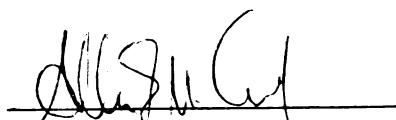This is to certify that the

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SELF-ESTEEM AND SELF-PERCEPTIONS OF ATTRACTIVENESS IN
ASIAN, BLACK, AND WHITE WOMEN:
THE MEDIATING ROLE OF SELF-DISCREPANCY

By

Peggy Pui Kei Chin

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ABSTRACT

SELF-ESTEEM AND SELF-PERCEPTIONS OF ATTRACTIVENESS IN ASIAN, BLACK, AND WHITE WOMEN: THE MEDIATING ROLE OF SELF-DISCREPANCY

By

Peggy Pui Kei Chin

This study examined the relationship between traditional feminine gender role identification and ethnic identity on change in self-esteem after exposure to cultural standards of beauty in Asian, Black and White women. Results indicated that traditional feminine gender role identification was unrelated to changes in self-esteem after viewing cultural standards of beauty. Moreover, ethnic identity was unrelated to change in self-esteem in Black women, but was related to a greater drop in self-esteem for Asian women with low ethnic identity. Additional analyses showed race differences in how Asian, Black, and White women responded to cultural standards of beauty. Implications of these results and directions for future research are discussed.

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Wu On and Lai Kuen Chin.

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INTRODUCTION

All the world had agreed that a blue-eyed, yellow-haired, pink-skinned doll was what every girl treasured. "Here," they said, "this is beautiful, and if you are on this day 'worthy' you may have it."

<div style="text-align: right">

Toni Morrison
The Bluest Eye (pp.20-21)

</div>

For many women, being called "beautiful" by others is the pinnacle of flattery.

Although men also presumably like to be complimented on their appearance, it may not be

as important to their self-esteem to be considered attractive. For instance, physical

appearance was the most important predictor of overall self-evaluation in female, but not

male, college and high school students (Jackson, Hodge, & Ingram, 1994). As Fallon

(1990) notes, the physical attractiveness of women is typically given much more explicit

consideration than the physical attractiveness of men by both women and men alike.

It is likely that many women compare themselves to others in order to evaluate

their own appearance. Festinger's (1954) social comparison theory suggests that people

compare themselves to others when they are not certain about their opinions or qualities.

Thus, women may compare themselves to societal standards of beauty in order to assess

their attractiveness. Research has consistently shown that social comparison with highly

attractive others reduces self-esteem, which results in lower self-evaluation (Diener,

1984). Thornton and Moore (1993) illustrated these ideas with an experiment in which

men and women were exposed to attractive and unattractive same-sex persons. The researchers found that self-ratings of attractiveness and social self-esteem were lower after exposure to an attractive model, and self-ratings of attractiveness were enhanced after exposure to an unattractive person. Similarly, another study found that college women had indicated lower self-ratings of attractiveness after being exposed to pictures of other attractive college women (Cash, Cash, & Butters, 1983). Thus, exposure to attractive others may cause self-esteem to suffer, whereas exposure to unattractive others may increase self-esteem.

Upward social comparisons (e.g., to other people who could be considered more attractive) often take place when evaluating oneself, especially in terms of attractiveness. In American society, women frequently compare themselves and are compared to idealized Caucasian standards of beauty (Rucker & Cash, 1992; Trepagnier, 1994) even though some cross-cultural data suggests that there are universal standards of beauty in which both non-White and White features are considered to be attractive (Langlois & Roggman, 1990). A cultural transmission of the Caucasian standard of beauty to all women, including Black and Asian women, is evident when one considers research findings that show that Blacks, Chinese, and Hispanics rate Caucasian faces as being more attractive than faces of their own ethnic group (Bernstein, Lin, & McClellan, 1982; Cross & Cross, 1971; Langlois & Stephan, 1977; Martin, 1964). Similarly, Fujino (1993) found that both Asian and White men and women rated Whites as being more physically attractive than Asians. Taken together, these findings indicate that Caucasian standards of

beauty are pervasive in American society and form a basis against which many women, including minorities, judge themselves.

Although previous studies have shown that upward social comparisons with an idealized White standard reduces self-esteem, resulting in lower self-evaluations of attractiveness (Diener, 1984; Grogan, William, & Connor, 1996; Thornton & Moore, 1993), other important and self-defining factors may affect the relationship between perceptions of attractiveness and self-esteem. Previous research has shown, for instance, that women who identify with traditional feminine gender roles are more likely to care about physical appearance than other less traditionally feminine women. Similarly, ethnic identity may moderate the relationship between self-evaluations of attractiveness and self-esteem. For example, women high in ethnic identity may be less inclined to evaluate themselves based on White cultural standards of beauty, which may lead to less reduction in self-esteem after being exposed to a White beauty standard relative to those who are low in ethnic identity. Thus, two such factors that may influence the relationship between self-perceptions of attractiveness and self-esteem are identification with traditional feminine gender roles and ethnic identity.

Gender Roles

Gender schema theory suggests that traditional feminine gender-typed individuals are more likely to conform to cultural beauty standards and are therefore more likely than nontraditional gender-typed individuals to evaluate their physical appearance in terms of cultural beauty standards (Bem, 1981a, 1981b). In other words, women who identify with traditional feminine gender roles are more likely to evaluate themselves according to

cultural beauty norms than are women who identify with traditional masculine gender roles or androgynous women who identify with both femininity and masculinity. This identification with traditional femininity would lead one to believe strongly in culturally accepted beauty ideals for the self, which may negatively impact self-esteem when one feels discrepant from those ideals. For instance, Jackson, Sullivan, and Hymes (1985) reported that women who identified with traditional femininity perceived themselves as being less attractive than masculine or androgynous women and wanted to change their physical appearance more than androgynous women. Likewise, another study found that feminine women were less satisfied with their body characteristics and sexuality than were masculine and androgynous women (Kimlicka, Cross, & Tarnai, 1983). Thus, it seems that identification with traditional femininity is related to negative body image and lower body satisfaction ratings. Specifically, higher traditional femininity means less body satisfaction because identification with traditional feminine characteristics may lead women to show more adherence to difficult-to-attain, culturally-prescribed beauty norms, which may result in more discrepancies between one's ideal and one's actual self.

Research on gender roles and body image has shown that women who express less traditional feminine gender-typed beliefs are more satisfied with their bodies than women who express more traditional feminine gender-typed beliefs. Conversely, women who identify strongly with traditional feminine gender roles have more negative feelings about their body image than do women who are less inclined to identify with traditional feminine gender roles (Jackson et al., 1985). This dissatisfaction may stem from women perceiving

large discrepancies between their actual and ideal bodies, which may lead to lower self-evaluations of attractiveness and consequently, to lower self-esteem.

Previous research has established that gender role identification affects how women perceive their bodies, and how this perception, in turn, can affect feelings about the self (Jackson et al., 1985; Kimlicka et al., 1983). In addition to identification with traditional feminine gender roles, women's self-esteem may be influenced by ethnic identity as well. In Black and Asian women, ethnic identity may be an important element in how women respond to mainstream cultural values that affect their self-perceptions of attractiveness and ultimately, their self-esteem.

Ethnic Identification

Among Black women, those who are low in ethnic identity may have more negative self-evaluations if they compare themselves to a White standard of beauty. Those high in ethnic identity, on the other hand, may not view Caucasian standards as personally ideal and hence, they would not compare themselves to them (Crocker & Major, 1989).

In one study, researchers identified ethnic identity as the main reason why Black women were able to maintain high self-evaluations following exposure to an attractive White model. Makkar and Strube (1995) showed Black women who were either high or low in racial identification photographs of attractive White women, photographs of attractive Black women, or no photographs (control condition). The participants then evaluated the models on the body esteem scale (BES; Franzoi & Shields, 1984), which asked participants to rate targets' facial and body characteristics in terms of attractiveness,

as well as on overall attractiveness. The participants were also asked to rate themselves on the BES and their overall attractiveness.

Their results showed that when participants were exposed to White models, those high in ethnic identity believed that they, themselves, were much more attractive than the target compared to Black women who were low in ethnic identity. These results indicate that Black women with high ethnic identity are less likely to evaluate themselves negatively when exposed to a White standard of beauty than Black women with low ethnic identity. Hence, high ethnic identity in Black women may buffer the effects of idealized White standards of beauty on Black women's self-perceptions. The study also found that those high (relative to low) in self-esteem were much more apt to believe themselves to be more attractive than White models. However, the experimenters did not examine the relationship between ethnic identity and self-esteem. The experimenters may have found that high ethnic identity and high self-esteem may be correlated. Taken together, these results suggest that Black women who are low in ethnic identity or who are low in self-esteem may make more self-comparisons to White standards of beauty, resulting in lower self-evaluations if they feel discrepant from those standards. Conversely, Black women who have high ethnic identity or high self-esteem may not allow cultural White ideals to dictate their personal ideals, resulting in more favorable self-evaluations. It is possible, then, that high ethnic identity maintains positive self-esteem by allowing Black women to disregard pervasive White cultural norms. Furthermore, high ethnic identity may foster positive self-esteem in Black women because they can compare themselves to more relevant Black cultural standards if they feel threatened by White standards of beauty.

