

The Moderating Effects of Race and Ethnicity on the Relationship between Body

Image and Psychological Well-Being

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Abstract

Body image is particularly salient amongst adolescent females, whose innate desire for self-comprehension is mingled with the rapid maturations and changes of puberty. Although existing literature points to marked differences across racial ethnic groups in terms of what is considered the ideal female body type, little is known as to how these variances are psychologically internalized and manifested across groups. Through the analyses of secondary data collected by the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health, the present study investigates the relationships between several dimensions of body image and psychological well-being within a sample of adolescent females. Results indicate the relationship between feeling overweight and low self-esteem to be stronger in Latinas than in whites or blacks. Latinas also demonstrated a stronger relationship between feeling underweight and low self-esteem compared to blacks, for whom a lot/whole lot of perceived changes in curviness were related to high self-esteem. Finally, compared to the other racial-ethnic groups, changes in breast size were strongly correlated with low self-esteem and high depressive affect for Asians girls.

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The postmodern emphasis on images and illusions is reflected in greater attention to self-presentation and to style over substance. For that matter, the distinction between the real and the presented self, between substance and style, disappears. Fashion and personal appearance increase in importance as central means of creating the self and influencing the definition of the situation. The accentuated emphasis on physical fitness and body shaping is understandable when self and appearance are viewed as the same.

As indicated in the quote above by Gecas and Burke (1995, p. 57), the past few decades of social advancement have brought with it a shift in the ideals and values of our society. Increasingly, individuals conflate external characteristics—i.e. weight, beauty, and appearance—with their perception of self. In doing so, one tends to understand and evaluate the self in terms of his/her body weight, shape, and structure rather than characteristics that are meaningful for self-development, such as intelligence or personality.

Understandably, standards for beauty, weight, and appearance can vary drastically even within a single sociocultural environment. An individual's racial and ethnic group, for instance, greatly impacts his/her notion of the ideal way to look or behave. Accordingly, this study investigated how race and ethnicity shape the manner in which individuals evaluate themselves physically and the subsequent psychological outcomes of those appraisals. More specifically, through analyses of secondary data collected in the first wave of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Harris & Udry, 1994), I examined the moderating effects of racial and ethnic identification on the relationship between body image perceptions and psychological well-being within adolescent females.

### **The Self and Postmodern Society: The Importance and Effects of Body Image**

While construction of self-concept is a healthy and necessary part of human development, the incorporation of both imagined and actual feedback from friends, family, and society into one's own self-evaluation can be highly problematic, particularly within the context of our postmodern society (Gecas et al., 1995). A mere glance at some of today's popular magazines, celebrity idols, and merchandise advertisements reveals an overwhelming admiration of and preference towards "good looks" rather than "good works," especially in their depiction of women (Balcetis, Cole, Chelberg, & Alicke, 2013, p. 109). Young girls socialized with these messages are encouraged to view their physical appearance as indicative of their value and worth as a person. This is particularly consequential for adolescent girls, whose initial judgments of self arise from the amount of discrepancy they feel exists between their current body and what is considered to be the ideal (Biro, Striegel-Moore, Franko, Padgett, & Bean, 2005; Van den Berg, Mond, Eisenberg, Ackard, & Neumark-Sztainer, 2010; Vogt Yuan, 2010).

Scholars stress the role that one's racial and ethnic socialization plays in shaping the specific physical characteristics she upholds as ideal (Clay, Vignoles, & Dittmar, 2005; Fitzgibbon, Blackman, & Avellone, 2000; Skorek, Song, & Dunham, 2014). For example, stereotypical Western notions of thinness are notably less salient within nonwhite, racially and ethnically diverse groups. One of the main reasons for the differences between racial ethnic groups in terms of what is considered attractive or ideal is the racial and ethnic bias seen in many popular magazines, advertisements, and movies that target Non-Hispanic Whites (Granberg, 2009); consequently, females who identify as part of a nonwhite racial and ethnic group do not consider these messages entirely applicable to someone with their skin color, hair texture, etc. Indeed, ethnically and racially diverse women often have definitions of attractiveness and beauty that go beyond body weight and include the dimensions of appearance that are considered

attractive within their own groups, such as curviness, breast size, and overall physical development (Schooler & Daniels, 2013; Swain, 2012). Similarly, other studies have shown that African American and Latina females typically admire a larger, more curvaceous body type than what is typically considered to be attractive by Non-Hispanic Whites; even at fairly low BMI levels Non-Hispanic White females evaluate themselves more negatively than African Americans or Latinas (Fitzgibbon et al. 2000; Frisby, 2004; Swain, 2012).

