

# Ethnic Identity and Personal Well-Being of People of Color: A Meta-Analysis

Timothy B. Smith and Lynda Silva  
Brigham Young University

This article summarizes research examining the relationship between the constructs of ethnic identity and personal well-being among people of color in North America. Data from 184 studies analyzed with random effects models yielded an omnibus effect size of  $r = .17$ , suggesting a modest relationship between the 2 constructs. The relationship was somewhat stronger among adolescents and young adults than among adults over age 40. No differences were observed across participant race, gender, or socioeconomic status, which findings support the general relevance of ethnic identity across people of color. Studies correlating ethnic identity with self-esteem and positive well-being yielded average effect sizes twice as large as those from studies correlating ethnic identity with personal distress or mental health symptoms. Ethnic identity was thus more strongly related to positive well-being than to compromised well-being. Overall, the corpus of research reviewed consisted of correlational designs; limited scholarship has addressed causal mechanisms, mediating factors, or psychological functions of ethnic identity across different social contexts.

**Keywords:** ethnic identity, mental health, well-being, meta-analysis

Identity formation has long been considered a crucial aspect of individual development and psychological well-being (Erikson, 1959/1980; May & Yalom, 2005; Rogers, 1961). Much of the psychological literature has focused on idiosyncratic characteristics that differentiate individuals (Erikson, 1959/1980), but in recent years scholars have considered collective/social aspects of identity (Adams & Marshall, 1996; Amiot, de la Sablonnière, Terry, & Smith, 2007; Berman, Schwartz, Kurtines, & Berman, 2001; Berzonsky, 1989; Grotevant, 1987). In particular, the construct of ethnic identity has received sustained attention (Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1998; Ong, Phinney, & Dennis, 2006; Phinney, 1989, 2000; Ruiz, 1990), including a recent special section of the *Journal of Counseling Psychology* (Ponterotto & Mallinckrodt, 2007).

Ethnic identity is the degree to which individuals perceive themselves to be included and aligned with an ethnic group. Ethnic identity “is a central defining characteristic of many individuals, particularly those who are members of minority . . . groups” (Phinney, 2000, p. 256). The psychological importance of ethnic identity among ethnic minority groups can be attributed to discrimination and differentiation experienced by these groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In the face of opposition and marginalization, a strong ethnic identity helps individuals recognize positive virtues about their own ethnic group, minimizing effects of denigrating beliefs perpetuated in society (e.g., Outten, Schmitt, Garcia, &

Branscombe, 2009; Ruiz, 1990). More than a mere cognitive heuristic or coping strategy, ethnic identity pervades both worldview and behavior; it is a complex construct articulated as “a process of exploring the implications of one’s ethnicity and coming to understand and affirm one’s membership in an ethnic group” (Ong et al., 2006, p. 963). Descriptions of ethnic identity include elements such as ethnic self-identification; affective components such as a sense of belonging, pride, and affirmation; cognitive components such as knowledge of history and traditions; value orientations such as individualism or collectivism; and differences in components of ethnic identity related to age, phenotype, and context (Phinney, 2000).

## Theoretical Conceptualizations of Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity has been conceptualized differently by different scholars (e.g., Cross & Cross, 2008; Trimble, 2007). Most researchers have based their conceptualizations on the tenets of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and Erik Erikson’s (1959/1980) model of ego identity development, which had suggested that one’s personal identity includes “a persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others” (p. 101). In this tradition, the elaboration of Erikson’s model by Marcia, Waterman, Matteson, Archer, and Orlofsky (1993) has been used to identify different ethnic identity statuses, characterized by the presence or absence of exploration and commitment (Phinney, 1989; Umaña-Taylor, Yazedjian, & Bamaca-Gomez, 2004). Conceptualizations based on these theoretical underpinnings have generally been associated with the work of Jean Phinney (1990), although subsequent refinement has been provided by many others.

An alternative conceptualization of ethnic identity has been provided by Bill Cross, whose groundbreaking description of self-identification among African Americans (Cross, 1971) was

---

This article was published Online First December 20, 2010.

Timothy B. Smith and Lynda Silva, Department of Counseling Psychology and Special Education, Brigham Young University.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Timothy B. Smith, Department of Counseling Psychology and Special Education, 340 MCKB, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT 84602. E-mail: tbs@byu.edu

informed by the writings of W. E. B. Du Bois (1903) and, more particularly, Franz Fanon (1963, 1967). This line of scholarship considers dynamics associated with intergroup oppression, marginalization, and internalized racism. Cross has recently developed a holistic model of racial, ethnic, and cultural identity (Cross & Cross, 2008), but his early work proved most influential to the construct of racial identity (Helms, 1984), which has become distinct from ethnic identity in the psychological literature. Because the distinction between racial identity and ethnic identity is not intuitive, it warrants attention here.

In the *Encyclopedia of Psychology*, the term *racial identity* refers to the unique experience of a specific racial group, such as African American, and *ethnic identity* characterizes one's sense of self in broader terms including culture, race, language, or kinship (Burlew, 2000). Models of racial identity tend to be specific to a particular race (i.e., Cross, 1971; Helms, 1990), but the principle of ethnic identity applies across multiple racial and ethnic groups (Phinney, 1989, 1996). Moreover, descriptions of racial identity explicitly account for intergroup relations, social structures, and internalized stereotypes (Helms, 1990), whereas ethnic identity models do not emphasize those considerations over others (Phinney, 1996). Ethnic identity focuses on the notion of self-identification, whereas racial identity incorporates the influence of societal oppression illuminated through the paradigm of antiracism (e.g., Helms, 1990; Helms & Talleyrand, 1997). In sum, "racial and ethnic identities differ widely in the ways that they have been defined and studied. . . . The literature dealing with these two types of identity is quite divergent" (Phinney & Ong, 2007, p. 274).

In arguing against the prevailing practice of distinguishing ethnic identity from racial identity, Bill Cross has cogently stated that "racial, ethnic, and cultural identity overlap at the level of *lived experience* to the point that there is little reason to associate each construct with a distinct identity constellation" (Cross & Cross, 2008, p. 156). Notwithstanding this rationale, confusion and disorder have resulted when researchers have used these terms interchangeably (Trimble, 2007). The terms are overlapping but not synonymous (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Because conceptual blurring has occurred between ethnic identity and racial identity, it is essential that researchers clarify their intended focus (Helms, 2007). To quote Cokley (2005), "If race and ethnicity should be treated as separate yet related constructs, so too should racial identity and ethnic identity" (p. 518).

Given the differences in how researchers have conceptualized racial identity and ethnic identity, it is not surprising that the measures commonly used to quantify the two constructs do not share a compatible dimension. Statistical aggregation across measures of racial identity and ethnic identity would therefore be inappropriate. Moreover, subscales of commonly used measures of racial identity cannot be meaningfully combined to yield an overall score (Helms, 1990). Thus the present study follows recommendations to specify the variables involved (Ponterotto & Park-Taylor, 2007) and restricts its focus to the construct of ethnic identity.

### Association of Ethnic Identity With Well-Being

The psychology literature affirms ethnic identity as a positive personal disposition; accurate self-evaluation should optimally incorporate one's ethnic heritage. Similar to the achievement of a

strong ego identity (Marcia et al., 1993), that of a strong ethnic identity based on sufficient exploration and experience should provide a foundation of self-knowledge from which life decisions can be made with confidence. Identification with a larger collective can also provide a sense of belonging and social support. Ethnic identity can thus provide a sense of strength, competence, and self-acceptance when negotiating complex environmental contingencies (e.g., Outten et al., 2009; Ruiz, 1990). By definition, high levels of ethnic identity should be positively associated with personal well-being.

Numerous research studies have found a positive relationship between a strong ethnic identity and indicators of self-esteem and personal adjustment. For example, a large study ( $N = 5,423$ ) of young adolescents documented significant positive correlations between ethnic identity and a variety of positive attributes, such as coping ability, mastery, self-esteem, and optimism (Roberts et al., 1999). Overall research findings appear to consistently point to the positive association between ethnic identity and multiple aspects of personal well-being across ethnic groups (e.g., Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997). Many in the field have interpreted these consistent correlations as indicating causal mediation, with positive ethnic identity assumed to buffer against distress experienced by ethnic minority groups (e.g., Ponterotto & Park-Taylor, 2007).

Although the buffering role of ethnic identity against distress has been widely cited in the literature, a few scholars have observed that in some cases stronger ethnic identity may actually exacerbate susceptibility to distress (e.g., Yip, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2008; Yoo & Lee, 2008). According to self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), individuals attune to environmental cues relevant to their own identity. Research has confirmed that individuals with strong ethnic identity attend to interethnic dynamics (Syed & Azmitia, 2008, 2010) and are more likely to report experiences of discrimination (e.g., Sellers & Shelton, 2003) and experience distress because of discrimination (McCoy & Major, 2003). Threat to a group with which one identifies strongly can be experienced as a threat to the self. Hence, the present emphasis in the literature on the positive buffering role of ethnic identity against distress should be tempered with the recognition that strong ethnic identity may exacerbate distress among individuals who experience ethnic discrimination.

### Contextual Factors Relevant to the Association Between Ethnic Identity and Well-Being

Although the construct of ethnic identity should generalize across populations (Phinney, 1989, 2000), recent scholarship has increasingly sought to delineate the circumstances under which ethnic identity is most salient to well-being. The most consistent delineation has involved ethnicity itself. The research literature has largely focused on the experiences of people of color, rather than Whites, for several reasons. Studies have consistently documented that Whites in North America tend to feel more ambivalent about their ethnic identity than do people of color, for whom ethnic identification is more salient (e.g., Brace, Bamaca, & Umaña-Taylor, 2004; Phinney, 1990).

The view of ethnic identity as being the link between ethnicity and psychological outcomes is based on the assumption that ethnicity is a meaningful psychological variable to the extent that it has salience and centrality for the individuals involved. For most

Americans of European background, ethnicity is not a salient or important part of their identity, and they can choose what role, if any, it will have for them (Phinney, 1996, p. 922).

Presumably because of this lower valuation of ethnic identity, the positive correlation observed between ethnic identity and well-being in people of color does not occur with consistency among White populations (e.g., Carter et al., 2005). Moreover, because of social dynamics relevant to majority versus minority status (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), there are reasons to suspect that ethnic identity may serve different psychological functions for White people than for other groups in North America. Both the subjective experience of ethnic identity and the factors that likely mediate its association with well-being may differ between Whites and people of color. For instance, many researchers have been interested in how ethnic identity may buffer against ethnic prejudice (e.g., McCoy & Major, 2003), which mediational pathway would be much less relevant for Whites than for historically oppressed groups in North America. On the basis of these several considerations, we delimited our focus in this paper to the experiences of people of color, with the understanding that specifying target populations is appropriate and even desirable in psychological research (Sue, 1999).