Crocker and Major (1989), for instance, argued that stigmatized groups, such as Black women, have several strategies for protecting their self-esteem when threatened. First, stigmatized people may be able to attribute negative feedback to their group membership. For example, a Black woman who does not meet White cultural standards of beauty may not feel bad about herself because she may believe that there are different standards of beauty for Black women. Second, stigmatized people compare themselves mostly with ingroup members. Thus, Black women high in ethnic identity may be especially likely to compare themselves to a Black standard of beauty rather than a White standard of beauty. Lastly, stigmatized people value the attributes of their ingroup more so than others do. Hence, Black women may view dark skin or larger bone structure as being more attractive than non-Black women despite that these features run counter to White cultural norms of beauty. These findings are consistent with previous research that shows Black women have positive perceptions of themselves relative to White women. For instance, Black women have heavier body ideals, which leads to less eating disorder behaviors, less dietary restraint, and more body satisfaction than White women (Hsu, 1987; Rucker & Cash, 1992).

Although many Black women have been able to maintain positive self-esteem in a culture that stresses White beauty standards, other minority women may react to accepted cultural beauty ideals differently. Asian women, for instance, may have a more difficult time than Black women in maintaining positive self-perceptions when exposed to White beauty standards because Asians may not be as likely as Blacks to separate feelings about the individual self from their ethnic group self. As shown by Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine,

and Broadnax (1994), correlations between the personal self-esteem and the collective self-esteem scale for Blacks were weak, but positive correlations between the two scales were found for Asians. These findings suggest that Blacks may be better able to separate how they feel about their racial group from what others (e.g., members of other racial groups) feel about their ingroup than Asians. On the other hand, it may be more important for Asians that others think highly of their group and themselves because many Asians believe in an interdependence between the self and the dominant culture (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Thus, how Asians perceive themselves might be correlated with how the dominant culture perceives them more so than for Blacks (Crocker et al., 1994). Relating these findings to perceptions of attractiveness, Black women may be less concerned with White standards of beauty than Asian women because Black women tend to evaluate themselves using a Black ingroup standard whereas, Asians may evaluate themselves against the dominant culture's standard (i.e., White beauty ideals).

Past research on self-perceptions of attractiveness in Asians has supported the idea that Asian women may compare themselves quite strongly to White beauty ideals. Research by Arkoff and Weaver (1966) found that Japanese-American women were significantly more dissatisfied with their bodies than Japanese-American males and Caucasian women. Furthermore, according to the American Society of Plastic Surgery and Reconstruction Surgeon's 1993 report, Asians are more likely than any other ethnic group to pursue cosmetic surgery (Chen, 1993). Although 80% of White patients want liposuction, breast augmentation, or wrinkle removal, over 40% of Asian Americans ask for eyelid surgery, and another 20% request nasal implants or nasal tip refinements (Kaw,

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1993). As Kaw observes, the popular surgeries for Whites do not change their racial makeup, whereas for Asian Americans, the surgery attempts to undo physical features related to race to make Asians look more White. Likewise, new makeup products for Asian women are directed at "fixing" their features to make them look more White. One such product is called "nose shadow," which is a brown cosmetic stick used to add "shape" to the nose (Li, 1992).

Thus, ethnic identity may play a different role in how Black women view themselves versus how Asian women view themselves. This may be related to the finding that Blacks are more able to separate personal self-esteem from collective self-esteem than Asians (Crocker et al., 1994). Conversely, Asians may derive part of their personal self-esteem from adherence to dominant cultural norms because Asian culture stresses conformity and interdependence with others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). It is possible that need for conformity is an important moderator in how ethnic identity affects self-esteem. Perhaps those who have a higher need for conforming to cultural norms may have lower self-esteem than those who are less conforming. For instance, one with high ethnic identity may still have lower self-esteem if they have a higher need for conformity to dominant cultural norms than those with lower needs for conformity. Conversely, one with low ethnic identity may have higher self-esteem if they have a lower need for conformity to dominant cultural norms. Conformity as a moderator of the relationship between ethnic identity and self-esteem seems particularly relevant for Asians because their culture tends to stress conformity to the dominant culture (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). However, as research has shown, both Asian and Black women who attempt to

conform to White beauty ideals may suffer psychologically because they may never be able to realize these ideals (Arkoff & Weaver, 1966; Hall, 1995; Okazawa-Rey, Robinson, & Ward, 1986; Trepagnier, 1994).

As discussed, traditional feminine gender role identification, ethnic identity, and need for conformity may play roles in influencing self-perceptions of beauty on self-esteem. These factors are seemingly able to influence self-esteem because they serve as foundations on which individuals think about themselves and the standards to which self-comparisons are made. Thus, to understand forces that influence self-esteem, one needs to consider how people compare themselves to their idealized standards. The implications of such comparisons have been explored by self-discrepancy theory (Higgins, 1987)

Self-Discrepancy Theory

Self-discrepancy theory suggests that people who believe that their actual self (one's self-concept) and their ideal self (one's hopes, wishes, or aspirations for themselves) are discrepant will be more likely to experience lower self-esteem, greater dissatisfaction, and more depression relative to those who believe that their actual and ideal selves are less discrepant (Higgins, 1987; Higgins, Klein, & Strauman, 1985).

Although previous work on gender role identification has shown that traditional gender-typed women have lower satisfaction with their body image and lower self-esteem (Jackson, 1992), it is possible that self-discrepancy mediates the relationship between identification with traditional feminine gender roles and self-esteem. For instance, high identification with traditional feminine gender roles should lead women to think about their ideal selves in terms of cultural standards of beauty. It is the degree of mismatch

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between actual and ideal selves that impacts self-esteem. If the actual and ideal selves match, then self-esteem will be higher because there will be less discrepancy between what one believes that they are and what one hopes to be. Conversely, sizable mismatches in the actual and ideal selves will result in lower self-esteem. Thus, self-discrepancy may provide a mechanism through which gender role identification affects self-esteem. The role of self-discrepancy may also affect the relationship between ethnic identity and self-esteem. Ethnic identity may influence how Black and Asian women view themselves by affecting their choice of ideal self. If one's actual and ideal selves are highly discrepant, then one will have lower self-esteem. Therefore, both gender role identification and ethnic identity influence beliefs about ideal standards of beauty which, in turn, can reduce self-esteem if mismatches are salient to the individual.

Summary

Past research on gender role identification and self-perceptions of attractiveness has shown that women who are traditionally feminine are more likely to be dissatisfied with their bodies, and more likely to evaluate themselves negatively than women who do not show as much identification with traditional femininity (Jackson et al., 1985). Furthermore, research on ethnic identity has shown that Black women with low ethnic identity are more likely to evaluate themselves negatively than Black women with high ethnic identity when faced with a social comparison to a White standard of beauty (Makkar & Strube, 1995). However, one might question whether gender role identification and ethnic identity affect self-esteem directly, or if there is another more

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complex psychological mechanism that may mediate the relationship that can be captured via self-discrepancy theory.

Although past research on Black women has typically predicted that Black women in general have positive self-perceptions of attractiveness relative to White women (Hsu, 1987), recent research has shown that Black women with high ethnic identity react to White beauty standards differently than do Black women with low ethnic identity. Specifically, Black women with high ethnic identity are less likely to let White beauty ideals negatively affect their evaluations of themselves than Black women with low racial identity (Makkar & Strube, 1995). Furthermore, it is proposed that ethnic identity may not operate in the same way for Asian women as it does for Black women because Asian culture stresses interdependence and conformity with the culture (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Therefore, Black and Asian women may differ in their reactions to exposure to White standards of beauty. Given the preceding literature, the current study will examine the mediating role of self-discrepancy in terms of beauty on the relationship between gender role identification and self-esteem in Black, Asian, and White women. The influence of ethnic identity in shaping self-standards of beauty will be explored as well. The primary hypotheses for this study are:

Hypothesis 1: Traditionally feminine women will be more likely to adopt White standards of beauty for their ideal self than women who are not traditionally feminine. This should result in lower self-esteem for traditionally feminine women who are exposed to cultural standards of beauty because of greater self-discrepancies between their actual and ideal selves.

<u>Hypothesis 2</u>: Ethnic identity will affect how women construct their ideal self. In Black women, low ethnic identity will result in adopting a more culturally-defined ideal self, which should lead to greater discrepancies between the actual and ideal self, producing lower self-esteem than in Black women who are high in ethnic identity. Asian women high in ethnic identity should also have higher self-esteem relative to low ethnic identity Asian women via less self-discrepancy. However, ethnic identity in Asian women should interact with conformity such that high ethnic identity Asian women with high levels of conformity should adopt dominant, White cultural standards of beauty, leading to more self-discrepancies between their actual and ideal selves, resulting in lower self-esteem. Asian women low in ethnic identity should adopt a more culturally-defined ideal self and have lower self-esteem relative to high ethnic identity Asian women via greater discrepancies between their actual and ideal selves. This pattern should be especially strong for low ethnic identity Asian women who also express a high need for conformity.

Because Blacks and Asians are two very different ethnic groups in terms of culture and physical appearance, it is also hypothesized that there should be race differences in how Blacks and Asians respond to White cultural standards of beauty. In general, Black women should be less inclined to compare themselves to cultural standards of beauty because they should not view White standards as personally relevant, and therefore, would not compare themselves to such ideals (Crocker & Major, 1988). Asian women, however, may be more likely than Blacks to compare themselves to cultural ideals because Asian culture stresses conformity to the dominant culture (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Furthermore, Asians are closer to White ideals (e.g., lighter skin, straighter hair, etc.) than

Blacks, which may facilitate conformity to culturally-defined beauty standards in Asian women to the extent that their responses to stimulus materials should be very similar to responses by Whites.

METHOD

Participants

Participants were 62 Asian women, 62 Black women, and 68 White women recruited from Michigan State University through introductory level psychology classes. Of the sample, 8 Asians, 10 Blacks and 4 Whites were excluded from the analysis of the data because they did not completely follow instructions. Most Asian and Black subjects were recruited through campus ethnic clubs, such as Black Caucuses, Black sororities, APASO (Asian/Pacific American Student Organization), and other Asian organizations (Chinese Student Coalition, Korean Students Alliance, etc.) Asian-American women who identified themselves as Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Filipino, Thai, Hmong, or Cambodian were considered as Asian participants for this study.