### **Body Image and Psychological Well-Being**

Research clearly demonstrates a strong link between body image and psychological well-being (Paxton, Neumark-Sztainer, Hannan, & Eisenberg, 2006; Van den Berg et al., 2010; Vogt Yuan, 2010). Although an individual's psychological well-being can be measured in a number of ways, scholars in this area have primarily focused on self-esteem and depressive affect. Because physical appearance is so tied with notions of success and beauty, females who evaluate themselves undesirably are prone to a more negative outlook towards themselves, the world, and the future, which in turn increases feelings of low self-esteem and depressive affect (Paxton et al., 2006; McCarth, 1990; Vogt Yuan, 2010).

In their review of the literature, Clay and colleagues (2005) report an average correlation coefficient between body image and self-esteem of .63, indicating a moderately strong relationship between the two variables. Their own study (2005) also revealed that adolescent girls who believed their bodies to be highly discrepant from what they considered to be ideal internalize a concept of themselves as holistically inadequate, resulting in deflated feelings of self-esteem. Similarly, a longitudinal study by Paxton et al. (2000) revealed that self-perceptions of physical appearance not only impact girls' self-esteem, as demonstrated by Clay et al. (2005), but also their depressive affect. Other studies have had similar findings and therefore emphasize

depressive affect and self-esteem as important measures of psychological well-being (Vogt Yuan, 2010).

### **Moderating Effects of Race and Ethnicity**

Though limited, several researchers have demonstrated the role that race and ethnicity plays in girls' assessments of and attitudes towards their physical appearance. Biro and colleagues (2005) suggest that racial and ethnic identification may serve as a protective factor against negative internalizations of body image. The literature in this area, however, has largely focused on these differences amongst African American and Non-Hispanic White females; much less is known about how body image is perceived and evaluated by Latina and Asian girls. Differences in pubertal timing have been theorized as one explanation for why such racial and ethnic disparities occur (Biro et al., 2005; Skorek et al., 2014; Van den Berg et al., 2011). For instance, African American girls generally experience puberty well before Non-Hispanic White girls. Because they also tend to be socialized to idealize a curvaceous and voluptuous body type, African Americans may experience the increase in breast and hip size that accompanies puberty as bringing them a step closer to meeting their cultural appearance ideal.

Empirical evidence of how racial ethnic identity *moderates* the relationship between body image and psychological well-being is extremely limited. To date, no studies have specifically focused on the manner in which racial and ethnic identity affects this association. Nevertheless, results from Van den Berg et al. (2011) and Vogt Yuan (2010) provide important insights into the basic differences in body image perceptions and psychological well-being between racially and ethnically diverse individuals. In their study, Van den Berg and colleagues (2011) obtained a general measure of body image perception through the subjects' ratings of themselves on ten aspects of their bodies, which were combined into a single scale. Although Van den Berg et al.

focused on the effects of several different factors (i.e. gender, age, body weight, socioeconomic status, etc.) on self-esteem only, statistical analyses revealed several key findings regarding the relationship between self-esteem and race and ethnicity. First, the association between perception of body image and self-esteem was significant for all racial ethnic groups of females. Additionally, this relationship was stronger for Non-Hispanic White girls than for African American or Asian girls.

A similar study by Vogt Yuan (2010) utilized data collected in the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health to measure the effects of body image on adolescents' self-esteem and depressive affect over a one-year time period. Body image perceptions were assessed through participants' answers to a series of questions regarding their perception of their body weight (overweight, underweight, or average weight), desire to control or modify their weight (desire to lose weight, gain weight, or maintain weight) and perceptions of their physical development compared to others their age and gender (look older, younger, or about the same). The primary focus of this study was on gender differences and revealed a strong relationship between perceiving oneself as overweight and self-esteem for all females. However, African American girls who felt they were underweight also exhibited low self-esteem. Regardless of race and ethnicity, perceptions of physical development did not affect self-esteem levels for girls. There was also a strong relationship between perceptions of physical development and depressive affect for Latina and Asian girls, in that Latinas who perceived themselves to be less physically developed than their peers showed increased levels of depressive affect and Asians who felt they were more developed than their peers exhibited lower levels of depressive affect.