Recent scholarship has examined contextual factors other than ethnicity that may moderate the association between well-being and ethnic identity (e.g., age, gender, level of acculturation, socioeconomic status), each highlighted briefly here. Given the relevance of identity development processes for adolescents and young adults (Erikson, 1959/1980), most of the research on ethnic identity has focused on the experiences of high school students (e.g., Fuligni, Witkow, & Garcia, 2005) and college students (e.g., Ong et al., 2006). Although research generally supports the developmental significance of ethnic identity for adolescents and young adults, other age groups have been investigated (Tsai, Chentsova-Dutton, & Wong, 2002). With respect to the possible influence of gender, studies investigating gender identity have concluded that it is positively associated with ethnic identity (e.g., Hoffman, 2006) and that ethnic identity development may differ across boys and girls (Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009). However, data contrasted across gender yield either minimal differences or mixed findings (e.g., Phinney & Alipuria, 1990; Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997; Tatman, 1996). Other studies have found that acculturation to Western society is associated with both ethnic identity and well-being for immigrants and refugees in North America (Barry, 2000; Tsai et al., 2002). Similarly, socioeconomic status has been found to be associated with both ethnic identity and well-being, with stressors associated with ethnic discrimination being compounded by poverty (Myers, 2009). Thus, the relevance of ethnic identity to well-being appears to be moderated by personal and social characteristics. Scholars should therefore attend to contextual factors when studying ethnic identity (Syed & Azmitia, 2008, 2010).

### Need for Synthesis of Existing Research

Scholars have consistently concluded that a strong ethnic identity is positively associated with personal well-being and successful life adjustment for people of color (e.g., Ong et al., 2006; Phinney, 1989; Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997; Roberts et al., 1999). However, the overall magnitude of the association between ethnic identity and well-being has remained uncertain, and the

impact of possible moderating variables has been unclear (Fuligni et al., 2005; Ong et al., 2006; Phinney, 1990; Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997). Large numbers of papers on the topic have appeared during the past two decades, with the body of research examining the relationship between ethnic identity and well-being growing exponentially. The literature has been described as unwieldy and in need of synthesis (Ponterotto & Mallinckrodt, 2007). A synthesis of this research would help to clarify current findings and guide future research efforts. We therefore undertook a systematic review of the research to ascertain the overall magnitude of the association between ethnic identity and well-being and to determine if that association may be moderated by study and participant characteristics.

### Method

Published and unpublished studies examining the relationship between ethnic identity of people of color and one or more aspects of their personal well-being were included in this meta-analysis. Basic criteria for inclusion were that the study was written in English and that it provided quantitative data regarding this relationship for individuals identifying themselves as African American, Asian American, Hispanic/Latino(a) American, Native American, and/or Pacific Islander American. When studies also involved White participants, we analyzed only the disaggregated data for the groups just listed. Included studies had a quantitative measure of ethnic identity (explicitly using the term *ethnic* or *ethnicity*) that was statistically associated with at least one quantitative measure of an aspect of personal well-being (e.g., self-esteem, coping ability, symptoms of depression). Studies frequently reported data on other variables (e.g., gender identity), but only data specific to the two constructs of ethnic identity and well-being were extracted. We recognized that wording and conceptual differences would occur across distinct scales measuring these two global constructs, so our initial analyses that combined measures of ethnic identity and well-being were followed by analyses disaggregating the different measures used across studies. All quantitative research designs except single-case studies were eligible for inclusion. Studies of populations outside the United States or Canada were excluded.

Three strategies helped to identify suitable published and unpublished studies. First, research team members searched abstracts retrieved from the following electronic databases: PsycINFO, PsycARTICLES, Science Citation Index, Social Sciences Abstracts, Social Sciences Citation Index, and Digital Dissertations. In these searches, the phrase *ethnic identity (identities)* was crossed with a list of dozens of descriptors of well-being, including *mental health*, *self-esteem*, *happiness*, and *depression*. Second, the reference sections of identified studies were reviewed in order to locate additional articles that fit the inclusion criteria but were not initially found through the database searches. Third, attempts were made to contact authors who had published two or more articles on this topic, asking them for information regarding other (unpublished) studies that could possibly be included in the meta-analysis.

### Data Coding

Variables coded across all studies included (a) the source of the study (e.g., journal article, dissertation); (b) the number of partic-

ipants and their age, education, gender, race, and socioeconomic status; (c) the location of data collection if reported (e.g., public school, clinical setting); (d) the research design; and (e) the measures of ethnic identity and well-being used in the study. Four graduate and six undergraduate students were trained in meta-analytic coding, and these team members coded manuscripts in pairs to enhance the accuracy of coding decisions and data entry. Each article was coded by two separate pairs of coders. The interrater agreement of coding decisions across coding pairs was acceptably high for categorical variables (average Cohen's  $\kappa = .86$ ) and for continuous variables (average intraclass correlation coefficient = .93 utilizing one-way random effects models for single measures). Interrater agreement was high because (a) coders had worked together on similar projects previously and (b) the majority of information obtained from the studies was extracted verbatim from the documents, which reduced the likelihood of coding error. When a study did not contain certain information, it was excluded from the analysis of that particular variable but not from other analyses. When coding inconsistencies occurred across the teams, the disparities were resolved through further examination of the paper.

### Computation and Analysis of Effect Size Estimates

The studies included in this meta-analysis frequently (90%) reported data in terms of bivariate correlations (Pearson's  $r$ ). Reports including other statistics (e.g., analyses of variance,  $t$  tests,  $p$  values) were transformed to the metric of  $r$  with statistical software. Coders assigned a positive value to effect sizes indicating a stronger ethnic identity co-occurring with greater well-being (or weaker ethnic identity co-occurring with, e.g., symptoms of mental illness, distress), with a negative value indicating an inverse association between ethnic identity and personal well-being. In two cases when an analysis was reported to be statistically significant but no statistic was provided, the  $r$  value was determined by the corresponding alpha level (assuming two-tailed  $\alpha = .05$  unless reported otherwise). In six cases, analyses described as nonsignificant without any additional information were set to  $r = .00$ .

Many studies used in the meta-analysis reported data on multiple measures of well-being, such as self-esteem and coping ability. Similarly, some studies reported data on multiple groups (i.e., across races or genders). If each of these data points had been included in the omnibus analysis, the results would be biased in favor of those studies that had contributed multiple effect sizes. Moreover, inclusion of multiple effect sizes within studies would violate the assumption of independent samples; even though the particular subsamples may have differed on a characteristic such as race, the data shared characteristics including method, experimental design, location, and setting. To overcome this issue, we averaged all effect sizes within each study (weighted by the number of participants included in each analysis) to compute an aggregate effect size for that particular study (Mullen, 1989). Thus, each study contributed only one data point to the calculation of the omnibus effect size. However, in one instance where a grouping variable that was found to moderate the omnibus results required subsequent detailed exploration for better interpretation of the finding (the type of dependent measure used within studies), we conducted an additional analysis by shifting the unit of analysis

(Cooper, 1998). In that analysis, we included multiple effect sizes within studies if they were based on distinct measures of well-being (i.e., self-esteem and symptoms of depression). Thus, this approach disaggregated results across conceptually distinct measures used within studies.

Because factors other than ethnic identity influence well-being and because the magnitude of the association between ethnic identity and well-being was expected to differ across individual participants and across individual studies, random effects models were used in analyzing the data with macros for SPSS provided by Lipsey and Wilson (2001). The use of a random effects model also allows for generalization beyond the studies included in the analyses (Hedges & Vevea, 1998).

## Results

### Descriptive Characteristics

Statistically nonredundant effect sizes were extracted from 184 studies examining the relationship between ethnic identity and one or more aspects of personal well-being (see Table 1). The number of participants represented across all studies was 41,626; 62% of them were female. The average age of participants was 22.9 years. Average ethnic/racial composition of participants across all studies was 33% African Americans, 35% Asian Americans, 21% Hispanic/Latino(a) Americans, 5% Native Americans, 1% Pacific Islander Americans, and 5% members of "other" non-White groups.

### Omnibus Analysis

Across all 184 studies, the random effects weighted average effect size was  $r = .173$  ( $SE = .01$ ,  $p < .0001$ ), with a 95% confidence interval of  $r = .15$  to  $r = .19$ . Effect size estimates ranged from  $r = -.18$  to  $r = .57$ . The effect size estimates demonstrated considerable variability, with the index of heterogeneity reaching statistical significance,  $Q(183) = 579.5$ ,  $p < .0001$ ;  $I^2 = 71.5\%$ . This suggests that the systematic effect size variability was greater than expected from sampling error alone. Additional analyses were conducted in order to determine the degree to which different variables moderated the variability in effect size estimates.

### Assessment of Possible Publication Bias

The publication status of research studies used in a meta-analysis can potentially impact its findings. This is because of the tendency for meta-analyses to include predominantly published studies, which are typically easier to obtain than unpublished studies and which tend to have effect sizes of larger magnitude than those of unpublished studies. In the present meta-analysis, the average effect size of the published studies was higher ( $r = .19$ ) than that of the unpublished studies ( $r = .16$ ,  $Q = 3.1$ ,  $p = .05$ ). However, the number of unpublished studies included in this meta-analysis ( $k = 108$ , all unpublished doctoral dissertations) actually exceeded the number of published studies ( $k = 76$ ). Analysis of a funnel plot (effect sizes by standard errors) indicated that the data were evenly dispersed with no missing corners, which would have suggested missing studies with small numbers of



Table 1  
*Descriptions of the 184 Studies Included in the Meta-Analysis*

Study	N	Effect size ( <i>r</i> )	95% CI	
			<i>LL</i>	<i>UL</i>
Adams (1997)	73	.31	.09	.50
Adelabu (2008)	661	.39	.32	.45
Ali (2006)	300	.24	.13	.35
Asner (1999)	86	.01	-.20	.22
Bacho (1997)	120	-.10	-.26	.09
Barry (2000)	150	-.10	-.22	.10
Basurto (1995)	99	.17	-.03	.36
Beiser & Hou (2006)	647	.02	-.06	.10
Bhadha (2001)	360	.07	-.03	.17
Bhargava (2007)	147	-.03	-.19	.13
Biggs (1998)	213	.24	.11	.36
Blash & Unger (1995)	68	.20	-.04	.42
Bosarge (2007)	105	-.10	-.24	.14
Bracey et al. (2004)	1,531	.21	.16	.26
Bruner (2004)	281	.33	.22	.43
Byers (2005)	197	.17	.03	.31
Canabal (1995)	101	.24	.05	.42
Carlson et al. (2000)	685	.31	.24	.38
Carter et al. (2001)	59	.20	-.06	.43
Carter et al. (2005)	191	.13	-.01	.27
Chang (1999)	120	.37	.20	.52
Chapell (1999)	314	.39	.29	.48
Charlot-Swilley (1997)	99	.45	.28	.60
Chatman (2006)	172	.33	.18	.45
Chow (2003)	178	.21	.07	.35
Christensen (1999)	96	-.10	-.28	.60
Cislo (2008)	291	.12	.00	.23
Creagh-Kaiser (2003)	86	.27	.06	.45
Daniels (2004)	88	-.13	-.33	.08
Dejud (2007)	131	.20	.03	.36
Delva (2005)	75	.13	-.10	.35
Des Jardins (1996)	62	.20	-.05	.43
Diwan et al. (2004)	226	-.01	-.14	.12
Dixon (2002)	176	.15	.00	.29
Do (2006)	262	.34	.22	.44
Douglas (2004)	111	-.02	-.21	.16
Edwards (2003)	293	.13	.01	.24
Elek-Fisk (1998)	258	.21	.09	.32
Eng (1982)	138	.16	.00	.32
Farver et al. (2002)	180	.05	-.10	.19
Foster (2004)	142	.13	-.04	.29
French (2002)	558	.14	.05	.22
Gamst et al. (2002)	204	.13	-.01	.26
Gamst et al. (2006)	355	.09	-.01	.20
Gaudet et al. (2005)	96	.28	.08	.45
Gaylord-Harden et al. (2007)	227	.17	.04	.29
Gilmore (2000)	49	.20	-.09	.46
Gloria & Hird (1999)	98	.26	.06	.44
Gong (2007)	206	.53	.42	.62
Gonzalez (2003)	141	.22	.06	.37
Goodstein & Ponterotto (1997)	126	.37	.21	.51
Gotowiec (1999)	162	.31	.16	.44
Graham (2001)	54	.19	-.08	.44
Greene (1997)	189	-.08	-.22	.06
Harrison (1997)	53	.28	.01	.51
Hazen (1994)	80	.10	-.13	.31
Holmes (2007)	157	.03	-.13	.19
Hovey et al. (2006)	133	.09	-.08	.26
Inoue (1997)	69	.00	-.24	.24
Iwamoto (2007)	402	.27	.18	.36
Iyer (2000)	122	.07	-.11	.24
Jo (1998)	150	.16	.00	.31
Jones, J. E. (1999)	135	.23	.01	.30