Cultural Standards of Beauty Stimuli

Full body, color pictures of attractive White female models (taken from Victoria's Secret catalogues) were shown to participants to provide exposure to mainstream standards of beauty. The pictures were pilot-tested by introductory White female psychology students to ensure that all models were considered to be reliably physically attractive. White students were used to pilot test the pictures because this study attempted to assess how dominant White cultural norms affect self-esteem in women. The

pictures were used in two ways. First, the pictures served as an upward comparison point to which participants compared themselves directly. Second, the pictures were used to initiate thinking about the self and how attractive the participants considered themselves to be.

<u>Measures</u>

<u>Gender Identity</u>. The Bem (1974) Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) (see Appendix A) was used to assess the degree of participants' identification with traditional gender roles. Scores were derived from participants rating themselves on a total of 60 personality traits: 20 feminine traits, 20 masculine traits, and 20 neutral traits (e.g., affectionate, aggressive, and friendly, respectively) on a scale ranging from 1 (never or almost never true of me) to 7 (always or almost always true of me). Higher scores on femininity traits indicated stronger identification with traditional feminine gender roles (alpha=.76). Higher scores on masculinity traits indicated stronger identification with traditional masculine gender roles (alpha=.83).

<u>Ethnic Identity</u>. The Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS-B; Parham & Helms, 1981) (see Appendix B) was administered to both Black and Asian students to assess their ethnic identification. Although this 30-item scale was originally designed to measure racial identity in Blacks, the scale was adapted for Asians by changing all "Black" words to "Asian" words (i.e., "Being Asian just feels natural to me," as opposed to, "Being Black just feels natural to me."). In addition, a 50-item White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS; Helms, 1991) (see Appendix C) was given to White participants in order to assess how White racial identity affects members of the dominant group. Participants were

asked to respond on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) on the RIAS-B or the WRIAS.

The RIAS-B conceptualizes racial identity as a stage process. For this study, the two most extreme endpoints in ethnic identity pertinent to this study were preencounter, in which one has a strong commitment to White culture and a weak commitment to one's ethnic culture (low-ethnic identity), and immersion, in which one has a strong commitment to one's ethnic culture and a weak commitment to White culture (high-ethnic identity). Questions that measured the preencounter stage included, "I believe that White people look and express themselves better than Blacks/Asians" and "I believe that White people are intellectually superior to Blacks/Asians" (alpha=.58 for Blacks, alpha=.61 for Asians). Questions that measured the immersion stage included, "I believe that the world should be interpreted from a Black/Asian perspective" and "I believe that everything Black/Asian is good, and consequently, I limit myself to Black/Asian activities" (alpha=.57 for Blacks, alpha=.71 for Asians).

Similar to the RIAS-B, the WRIAS conceptualizes White identity in terms of stages. The two most extreme endpoints that are pertinent to this study were contact, in which the individual approaches the world in a "color-blind manner" (low-ethnic identity), and reintegration, in which the individual idealizes everything that is White and denigrates everything that is thought to be non-White (high-ethnic identity). Questions that measured the contact stage included, "I hardly think about what race I am" and "I wish I had a friend that is a member of a minority group" (alpha=.67). Questions that measured the reintegration stage included, "I get angry when I think about how Whites have been

treated by minority groups" and "There is nothing I want to learn from minorities" (alpha=.75).

Collective Self-Esteem. The collective self-esteem scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) (see Appendix D) was given to all participants to assess the degree to which their self-esteem may be derived from racial group membership. The 16-item scale has four subscales in which only the subscale of identity applies to the current study. The construct of "identity" assesses the importance of group membership to one's self-concept. Questions that measured this construct included, "The social groups I belong to are an important reflection of who I am" and "In general, belonging to social groups is an important part of my self-image" (alpha=.84). Collective self-esteem items were measured on a 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) scale with some questions being reversed scored. Higher scores indicated that more of an individual's self-esteem is derived from racial group membership.

Body Attractiveness. The body esteem scale (BES; Franzoi & Shield, 1984) (see Appendix E) using the female dimension of sexual attractiveness and weight concern was administered to participants in order for them to actively reflect on the attractiveness of the photographed models, as well as on their own level of attractiveness. The participants were asked to rate the stimulus photographs and themselves using the BES. In addition, the BES served as a manipulation check to ensure that the models presented as stimuli were considered to be attractive by participants.

Participants rated body parts on a scale ranging from 1 (have strong negative feelings) to 5 (have strong positive feelings). Questions measured individuals' feelings

about facial features (e.g., how one feels about one's nose, lips, ears, etc.) and about weight concerns regarding body proportions (e.g., how one feels about one's thighs, buttocks, hips, etc.). There were 18 questions that assessed the BES (alpha=.89).

Overall Attractiveness. The BES only asked for ratings of composite facial and body parts and did not assess overall attractiveness. Thus, an additional question was asked to obtain an overall attractiveness score. Participants were asked to rate the attractiveness of the models and their own level of attractiveness on a scale ranging from 1 (very unattractive) to 9 (very attractive).

Who would you want to be? Following the same logic of Clark and Clark's (1940) ethnic doll study in which a majority of Black children chose White dolls as "playmates" over Black dolls, photographs of attractive Asian, Black, and White women (pre-tested for attractiveness by White females) taken from high school yearbooks and college yearbooks were shown to participants. Participants stated how much they wanted to look like each woman in the photographs on a scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much) (see Appendix F).

Actual versus Ideal Self. A modified version of the Selves Questionnaire (Higgins et al., 1985) was administered to participants to evaluate how much their actual physical self and ideal physical self matched in terms of self-perceptions of beauty and attractiveness (e.g., "I want to be short and I am short" or "I want to be tall but I am short").

Participants listed 10 physical characteristics that they believed they possessed and the importance of having those physical characteristics on a scale ranging from 1 (very

unimportant) to 7 (very important). Following the actual selves questionnaires, participants were asked to list up to 10 physical characteristics that they wished they ideally possessed and to rate the importance of possessing those ideal physical traits again on a scale ranging from 1 (very unimportant) to 7 (very important). Participants were then asked to return to their ideal list and rate themselves on how close they were to reaching their ideal self on a scale ranging from 1 (very close to being ideal) to 7 (not close at all to being ideal) (see Appendix G).

Scores from the ideal importance scale were multiplied with scores from the "how close are you to being ideal" scale and the mean of these products were computed as the measure for discrepancy between ideal and actual self, or mismatches. Higher scores on mismatches indicated larger discrepancies on important physical traits. It is likely that participants with highly mismatched selves on physical characteristics that are very important to them should be less happy with their appearance than those with highly matched selves on important characteristics.

Need for Uniqueness. The need for uniqueness scale (Snyder & Fromkin, 1977) (see Appendix H) was used to measure participants' desires to set themselves apart from other people and social norms. The scale was designed to measure positive strivings in people for differentness relative to other people. Specifically, this scale was used to assess the extent to which participants, especially Asians (Hypothesis 2), conformed to norms (i.e., cultural standards of beauty).

The need for uniqueness scale is a 32-item questionnaire and includes items such as "I always try to follow the rules" and "I like wearing a uniform because it makes me proud

to be a member of the organization it represents" (alpha=.81). Conformity was measured by asking participants to rate themselves on a scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree) with some items being reversed scored. Higher scores indicated more desire to be conforming relative to other people.

Self-Esteem. Self-esteem was measured using Rosenberg's (1965) self-esteem scale (see Appendix I). This scale has been previously shown to have good test-retest reliability (r=.85 over a two-week period), and correlates highly with other measures of self-esteem (Robinson & Shaver, 1973). This measure of self-esteem was used because it is a global measure of self-worth and can show how negative self-perceptions of attractiveness may impact overall self-esteem.

The Rosenberg (1965) self-esteem scale is a 10-item questionnaire and includes items such as "I feel that I have a number of good qualities" and "I wish I could have more respect for myself" (alpha=.85). Self-esteem was measured by splitting the scale into halves, such that participants rated themselves on a scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) on the first 5 questions before exposure to experimental stimulus, and then rated themselves on the last 5 questions after exposure to experimental materials. The difference between self-esteem at time 2 (after exposure to stimulus materials) and self-esteem at time 1 (before exposure to stimulus materials) of the Rosenberg self-esteem scale was then computed to create a change of esteem measure. Higher scores on the change of esteem measure indicated greater self-esteem after exposure to a cultural standard of beauty than before exposure to the cultural standard.

Procedure

This experiment was a one-way, between-subjects factorial design with 3 levels of race (Asian, Black, and White participants).

Participants were greeted by a White female experimenter of modest physical attractiveness. Participants were told that the experiment was about understanding self-concept formation across a wide variety of people, and that they would be asked to complete several questionnaires on factors that may contribute to self-concept formation.

After participants signed the consent form, they were asked to complete five questions of the Rosenberg (1965) self-esteem scale to measure participants' self-esteem prior to exposure to the pictures of the attractive models. Participants then completed the BSRI to assess their degree of traditional femininity. Following the BSRI, Asian, Black and White participants completed their respective ethnic identity scales, RIAS for Asians and Blacks (Parham & Helms, 1981) and (W)RIAS for Whites (Helms, 1991). All ethnic identity scales were known as the "Social Attitudes Scale" to participants. Next, participants completed the collective self-esteem scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) to measure self-esteem derived from racial membership.