Despite this evidence that some racial ethnic groups may be less likely to uphold the predominate culture's ideal of thinness, there is a demonstrated need for further investigation

into how race and ethnicity influences the overall manner in which body image perceptions are made and psychologically internalized. In both of the previously discussed studies, comparisons of the interactions between body image and psychological well-being for each racial ethnic group were made only in relation to Non-Hispanic Whites; accordingly, this study will make comparisons *across* models to understand what dimensions of body image are more meaningful and for which groups. Likewise, the primary focus for these papers was not on race and ethnicity; thus, the measures of body image utilized were primarily composed of dimensions generally more salient to Non-Hispanic Whites. The present study will therefore include measurements (e.g. curviness and breast size) that have been regarded as important within African American and Latina cultures. Finally, because the literature clearly indicates that racial and ethnic identity shapes the salience of appearance in females' self-evaluations, I believe that racial and ethnic identity may also influence the measure of psychological well-being most affected by their body image perceptions. Because weight seems to be less important to self-identity within African American and Latina cultures, self-perceptions of weight may be more strongly tied to higher depressive affect and lower self-esteem for Non-Hispanic Whites compared to African Americans or Latinas.

Four main hypotheses will be tested in this study: First, I hypothesize that females who perceive themselves as overweight will have lower self-esteem and higher depressive affect than those who perceive themselves as average weight; second, perceiving oneself as overweight will be more strongly correlated to lower self-esteem and higher depressive affect for whites than for blacks or Latinas; third, black and Latina females who believe they look younger than their same-aged peers will have lower self-esteem and higher depressive affect compared to whites;



fourth, black and Latina females who perceive little/no changes in breast size and curviness will have lower self-esteem and higher depressive affect than whites.

Because of the lack of information available regarding body ideals within Asian cultures, specific hypotheses for this group were not made.

## **Method**

### **Data Source**

Data for this study came from the first Wave of The National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health), which was initiated by the United States Congress in 1994 to assess the general well-being of adolescents (grades 7-12) during the 1994-95 school year (Harris & Udry 2014). The study began with a school-administered questionnaire to a nationally representative sample of students, followed by four waves of data collected through in-home interviews. The first wave (occurring in 1994-1995) focused on how various aspects of personality, interpersonal relationships, educational achievements/progress, self-image, etc. influenced adolescents' overall physical, emotional, and psychological well-being. The sampling frame for the baseline included 132 schools in which students had completed the initial in-school questionnaire. Eligible students from the schools were then stratified by sex and grade level and randomly selected into a core Wave 1 sample of 12,105 adolescents.

### **Sample**

This study features the data collected in Wave 1 of the ADD Health study. Because adolescent girls are taught early on to measure their worth in terms of their physical appearance, body image perceptions appear to be more impactful for females than males. Accordingly, in this study I specifically focused on the relationship between body image perceptions and psychological well-being within adolescent females, for whom measures such as curviness and

breast size are more relevant. Therefore, only the female participants from this wave were included (N=3356). Additionally, females who reported their race to be Native American, other, or more than one race were excluded from the analyses because of the small sample size and lack of power to make statistical comparisons. Thus, this subsample consists only of those who self-identified their race and ethnicity as Non-Hispanic White (“white”), Non-Hispanic Black (“black”), Asian, or Latina (n=3043).

### **Measurements**

Table 1 provides a description of the range and frequency of the primary variables of interest used in these analyses for the full sample as well as for each racial ethnic group.

**Dependent variables.** The dependent variables analyzed in this study are self-esteem and depressive affect.

***Self-Esteem.*** Self-esteem was measured by the ADD Health study through a set of six items similar to those found in the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale. Participants were asked to choose the answer (on a 5 point Likert scale) that best described the degree to which they felt the statement to be true. For instance, to the item “You feel you have a lot of good qualities,” participants choose from one of the following answer categories: 1 [strongly disagree], 2 [disagree], 3 [neither agree nor disagree], 4 [agree] and 5 [strongly agree]. For this study, participants’ answers to these separate items were averaged into a single self-esteem score, ranging from 1-5 (1 indicating very low self-esteem).