Table 1 (*continued*)

Study	N	Effect size ( <i>r</i> )	95% CI	
			<i>LL</i>	<i>UL</i>
Jones, M. D., & Galliher (2007)	181	.16	.06	.38
Joseph (1994)	92	.57	.41	.69
Juang et al. (2006)	261	.18	.06	.29
Kamins (2003)	110	-.05	-.24	.14
Kaneshiro (1996)	339	.05	-.05	.16
Kaslow et al. (2004)	200	.24	.11	.37
Kauh (2005)	120	.07	-.11	.25
Kekwaletswe (2007)	94	.11	-.10	.30
Kiang et al. (2006)	415	.13	.03	.22
Kim (2006)	112	.09	-.10	.27
Kim & Rew (1994)	76	.05	-.18	.27
Kim-Bae (1999)	121	.03	-.15	.21
Kwan (1996)	224	.28	.15	.40
Lamborn & Nguyen (2004)	158	.23	.08	.37
Larson (1995)	7	.45	-.46	.90
Laurent (1997)	193	.41	.28	.52
Lavish (2007)	151	.19	.03	.34
Lee, R. M. (2005)	84	.36	.21	.44
Lee, R. M., & Yoo (2004)	323	.23	.12	.33
Lee, S. (2001)	217	.33	.16	.53
Lewis, C. M. (1997)	85	.24	.03	.43
Lewis, D. K. (1998)	100	-.04	-.24	.16
Lopez (2005)	73	.41	.20	.58
Lorenzo-Hernandez & Ouellette (1998)	206	.46	.34	.56
McCubbin (2003)	243	.19	.06	.30
McDuffie (1997)	188	.28	.14	.41
McKnight (2003)	105	.11	-.08	.30
McMahon & Watts (2002)	117	.22	.04	.39
Mohanty et al. (2006)	78	.33	.12	.51
Mukoyama (1998)	86	.36	.16	.53
Nagara (2005)	253	.02	-.10	.14
Negy et al. (2003)	124	.17	-.01	.34
Newman et al. (2006)	134	.15	-.02	.31
Newsom (2004)	61	.20	-.05	.43
Northwood (1996)	40	.20	-.12	.48
O'Donnell et al. (2004)	879	.03	-.04	.09
Orellana (2004)	201	.00	-.14	.14
Pallock (2003)	159	.29	.13	.42
Parisi (1997)	91	.10	-.11	.30
Park-Adams (1997)	75	.09	-.14	.31
Paschall & Flewelling (1997)	263	.30	.19	.41
Perez (1998)	130	-.05	-.22	.13
Petersons et al. (2000)	218	-.17	-.30	-.04
Phan & Tylka (2006)	200	.12	-.02	.25
Phillips (1994)	309	.05	-.06	.16
Phinney (1992)	518	.30	.22	.37
Phinney & Alipuria (1990)	150	.29	.14	.43
Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz (1997)	604	.22	.14	.29
Phinney & Chavira (1992)	64	.48	.27	.65
Phinney, Ferguson, & Tate (1997)	547	.05	-.03	.13
Phinney et al. (1998)	164	.13	-.03	.28
Pittenger (1998)	136	.23	.07	.39
Prellow et al. (2007)	112	.17	-.02	.34
Pugh-Lilly (2000)	121	-.07	-.24	.11
Quinones (1996)	147	.16	.00	.31
Ramirez (1997)	150	.29	.14	.43
Reddy (2002)	132	.06	-.11	.23
Resnicow et al. (1999)	346	.10	-.01	.20
Rivas-Drake et al. (2008)	84	.25	.03	.44
Roberts, D. D. (1997)	150	.29	.09	.36
Roberts, R. E., et al. (1999)	1,992	.12	.08	.16
Romero & Roberts (2003)	881	.26	.20	.32
Rosario (1999)	80	.25	.03	.45
Rosen (2004)	71	-.18	-.39	.06

(*table continues*)

Table 1 (*continued*)

Study	<i>N</i>	Effect size ( <i>r</i> )	95% CI	
			<i>LL</i>	<i>UL</i>
Ryu (2004)	25	.53	.17	.77
Saavedra (1994)	212	.10	−.04	.23
Santana (1994)	204	.29	.16	.41
Sasson (2001)	21	.12	−.33	.52
Schmidt (2006)	121	.16	−.02	.33
Schneider (1995)	94	.14	−.06	.33
Schwartz et al. (2007)	347	.14	.04	.24
Setty (2006)	65	−.08	−.32	.17
Shibazaki (1999)	136	.08	−.09	.25
Shrake & Rhee (2004)	217	.18	.05	.31
Siegel et al. (2000)	370	.12	.01	.22
Sieger & Renk (2007)	134	.25	.08	.40
Smith, E. P., & Brookins (1997)	159	.27	.12	.41
Smith, F. D. (2003)	60	.21	−.05	.44
Smith, Y. K. (2006)	126	.08	−.09	.25
Sobansky (2003)	58	.25	−.01	.48
Susberry (2004)	94	.19	−.02	.37
Swenson & Prelow (2005)	133	.18	.01	.34
Tatman (1996)	139	.17	.00	.33
Terrell (2005)	115	.21	.03	.38
To (1999)	106	.32	.14	.48
Tovar-Murray (2004)	196	.31	.18	.43
Tremayne (1997)	30	.09	−.28	.44
Tsoi-Pullar (1994)	209	.34	.21	.45
Turnage (1998)	105	.31	.13	.47
Turnage (2004)	105	.36	.18	.52
Umaña-Taylor (2004)	1,061	.16	.10	.22
Umaña-Taylor & Shin (2007)	657	.22	.15	.29
Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff (2007)	273	.17	.06	.27
Umaña-Taylor et al. (2008)	323	.27	.16	.36
Umaña-Taylor et al. (2004)	468	.24	.15	.32
Utsey et al. (2002)	160	.33	.18	.46
Van Buren (2004)	523	−.04	−.12	.05
Vuong (2004)	109	−.16	−.34	.03
Walker (2002)	112	.17	−.02	.34
Walker et al. (2008)	296	.19	.08	.30
Wallen (2001)	145	.09	−.08	.24
Ware (2006)	200	−.05	−.19	.09
Weathersby (2007)	316	.22	.11	.32
Webb-Msemaji (1996)	112	.12	−.07	.30
West (2004)	86	.07	−.14	.28
White & Burke (1987)	73	.23	.00	.44
Wong et al. (2003)	629	.15	.07	.23
Worrell (2007)	227	.21	.08	.33
Yang (2006)	137	.12	−.05	.28
Yasui et al. (2004)	82	.49	.30	.64
Ying & Lee (2006)	197	.22	.08	.35
Yip (2005)	62	.01	−.24	.26
Yip & Cross (2004)	96	.15	−.05	.34
Yip & Fuligni (2002)	96	.15	−.05	.34
Yip et al. (2008)	2,047	.16	.11	.20
Yip et al. (2006)	940	.06	.00	.12
Yoo (2006)	249	.16	.08	.39
Yoo & Lee (2005)	147	.24	.04	.28
Yoon (2001)	241	.15	.02	.27
Yuh (2005)	209	.30	.17	.42
Zaff et al. (2002)	67	.08	−.16	.32

*Note.* CI = confidence interval; *LL* = lower limit; *UL* = upper limit.

participants—those least likely to be published (Begg, 1994; Lipsey & Wilson, 2001). Analyses with Duval and Tweedie's (2000) "trim and fill" method led us to conclude that publication bias did not adversely impact the results of this meta-analysis.

### Moderation by Participant Characteristics

Because person-level factors influence both ethnic identity and well-being, it was essential to ascertain whether the association

between those two constructs may have differed as a function of participant characteristics (e.g., age, gender, race). To detect whether or not participant characteristics had any systematic influence on effect size magnitude, we conducted random-effects weighted correlations and analyses of variance.

Previous scholarship has emphasized the developmental value of ethnic identity to well-being (e.g., Phinney, 2006), so we first sought to establish whether the average age of the research samples accounted for a significant portion of the between-studies variance of effect sizes. The resulting correlation of  $-.20$  ( $p = .007$ ) suggested that studies with participants who were younger tended to yield effect sizes of a higher magnitude than did those with participants were older. Inspection of the associated scatter plot indicated that none of the studies with participants averaging at least 40 years of age had effect sizes that were greater than .25, whereas studies with participants younger than 40 years had effect sizes across a broader range of positive values. When the nine studies with participants averaging 40 years of age or older were temporarily excluded, the correlation between participant age and effect size magnitude was no longer statistically significant ( $r = -.07$ ).

Because the relevance of ethnic identity to well-being may interact with gender (e.g., Hughes et al., 2009), the possible influence of participant gender was explored by correlating the percentage of female participants in each study with its effect size. The resulting random effects weighted correlation was small ( $r = -.12$ ,  $p = .10$ ), indicating that participant gender composition did not moderate the overall results.

Previous research has found racial differences in the absolute magnitude of the association between ethnic identity and well-being among people of color (e.g., Yoo & Lee, 2008), so we compared the results of studies of African Americans, Asian Americans, Hispanic/Latino(a) Americans, and Native Americans (see Table 2). The magnitude of the averaged correlations was similar across studies of these distinct groups, indicating no consistent differences ( $Q = 4.5$ ,  $p = .21$ ).