At this point, participants were told that because the experiment on self-concept formation required the participants to complete many questionnaires, they were to take a little "break" before completing additional questionnaires. It was during this "break" that participants were exposed to the photographs of the attractive models. This was done so that the participants would not know that the previous questionnaires (e.g., the BSRI, RIAS, etc.) were related to the questions on attractiveness. Furthermore, although participants were told that they were taking a break, they were also told to take the task

seriously because it was part of another study about attractiveness for which researchers were collecting data. All participants then viewed three photographs of attractive White models. Three photographs were shown to participants to ensure the likelihood that participants believed one of the models to be very attractive in order to promote upward self-comparisons. Participants were then asked to identify which of the three models was most attractive to them, and to rate that model on the BES (Franzoi & Shields, 1984). Viewing the models was to prompt participants to think about beauty and attractiveness, and to induce upward social comparisons to the attractive models. Afterwards, participants rated the model on overall attractiveness as well. Next, participants rated themselves on the BES and rated themselves on overall attractiveness.

Participants also viewed pictures of attractive Asian, Black and White women taken from high school and college yearbooks and rated the women in terms of who they would most want to look like. In the last part of the "break" (i.e., the attractiveness portion of the study), participants completed a modified version of the selves questionnaire (Higgins et al., 1985), which assessed their beliefs about their actual and ideal selves with respect to their physical characteristics. Participants also indicated how important their actual and ideal physical characteristics were to them and estimated how close they were to attaining their ideal physical traits.

Participants then completed the need for uniqueness scale (Snyder & Fromkin, 1977) to measure their degree of conformity. Finally, all participants filled out the remaining five questions from the Rosenberg self-esteem scale in order to assess changes

in self-esteem following exposure to the attractive White models. Lastly, participants were thanked and debriefed at the end of the experiment.

RESULTS

Descriptive analyses were performed on all variables (means and standard deviations for the primary variables are summarized in Table 1). Zero-order correlations were then conducted between all variable pairings for all participants (see Table 2), for Asian participants only (see Table 3), for Black participants only (see Table 4), and for White participants only (see Table 5). Although all results will be discussed, let us first turn our attention to the primary hypotheses.

<u>Primary Hypotheses</u>

The first hypothesis was that women who identified with traditional femininity would be more likely than women who did not identify with traditional femininity to reveal lower self-esteem following exposure to the photographs of the models. This hypothesis was not supported. As shown in Table 2, femininity did not correlate with change in self-esteem. Moreover, femininity was not correlated with mismatches between actual and ideal selves, suggesting that traditional femininity was not a factor in change of self-esteem after exposure to cultural standards of beauty in this study.

The second hypothesis proposed that ethnic identity would influence women's cultural standards of beauty and their ideal self, thus affecting their sense of self-worth following exposure to the models. Specifically, it was hypothesized that for Black women, low ethnic identity (high preencounter scores) would lead to more mismatches

between their actual and ideal selves, resulting in lower self-esteem after viewing the

models than for Black women who have higher ethnic identity (high immersion scores).

Moreover, it was hypothesized that Asian women with high ethnic identity would have

fewer mismatches between their actual and ideal selves, resulting in higher self-esteem.

However, ethnic identity should interact with conformity such that Asian women with high

ethnic identity and a high need for conformity would have more mismatches between their

actual and ideal selves, resulting in lower self-esteem than for Asian women with high

ethnic identity and a low need for conformity. Similarly, Asian women with low ethnic

identity would have lower self-esteem resulting from more mismatches between their

actual and ideal selves.

The results of this hypothesis were only weakly supported. As Table 4 shows,

neither preencounter nor immersion in Black women significantly correlated with change

in self-esteem nor with mismatches. For Asian women, however, Table 3 reveals that low

ethnic identity (preencounter) significantly correlated with change in self-esteem, such that

those who identified more with mainstream standards were more likely to show a

reduction in self-esteem after being exposed to cultural standards of beauty. Neither

preencounter nor immersion correlated with need for conformity. Moreover, after first

entering preencounter, immersion, and conformity separately into the regression equation,

the subsequent interactions between ethnic identity and need for conformity were not

significant, $\beta=-.34$, $\underline{t}(52)=-.27$, $\underline{ns}$ (preencounter), and $\beta=.51$, $\underline{t}(52)=.33$, $\underline{ns}$ (immersion).

This suggests that need for conformity did not interact with ethnic identity to decrease

participants' self-esteem after exposure to a cultural standard of beauty for neither high ethnic-identified nor low ethnic-identified Asian women.

In addition to ethnic identity in Blacks and Asians, White ethnic identity was assessed as well. As shown in Table 5, neither low-ethnic identity (contact) nor high-ethnic identity (reintegration) correlated with change in self-esteem. Furthermore, the component of "identity" in the collective self-esteem scale was also measured as a method to assess whether racial membership may affect one's change in self-esteem after exposure to models for all subjects. As shown in Tables 3, 4, and 5, collective self-esteem did not significantly correlate with change in self-esteem. Thus, the degree to which one's racial membership influences one's self-concept did not affect change in self-esteem after exposure to a cultural standard of beauty. In essence, neither ethnic identity nor collective self-esteem was related to how Black or White women felt about themselves after viewing pictures of a cultural standard of beauty. Low ethnic identity in Asian women however, was related to more negative change in self-esteem after viewing White standards of beauty.

Additional Analyses Assessing the Mediational Role of Mismatches

Although our original hypothesis was that mismatches would mediate the relationship between traditional feminine gender role identification and change in self-esteem, and ethnic identity and change in self-esteem, mediational analyses could not be conducted because all necessary zero-order correlations (as outlined for a mediational analysis by Judd and Kenney, 1981) were not significant. However, as shown in Table 2, there were significant correlations among all participants between the variables of

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conformity (predictor variable) and the self BES (criterion variable), indicating that women who had a higher need to conform to cultural norms were more critical of their physical appearance; between conformity and mismatches (mediator variable), revealing that as women were more conforming to cultural norms, they also experienced greater mismatches between their actual and ideal selves; and between mismatches and the self BES, indicating that women who had greater discrepancies between their actual and ideal selves were more likely to rate themselves negatively on the BES. These results indicate that mismatches may mediate how conformity pressure results in more negative ratings of one's physical attractiveness (as measured by the self BES).

A hierarchical regression analysis was conducted to test mediation in which the initial inclusion of the mediational variable, mismatches, in predicting self BES should weaken the relation between conformity and self BES (entered as a second step in the regression equation). As shown in Table 6, mediation was not found. That is, conformity did not add a significant amount of unique variance to the regression equation after entering mismatches as an initial step in the regression equation. These results suggest that conformity to cultural norms and mismatches between women's actual and ideal selves independently affect how they feel about their physical appearance.

Racial Differences and Its Effects on Self-Esteem

Mixed-design analyses of variance (ANOVA) were conducted on self-esteem before and after exposure to cultural standards of beauty, and on yearbook photographs to assess racial differences between Asians, Blacks, and Whites. Furthermore, one-way ANOVAs were conducted in order to assess racial differences between Asians, Blacks,

and Whites with respect to how the three groups differed in conformity to cultural norms, actual and ideal self mismatches, and how they viewed the attractive models and themselves. Specifically, it was hypothesized that Blacks should be less inclined to adopt culturally-defined standards for their ideal self because they would not view White standards as personally relevant. Asians, however, would compare themselves to culturally-defined standards for their ideal self for two reasons. First, Asian culture stresses conformity to the dominant culture. Second, Asians are closer to White physical ideals than Blacks (e.g., lighter skin, straighter hair, etc.), which may increase the likelihood that Asians would conform to culturally-defined beauty standards.

A mixed-design ANOVA was conducted to assess whether there were racial differences (between-subjects variable) in initial and final self-esteem treated as a repeated measure. As Table 7 shows, a significant main effect of race was found indicating that Asians' and Whites' self-esteem were significantly lower than Blacks' self-esteem, $F(2, 167)=10.93$, $p<.001$. There was no interaction between change in self-esteem and race, $F(2, 167)=.52$, ns, indicating that exposure to models did not affect participants' change in self-esteem as a function of race.

Because conformity to cultural norms may dictate whether one experiences negative self-esteem, one-way ANOVA was conducted to see if there were race differences in need for conformity. Indeed, there was a main effect of race, $F(2, 167)=10.13$, $p<.001$. As Table 7 reveals, Asians and Whites reported greater need for conformity than Blacks.

Given the hypothesized role of discrepancies between actual and ideal selves, a one-way ANOVA was conducted to see if there were race differences in mismatches. Indeed, there was a main effect of race, $F(2, 167)=3.90$, $p<.05$. As Table 7 reports, all three groups differed from each other in terms of mismatches generated, with Asians generating the most mismatches between their ideal and actual selves and Blacks generating the least amount.

Following from the findings that Blacks have higher overall self-esteem, less conformity to cultural norms, and report fewer mismatches than Asians and Whites, it was not unexpected that Blacks rated their body esteem (BES) more positively than Asians or Whites, $F(2,167)=10.42$, $p<.001$ (see Table 7 for means). Moreover, an interaction regression analysis regressing self-BES, race (a contrast coded vector comparing Whites and Asians to Blacks), and their interactions were regressed on change in esteem scores. Results suggested an interaction between self-BES and the race vector contrasting Whites and Asians to Blacks, showing that Whites and Asians who were more critical of their physical appearance experienced a greater drop in self-esteem after exposure to the attractive models, $\beta=.86$, $t(168)=2.08$, $p<.05$. However, follow-up analysis indicate that the regression slope for self BES in predicting change in self-esteem is marginal for Asians, $F(1, 164)=3.08$, $p=.08$, and non-significant for Blacks, $F(1, 164)=2.65$, ns, and Whites, $F(1, 164)=.02$, ns (see Figure 1). These regression slopes show that Asians who rate themselves lower on self BES tend to experience more of a drop of self-esteem after exposure to the models. Interestingly, Blacks who report lower self BES tend to

experience more positive change of self-esteem after viewing the models, and Whites appear to have no change of self-esteem regardless of their ratings on the self BES.