***Depressive Affect.*** Participants’ depressive affect was assessed by the ADD Health study through a nineteen item “feelings scale,” similar in nature to the Beck Depression Scale. Participants were asked to choose one of four answers that best described the number of times a certain statement/scenario had been true within the past week. For instance, to the item “You felt

lonely” answer categories ranged from 0 (never or rarely) to 3 (most or all of the time). For this study, positively worded items such as “You felt hopeful about the future” were reversed coded. Participants’ answers to the individual items were then averaged into a single depressive affect score, ranging from 0-3 (3 indicating high depressive affect).

**Independent variables.** The independent variables used in this study are weight image, relative physical development, breast size, and curviness.

**Weight image.** The ADD Health study used the term *weight image* to refer to how participants’ perceived themselves in terms of their weight. Participants were asked to respond to the item: “How do you think of yourself in terms of weight?” by selecting one of six possible answer categories. For the purposes of this study, responses to this item were recoded into three dummy variables of weight image: participants who answered 1 [very underweight] or 2 [somewhat underweight] were recoded into the variable “underweight;” participants who answered 3 [about the right weight] were recoded into “average weight;” participants who answered 4 [somewhat overweight] or 5 [very overweight] were recoded into “overweight.” “Average weight” is used as the comparison category for weight image in the analyses.

**Relative physical development.** Individuals’ perceptions of their overall physical development relative to their same-aged peers were measured through the ADD Health item: “How advanced is your physical development compared to other girls your age?” Participants were asked to choose from one of five answer categories: 1 [I look younger than most], 2 [I look younger than some], 3 [I look about average ], 4 [I look older than some], and 5 [I look older than most]. In this study, responses were recoded into three dummy variables of relative physical development: those who felt they looked “younger” than their peers (responses of 1 or 2), those who felt they looked about the same as their peers or “average” (responses of 3), and those felt

they looked “older” than their peers (responses of 4 or 5). “Average” is used as the comparison category for relative physical development.

***Breast size.*** A subjective measure of breast size was assessed by the ADD Health study through the item: “As a girl grows up her breasts develop and get bigger. Which sentence best describes you?” Answer categories for this item were: 1 [my breasts about the same as when in grade school], 2 [My breasts are a little bigger than when in grade school], 3 [My breasts are somewhat bigger than when in grade school], 4 [My breasts are a lot bigger than when in grade school], and 5 [My breasts are a whole lot bigger than when in grade school]. In the present study, answers from this item were recoded into three dummy variables of breast size. Responses of 1 or 2 were recoded as “not or slightly larger”; 3 as “moderately larger”; and 4 or 5 as “a lot or whole lot larger.” “Moderately larger” is used as the comparison category for breast size.

***Curviness.*** A subjective measure of curviness was also measured by the ADD Health study through a similarly constructed item: “As a girl grows up her body becomes more curved. Which sentence best describes you?” participants were asked to respond by choosing one of five answer categories: 1 [My body is about as curvy as when in grade school], 2 [My body is a little more curvy than when in grade school], 3 [My body is somewhat more curvy than when in grade school], 4 [My body is a lot curvier than when in grade school], and 5 [My body is a whole lot curvier than when in grade school]. Again, participants’ answers were recoded in this study into three dummy variables. Responses of 1 or 2 were recoded into “no or slightly curvier”; 3 into “moderately curvier”; and 4 or 5 into “a lot or whole lot curvier.” “Moderately curvier” is used as the comparison category for weight image.

***Controls.*** Participants’ age at time of interview (“age”) and their body mass index (“BMI”) were both controlled for in all analyses. Socioeconomic status of participants (“SES”)

was also controlled for in the analyses, determined by the highest level of education completed by the participants' resident mom or resident dad control (answer categories ranged from "eight grade or less" to "professional training beyond four-year university/college").