Both ethnic identity and well-being are associated with acculturation processes (Berry, 2003). In the present meta-analysis, coders sought information regarding participants' level of acculturation. When this was not directly reported, they evaluated several indicators of acculturation: immigration status of the participants (i.e., years/generations of residence in North America), English-language proficiency and language spoken at home, level of education, location of residence (i.e., urban ethnic enclave, American Indian reservation), and data collection procedures (i.e., targeting populations likely to be low in acculturation). Studies that contained at least three indicators of low acculturation were coded as having participants with low levels of acculturation; studies describing one to two indicators of low acculturation were coded as having participants with moderate levels of acculturation; studies with at least two indicators of high acculturation were coded as having participants with high levels of acculturation; and studies failing to report pertinent information were not coded with respect to this variable. Analysis of the resulting data indicated that participants' level of acculturation did moderate the results ( $Q = 10.8$ ,  $p = .01$ ). Studies in which participants had low levels of acculturation to Western society had average effect sizes of smaller magnitude than did studies in which participants had moderate and high levels of acculturation.

Because poverty may exacerbate stressors experienced by people of color (Myers, 2009), it was important to investigate whether socioeconomic status moderated the association between ethnic identity and well-being. Analyses with two variables highly associated with socioeconomic status, level of education and participants identified as at-risk for social problems (i.e., delinquency, criminal activity) were also conducted. However, no differences were observed across participant socioeconomic status ( $Q = 1.6$ ,  $p = .46$ ), level of education ( $Q = 0.6$ ,  $p = .74$ ), or at-risk status ( $Q = 3.5$ ,  $p = .17$ ), indicating that the relationship between ethnic identity and well-being did not vary across those conditions.

### Moderation by Study Characteristics

As expected based on previous observations (Ponterotto & Park-Taylor, 2007), the vast majority of studies used the Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992) to measure ethnic identity (see Table 2). However, the magnitude of the overall results remained consistent across studies when we used different measures of ethnic identity ( $Q = 1.0$ ,  $p = .62$ ). Insufficient data were available to conduct more refined analyses contrasting specific measures of ethnic identity. The MEIM was the only measure of ethnic identity used in more than six studies.

Because well-being is necessarily multifaceted, we investigated differences in the results of studies evaluating distinct components of well-being. The type of dependent variable used within studies did significantly moderate the results ( $Q = 48.8$ ,  $p < .0001$ ). Participants' ethnic identity was clearly related to participants' scores on positive aspects of well-being, such as self-esteem. However, ethnic identity was minimally related to scores on measures of mental health symptoms. Because this finding was noteworthy, we subsequently disaggregated the data of studies using more than one type of measurement, such that effect sizes for each measurement type were included in the analysis (shifting units of analysis, as described previously; see Cooper, 1998). The resulting comparison across measurement type also reached statistical significance ( $Q = 232.9$ ,  $p < .0001$ ). Measures of self-esteem, self-mastery, and general well-being yielded the largest average effect sizes, and measures of mental health symptoms yielded the smallest average effect sizes.

Recognizing that the type of research design used by researchers may yield differences in effect size estimates, we evaluated whether the magnitude of effect sizes obtained in cross-sectional studies differed from those in longitudinal studies. Cross-sectional research yielded larger average effect sizes than longitudinal designs ( $Q = 3.9$ ,  $p = .05$ ).

### Regression Model Predicting Effect Sizes From Moderator Variables

To determine the degree of redundancy among the several statistically significant predictors of effect size magnitude identified in the analyses reported above, we performed a random intercept, fixed slopes multiple regression model. Effect sizes were regressed on participants' mean age and level of acculturation, design type (cross-sectional vs. longitudinal), and the type of well-being measured. Values were centered on the between-study means. Thus, a value of zero, for example, for mean age, actually represented the typical mean age across the population of studies



Table 2  
Differences Across Study and Participant Characteristics

Variable	<i>Q</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>	95% CI	<i>k</i>
Population sampled	3.5	.17			
Normal community members			.14	[.10, .18]	48
Students			.18	[.16, .21]	121
At-risk groups			.17	[.11, .24]	15
Race	4.5	.21			
African American			.19	[.15, .23]	48
Asian American			.14	[.11, .18]	51
Hispanic/Latino(a) American			.13	[.08, .18]	27
Native American			.16	[.07, .26]	8
Years of education	0.6	.74			
Eighth grade or less			.17	[.11, .22]	20
Ninth through 12th grade			.18	[.14, .22]	44
High school graduate or greater			.19	[.15, .23]	41
Socioeconomic status	1.6	.46			
Lower			.13	[.08, .19]	23
Lower middle			.18	[.12, .23]	25
Middle or above			.18	[.14, .21]	59
Acculturation level	10.8	.01			
Low			.02	[-.09, .13]	5
Moderate			.14	[.09, .19]	26
High			.18	[.14, .23]	35
No information provided			.18	[.16, .21]	118
Design type	3.9	.05			
Cross-sectional			.18	[.16, .20]	172
Longitudinal			.11	[.04, .18]	12
Publication status	3.09	.05			
Unpublished			.16	[.13, .18]	108
Published			.19	[.17, .22]	76
Ethnic identity measure <sup>a</sup>	1.0	.62			
MEIM			.18	[.16, .20]	128
Other researched measure			.16	[.12, .21]	30
Other measure (homemade)			.16	[.11, .21]	24
Collapsed dependent measures	48.8	<.001			
Mental health symptoms <sup>b</sup>			.04	[-.01, .10]	17
Self-esteem			.23	[.20, .26]	59
Well-being			.24	[.17, .31]	11
Multiple (>1 of above)			.15	[.13, .17]	97
Disaggregated dependent measures <sup>c</sup>	232.9	<.001			
Anxiety/distress <sup>b</sup>			.06	[.04, .08]	33
Depression/hopelessness <sup>b</sup>			.10	[.08, .12]	51
Other mental health symptoms <sup>b</sup>			.08	[.05, .11]	35
Behavior problems <sup>b</sup>			.12	[.09, .16]	11
General well-being			.19	[.16, .21]	32
Self-esteem			.21	[.20, .22]	117
Self-mastery			.19	[.17, .21]	35
Social support			.14	[.12, .16]	26
Multiple (>1 of above)			.12	[.06, .19]	7

Note. *k* = number of studies; MEIM = Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure.

<sup>a</sup> Two studies that used both the MEIM and another measure of ethnic identity were excluded from this analysis because of shared method variance. <sup>b</sup> Scaling was inversed, such that positive correlations denote less pathology. <sup>c</sup> This analysis disaggregated different types of measures within studies, such that many studies with multiple measurement types had more than one effect size included in the analysis. All other analyses used only one effect size per study.

included in the meta-analysis. To include all cases in the analysis, we contrasted estimated levels of participant acculturation with studies not reporting that information; categories of measures of well-being were similarly dummy coded to contrast with multidimensional measures.

The set of moderator variables accounted for 24% of the variance in effect sizes, which result was statistically significant,  $Q(8) = 56.3, p < .0001$ ; between-studies variance was accounted

for,  $Q(165) = 179.1, p = .21$ . Table 3 shows the regression coefficients and associated levels of statistical significance for each variable. The parameter labeled "Constant" is the effect size ( $r = .172, p < .0001$ ) that would be expected in a study in which all moderator variables took the value of zero. Interpretation of the beta weights reveals the extent to which each study characteristic would be expected to influence the observed overall effect size when controlling for the presence of the other variables. Thus,

Table 3  
Random Effects Regression Weights for Study Characteristics  
Associated With Effect Sizes

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$
Constant	0.172	.009	<.0001	.00
Participants' average age	−0.002	.001	.03	−.15
Participant acculturation level <sup>a</sup>				
Low	−0.107	.055	.05	−.14
Medium	−0.006	.026	.82	−.02
High	0.007	.023	.76	.02
Longitudinal design	−0.014	.039	.72	−.03
Measures of well-being <sup>b</sup>				
Mental health symptoms	−0.093	.030	.002	−.22
Self-esteem	0.075	.019	.0001	.27
Global well-being	0.081	.037	.03	.15

<sup>a</sup> Contrasted with studies not reporting information on participant acculturation level. <sup>b</sup> Contrasted with multidimensional measures of well-being.

when studies use measures of mental health the expected effect size would be  $r = .079$  (.172 less the beta weight of  $-.093$ ), when studies use measures of self-esteem the expected effect size would be  $r = .247$  (.172 + .075), and when studies use measures of well-being the expected effect size would be  $r = .253$  (.172 + .081). In the presence of the other variables, study design (cross-sectional vs. longitudinal) no longer predicted effect size magnitude, and low levels of participant acculturation (but not medium or high levels) explained differences in effect size magnitude.

## Discussion

This meta-analysis synthesized contemporary research examining the relationship between the construct of ethnic identity (the degree to which individuals perceive themselves as being included and aligned with an ethnic group) and personal well-being among people of color residing in North America. The overall findings demonstrated a modest positive relationship between the two constructs ( $r = .17$ ). This result is consistent with previous conclusions that although ethnic identity is consistently positively related to measures of well-being, it accounts for a small proportion of variance (Phinney, 1992; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990; Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997; Roberts et al., 1999). Even after we considered possible qualifications of the statistics (e.g., Ozer, 1985), 97% of the variance remains unexplained (coefficient of nontermination). Ethnic identity may be highly salient for many people of color, but many other factors influence their well-being.

Several contributions of the present meta-analysis came to light from the analyses of possible moderating variables. First, the association between ethnic identity and well-being did not differ as a function of several participant characteristics: race, gender, education level, and socioeconomic status. The association of ethnic identity with well-being remains consistent but modest across those conditions.

Second, because the vast majority of research studies in the field (and 69% of the studies in this meta-analysis) measured ethnic identity with the MEIM (Phinney, 1992), it was essential to confirm that the results of studies using that instrument were similar to those of studies using other measures. The data supported that

conclusion: The results obtained with the MEIM did not differ from those obtained with other instruments. The results of this meta-analysis may therefore represent the broad construct of ethnic identity, not merely the MEIM's operationalization of that construct.

Third, studies with younger participants tended to have average effect sizes of slightly greater magnitude than did studies with participants over the age of 40 years. This finding could indicate that a strong ethnic identity benefits adolescents and young adults more than older adults (e.g., Yip et al., 2008). Middle-aged and older adults may base their well-being on factors besides ethnic identity, or their ethnic identity may be better established, such that it is taken for granted in the broad context of well-being. Although Erikson (1959/1980) and other identity theorists (Berzonsky, 1989; Grotevant, 1987) emphasized that identity formation is a lifelong process, it is nonetheless most critical for adolescents and young adults (Berman et al., 2001; Erikson, 1959/1980; Marcia et al., 1993). Nevertheless, because relatively few studies examined middle-aged and older adults, the lower magnitude of the results observed in this meta-analysis among research participants over 40 years of age will require subsequent confirmation through future studies of those populations (Tsai et al., 2002).