Additional analyses were conducted to assess the person that participants would most want to look like (a White, Asian, or Black woman, treated as a repeated measure) by employing a mixed-design ANOVA. Results yielded a main effect of race, $F(2, 167)=7.90$, $p<.001$ (see Table 7 for mean ratings of the photographs). Furthermore, there was an interaction between subject race and race of yearbook photograph, $F(2, 167)=28.39$, $p<.001$, suggesting that ratings of the photographs were influenced by the participants' race. Simple effects tests revealed that Asian, Black, and White participants rated the attractiveness of the photographs differently depending on the race of the woman in the photograph, $F(2,106)=7.56$, $p<.001$, $F(2, 102)=32.59$, $p<.001$, and $F(2, 126)=3.02$, $p<.001$, respectively (see Table 8 for t-tests comparing the photographs). Lastly, analyses of simple interactions between race of participants by race of photographs showed that race differences existed in perceived attractiveness of the photographs by all comparison groups, $F(1, 104)=21.85$, $p<.001$ (between Asian and Black participants), $F(1, 116)=4.83$, $p<.05$ (between Asian and White participants), and $F(1, 114)=53.76$, $p<.001$ (between Black and White participants).

DISCUSSION

The major purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between traditional feminine gender role identification and ethnic identity on self-esteem in Asian, Black, and White women, and to discern how mismatches between one's actual and ideal selves affects these relationships.

Although past research has found that women who identify with traditional feminine gender roles are more likely to feel bad about their physical appearance than women who do not identify with traditional gender roles (Jackson et al., 1985), traditional feminine gender role identification in this study did not lead to a greater reduction in self-esteem after exposure to cultural standards of beauty. It is possible that traditional femininity did not affect change of self-esteem for several reasons. First, perhaps comparing oneself to a very high standard of beauty (i.e., Victoria's Secret models) is such an extreme upward social comparison that participants may have felt that it was unrealistic to compare themselves to such extreme ideals. As such, being exposed to beautiful models would not lead to lower self-esteem even if an individual identified with traditional femininity because they could convince themselves that such standards are beyond their reach. Indeed, Festinger's (1954) original conception of social comparison proposed that people would compare themselves with similar others. Perhaps women who identified with traditional feminine gender roles would have had more negative self-esteem if they had compared themselves to other attractive college women rather than models. A second explanation why traditional femininity may not have reduced self-esteem after exposure to the models is because the participants may have already been very familiar with the

Victoria Secret's models prior to participating in this experiment, and hence, may have previously had the chance to buffer against the threat of an upward comparison by finding flaws in the models' appearances. If the participants were already familiar with the models and had already buffered their self-esteem against the threat of viewing the models, then the impact of comparing themselves to such an upward comparison of beauty would have been diminished. Additionally, traditional feminine gender role identification may not have lead to lower self-esteem because women may have depended on other, stronger aspects of their identity (e.g., academics, family life, musical talents, etc.) to buffer against the negative effects of comparing oneself to an upward social comparison of beauty. Much like Crocker and Major's (1989) research on defense strategies in order to protect one's self-esteem, perhaps traditional feminine women safeguard their self-esteem in the presence of an upward comparison to a beautiful model by focusing on their other positive qualities.

Predictions that ethnic identity would affect changes in self-esteem after exposure to cultural standards of beauty were partially supported for Asians, but not for Blacks. Asians who were low in ethnic identity experienced greater self-esteem drops after comparing to attractive others than did Asians who were higher in ethnic identity.

As discussed earlier, ethnic identity may have different implications for Blacks and Asians. Specifically, Blacks may employ defense strategies in the face of threat in order to protect their self-esteem (Crocker & Major, 1989) such as avoiding comparisons to White standards of beauty and valuing attributes of their ingroup (e.g., larger bones, darker skin). This is consistent with research that have shown that Black women with high ethnic

identity are more likely to compare themselves to a Black standard of beauty rather than to a White standard of beauty (e.g., Makkar & Strube, 1995).

The results of this study suggest that Asians with high ethnic identity did have a drop in self-esteem after exposure to culturally-defined ideals, although the trend was not significant at conventional levels. Thus, cultural ideals of beauty appear to be salient to Asians with high ethnic identity and may still be capable of making them feel bad about themselves. Asian women with low ethnic identity, however, are significantly affected by exposure to culturally-defined ideals such that they have stronger drops in self-esteem after viewing pictures of models. This suggests that Asians with low ethnic identity were more likely to compare themselves to dominant, White cultural standards of beauty. To the extent that Asians are somewhat closer in appearance to White standards than Blacks (i.e., fair skinned, straight-hair), Asians with low ethnic identity may experience frustration in striving towards White standards only to have their goals remain just out of reach. Hence, Asian women may be more likely to adhere to White standards than Black women and feel bad about themselves as a result.

In Asians, it was further predicted that ethnic identity would interact with need for conformity to affect change in self-esteem. These predictions were not supported. It is possible that ethnic identity did not interact with conformity because our sample of Asian students may have adapted the more individualistic tendencies of American culture, and were less likely to display a strong collectivist orientation.

Although need for conformity did not interact with ethnic identity in Asians to affect change in self-esteem, need for conformity was still an important variable in

understanding how exposure to cultural standards of beauty may affect one's self-esteem. In fact, the results of this study indicated that as participants expressed more need for conformity, they were less likely to report themselves as physically attractive. Moreover, this relationship was not mediated by mismatches between one's actual and ideal selves, in which women with greater discrepancies between their actual and ideal selves were more likely to perceive themselves as being less physically attractive. These results indicate that need for conformity and mismatches both seem to independently exert a significant influence on how participants perceived their physical attractiveness.

White ethnic identity also did not affect change in self-esteem following exposure to the models. These results are not too surprising given that White ethnic identity, as conceptualized by Helms (1991), was more a measure to assess whether Whites were cognizant of racial and cultural issues (low ethnic identity), or held prejudices against minority groups (high ethnic identity). Thus, the scale was not designed to measure whether Whites identified with their culture, per se, but how they viewed minority groups. In this study then, racial identity would not affect changes in self-esteem for Whites after seeing a cultural standard of beauty because racial identity should be irrelevant.

The last measure of whether racial group membership affected change in self-esteem, the collective-esteem scale, also did not reveal differences. These results are a bit puzzling as one would expect that a strong identification with one's racial group would lead Asians and Blacks to less desire to adhere to beauty standards and thus result in positive self-esteem. It seems, however, that other factors (such as salient mismatches)

played a stronger role in influencing whether an individual experienced a change in self-esteem after being exposed to culturally-defined ideals of beauty.

The common pattern found in this study was that Blacks differed from Asians and Whites on many measures (including initial and final self-esteem, need for conformity, mismatches between actual and ideal selves, perceptions of self physical-attractiveness, and ratings of yearbook photographs), whereas Asians and Whites rarely differed from each other. For instance, Blacks' initial and final self-esteem scores were higher than Asians' and Whites' scores. Furthermore, Blacks reported higher overall self body-esteem, less mismatches between actual and ideal selves, and less conformity than did Asians or Whites. Taken together, these results indicate that Black women view themselves in a more positive light than do Asian and White women, potentially because Blacks may be comparing themselves to more personally relevant standards, and have less need to conform to dominant, cultural beauty standards. These results are consistent with past research that has shown that Black women have more body satisfaction (Rucker & Cash, 1992), and that their body satisfaction is less dependent on social feedback and comparison (Henriques, Calhoun, & Cann, 1996) than it is for White women. Conversely, Asian women seem to be responding to self-perceptions of attractiveness in a similar manner to Whites, and may hold personal ideals that conform to White standards of beauty, as indicated by the finding that Asians and Whites are more likely to find Asian and White women attractive than are Blacks. These White standards of beauty may exert a deleterious effect on Asians' psychological health, especially in cases where Asian

women may not feel beautiful without the help of cosmetic surgery to anglicize their facial features (Mok, 1998).

There are several implications of these findings. First, the results strongly indicate that Asians and Whites respond similarly to judgments regarding physical attractiveness, but that both groups respond differently than Blacks. These findings may help in understanding why Asians seem to have less difficulty assimilating into the dominant culture than do Blacks. For instance, Asians are more positively stereotyped than are Blacks (Jackson, Hodge, Gerard, Ingram, Ervin, & Sheppard, 1996), and Whites perceive interracial White-Asian couples as consistently more positive, and less deviant than White-Black couples (Lewandowski & Jackson, 1997). Therefore, it is possible that attitudinal similarity between Asians and Whites creates more mainstream cultural acceptance of Asians than Blacks.

Another implication of these findings is that Asians are more likely than Blacks to strive toward cultural standards, and may be more adversely affected if these standards are not attained (Mok, 1998; White & Chan, 1983). Thus, Asian women who have strong desires to conform to culturally prescribed beauty ideals (e.g., blue eyes, blond hair) may be at risk for depression if they realize that these ideals cannot be realistically met.

Although the findings from this study showed interesting race differences among Asian, Black, and White women, this study was not successful in finding significant drops in self-esteem after exposure to culturally-defined ideals of beauty. It is possible that there were no significant drops in self-esteem because the self-esteem instrument, Rosenberg's (1965) self-esteem scale, was too global and was not able to capture decreases in self-

esteem that specifically pertained to self-perceptions of attractiveness. Therein lies the first limitation of this study. Future studies in this area should use a more sensitive measure of self-esteem change that capture esteem derived from physical attractiveness.