### **Plan of Analysis**

Mean self-esteem and depressive affect levels for each racial ethnic group were computed and t-tests across groups were examined. Linear regressions were run separately for each racial ethnic group in order to compare of the nature of the relationships between body image perceptions and self-esteem and body image perceptions and depressive affect, and significant coefficients were then calculated to compare the effects of the independent variables across race groups.

## **Findings**

### **Bivariate Analyses: Race Differences in Self-Esteem and Depressive Affect**

Table 1 shows the average self-esteem and depressive affect scores for each racial ethnic group. The average self-esteem in blacks (3.21) was greatest ( $p < .001$ ) compared to whites (3.03), Latinas (2.96), and Asians (2.75). The average depressive affect score was greatest for Asians (0.81) and significantly lower ( $p < .001$ ) in whites (0.57), blacks (0.65), and Latinas (0.74). Overall, t-tests revealed significant differences in *all* cross-model comparisons of self-esteem and depressive affect.

### **Moderating Effects of Race and Ethnicity**

Linear regression analyses of the relationship between body image and self-esteem for each racial ethnic group are shown in Table 2. Results indicate that regardless of race and ethnicity, all individuals who perceived themselves as overweight also scored low on self-esteem. Z-scores of the significant coefficients across models revealed this relationship to be significantly stronger ( $p < .05$ ) for Latinas compared to whites and blacks. For blacks and Latinas, being underweight was also negatively associated with self-esteem; however, the relationship was significantly stronger for Latinas ( $p < .05$ ) for Latinas than for blacks. With regard to relative physical development and self-esteem, looking younger was negatively related to self-esteem for whites but not for any of the other racial groups. In comparisons across models, this relationship was significant to the .05 level. A lot/whole lot of perceived changes in breast size and low self-esteem were found in both Asians and whites but not in blacks or Latinas. Interestingly, the strength of the relationship was significantly stronger ( $p < .05$ ) for Asians compared to both whites and blacks, but not Latinas. A positive relationship between a lot/whole lot of perceived change in curviness and self-esteem was also found in blacks but not for the other race groups; this relationship was significantly stronger ( $p < .05$ ) only in comparison to Latinas.

Table 3 displays the linear regression analyses of the relationship between body image and depressive for each racial ethnic group. Despite racial ethnic identification, all individuals who perceived themselves as overweight scored high on depressive affect; unlike the other groups, however, being underweight was also negatively associated with high depressive affect for blacks. T-tests revealed the strength of this relationship to be significantly stronger ( $p < .05$ ) than in both whites and Asians. White and black respondents who felt they looked younger than their peers also scored high on depressive affect compared the other groups; the same was also true for whites who felt they looked older. Neither of these relationships was significant in the comparisons across models. Little/no perceived changes in breast size were positively correlated to high depressive affect for Asians, but not for any of the other racial ethnic groups. Indeed, the strength of this correlation was significantly stronger compared to all other racial groups ( $p < .05$ ).

### **Discussion**

This paper investigates the manner in which individuals' racial ethnic identification moderates the relationship between their perceptions of body image and psychological well-being. Based on the literature, I developed four main hypotheses regarding the degree to which race and ethnicity influences how individuals make and internalize body image perceptions. Because of general societal pressure to be thin, I anticipated that the correlation between weight image and both psychological well-being variables would be present across groups. Considering the different cultural ideals emphasizing breast size and curviness within black and Latina cultures, however, I expected these variables to be more important for blacks and Latinas than for whites (Clay et al., 2005). Further, based on findings from previous studies, I also predicted that physical development, in terms of looking younger or less physically developed, would be

significantly related to lower self-esteem and higher depressive affect for blacks and Latinas but not for whites.