Fourth, the level of participant acculturation moderated the results of the meta-analysis. The relationship between ethnic identity and well-being was minimal in five studies with participants for whom there was strong evidence of low acculturation to Western society (i.e., recent immigrants/refugees). Because individuals with low levels of acculturation tend to have ethnically homogeneous social networks (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001) their ethnic identity may be taken for granted and remain a psychologically passive construct, despite high absolute levels of in-group identification (Phinney, 2006). Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) would posit that a group would need to experience contrast (opposition/oppression) for ethnic identity to be activated as a coping strategy, but recent immigrants who reside in ethnic enclaves or, oppositely, who actively seek assimilation (i.e., try to fit in to mainstream society and minimize their differences) may not initially activate ethnic identity as a coping strategy. Nevertheless, theories of acculturation (Berry, 2003) emphasize that multiple processes influence the affirmation of one's own ethnicity and its relevance to well-being, such that an accurate interpretation of our finding would require a more detailed understanding of the participants' contexts than is possible in a meta-analysis. Future research will be needed to clarify the relationship between ethnic identity and well-being as a function of acculturation. In any case, the fact that only five studies investigated low acculturated samples limits confidence in the finding, which could be attributable to sampling error.

Finally, this meta-analysis revealed large differences across the results of studies based on the aspect of well-being evaluated. Ethnic identity was consistently associated with measures of self-esteem and well-being, but it was not as strongly related to measures of mental health symptoms, such as depression or anxiety. It is possible that ethnic identity is related to positive personal attributes and perceptions but does not directly buffer against distress or mental illness. It may be that mental health disorders are influenced so strongly by other factors (i.e., coping skills, neurological functioning, socialization) that the contribution of ethnic identity is meager by comparison. Although some have hoped that

a strong ethnic identity would protect against psychopathology (Suzuki, Alexander, Lin, & Duffy, 2006), the data seem to indicate that ethnic identity is largely independent of mental health symptoms and subjective feelings of distress.

### Implications for Future Research

Ethnic identity is a complex concept (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Hundreds of studies have been conducted on the topic, but this meta-analysis demonstrates that many questions remain regarding the influence of ethnic identity in the lives of people of color. For instance, over many years the consistent positive associations observed between ethnic identity and well-being have led many scholars in the field to assume that a strong ethnic identity contributes to personal well-being. Although this remains a plausible explanation, we cannot currently provide evidence of causality; all but two of the 184 studies in this meta-analysis reported correlational data, but none involved experimental designs. The finding that ethnic identity may not buffer against mental illness, although it has been widely expected to do so, indicates a need for greater clarity regarding its exact influence. For instance, does strength of ethnic identity primarily reflect positive socialization within one's social network and family of origin (Hughes et al, 2008), such that it is actually positive socialization (e.g., close family ties and strong social networks) rather than strength of ethnic identity that is primarily responsible for increased well-being? Future studies that control for socialization factors (i.e., social skills, quality of familial and peer relations, institutional/organizational involvement) could begin to isolate the independent contribution of ethnic identity affirmation (e.g., Supple, Ghazarian, Frabutt, Plunkett, & Sands, 2006).

Much of the research on ethnic identity has already focused on adolescence (Fuligni et al., 2005; Phinney, 1989; Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997; Roberts et al., 1999). However, as has been pointed out by developmental theorists (e.g., Quintana, 2007), little research has explicitly evaluated relevant developmental processes over time. How does the psychological relevance of ethnic identity change over the life span, and for what reasons? Longitudinal studies tracking changes across the life span and qualitative research exploring the meaning of ethnic identity for different age cohorts may help to illuminate some of these issues (Phinney & Ong, 2007; Ponterotto & Park-Taylor, 2007). Future research can also verify whether the contribution of ethnic identity to well-being differs as a function of individuals' stage of identity development by using direct measures rather than merely using participant age. It would also be useful to simultaneously evaluate conceptually related variables such as (a) ego strength, (b) cognitive complexity, (c) racial forgiveness (Quintana, 2007), and (d) worldview inclusiveness. Understanding which specific components of development mediate the association of ethnic identity with well-being should have direct implications for improving the efficacy of initiatives designed to promote well-being.

In addition to exploring changes in ethnic identity over the life span, research might profitably involve explicit contrasts between different situations (i.e., low vs. high racial discrimination, low vs. high interracial cooperation) in which the psychological functions of ethnic identity may differ. Because ethnic identity may exacerbate the distress of ethnic discrimination (Yoo & Lee, 2008), it seems essential to give greater research attention to the *functions*

of ethnic identity. What motives do individuals ascribe to their ethnic self-identification and how do those motives change across settings? Are the functions of ethnic identity conditional upon stable interaction patterns? How do local versus macro intergroup dynamics influence ethnic identity (Phinney, 2000; Tsai et al., 2002)? Qualitative research studies have documented interactions between ethnic identity and context (e.g., Inman, Howard, Beaumont, & Walker, 2007), but quantitative research should now more explicitly evaluate differences across settings (e.g., Umaña-Taylor, 2004).

Previous research clearly indicates that ethnic identity is multidimensional (Atkinson et al., 1998; Phinney & Ong, 2007; Ruiz, 1990; Umaña-Taylor, 2004). However, the present meta-analysis included data that most often operationalized the construct unidimensionally (i.e., total MEIM scores). Although some evidence questions the underlying assumptions for different theoretical stages/statuses (Quintana, 2007), it would be important for future research to ascertain to what degree the linear relationships with well-being vary across qualitatively different statuses (e.g., exploration, moratorium) and components of identity (e.g., attitudinal, behavioral). According to Phinney, 1996, "Various components of ethnic identity relate differently to psychological outcomes" (p. 923). Future quantitative research could parse differences in individuals' experiences of ethnic identity that are explicit in only a few contemporary research studies (e.g., Yoo & Lee, 2008).

One of the most pressing areas for future inquiry concerns the association between ethnic identity and mental health symptoms, including subjective distress. The meta-analytic data showed this association to be of low magnitude. However, the vast majority of studies included in the meta-analysis involved normal members of communities; hence, a restriction of range in measures of psychopathology may have artificially attenuated the magnitude of the observed correlations. Even though the results of the few studies including at-risk or clinical samples did not differ from those using normal community members, the small number of clinical studies does limit our certainty about the interpretation of the data. Research might productively focus on identifying the situations in which a strong ethnic identity protects against depression and anxiety.

### Implications for Practice

This systematic review of research provides information that can be helpful to psychotherapy and to primary (preventative) interventions. Ethnic identity is frequently a "central defining characteristic" (Phinney, 2000, p. 255) for people of color. Nevertheless, the association of ethnic identity with well-being was found to be highly variable (range  $r = -.18$  to  $r = .57$ ). Rather than assume anything about the relevance of ethnic identity, therapists can explore clients' perceptions of well-being and ethnic identity. To minimize possible misinterpretations of their clients' perceptions, therapists can also explore their own ethnic identity and encourage similar exploration among students and supervisees (Ponterotto & Park-Taylor, 2007).

How clients express their ethnic identity could reflect acquired self-affirmation skills and coping strategies. Knowing these skills and strategies would help a therapist to match interventions to existing client strengths. Alternatively, how individuals manifest their ethnic identity can also reveal circumstantial constraints

impacting clients' attitudes and behaviors. Awareness of when their ethnicity becomes most salient for clients can shed light on important contextual considerations (e.g., Tsai et al., 2002). For example, in what ways does openly affirming one's ethnic identity result in objectification or distress? How does ethnic-specific socialization foster a sense of control in response to a local climate of marginalization? Viewing ethnic identity qualitatively, explicitly accounting for the range of ecological contexts (Neville & Mobley, 2001), should not only help therapists to better understand their clients (Trimble, 2007) but also enhance the therapeutic alliance and improve client outcomes (Atkinson, Bui, & Mori, 2001). Mental health interventions are most effective when they reflect the specific cultural experiences of the client (Griner & Smith, 2006; T. B. Smith, 2010).

### Strengths and Limitations of the Meta-Analysis

Meta-analysis is a useful method by which a body of empirical research can be evaluated. The aggregation of the results of numerous studies increases the sample size of observations and decreases the standard error of the estimates. Meta-analytic results provide statistical estimates that are less biased than those for individual studies or narrative literature reviews (Cook & Leviton, 1982; Cooper, 1998). Meta-analysis also enables the researcher to analyze the impact of specific variables across studies with considerable precision (Lipsey & Wilson, 2001). In this meta-analysis, 184 studies with a total of 41,626 participants were evaluated, providing greater breadth of coverage than any previous review of the relationship between ethnic identity and well-being.

Of course, meta-analysis has several limitations. First, only studies with quantitative findings can be included (Lipsey & Wilson, 2001). Case studies and qualitative research that provide indispensable insights on the topic require a separate systematic review. Second, the overall results of the meta-analysis depend on the methodological rigor and the philosophical/theoretical assumptions of the studies included in the meta-analysis (Cooper, 1998; Cooper & Hedges, 1994; Matt & Navarro, 1997). Our meta-analytic results have exposed a need for studies that go beyond reporting bivariate correlations, so future results may differ as methodology becomes more refined. Our results cannot speak to theoretical issues, but the field is currently attending to that arena (Ponterotto & Park-Taylor, 2007), albeit with a heavy emphasis on measurement rather than clinical considerations. Third, meta-analyses cannot adequately control for systematic threats to internal or external validity already present in the literature. For instance, systematic selection of easily accessible participants (i.e., students) could potentially misrepresent the nature of the relationship between ethnic identity and well-being for other populations. Because much of the research reviewed here consisted of unpublished doctoral dissertations, other systematic sources of bias may be present (i.e., inadequate conceptualization or inconsistent procedures). A fourth limitation of meta-analysis is that it is essentially descriptive; causal relationships cannot be demonstrated. For instance, our analyses did not address whether ethnic identity buffers against ethnic discrimination. Future comparative, multi-level, and intervention studies can refine interpretation of the specific psychological functions of ethnic identity.

### Conclusion

Over the past two decades the construct of ethnic identity has received sustained attention in the psychological research literature. The aggregate results of 184 studies conclusively demonstrate that ethnic identity is modestly salient to the self-esteem and well-being of people of color. Nevertheless, (a) the magnitude of the association is highly variable and (b) positive ethnic identity does not appear to diminish personal distress or reduce symptoms of psychopathology at the aggregate level. This latter finding may be due to increased susceptibility to distress under conditions of ethnic discrimination (Yip et al., 2008; Yoo & Lee, 2008), but a larger perspective is that mental illness is influenced by multiple factors, of which strength of ethnic self-identification is only one.

In any event, the findings of this review raise questions about possible multiple paths of causal influence. For instance, does ethnic identity enhance self-esteem, or do people of color with high self-esteem value their ethnicity? Until now the field has focused primarily on ethnic identity itself, without detailed consideration of how related factors that facilitate well-being (i.e., ego strength, social skills, strength of interpersonal networks, family cohesion, community/organizational involvement) may simultaneously promote ethnic identity development. Studies of this nature may shed additional light on causal considerations, as well as optimal forms of mental health intervention more deeply congruent with client ethnic identity (Trimble, 2007). We anticipate research that addresses these considerations to better promote well-being and mental health among historically oppressed peoples.

