additional controls, and −.10 after they were applied), and Asian women have become less satisfied with themselves (−.25 before the additional controls, and −.29 after they were applied).

Grade level. Ethgender also is related to the grade in school of the respondents (ETA = .23; not shown), indicating that the relative proportion of women and dominant group members increases as the grade level increases. This relation probably is due to a higher dropout rate among males and minorities. Additionally, except for black females, all minority respondents are below the grand mean.

Response Sets. Bachman and O'Malley (1984) claim to have shown that some previous findings that blacks are higher in es-

teem than whites actually are due to the response sets used by blacks. These response sets mean that blacks use the extreme scores (both positive and negative) more than whites. In a positively skewed distribution of scores such as those on esteem, the result is inflated esteem scores which are a result of the response set and not actual differences in esteem. According to Bachman and O'Malley, the easiest solution to this problem is to collapse the extreme category on each end of the scale. When this is done, esteem scores for blacks and whites become more similar. Most of the items compared by Bachman and O'Malley were in the private domain. In fact, one of their items was identical to ours. Before the collapse of categories on data from three of four separate studies, blacks scored higher than whites on the item. After collapsing the categories, whites scored higher in all four studies. This pattern held for half of the items they examined.

We checked our data for response sets. On the variable of perceived intelligence (public domain), we found that Native Americans, blacks and Asians used the lowest category over two percent of the time—about twice as often as other racial groups. We found that Asians and whites used the highest category quite a bit more than the other groups (9% vs. 4–7%). Furthermore, we found that males were more extreme in their answers than were females. Males used the lowest category (2% vs. 0%) and the highest category (10% vs. 6%) more than did females. On the variable of satisfaction with self (private domain), we found that Native American adolescents used the negative extreme (5%) more than blacks, Asians, and other racial groups (3%). Chicanos and whites used the negative category least (1.5%). Blacks used the positive extreme category more than any other group (4% vs. 2–3%). The most striking finding was that males used this positive extreme category much more than did females (32% vs. 22%). While in some instances the differences in the percentages are small, the controls are easy to invoke. We chose to use these controls last in the analysis because they represented quirks in the data rather than variables which were theoretically meaningful. For instance, by collapsing the extreme categories the five-point scale of satisfaction with self will become a three-point scale, so it is no longer an interval scale even though we will use it as such. Also, the control for response set seems to be somewhat controversial, since there is no theory to explain why respondents in certain categories are more extreme in their responses.

When the final set of controls are introduced into the analysis (See Table 1, Column 5), only white males have an average per-

ceived intelligence that is above the grand mean. Male/female differences are strongest for Native Americans, Asians, whites, and other minorities. The additional controls bring black men, Chicanos and Chicanas, Asian women, Asian men, white women and other women closer to the grand mean. Many of the groupings still are some distance from it. The BETA of .12 shows the strength of the relation between ethgender and perceived intelligence when Parental Education, Academic Achievement, Educational Aspirations, Grade, and Response Set are controlled statistically. Though this relation is not an exceptionally strong one, it is still there after the many controls are introduced. The multiple correlation of .519 shows that the variables are far from perfect predictors of perceived intelligence. Future research should aim at more complete prediction. It is possible that ethgender differences can be made to disappear by the introduction of other controls. For now, the best interpretation is that the self is affected in some unique ways by race and gender.

Satisfaction with self seems to be affected more strongly by these additional controls than was perceived intelligence. All groups are brought closer to the grand mean in this analysis (See Table 2, Column 4). Generally, the remaining distances from the grand mean are smaller than before. Native American men and Asian women are the most extreme outliers in this analysis. Apparently, removal of disadvantages for Native American men (they were below the grand mean on all the controls) does not make up for the damage from being in that ethgender grouping. Apparently, removal of some of the advantages of Asian females lowers satisfaction with self to its true level that is due to discrimination.

As a side note, we were concerned that generational differences for certain categories of ethgender were important in level of satisfaction with self, so we introduced some additional controls such as satisfaction with oneself as a son or daughter. These analyses (not shown) compressed the means further, but it did not alter the pattern of the means.

The BETA (.10) on Table 2 shows that ethgender has an effect on satisfaction with self that does not go away when other variables are introduced. The multiple correlation coefficient of .137 shows that satisfaction with self is a complex variable which is not easily predicted.