Results from this study clearly indicate that race and ethnicity influences the manner in which body image perceptions are made and internalized by adolescent girls. First, consistent with the literature's discussion of the intense pressure women feel in terms of their weight, low self-esteem and high depressive affect were found in all girls who perceived themselves as overweight (Balcetis et al., 2013; Biro et al., 2005; Clay et al., 2005). However, this relationship was stronger for Latinas compared to whites, which contrasts what other studies have revealed about a larger cultural body ideal for Latinas (Skorek et al., 2014; Van den Berg et al., 2010; Swain, 2012). It is possible that this finding highlights a divergence in the racial socialization of some adolescents, in that those who negatively perceived themselves as overweight were more assimilated into the dominant white culture and subsequently more influenced by the pressure to be thin. Future research should examine how assimilation in Latinas may influence body image and subsequent psychological wellbeing. Being underweight was also related to lower self-esteem and higher depressive affect in both Latina and black females. Moreover, black girls who felt they were a lot/whole lot curvier than when they were younger exhibited high self-esteem. These findings are consistent with Vogt Yuan's (2010) conclusion that black girls who felt they were underweight exhibited low self-esteem and high depressive affect and offers support for the heavier cultural body ideal described by Van den Berg et al. (2010). For young girls who are socialized within cultures where a shapely, voluptuous figure is idealized, it follows that being underweight or having changed a lot in terms of curviness would influence how they evaluated themselves.



Despite the small sample size of Asians, this study also revealed several interesting findings regarding how Asian girls perceive and evaluate themselves. Asians who felt their breasts had changed a lot since grade school scored low on self-esteem and those who felt their breast size had not changed a lot scored high on depressive affect. Considering the substantial dearth of information regarding the manner in which Asian women make evaluations of their bodies, these findings provide an important area of inquiry for future research.

### **Limitations and Avenues for Future Research**

Overall, this study is merely the first step in examining how different aspects of body image influence the self-esteem and depressive affect of a racially and ethnically diverse sample and several limitations are worth noting. First, respondents in the ADD Health study were asked how they perceived their breast size and curviness in relation to their younger selves rather than their same-aged peers, which may account for the lack of support for my anticipation of an increased salience of breast size and curviness for blacks and Latinas. Since non-white girls tend to undergo puberty much earlier than whites, blacks and Latinas may not have perceived as much change between their former and current bodies compared to individuals who had only recently experienced these changes. Future studies should therefore utilize a comparative measure for breast size and curviness in which evaluations are made in relation to peers rather than the self. Also, this study was limited in that it only included female participants. It is possible that the effects of race and ethnicity on the association between body image and self-esteem differ drastically for males, who are likely to make body image perceptions in a much different manner than females. Future studies should seek to include or focus on males in order to more thoroughly investigate the influence that one's racial and ethnic socialization has in terms of how body image perceptions are made and internalized.

In summary, the present paper contributes to a growing body of literature regarding racial and ethnic differences in self-conceptualization and psychological well-being (Clay et al., 2005; Skorek et al., 2014; Swain, 2012). My findings suggest important differences in what racially and ethnically diverse individuals consider to be ideal in terms of appearance, as well as similarities in how negative evaluations of one's appearance are manifested psychologically.

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**Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Central Measures**

<i>Student Characteristics</i>	Full Sample (n=3043)	White (n=1877)	Black (n=734)	Latina (n=338)	Asian (n=94)
Race (in %)					
White	61.7				
Black	24.1				
Latina	11.1				
Asian	3.1				
Age in years (s.d.)	15.98 (1.77)	15.95 (1.76)	15.99 (1.78)	16.01 (1.75)	16.41 (1.89)
Parent's Education (in %)					
Less Than High School	12.5	7.5	14.0	38.5	0.1
High School Graduate	29.0	30.2	28.2	25.4	22.3
At Least Some College	19.8	20.9	19.2	16.6	12.8
College Graduate	35.5	38.6	34.1	15.7	56.4
Body Mass Index (s.d.) (12.01-46.32)	22.29 (4.43)	21.89 (4.2)	23.42 (5.03)	22.53 (4.00)	20.76 (3.45)
<i>Independent Variables</i>					
Weight Image					
Underweight	10.3	8.6	12.1	13.6	17.0
Average weight	49.9	50.8	51.0	43.8	44.7
Overweight	39.9	40.6	36.9	42.6	38.3
Relative Body Development					
Younger	19.3	15.8	24.7	23.1	33.0
Average	39.3	40.9	34.6	38.8	44.7
Older	41.4	43.3	40.7	38.2	22.3
Breast size					
Not/slightly larger	21.7	17.7	28.7	24.9	33.0
Moderately larger	32.7	33.8	28.3	35.2	35.1
A lot/whole lot larger	45.6	48.4	42.9	39.9	31.9
Curviness					
No/slightly curvier	20.2	17.7	24.1	24.3	25.5
Moderately curvier	33.6	35.9	25.1	36.1	44.7
A lot/whole lot curvier	46.2	46.4	50.8	39.6	29.8
<i>Dependent Variable</i>					
Self-esteem (1-5)	3.06 (0.60)	3.03 (0.59)	3.21 (0.57)	2.96 (0.66)	2.75 (0.64)
Depressive Affect (0-3)	0.62 (0.43)	0.57 (0.40)	0.65 (0.44)	0.74 (0.46)	0.81 (0.44)