### References

- References marked with an asterisk indicate studies included in the meta-analysis.
- \*Adams, J. L. (1997). *Multiracial identity development: Developmental correlates and themes among multiracial adults*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University.
  - Adams, G. R., & Marshall, S. (1996). A developmental social psychology of identity: Understanding the person in context. *Journal of Adolescence*, 19, 429–442. doi:10.1006/jado.1996.0041
  - \*Adelabu, D. H. (2008). Future time perspective, hope, and ethnic identity among African American adolescents. *Urban Education*, 43, 347–360. doi:10.1177/0042085907311806
  - \*Ali, M. (2006). *Impact of acculturation, ethnic identity, religiosity, and individual difference variables on the subjective well-being of Pakistani Muslims in the United States*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Southern Illinois University.
  - Amiot, C., de la Sablonnière, R., Terry, D., & Smith, J. (2007). Integration of social identities in the self: Toward a cognitive-developmental model. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 11, 364–388. doi:10.1177/1088868307304091
  - \*Asner, K. K. (1999). *Predictors of mental health among Central American immigrants*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, George Washington University.
  - Atkinson, D. R., Bui, U., & Mori, S. (2001). Multiculturally sensitive empirically supported treatments: An oxymoron? In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (2nd ed., pp. 542–574). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
  - Atkinson, D. R., Morten, G., & Sue, D. W. (1998). *Counseling American minorities*. Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill.



- \*Bacho, R. (1997). *Effects of acculturation, ethnic identity commitment, and family coping on Filipino American family matrons' severity of psychological symptoms and attitudes toward mental health services*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Florida State University.
- \*Barry, D. T. (2000). *East Asians in America: Relationships between ethnic identity, self-construal, mental health, and acculturation patterns in East Asian immigrants in the United States*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Toledo.
- \*Basurto, R. (1995). *The relationship of ethnic identity to self-esteem and stress as a function of perceived discrimination among Mexican Americans*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, California School of Professional Psychology, Los Angeles.
- Begg, C. B. (1994). Publication bias. In H. Cooper & L. V. Hedges (Eds.), *The handbook of research synthesis* (pp. 399–409). New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- \*Beiser, M. N., & Hou, F. (2006). Ethnic identity, resettlement stress and depressive affect among Southeast Asian refugees in Canada. *Social Science and Medicine*, 63, 137–150. doi:10.1016/j.socscimed.2005.12.002
- Berman, A. M., Schwartz, S. J., Kurtines, W. M., & Berman, S. L. (2001). The process of exploration in identity formation: The role of style and competence. *Journal of Adolescence*, 24, 513–528. doi:10.1006/jado.2001.0386
- Berry, J. W. (2003). Conceptual approaches to understanding acculturation. In K. M. Chun, P. B. Organista, & G. Marín (Eds.), *Acculturation: Advances in theory, measurement, and applied research* (pp. 17–38). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Berzonsky, M. D. (1989). Identity style: Conceptualization and measurement. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 4, 268–282. doi:10.1177/074355488943002
- \*Bhadha, B. R. (2001). *Effects of parenting style and ethnic identity on European American and Asian Indian adolescents' academic competence and self-esteem*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California, Los Angeles.
- \*Bhargava, A. (2007). *Testing sociocultural and ethnocultural models of eating disorder symptomatology in Asian Indian-American women*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Washington State University.
- \*Biggs, M. A. (1998). *Puerto Rican adolescents' cultural orientation: Contextual determinants and psychosocial outcomes*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Boston University.
- \*Blash, R. R., & Unger, D. G. (1995). Self-concept of African-American male youth: Self-esteem and ethnic identity. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 4, 359–373. doi:10.1007/BF02233968
- \*Bosarge, J. S. (2007). *Burnout, coping styles, and ethnic identity: A study of Mexican American school counselors*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, New Mexico State University—Las Cruces.
- \*Bracey, J. R., Bamaca, M. Y., & Umana-Taylor, A. J. (2004). Examining ethnic identity and self-esteem among biracial and monoracial adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 33, 123–132. doi:10.1023/B:JOYO.0000013424.93635.68
- \*Bruner, L. P. (2004). *Understanding life satisfaction among Korean American adults: A stress and coping approach*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Georgia State University.
- Burlew, A. (2000). Ethnic and racial identity: Racial identity. In A. E. Kazdin (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of psychology* (Vol. 3, pp. 259–263). doi:10.1037/10518-123
- \*Byers, L. G. (2005). *Depression, discrimination, trauma, and American Indian ethnic identity*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Washington University.
- \*Canabal, I. (1995). *Latino group identities, collective and personal self-esteem*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Maryland, Baltimore.
- \*Carlson, C., Uppal, S., & Prosser, E. C. (2000). Ethnic differences in processes contributing to the self-esteem of early adolescent girls. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 20, 44–67. doi:10.1177/0272431600020001003
- \*Carter, M. M., Sbrocco, T., Lewis, E. L., & Friedman, E. K. (2001). Parental bonding and anxiety: Differences between African American and European American college students. *Journal of Anxiety Disorders*, 15, 555–569. doi:10.1016/S0887-6185(01)00081-0
- \*Carter, M. M., Sbrocco, T., Miller, O., Suchday, S., Lewis, E. L., & Freedman, R. E. K. (2005). Factor structure, reliability, and validity of the Penn State Worry Questionnaire: Differences between African-American and White-American college students. *Anxiety Disorders*, 19, 827–843. doi:10.1016/j.janxdis.2004.11.001
- \*Chang, T. (1999). *The relation of cognitive complexity to ethnic identity and adjustment*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
- \*Chapell, M. S. (1999). *Development of deductive reasoning, ethnic identity, and self-esteem in African American adolescents*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Temple University.
- \*Charlot-Swiley, D. (1997). *The centrality of mutuality, Africentric values, and ethnic identity on the socio-emotional functioning of adolescent girls*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Howard University.
- \*Chatman, J. D. (2006). *Risk and resiliency among inner city minority adolescents: A study of coping and ethnic identity*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.
- \*Chow, J. (2003). *The relationship of racial, ethnic, and gender identity attitudes to indicators of mental health and self-esteem of Asian American women*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Indiana University Bloomington.
- \*Christensen, M. L. (1999). *The role of ethnic identity and family support in the psychological well-being of American Indian elders: A comparison of men and women in reservation and urban settings*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Loyola University, Chicago.
- \*Cislo, A. M. (2008). Ethnic identity and self-esteem: Contrasting Cuban and Nicaraguan young adults. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 30, 230–250. doi:10.1177/0739986308315297
- Cokley, K. (2005). Racial(ized) identity, ethnic identity, and Afrocentric values: Conceptual and methodological challenges in understanding African American identity. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 52, 517–526. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.52.4.517
- Cook, T. D., & Leviton, L. (1982). Reviewing the literature: A comparison of traditional methods with meta-analysis. *Journal of Personality*, 48, 449–472. doi:10.1111/j.1467-6494.1980.tb02379.x
- Cooper, H. (1998). *Synthesizing research: A guide for literature reviews* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Cooper, H., & Hedges, L. V. (Eds.). (1994). *The handbook of research synthesis*. New York, NY: Russell Sage.
- \*Creagh-Kaiser, M. G. (2003). *The influence of ethnic identity, gender and trait anxiety on career decision-making self-efficacy for White and racial/ethnic minority students*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Seton Hall University.
- Cross, W. E., Jr. (1971). Negro-to-Black conversion experience: Toward a psychology of black liberation. *Black World*, 20, 13–27.
- Cross, W. E., Jr., & Cross, T. B. (2008). Theory, research, and models. In S. Quintana & C. McKown (Eds.), *Handbook of race, racism, and child development* (pp. 154–181). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- \*Daniels, D. D. (2004). *Psycho-social predictors of academic success for urban African American adolescents*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Loyola University Chicago.
- \*Dejud, C. (2007). *The relationship among ethnic identity, psychological well-being, academic achievement, and intergroup competence of school-age Hispanic/Latino youth*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Arizona.
- \*Delva, S. (2005). *Exploring the relation of ethnic identity and biculturality on the psychological well-being of second-generation Haitians*.