Hierarchy of Statuses

We used a regression analysis in order to examine the relative strengths of the variables within racial groups. This examination

really is one of looking for interaction effects. The highlights are listed below. In the prediction of perceived intelligence (public domain), grade point average was the most important predictor for all racial groups. Grades are concrete evidence of ability on this public domain issue. The relationship between grades and perceived intelligence is highest for whites and Chicanos (BETA = .40). It is lowest for Native Americans (BETA = .24). Educational aspirations also are related positively to perceived intelligence for all racial groups, but the relationship is by far the most pronounced for Asians (BETA = .27). The relationship between gender and perceived intelligence was strongest for whites (BETA = .11). The direction of this finding means that white females perceive themselves to be less intelligent than white males when other variables are controlled. Feedback from teachers in the form of grades is an extremely important factor for adolescents in all racial groups. The relation between aspirations and perceived intelligence is most pronounced for Asians. Perhaps adolescents in this racial grouping believe most strongly that success in the educational arena is proof of intelligence. White women seem to be most unsure of their intelligence versus women in other racial groups.

In the prediction of satisfaction with self (private domain), grades again play an important part. The relationship between grades and satisfaction with self is most pronounced for blacks, Chicanos, and other racial minority groups (BETAS = .12). THe relationship between gender and satisfaction with self is most pronounced for Asians and whites (BETAS = −.15). The direction of these findings means that these females are less satisfied with themselves than males.

For blacks, Chicanos, and other racial minority groups, grades at school are more important sources of private domain esteem (satisfaction with self) than they are for whites and Asians. Turner and Turner (1982) have argued that the socialization process for blacks of both genders emphasizes the earning of wages (public domain). Could it be that for some minority adolescents this emphasis is expressed in the earning of grades, so the relationship between grades and self satisfaction is more pronounced for them? On the other hand, the effects of gender are strongest for Asians and whites. Maybe the general devaluation of females in the society is not mitigated as well by an emphasis on the provider role in white and Asian families, and therefore gender is a more important predictor of private domain self-esteem. Since our principal purpose in this study is to illuminate the effects of race and gender upon self-image, these analyses are merely sidelights to

the main findings regarding differences in esteem as a result of ethgender.

Conclusion

Our initial hypothesis that race and gender would have a negative impact on self-esteem among minority and female students was supported by the data. As argued above, however, this general process is affected by a multitude of factors which produce different outcomes among the different groups. Blacks and Chicanos, for example, have lower levels of self-esteem in the public domain (intelligence) than whites, but they have higher levels in the private domain (satisfaction with self). These findings are probably related to the ideologies of Black Power and *Chicanismo*, both of which were central to the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. These ideologies have become somewhat diffuse and commonplace, thereby continuing to provide alternatives to the ideology of white supremacy. Native and Asian Americans, on the other hand, have lower levels of self-esteem than whites on both domains. If alternative ideologies (and defense mechanisms, as some scholars argue) help explain the findings with regard to blacks and Chicanos, then we would expect them to affect Native and Asian Americans as well. The findings for these latter groups do not indicate that this is the case, and other factors seem to be influencing their levels of self-esteem. More research is necessary at this point.

Our second hypothesis, that women (with the exception of blacks) would tend to have lower levels of self-esteem than men, received mixed support from the data. Like blacks, Native and Asian American women do not seem to have a greater sense of intellectual inferiority than their male counterparts. The pattern, however, was not consistent for these groups. There probably is not a difference among Asian men and women. The findings for the other two groups, as well as that for Chicanos and Chicanas, cannot be so easily interpreted. Structural and cultural factors are probably responsible, with more research required at this point.

The hypothesis that racism influences self-image occurs across social classes is supported by our findings. In all cases minority groups had a lower sense of intelligence than did whites. It appears that the relationship is positive in that the better off one is in society the less one's sense of inferiority. Of course, the relationship is not strong enough to overwhelm the negative influence of racism on minorities.

In sum, the view that members of a racial society learn the set of beliefs that legitimize this aspect of the stratification system and internalize them is supported by data collected from seventh through twelfth grade students in the Pikes Peak region. This relationship holds across social classes. The view that women would tend to have a greater sense of inferiority than men received mixed support. The relation appears to hold for whites, Chicanos, and others, but it does not hold for Native Americans, blacks, and Asians.

RESUMEN

Este estudio examina el impacto de dos variables, raza y sexo, sobre los niveles de auto-estima en varios grupos de jóvenes. Comparaciones efectuadas entre los grupos, tanto en aspectos de dominio privado (satisfacción consigo mismo) como de dominio público (inteligencia) sobre la auto-estima, indican que los patrones de conducta varían de acuerdo a la raza y el sexo de los sujetos. En general, los jóvenes de grupos étno-raciales minoritarios tienden a mostrar niveles más bajos de auto-estima que los jóvenes de raza blanca en lo que se refiere a rasgos de dominio público. Sin embargo, no se observa el mismo patrón de conducta en cuanto a los rasgos de domino privado, en los cuales los negros y los chicanos muestran niveles más altos que las personas de raza blanca. Se observaron diferencias sexuales en los grupos de negros, indios americanos y asiáticos. En esos grupos, las mujeres tuvieron niveles más altos de auto-estima en rasgos de dominio público que sus contrapartes masculinos.

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Received May 15, 1987 □