**Table 2. Regression: Effects of body image on self-esteem by racial-ethnic group**

	White		Black		Latina		Asian	
	B	S.E.	B	S.E.	B	S.E.	B	S.E.
<i>Body assessment</i>								
Overweight <sup>a</sup>	-.30***	.03	-.22***	.06	-.52***	.09	-.36*	.17
Underweight <sup>a</sup>	-.03	.05	-.18**	.07	-.33**	.11	.08	.19
Younger <sup>b</sup>	-.10*	.04	.02	.06	.10	.10	-.24	.15
Older <sup>b</sup>	-.02	.03	-.02	.05	-.02	.09	.16	.18
No/slightly larger breasts <sup>d</sup>	-.08	.04	.05	.06	-.04	.11	-.33	.17
A lot/whole lot larger breasts <sup>d</sup>	-.02*	.03	.04	.06	.05	.56	-.41*	.17
No/slightly curvier <sup>c</sup>	.04	.04	.01	.07	.04	.10	-.08	.17
A lot/whole lot curvier <sup>c</sup>	.05	.03	.12*	.06	.01	.01	.04	.18
<i>Controls</i>								
BMI	.01	.00	-.01	.01	.00	.01	.02	.03
SES	.05***	.01	.02	.02	.02	.03	-.07	.06
Age	-.01	.01	-.037**	.01	.01	.02	-.04	.04
R <sup>2</sup>	41.605***		16.161***		18.890***		8.130*	
df	11		11		11		11	

<sup>a</sup> The comparison category is average weight<sup>b</sup> The comparison category is average development<sup>c</sup> The comparison category is moderately larger breasts<sup>d</sup> The comparison category is moderately curvier

\*p&lt;.05; \*\*p&lt;.01; \*\*\*p&lt;.001

**Table 3. Regression: Effects of body image on depressive affect by racial-ethnic group**

	White		Black		Latina		Asian	
	B	S.E.	B	S.E.	B	S.E.	B	S.E.
<i>Body assessment</i>								
Overweight <sup>a</sup>	.20***	.02	.14**	.04	.17**	.06	.31**	.12
Underweight <sup>a</sup>	.02	.03	.18**	.05	.07	.08	-.16	.13
Younger <sup>b</sup>	.12***	.03	.09*	.05	.11	.07	.11	.10
Older <sup>b</sup>	.05*	.02	.06	.04	.11	.06	-.06	.12
No/slightly larger breasts <sup>d</sup>	.04	.03	-.06	.05	-.01	.08	.26*	.12
A lot/whole lot larger breasts <sup>d</sup>	.04	.02	-.04	.04	.05	.07	.14	.13
No/slightly curvier <sup>c</sup>	-.00	.03	.00	.05	.12	.08	.05	.11
A lot/whole lot curvier <sup>c</sup>	.00	.02	.01	.04	.08	.07	-.08	.13
<i>Controls</i>								
BMI	-.01**	.00	.00	.00	.00	.01	-.02	.13
SES	-.06***	.01	-.06***	.01	-.05*	.02	.01	.04
Age	.02***	.01	.02*	.01	-.02	.02	.02	.02
R <sup>2</sup>	27.523***		11.045***		5.715**		4.160*	
df	11		11		11		11	

<sup>a</sup> The comparison category is average weight<sup>b</sup> The comparison category is average development<sup>c</sup> The comparison category is moderately larger breasts<sup>d</sup> The comparison category is moderately curvier

\*p&lt;.05; \*\*p&lt;.01; \*\*\*p&lt;.001