- Unpublished doctoral dissertation, New Mexico State University—Las Cruces.
- \*Des Jardins, K. S. (1996). *Racial/ethnic identity development and self-concept in adopted Korean women*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Boston University.
- \*Diwan, S., Jonnalagadda, S. S., & Balaswamy, S. (2004). Resources predicting positive and negative affect during the experience of stress: A study of older Asian Indian immigrants in the United States. *Gerontologist*, 44, 605–614.
- \*Dixon, A. L. (2002). *The relationship among ethnic identity, acculturation, mattering, and wellness in minority and non-minority adolescents*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of North Carolina at Greensboro.
- \*Do, V. T. (2006). *Asian American men and the media: The relationship between ethnic identity, self-esteem, and the endorsement of stereotypes*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Alliant International University, Los Angeles.
- \*Douglas, A. N. (2004). *Dissociation as coping: An examination of ethnic differences and race-related stress*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Connecticut, Storrs.
- Du Bois, W. E. B. (1903). *The souls of black folk*. Chicago, IL: McClure.
- Duval, S., & Tweedie, R. (2000). Trim and fill: A simple funnel-plot based method of testing and adjusting for publication bias in meta-analysis. *Biometrics*, 56, 455–463. doi:10.1111/j.0006-341X.2000.00455.x
- \*Edwards, L. M. (2003). *Factors contributing to subjective well-being in Mexican American adolescents*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Kansas.
- \*Elek-Fisk, E. (1998). *The effect of the salience of ethnic or racial identifications and group security on outgroup acceptance*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, State University of New York, Stony Brook.
- \*Eng, M. (1982). *Toward a general paradigm of majority-minority relationships: An exploratory analysis of the relationship of locus of control and individual-system blame attribution to personality characteristics, Chinese American ethnic identity, and psychological symptomatology*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Wright Institute, Berkeley, CA.
- Erikson, E. H. (1980). *Identity and the life cycle*. New York, NY: International Universities Press. (Original work published 1959)
- Fanon, F. (1963). *The wretched of the earth*. New York, NY: Grove Press.
- Fanon, F. (1967). *Black skins, white masks*. New York, NY: Grove Press.
- \*Farver, J. M., Narang, S. K., & Bhadha, B. R. (2002). East meets West: Ethnic identity, acculturation, and conflict in Asian Indian families. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 16, 338–350. doi:10.1037/0893-3200.16.3.338
- \*Foster, K. (2004). *The relations between well-being, attitudinal and behavioral factors across three Black identity orientations: assimilated, Afrocentric, and multicultural*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, City University of New York.
- \*French, S. E. (2002). *The development of racial and ethnic identity and its relationship to self-esteem among urban adolescents*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University.
- Fulligni, A. J., Witkow, M., & Garcia, C. (2005). Ethnic identity and the academic adjustment of adolescents from Mexican, Chinese, and European backgrounds. *Developmental Psychology*, 41, 799–811. doi:10.1037/0012-1649.41.5.799
- \*Gamst, G., Dana, R. H., Der-Karabetian, A., Aragon, M., Arellano, L. M., & Kramer, T. (2002). Effects of Latino acculturation and ethnic identity on mental health outcomes. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 24, 479–504. doi:10.1177/0739986302238216
- \*Gamst, G., Herdina, A., Mondragon, E., Munguia, F., Pleitez, A., Stephens, H., & Vo, D. (2006). Relationship among respondent ethnicity, ethnic identity, acculturation, and homeless status on a homeless population's functional status. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 62, 1485–1501. doi:10.1002/jclp.20323
- \*Gaudet, S., Clement, R., & Deuzeman, K. (2005). Daily hassles, ethnic identity and psychological adjustment among Lebanese-Canadians. *International Journal of Psychology*, 40, 157–168. doi:10.1080/00207590444000267
- \*Gaylord-Harden, N. K., Ragsdale, B. L., Mandara, J., Richards, M. H., & Petersen, A. C. (2007). Perceived support and internalizing symptoms in African American adolescents: Self-esteem and ethnic identity as mediators. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 36, 77–88. doi:10.1007/s10964-006-9115-9
- \*Gilmore, T. E. (2000). *Influence of shame, female identity, and ethnic identity on body image across women's life span*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, CA.
- \*Gloria, A. M., & Hird, J. S. (1999). Influences of ethnic and nonethnic variables on the career decision-making self-efficacy of college students. *Career Development Quarterly*, 48, 157–174.
- \*Gong, L. (2007). Ethnic identity and identification with the majority group: Relations with national identity and self-esteem. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 31, 503–523. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2007.03.002
- \*Gonzalez, N. (2003). *Ethnic identity and peer attachment: Factors associated with the adjustment of Latino college freshmen*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, State University of New York, Albany.
- \*Goodstein, R., & Ponterotto, J. G. (1997). Racial and ethnic identity: Their relationship and their contribution to self-esteem. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 23, 275–292. doi:10.1177/00957984970233009
- \*Gotowiec, A. P. (1999). *Ethnic identity and self-esteem in Native adolescents*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
- \*Graham, B. L. (2001). *Resilience among American Indian youth: First Nations' Youth Resilience Study*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.
- \*Greene, M. A. (1997). *Biculturalism and mental health among Mexican American adolescents*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Temple University.
- Griner, D., & Smith, T. B. (2006). Culturally adapted mental health interventions: A meta-analytic review. *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, Practice, Training*, 43, 531–548. doi:10.1037/0033-3204.43.4.531
- Grotevant, H. D. (1987). Toward a process model of identity formation. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 2, 203–222. doi:10.1177/074355488723003
- \*Harrison, P. M. (1997). *Racial identification and self-concept issues in biracial (Black/White) adolescent girls*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University.
- \*Hazen, S. L. H. (1994). *The relationship between ethnic/racial identity status and ego identity status*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, George Mason University.
- Hedges, L. V., & Vevea, J. L. (1998). Fixed- and random-effects models in meta-analysis. *Psychological Methods*, 3, 486–504. doi:10.1037/1082-989X.3.4.486
- Helms, J. E. (1984). Toward a theoretical explanation of the effects of race on counseling: A Black and White model. *Counseling Psychologist*, 12, 153–165. doi:10.1177/0011000084124013
- Helms, J. E. (1990). *Black and White racial identity: Theory, research, and practice*. New York, NY: Greenwood Press.
- Helms, J. E. (2007). Some better practices for measuring racial and ethnic identity constructs. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 54, 235–246. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.54.3.235
- Helms, J. E., & Talleyrand, R. (1997). Race is not ethnicity. *American Psychologist*, 52, 1246–1247. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.52.11.1246
- Hoffman, R. (2006). Gender self-definition and gender self-acceptance in women: Intersections with feminist, womanist, and ethnic identities. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 84, 358–372.
- \*Holmes, K. J. (2007). *The effects of religiosity and ethnic identity on*

- African American preadolescent aggression*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa.
- \*Hovey, J. D., Kim, S. E., & Seligman, L. D. (2006). The influences of cultural values, ethnic identity, and language use on the mental health of Korean American college students. *Journal of Psychology, 140*, 499–511. doi:10.3200/JRPL.140.5.499-511
- Hughes, D., Hagelskamp, C., Way, N., & Foust, M. (2009). The role of mothers' and adolescents' perceptions of ethnic-racial socialization in shaping ethnic-racial identity among early adolescent boys and girls. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 38*, 605–626.
- Hughes, D., Rivas, D., Foust, M., Hagelskamp, C., Gersick, S., & Way, N. (2008). How to catch a moonbeam: A mixed-methods approach to understanding ethnic socialization in ethnically diverse families. In S. Quintana & C. McKown (Eds.), *Handbook of race, racism, and child development* (pp. 226–277). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Inman, A., Howard, E., Beaumont, R., & Walker, J. (2007). Cultural transmission: Influence of contextual factors in Asian Indian immigrant parents' experiences. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 54*, 93–100. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.54.1.93
- \*Inoue, S. (1997). *Coping with oppression among Japanese American women: Cross-cultural comparisons of coping, cognitive appraisal, ethnic identity, and feminist identity*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, California School of Professional Psychology, Alameda.
- \*Iwamoto, D. K. (2007). *The role of racial identity, ethnic identity, and Asian values as mediators of perceived discrimination and psychological well-being among Asian American college students*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Nebraska–Lincoln.
- \*Iyer, D. S. (2000). *The contribution of racial teasing and cultural identification in the development of eating pathology in South Asian women*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, New School University.
- \*Jo, H. (1998). *The influence of African American urban high school students' ethnic identity and coping strategies on academic involvement and psychological adjustment*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University.
- \*Jones, J. E. (1999). *Multiethnic identity development, psychological adjustment, and parental attachment in adolescence*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Adelphi University.
- \*Jones, M. D., & Galliher, R. V. (2007). Ethnic identity and psychosocial functioning in Navajo adolescents. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 17*, 683–696.
- \*Joseph, T. X. (1994). *The influence of stages of ethnic identification on evaluations of pre-counseling orientation presentations*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Fairleigh Dickinson University.
- \*Juang, L. P., Nguyen, H. H., & Lin, Y. (2006). The ethnic identity, other-group attitudes, and psychosocial functioning of Asian American emerging adults from two contexts. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 21*, 542–568. doi:10.1177/0743558406291691
- \*Kamins, D. J. (2003). *Acculturation and ethnic identity: Correlates of perceived attractiveness, body image, and eating behaviors among Latinas*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Alliant International University, San Francisco, CA.
- \*Kaneshiro, E. N. (1996). *Multiculturalism and the model minority: Japanese Americans' ethnic identity and psychosocial adjustment*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Claremont Graduate School.
- \*Kaslow, N. J., Price, A. W., Wyckoff, S., Grall, M. B., Sherry, A., Young, S., . . . Bethea, K. (2004). Person factors associated with suicidal behavior among African American women and men. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology, 10*, 5–22. doi:10.1037/1099-9809.10.1.5
- \*Kauh, T. J. (2005). *Ethnic identity developmental process and outcome: Implications for the health and well-being of Asian American young adults*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Pennsylvania State University.
- \*Kekwaletswe, T. C. (2007). *Africentric values and ethnic identity as predictors of HIV risk behavior, substance use, and psychopathology among African American girls seeking outpatient psychiatric services*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Rosalind Franklin University of Medicine and Science.
- \*Kiang, L., Yip, T., Gonzales-Backen, M., Witkow, M., & Fuligni, A. J. (2006). Ethnic identity and the daily psychological well-being of adolescents from Mexican and Chinese backgrounds. *Child Development, 77*, 1338–1350. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8624.2006.00938.x
- \*Kim, G. S. (2006). *The co-construction of racial and ethnic identities and self-esteem in Asian American youth: Effects of belonging and exclusion*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Boston.
- \*Kim, S., & Rew, L. (1994). Ethnic identity, role integration, quality of life, and depression in Korean-American women. *Archives of Psychiatric Nursing, 8*, 348–356. doi:10.1016/0883-9417(94)90003-5
- \*Kim-Bae, L. S. (1999). *Cultural identity as a mediator of acculturative stress and psychological adjustment in Vietnamese American adolescents*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Arizona State University.
- \*Kwan, K. K. (1996). *Ethnic identity and cultural adjustment difficulties of Chinese Americans*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Nebraska, Lincoln.
- \*Lamborn, S. D., & Nguyen, D. T. (2004). African American adolescents' perceptions of family interactions: Kinship support, parent–child relationships, and teen adjustment. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 33*, 547–558. doi:10.1023/B:JOYO.0000048068.55441.d6
- \*Larson, L. A. (1995). *Black–White biracial adolescents: Ethnic identity, self-label, and adaptive functioning*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, California School of Professional Psychology, Los Angeles.
- \*Laurent, M. G. (1997). *Gender role conflict, cultural identity, and self-esteem among African-American men*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California.
- \*Lavish, L. A. (2007). *Global self-esteem as a mediating variable in the relationship between cultural process variables, perceived career barriers, and job procurement self-efficacy among American Indians*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Missouri–Kansas City.
- \*Lee, R. M. (2005). Resilience against discrimination: Ethnic identity and other-group orientation as protective factors for Korean Americans. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 52*, 36–44. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.52.1.36
- \*Lee, R. M., & Yoo, H. C. (2004). Structure and measurement of ethnic identity for Asian American college students. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 51*, 263–269. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.51.2.263
- \*Lee, S. (2001). *Impact of ethnic identity on psychological well-being among Korean Americans in the United States*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, State University of New York at Albany.
- \*Lewis, C. M. (1997). *Gifted Asian American adolescent females*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, California School of Professional Psychology, Los Angeles.
- \*Lewis, D. K. (1998). *Kinship, self-concept, and self-identity: Roles in racial identity, spirituality, and psychopathology in African American and Caucasian American women*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Virginia Commonwealth University.
- \*Lopez, I. (2005). *"I feel pretty, oh so pretty": Ethnic identity, phenotype, and adjustment among mainland Puerto Rican women*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Kent State University.
- \*Lorenzo-Hernandez, J., & Ouellette, S. C. (1998). Ethnic identity, self-esteem, and values in Dominicans, Puerto Ricans, and African Americans. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 28*, 2007–2024. doi:10.1111/j.1559-1816.1998.tb01358.x
- Marcia, J. E., Waterman, A. S., Matteson, D. R., Archer, S. L., & Orlofsky, J. L. (1993). *Ego identity: A handbook for psychosocial research*. New York, NY: Springer-Verlag.
- Matt, G. E., & Navarro, A. M. (1997). What meta-analyses have and have not taught us about psychotherapy effects: A review and future directions. *Clinical Psychology Review, 17*, 1–32. doi:10.1016/S0272-7358(96)00042-6