A second limitation of this study was that there was no direct measurement of self-perceptions of physical attractiveness (as measured by the Self BES) before exposure to the models. It is possible that prior to seeing the models, participants may have believed themselves to be more attractive than after seeing the models. Therefore, a before and after exposure to models measurement of self-perceptions of attractiveness may have indicated that women's perceptions of themselves were negatively affected by viewing photographs of cultural standards of beauty.

A third limitation of this study was the sample of participants. Namely, most of the Asian and Black participants belonged to some sort of Asian or Black club or sorority. Thus, the sample was not completely random, and may have been biased towards participants with a greater developed sense of ethnic identity.

Additional research in this area may also want to study Asian and Black men's self-perceptions of attractiveness, and how dominant cultural standards of beauty affect them as well. This may be especially important for Asian men who are typically very different from American standards of beauty for men (e.g., shorter, thinner, etc.), but may have a desire to conform to cultural standards (Arkoff & Weaver, 1966). Black men, however, may have more positive self-perceptions of attractiveness because they seem to embody positively esteemed male characteristics (e.g., muscular) and have greater mainstream cultural acceptance. For instance, Black entertainers such as Denzel Washington and

Usher are known for their physical beauty. Although physical attractiveness may not be as important for men as it is for women, Asian men who strongly wish to conform to cultural ideals may express even higher levels of dissatisfaction with their appearance than Asian women and experience psychological distress as a result. Future studies on Asian mental health may want to explore this arena of research.

CONCLUSION

Although it would be reasonable to believe that Asians and Blacks may respond similarly to cultural standards of beauty because they both have their respective, more relevant ethnic standards to which they can compare themselves, this was not found to be the case. In essence, Asians responded in a much more similar manner to Whites, and both Asians and Whites responded differently from Blacks. These results suggest that research indicating that minority groups employ defense strategies in the face of threat to protect their self-esteem (Crocker & Major, 1989) may not be true for all minority groups. Hence, while Blacks may be able to safeguard their self-esteem from threat, such as an upward social comparison with a culturally-defined ideal, Asian women may not be able to employ such safeguards, and in fact, may have beliefs (e.g., need for conformity) that would lead them to further internalize cultural standards of beauty. In summary, minority groups may not respond to cultural norms in a similar manner, and may actually exhibit very different psychological reactions from each other. As such, we should continue to appreciate the differences among minority groups, and value their distinctiveness.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Bem's Sex Role Inventory (BSRI)

Using the provided scale, indicate how often the following traits are true of you. There are no right or wrong answers; we are only interested in your honest beliefs about yourself. Please answer all questions.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never true of me			Uncertain			almost always true of me

1) _____ Self-reliant
2) _____ Yielding
3) _____ Helpful
4) _____ Defends own beliefs
5) _____ Cheerful
6) _____ Moody
7) _____ Independent
8) _____ Shy
9) _____ Conscientious
10) _____ Athletic
11) _____ Affectionate
12) _____ Theatrical
13) _____ Assertive
14) _____ Flatterable
15) _____ Happy
16) _____ Strong personality
18) _____ Unpredictable
19) _____ Forceful
20) _____ Feminine
21) _____ Reliable
22) _____ Analytical
23) _____ Sympathetic
24) _____ Jealous
26) _____ Sensitive to the needs
                   of others
27) _____ Truthful
28) _____ Willing to take risks
29) _____ Understanding
30) _____ Secretive
31) _____ Makes decisions easily
32) _____ Compassionate

33) _____ Sincere
34) _____ Self-sufficient
35) _____ Eager to soothe hurt feelings
36) _____ Conceited
37) _____ Dominant
38) _____ Soft-spoken
39) _____ Likable
40) _____ Masculine
41) _____ Warm
42) _____ Solemn
43) _____ Willing to take a stand
44) _____ Tender
45) _____ Friendly
46) _____ Aggressive
47) _____ Gullible
49) _____ Acts as a leader
50) _____ Childlike
51) _____ Adaptable
52) _____ Individualistic
53) _____ Does not use harsh language
54) _____ Unsystematic
55) _____ Competitive
57) _____ Tactful
58) _____ Ambitious
59) _____ Gentle
60) _____ Conventional

Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (RIAS-B)

This questionnaire is designed to measure people's social and political attitudes. There are no right or wrong answers. We are only interested in your honest opinions. Use the scale below to describe how you feel about each statement. Please answer all questions.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree

1. I believe that being Asian/Black is a positive experience.
2. I know through experience what being Asian/Black in America means.
3. I feel unable to involve myself in White experiences, and am increasing my involvement in Asian/Black experiences.
4. I believe that large numbers of Asians/Blacks are untrustworthy.
5. I feel an overwhelming attachment to Asian/Black people.
6. I involve myself in causes that will help all oppressed people.
7. I feel comfortable wherever I am.
8. I believe that White people look and express themselves better than Asians/Blacks.
9. I feel very uncomfortable around Asian/Black people.
10. I feel good about being Asian/Black, but do not limit myself to Asian/Black activities.
11. I often find myself referring to White people in derogatory ways (such as calling them honkies, trash, devils, pigs, etc.)
12. I believe that to be Asian/Black is not necessarily good.
13. I believe that certain aspects of the Asian/Black experience apply to me, and others do not.
14. I frequently confront the system and/or the man.
15. I constantly involve myself in Asian/Black political and social activities (art shows, political meetings, social gatherings, etc.)
16. I involve myself in social action and political groups even if there are no other Asians/Blacks involved.
17. I believe that Asian/Black people should learn to think and experience life in ways which are similar to White people.
18. I believe that the world should be interpreted from an Asian/Black perspective.
19. I have changed my style of life to fit my beliefs about Asian/Black people.
20. I feel excitement and joy in Asian/Black surroundings.
21. I believe that Asian/Black people initially came from a strange and uncivilized continent.
22. People, regardless of their race, have strengths and limitations.

23. I find myself reading a lot of Asian/Black literature and/or thinking about being Asian/Black.
24. I feel guilty or anxious about some of the things that I believe about Asian/Black people.
25. I believe that an Asian/Black person's most effective weapon for solving problems is to become a part of the White person's world.
26. I speak my mind regardless of the consequences (e.g., being kicked out of school, being exposed to danger, etc.).
27. I believe that everything Asian/Black is good, and consequently, I limit myself to Asian/Black activities.
28. I am determined to find my Asian/Black identity.
29. I believe that White people are intellectually superior to Asians/Blacks.
30. I believe that because I am Asian/Black, I have many strengths.

White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (WRIAS)

This questionnaire is designed to measure people's social and political attitudes. There are no right or wrong answers. We are only interested in your honest opinions. Use the scale below to describe how you feel about each statement. Please answer all questions.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree

1. I hardly think about what race I am.
2. I do not understand what minority groups want from Whites.
3. I get angry when I think about how Whites have been treated by minority groups.
4. I feel as comfortable around minorities as I do around Whites.
5. I involve myself in causes regardless of the race of the people involved in them.
6. I find myself watching members of minority groups to see what they are like.
7. I feel depressed after I have been around minorities.
8. There is nothing that I want to learn from minorities.
9. I seek out new experiences even if I know a large number of minorities will be involved in them.
10. I enjoy watching the different ways that minorities and Whites approach life.
11. I wish I had a friend that is a member of a minority group.
12. I do not feel that I have the social skills to interact with minorities effectively.
13. A minority who tries to get close to you is usually after something.
14. When a member of a minority group holds an opinion with which I disagree, I am not afraid to express my viewpoint.
15. Sometimes jokes based on minorities' experiences are funny.
16. I think it is exciting to discover the little ways in which members of minority groups and White people are different.
17. I used to believe in racial integration, but now I have my doubts.
18. I'd rather socialize with Whites only.
19. In many ways minorities and Whites are similar, but they are also different in some important ways.
20. Minorities and Whites have much to learn from each other.
21. For most of my life, I did not think about racial issues.
22. I have come to believe that members of minority groups and White people are very different.
23. White people have bent over backwards trying to make up for their ancestors' mistreatment of minorities, now it is time to stop.

24. It is possible for minorities and Whites to have meaningful social relationships with each other.
25. There are some valuable things that White people can learn from minorities that they can't learn from other Whites.
26. I am curious to learn in what ways minorities and White people differ from each other.
27. I limit myself to White activities.
28. Society may have been unjust to minorities, but it has also been unjust to Whites.
29. I am knowledgeable about which values minorities and Whites share.
30. I am comfortable wherever I am.
31. In my family, we never talked about racial issues.
32. When I must interact with a member of a minority group, I usually let him or her make the first move.
33. I feel hostile when I am around minorities.
34. I think I understand the values of minority groups.
35. Minorities and Whites can have successful intimate relationships.
36. I was raised to believe that people are people regardless of their race.
37. Nowadays, I go out of my way to avoid associating with minorities.
38. I believe that members of minority groups are inferior to Whites.
39. I believe I know a lot about minority groups' customs.
40. There are some valuable things that White people can learn from minorities that they can't learn from other Whites.
41. I think that it's okay for members of minority groups and White people to date each other as long as they don't marry each other.
42. Sometimes I'm not sure what I think or feel about members of minority groups.
43. When I am the only White in a group of minorities, I feel anxious.
44. Minorities and Whites differ from each other in some ways, but neither race is superior.
45. I am not embarrassed to admit that I am White.
46. I think White people should become more involved in socializing with minorities.
47. I don't understand why members of minority groups blame all White people for their social misfortunes.
48. I believe that White people look and express themselves better than members of minority groups.
49. I feel comfortable talking to minorities.
50. I value the relationships that I have with my friends who are members of minority groups.

Collective Self-Esteem Scale

We are all members of different racial groups. In the following statements, we would like you to consider your membership in your racial group, and respond to the items on the basis of how you feel about your racial group and your membership in it. There are no right or wrong answers to any of these statements; we are only interested in your honest opinions, and all answers are confidential. Please read each statement carefully, and respond by using the following scale:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Disagree Somewhat	Neutral	Agree Somewhat	Agree	Strongly Agree

1. I am a worthy member of the racial group I belong to.
2. I often regret that I belong to the racial group that I do.
3. Overall, my racial group is considered good by others.
4. Overall, my racial group has very little to do with how I feel about myself.
5. I feel I don't have much to offer the racial goup to which I belong.
6. In general, I'm glad to be a member of the racial group to which I belong.
7. Most people consider my racial group, on the average, to be more ineffective than other racial groups.
8. The racial group to which I belong is an important reflection of who I am.
9. I am a cooperative participant in the racial group to which I belong.
10. Overall, I often feel that the racial group of which I am a member is not worthwhile.
11. In general, others respect the racial group of which I am a member.
12. The racial group to which I belong is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am.
13. I often feel I'm a useless member of the racial group to which I belong.
14. I feel good about the racial group to which I belong.
15. In general, others think that the racial group to which I belong is unworthy.
16. In general, belonging to my racial group is an important part of my self-image.

Body Esteem Scale (BES)

Use the scale below to rate the model/yourself on the following physical characteristics. Please answer as honestly as possible. All answers are anonymous.

1	2	3	4	5
Have strong negative feelings	Have moderate negative feelings	Have no feelings one way or the other	Have moderate positive feelings	Have strong positive feelings

1) How do you feel about the model's/your **nose**? _____
2) How do you feel about the model's/your **lips**? _____
3) How do you feel about thw model's/your **ears**? _____
4) How do you feel about the model's/your **hair**? _____
5) How do you feel about the model's/your **chin**? _____
6) How do you feel about the model's/your **chest**? _____
7) How do you feel about the model's/your **eyes**? _____
8) How do you feel about the model's/your **cheeks**?_____
9) How do you feel about the model's/your **waist**? _____
10) How do you feel about the model's/your **thighs**?_____
11) How do you feel about the model's/your **hips**? _____
12) How do you feel about the model's/your **legs**? _____
13) How do you feel about the model's/your **waist** _____
14) How do you feel about the model's/your **buttocks**?_____
15) How do you feel about the model's/your **figure** _____
16) How do you feel about the model's/your **weight**? _____
17) How do you feel about the model's/your **stomach**? _____
18) How do you feel about the model's/your **arms**? _____

APPENDIX F

Ratings of Yearbook Photographs

In front of you are pictures of three attractive young women. Please identify the degree to which you would like to look like each of the women.

<u>Picture 1</u>

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all			uncertain			very much

<u>Picture 2</u>

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all			uncertain			very much

<u>Picture 3</u>

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all			uncertain			very much

Selves Questionnaire (Part I)

List 10 physical characteristics that you believe are descriptive of you (e.g., I am short, I have brown eyes, etc.). Remember, all answers are confidential so please answer as honestly and as openly as possible.

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.
9.
10.

List 10 physical characteristics that you **wished** you possessed (e.g., I wish I was taller, I wish I had blue eyes, etc.). Again, all answers are confidential so please answer as honestly and as openly as possible.

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.
9.
10.

Selves Questionnaire (Part II)

Using the items that you listed for your **actual** self (in Part I), please indicate how important those physical characteristics are to you.

Physical characteristic #1 _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very unimportant	unimportant	somewhat unimportant	uncertain	somewhat important	important	very unimportant

Physical characteristic #2 _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very unimportant	unimportant	somewhat unimportant	uncertain	somewhat important	important	very unimportant

Physical characteristic #3 _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very unimportant	unimportant	somewhat unimportant	uncertain	somewhat important	important	very unimportant

Physical characteristic #4 _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very unimportant	unimportant	somewhat unimportant	uncertain	somewhat important	important	very unimportant

Physical characteristic #5 _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very unimportant	unimportant	somewhat unimportant	uncertain	somewhat important	important	very unimportant

Physical characteristic #6 _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very unimportant	unimportant	somewhat unimportant	uncertain	somewhat important	important	very unimportant

Physical characteristic #7 _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very unimportant	unimportant	somewhat unimportant	uncertain	somewhat important	important	very unimportant

Physical characteristic #8 _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very unimportant	unimportant	somewhat unimportant	uncertain	somewhat important	important	very unimportant

Physical characteristic #9 _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very unimportant	unimportant	somewhat unimportant	uncertain	somewhat important	important	very unimportant

Physical characteristic #10 _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very unimportant	unimportant	somewhat unimportant	uncertain	somewhat important	important	very unimportant

Using the items that you listed for your **ideal** self (in Part I), please indicate how important those physical characteristics are to you.

Physical characteristic #1 _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very unimportant	unimportant	somewhat unimportant	uncertain	somewhat important	important	very unimportant

Physical characteristic #2 _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very unimportant	unimportant	somewhat unimportant	uncertain	somewhat important	important	very unimportant

Physical characteristic #3 _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very unimportant	unimportant	somewhat unimportant	uncertain	somewhat important	important	very unimportant

Physical characteristic #4 _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very unimportant	unimportant	somewhat unimportant	uncertain	somewhat important	important	very unimportant

Physical characteristic #5 _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very unimportant	unimportant	somewhat unimportant	uncertain	somewhat important	important	very unimportant

Physical characteristic #6 _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very unimportant	unimportant	somewhat unimportant	uncertain	somewhat important	important	very unimportant

Physical characteristic #7 _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very unimportant	unimportant	somewhat unimportant	uncertain	somewhat important	important	very unimportant

Physical characteristic #8 _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very unimportant	unimportant	somewhat unimportant	uncertain	somewhat important	important	very unimportant

Physical characteristic #9 _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very unimportant	unimportant	somewhat unimportant	uncertain	somewhat important	important	very unimportant

Physical characteristic #10 _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
very unimportant	unimportant	somewhat unimportant	uncertain	somewhat important	important	very unimportant

Using the physical characteristics that you listed as being **ideal**, please rate how close you are to achieving these ideals:

Physical characteristic #1 _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not close at all	not close	somewhat not close	uncertain	somewhat close	close	very close

Physical characteristic #2 _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not close at all	not close	somewhat not close	uncertain	somewhat close	close	very close

Physical characteristic #3 _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not close at all	not close	somewhat not close	uncertain	somewhat close	close	very close

Physical characteristic #4 _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not close at all	not close	somewhat not close	uncertain	somewhat close	close	very close

Physical characteristic #5 _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not close at all	not close	somewhat not close	uncertain	somewhat close	close	very close

Physical characteristic #6 _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not close at all	not close	somewhat not close	uncertain	somewhat close	close	very close

Physical characteristic #7 _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not close at all	not close	somewhat not close	uncertain	somewhat close	close	very close

Physical characteristic #8 _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not close at all	not close	somewhat not close	uncertain	somewhat close	close	very close

Physical characteristic #9 _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not close at all	not close	somewhat not close	uncertain	somewhat close	close	very close

Physical characteristic #10 _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not close at all	not close	somewhat not close	uncertain	somewhat close	close	very close

Need for Uniqueness Scale

Please use the following scale in response to each of the items below. Please respond to each question and do not use fractions or decimals. There are no right or wrong answers. Please answer all questions.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

1.   When I am in a group of strangers, I am not reluctant to express my opinion publicly.
2.   I find that criticism affects my self-esteem.
3.   I sometimes hesitate to use my own ideas for fear they might be impractical.
4.   I think society should let reason lead it to new customs and throw aside old habits or mere traditions.
5.   People frequently succeed in changing my mind.
6.   I find it sometimes amusing to upset the dignity of teachers, judges, and cultured people.
7.   I like wearing a uniform because it makes me proud to be a member of the organization it represents.
8.   People have sometimes called me a stuck up individual.
9.   Others' disagreement make me uncomfortable.
10.   I do not always need to live by the rules and standards of society.
11.   I am unable to express my feelings if they result in undesirable consequences.
12.   Being a success in one's career means making a contribution that no one else has made.
13.   It bothers me if people think I am being too unconventional.
14.   I always try to follow the rules.
15.   If I disagree with a superior on his or her views, I usually do not keep it to myself.
16.   I speak up in meetings to oppose those I feel wrong.
17.   Feeling different in a crowd of people makes me feel uncomfortable.
18.   If I must die, let it be an unusual death rather than an ordinary death in bed.
19.   I would rather be just like everyone else than be called a freak.
20.   I must admit I find it hard to work under strict rules and regulations.
21.   I would rather be known for always trying new ideas than for employing well-trusted methods.
22.   It is better to always agree with the opinions of others than to be considered a disagreeable person.
23.   I do not like to say unusual things to people.

24.   I tend to express my opinions publicly, regardless of what others say.

25.   As a rule, I strongly defend my own opinions.
26.   I do not like to go my own way.
27.   When I am with a group of people I agree with their ideas so that no arguments will arise.
28.   I tend to keep quiet in the presence of persons of higher rank, experience, etc.
29.   I have been quite independent and free from family rule.
30.   Whenever I take part in group activities, I am something of a non-conformist.
31.   In most things in life, I believe in playing it safe rather than taking a gamble.
32.   It is better to break rules than to always conform to an impersonal society.

Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale (Time 1)

Please use the following scale to respond to each of the statements below. Indicate the number that most accurately represents your opinions in the spaces provided. Remember, there are no right or wrong answers. We are only interested in your honest answers.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

1. I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others.
2. I am able to do things as well as most other people.
3. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.
4. I take a positive attitude toward myself.
5. At times, I think I am no good at all.

Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale (Time 2)

Please use the following scale to respond to each of the statements below. Indicate the number that most accurately represents your opinions in the spaces provided. Remember, there are no right or wrong answers. We are only interested in your honest answers.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

1. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.
2. I certainly feel useless at times.
3. I wish I could have more respect for myself.
4. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.
5. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.

Table 1
Means and Standard Deviations for All Variables

Variable	n	M	SD
Change in Esteem	170	-1.56	2.73
Femininity	170	105.81	10.51
Need for Conformity	170	107.32	14.74
Mismatches between actual and ideal selves	170	190.44	86.13
Model body esteem	170	66.27	9.68
Self body esteem	170	59.32	12.02
Yearbook/White	170	2.88	1.83
Yearbook/Asian	170	3.35	2.00
Yearbook/Black	170	3.42	1.80
Identity (collective self-esteem)	170	18.23	6.33
Blacks:			
Preencounter (low Black ethnic identity)	52	13.65	3.83
Immersion (high Black ethnic identity)	52	15.50	3.62
Asians:			
Preencounter (low Asian ethnic identity)	54	17.46	4.30
Immersion (high Asian ethnic identity)	54	16.02	4.03
Whites:			
Contact (low White ethnic identity)	64	34.63	3.91
Reintegration (high White ethnic identity)	64	20.11	4.73

53

Table 2
Correlations Among Variables for all Subjects

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Change in Esteem (1)	--									
Femininity (2)	-.03	--								
Identity (3)	.10	.09	--							
Mismatches (4)	-.17*	-.05	.02	--						
Conformity (5)	-.11	.20*	-.05	.30**	--					
Model BES (6)	.02	.07	-.21**	.10	.17*	--				
Self BES (7)	.03	.19*	.10	-.47**	-.29**	-.10	--			
Yearbook/White (8)	-.05	.04	-.19*	.01	.21**	.30**	-.12	--		
Yearbook/Asian (9)	-.06	.03	-.15	.07	.18*	.24**	-.10	.68**	--	
Yearbook/Black (10)	.01	.04	-.05	-.04	.09	.15	.02	.53**	.63**	--

Note.   *   p<.05
       ** p<.01
           N=170

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Table 3
Correlations Among Variables for Asians

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Change in Esteem (1)	--											
Femininity (2)	.17	--										
Preencounter(3)	-.33*	-.18	--									
Immersion (4)	-.13	-.09	.30*	--								
Identity (5)	.15	.09	-.20	.30*	--							
Mismatches (6)	-.34*	-.09	.23	.02	-.14	--						
Conformity(7)	-.02	.06	.24	-.24	-.04	.34*	--					
Model BES (8)	-.03	-.02	.04	.12	.09	.17	.13	--				
Self BES (9)	.25	.38**	-.20	.09	-.04	-.28	-.48**	-.10	--			
Yearbook/White (10)	-.05	-.25	.19	.26	.16	-.12	-.09	.32*	.01	--		
Yearbook/Asian (11)	.03	-.05	-.14	.18	.04	.09	-.09	.35*	-.02	.59**	--	
Yearbook/Black (12)	-.08	-.14	.01	.16	.18	.05	.00	.18	-.08	.59**	.61**	--

Note. *   p<.05
       ** p<.01
       N=54

55

Table 4
Correlations Among Variables for Blacks

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Change in Esteem (1)	--											
Femininity (2)	-.11	--										
Preencounter(3)	.05	-.29*	--									
Immersion (4)	.02	-.32*	.39**	--								
Identity (5)	.10	-.07	-.20	.39**	--							
Mismatches (6)	-.13	-.10	-.04	-.06	.10	--						
Conformity(7)	-.28*	.24	.05	-.17	-.19	.25	--					
Model BES (8)	.20	.19	-.01	-.25	-.12	-.09	-.14	--				
Self BES (9)	-.20	.12	-.05	-.17	-.03	-.50**	-.01	.07	--			
Yearbook/White (10)	-.20	.31*	.13	-.04	-.11	-.14	.14	.29*	.22	--		
Yearbook/Asian (11)	-.21	.04	.05	-.15	-.24	.03	.16	.26	.14	.60**	--	
Yearbook/Black (12)	-.04	.12	-.04	-.07	-.24	-.03	.17	.30*	.14	.44**	.66**	--

Note. * p<.05
      ** p<.01
      N=52

56

Table 5
Correlations Among Variables for Whites

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Change in Esteem (1)	--											
Femininity (2)	-.15	--										
Contact (3)	.01	.09	--									
Reintegration (4)	.14	-.09	-.31*	--								
Identity (5)	.05	.13	-.06	.17	--							
Mismatches (6)	-.04	-.01	.01	.18	.23	--						
Conformity (7)	.02	.26*	.09	.20	.26*	.18	--					
Model BES (8)	-.04	.12	.23	-.06	.03	.10	.24	--				
Self BES (9)	.02	.11	-.12	.15	-.11	-.53**	-.17	.08	--			
Yearbook/White (10)	.17	.10	.03	.05	-.02	.00	.19	.00	-.11	--		
Yearbook/Asian (11)	.06	.06	.10	-.09	-.03	-.12	.12	-.08	-.08	.69**	--	
Yearbook/Black (12)	.15	.12	.07	-.12	-.08	-.10	.14	.04	-.06	.78**	.81**	--

Note.   * $p < .05$
    ** $p < .01$
    N=64

57

Table 6

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Self Body Esteem

Variable	$\underline{B}$	$\underline{SE}\ \underline{B}$	β
Step 1:			
Mismatches between actual and ideal selves	-.0065	.010	-.46*
Step 2:			
Mismatches between actual and ideal selves	-.0058	.010	-.42*
Conformity to cultural norms	-.133	.058	-.16*

Note. $\underline{R}^2$=.217 for step 1; $\Delta\underline{R}^2$=.024 for Step 2 (ps<.05)
N=170

58

Table 7

Racial Differences Among Asian, Black, and White Women

Dependent Variable	Race		
	Asian	Black	White
Esteem:			
Time 1	20.4$_a$	22.5$_b$	20.6$_a$
Time 2	18.6$_a$	21.3$_b$	18.9$_a$
Need for Conformity	111.7$_a$	100.2$_b$	109.5$_c$
Mismatches between ideal and actual selves	207.5$_a$	163.8$_b$	197.7$_c$
Self BES	58.3$_a$	65.1$_b$	55.5$_a$
Yearbook pictures:			
White woman	3.1$_a$	1.7$_b$	3.7$_a$
Asian woman	3.9$_a$	2.3$_b$	3.8$_a$
Black woman	3.3$_a$	3.5$_a$	3.4$_a$

Note. Cells in each row not sharing a common subscript differ at the .05 level using Tukey's Honestly Significant Difference post-hoc tests.

Table 8
T-Tests for Race of Photographs Simple Effects

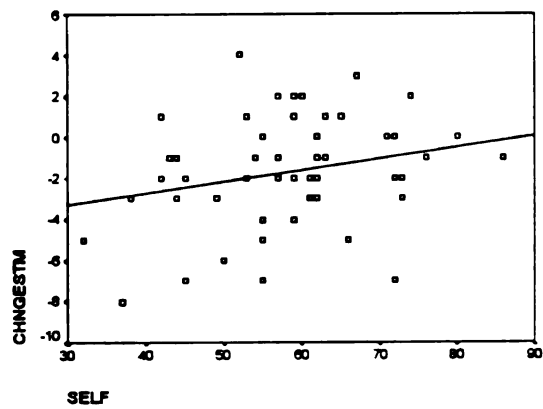| Race of Photographs:	Race of Participant:					
	Asians		Blacks		Whites	
	df	t	df	t	df	t
Asian vs. White	53	-3.68***	51	-2.82**	63	-.512
Black vs. White	53	-1.25	51	-6.87***	63	2.00*
Asian vs. Black	53	2.59**	51	-5.70***	63	2.55**

*** p<.001
** p<.01
* p<.05
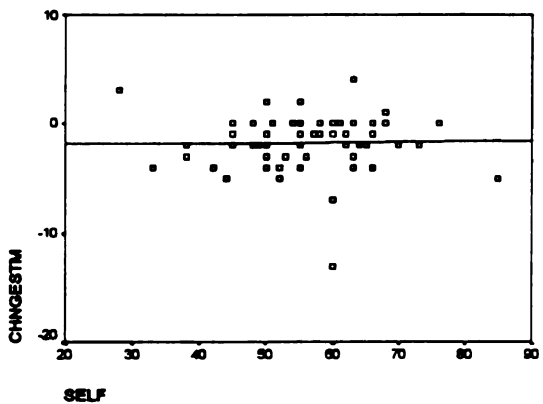
For Asians:

For Blacks:
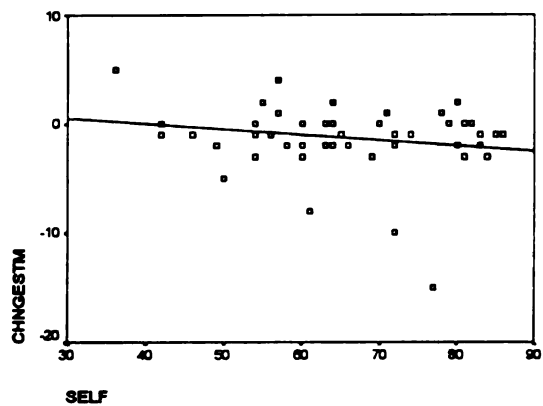
For Whites:

Figure 1. Self body esteem regressed on change in self-esteem for Asians, Blacks, and Whites.

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