- May, R., & Yalom, I. (2005). Existential psychotherapy. In R. J. Corsini & D. Wedding (Eds.), *Current psychotherapies* (7th ed., pp. 269–298). Belmont, CA: Thompson Brooks.
- McCoy, S., & Major, B. (2003). Group identification moderates emotional responses to perceived prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 29, 1005–1017. doi:10.1177/0146167203253466
- \*McCubbin, L. D. (2003). *Resilience among native Hawaiian adolescents: Ethnic identity, psychological distress, and well-being*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin–Madison.
- \*McDuffie, K. Y. (1997). *Social support, community involvement, and ethnic identity development in African American adolescents with mild cognitive disabilities*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Alabama, Birmingham.
- \*McKnight, L. R. (2003). *Depressive symptoms, coping, and ethnic identity in African American college women*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Virginia.
- \*McMahon, S. D., & Watts, R. J. (2002). Ethnic identity in urban African American youth: Exploring links with self-worth, aggression, and other psychosocial variables. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 30, 411–431. doi:10.1002/jcop.10013
- \*Mohanty, J., Keokse, G., & Sales, E. (2006). Family cultural socialization, ethnic identity, and self-esteem: Web-based survey of international adult adoptees. *Journal of Ethnic & Cultural Diversity in Social Work*, 15, 153–172. doi:10.1300/J051v15n03\_07
- \*Mukoyama, T. H. J. (1998). *Effects of heritage combination on ethnic identity, self-esteem, and adjustment among American biethnic adults*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, California School of Professional Psychology, Los Angeles.
- Mullen, B. (1989). *Advanced basic meta-analysis*. Hillside, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Myers, H. (2009). Ethnicity- and socio-economic status-related stresses in context: An integrative review and conceptual model. *Journal of Behavioral Medicine*, 32, 9–19.
- \*Nagara, A. (2005). *Psychological health and mental health services utilization in Asian Indians in the United States*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Central Michigan University.
- \*Negy, C., Shreve, T. L., Jensen, B. J., & Uddin, N. (2003). Ethnic identity, self-esteem, and ethnocentrism: A study of social identity versus multicultural theory of development. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 9, 333–344. doi:10.1037/1099-9809.9.4.333
- Neville, H., & Mobley, M. (2001). Social identities in contexts: An ecological model of multicultural counseling psychology processes. *Counseling Psychologist*, 29, 471–486. doi:10.1177/0011000001294001
- \*Newman, D. L., Sontag, L. M., & Salvato, R. (2006). Psychosocial aspects of body mass and body image among rural American Indian adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 35, 281–291. doi:10.1007/s10964-005-9011-8
- \*Newsom, K. C. (2004). *The relationship between ethnic identity development and self-concept of African American preadolescent youth*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Kentucky.
- \*Northwood, A. K. (1996). *Trauma exposure, post-traumatic symptoms, and identity in adolescent survivors of massive childhood trauma*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.
- \*O'Donnell, L., O'Donnell, C., Wardlaw, D. M., & Stueve, A. (2004). Risk and resiliency factors influencing suicidality among urban African American and Latino youth. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 33, 37–49. doi:10.1023/B:AJCP.0000014317.20704.0b
- Ong, A. D., Phinney, J. S., & Dennis, J. (2006). Competence under challenge: Exploring the protective influence of parental support and ethnic identity in Latino college students. *Journal of Adolescence*, 29, 961–979.
- \*Orellana, D. C. (2004). *Mediating and moderating processes in the relationship between sociocultural stress and mental health for Latina/o students at a predominately White university*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University.
- Outten, H., Schmitt, M., Garcia, D., & Branscombe, N. (2009). Coping options: Missing links between minority group identification and psychological well-being. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 58, 146–170.
- Ozer, D. (1985). Correlation and the coefficient of determination. *Psychological Bulletin*, 97, 307–315. doi:10.1037/0033-2909.97.2.307
- \*Pallock, L. L. (2003). *The importance of fitting in: An examination of the influence of coping with diversity and cultural identity on educational and psychological outcomes among adolescents in the United States and Kazakhstan*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin–Madison.
- \*Parisi, M. A. (1997). *Ethnic identity and its relationship to self-esteem and attitudes toward other ethnic groups*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Fordham University.
- \*Park-Adams, J. (1997). *The relationship between ethnic identity and psychological adjustment among Korean Americans*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, California School of Professional Psychology, Alameda.
- \*Paschall, M. J., & Flewelling, R. L. (1997). Measuring intermediate outcomes of violence prevention programs targeting African-American male youth: An exploratory assessment of the psychometric properties of six psychosocial measures. *Health Education Research*, 12, 117–128. doi:10.1093/her/12.1.117
- \*Perez, A. M. (1998). *Migration and mental health among Dominican immigrants living in New York City: A comparison of two migration-mental health models*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Fordham University.
- \*Petersons, M., Rojhani, A., Steinhaus, N., & Larkin, B. (2000). Effect of ethnic identity on attitudes, feelings, and behaviors toward food. *Eating Disorders*, 8, 207–219. doi:10.1080/10640260008251228
- \*Phan, T., & Tylla, T. L. (2006). Exploring a model and moderators of disordered eating with Asian American college women. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 53, 36–47. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.53.1.36
- \*Phillips, L. D. (1994). *Adolescent ethnic identity and adjustment: Relation to ethnic characteristics of the peer context*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Temple University.
- Phinney, J. S. (1989). Stages of ethnic identity development in minority group adolescents. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 9, 34–49. doi:10.1177/0272431689091004
- Phinney, J. S. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: A review of research. *Psychological Bulletin*, 108, 499–514.
- \*Phinney, J. S. (1992). The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure: A new scale for use with diverse groups. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 7, 156–176. doi:10.1177/074355489272003
- Phinney, J. S. (1996). When we talk about American ethnic groups, what do we mean? *American Psychologist*, 51, 918–927. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.51.9.918
- Phinney, J. S. (2000). Ethnic and racial identity: Ethnic identity. In A. E. Kazdin (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of psychology* (Vol. 3, pp. 254–259). doi:10.1037/10518-122
- Phinney, J. S. (2006). Ethnic identity exploration in emerging adulthood. In J. Arnett & J. Tanner (Eds.), *Emerging adults in America: Coming of age in the 21st century* (pp. 117–134). doi:10.1037/11381-005
- \*Phinney, J. S., & Alipuria, L. L. (1990). Ethnic identity in college students from four ethnic groups. *Journal of Adolescence*, 13, 171–183. doi:10.1016/0140-1971(90)90006-S
- \*Phinney, J. S., Cantu, C. L., & Kurtz, D. A. (1997). Ethnic and American identity as predictors of self-esteem among African American, Latino, and White adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 26, 165–185. doi:10.1023/A:1024500514834
- \*Phinney, J. S., & Chavira, V. (1992). Ethnic identity and self-esteem: An exploratory longitudinal study. *Journal of Adolescence*, 15, 271–281. doi:10.1016/0140-1971(92)90030-9
- \*Phinney, J. S., Ferguson, D. L., & Tate, J. D. (1997). Intergroup attitudes



- among ethnic minority adolescents: A causal model. *Child Development*, 68, 955–969. doi:10.2307/1132044
- Phinney, J. S., Horenczyk, G., Liebkind, K., & Vedder, P. (2001). Ethnic identity, immigration, and well-being: An interactional perspective. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57, 493–510. doi:10.1111/0022-4537.00225
- \*Phinney, J. S., Madden, T., & Santos, L. J. (1998). Psychological variables as predictors of perceived ethnic discrimination among minority and immigrant adolescents. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 28, 937–953. doi:10.1111/j.1559-1816.1998.tb01661.x
- Phinney, J. S., & Ong, A. (2007). Conceptualization and measurement of ethnic identity: Current status and future directions. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 54, 271–281. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.54.3.271
- \*Pittenger, S. M. (1998). *The relationship between ethnic identity, self-esteem, emotional well-being and depression among Lakota/Dakota Sioux adolescents*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Old Dominion University.
- Ponterotto, J., & Mallinckrodt, B. (2007). Introduction to the special section on racial and ethnic identity in counseling psychology: Conceptual and methodological challenges and proposed solutions. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 54, 219–223. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.54.3.219
- Ponterotto, J., & Park-Taylor, J. (2007). Racial and ethnic identity theory, measurement, and research in counseling psychology: Present status and future directions. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 54, 282–294. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.54.3.282
- \*Prelow, H. M., Bowman, M. A., & Weaver, S. R. (2007). Predictors of psychosocial well-being in urban African American and European American youth: The role of ecological factors. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 36, 543–553. doi:10.1007/s10964-006-9038-5
- \*Pugh-Lilly, A. O. (2000). *Understanding aggressive behavior in Black adolescent girls: An examination of causal attributions, perceptions of coping, problem-solving appraisal, self-esteem and ethnic identity*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Missouri—Columbia.
- \*Quinones, M. E. (1996). *Latina college students: The relationship among ethnic identity, acculturation, gender roles, and psychological well-being*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, City University of New York.
- Quintana, S. (2007). Racial and ethnic identity: Developmental perspectives and research. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 54, 259–270.
- \*Ramirez, R. L. (1997). *The relationship between acculturation, ethnic identity, and self-esteem of Midwest Mexican American university students*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin—Madison.
- \*Reddy, D. C. (2002). *The relationship of ethnic identity, acculturation, and psychological adjustment among Asian Indian immigrants*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Missouri—Kansas City.
- \*Resnicow, K., Soler, R. E., Braithwaite, R. L., Selassie, M. B., & Smith, M. (1999). Development of a racial and ethnic identity scale for African American adolescents: The Survey of Black Life. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 25, 171–188. doi:10.1177/0095798499025002003
- \*Rivas-Drake, D., Hughes, D., & Way, N. (2008). A closer look at peer discrimination, ethnic identity, and psychological well-being among urban Chinese American sixth graders. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 37, 12–21. doi:10.1007/s10964-007-9227-x
- \*Roberts, D. D. (1997). *Racial/ethnic identity as a buffer to discrimination among low-income African American adolescents: An examination of academic performance*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Temple University.
- \*Roberts, R. E., Phinney, J. S., Masse, L. C., Chen, Y. R., Roberts, C. R., & Romero, A. (1999). The structure of ethnic identity of young adolescents from diverse ethnocultural groups. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 19, 301–322. doi:10.1177/0272431699019003001
- Rogers, C. (1961). *On becoming a person*. Oxford, England: Houghton Mifflin.
- \*Romero, A. J., & Roberts, R. E. (2003). The impact of multiple dimensions of ethnic identity on discrimination and adolescents' self-esteem. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 33, 2288–2305. doi:10.1111/j.1559-1816.2003.tb01885.x
- \*Rosario, J. (1999). *Puerto Rican youth "at risk": Impact of ethnic identity and self-esteem on academic success*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Pace University.
- \*Rosen, M. C. (2004). *Beyond body dissatisfaction: The relationship among attachment, self-esteem, body dissatisfaction and ethnic identity in Asian American and European American women*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Alliant International University, Los Angeles.
- Ruiz, A. (1990). Ethnic identity: Crisis and resolution. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 18, 29–40.
- \*Ryu, J. (2004). *The relationship between ethnic identity and self-esteem of academically high-achieving Korean American adolescents*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University.
- \*Saavedra, R. (1994). *Alienation of Latino medical students: The effect of acculturation, ethnic identity, and minority student stressors*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Houston.
- \*Santana, E. (1994). *Interaction effects between ethnic identity and academic achievement among adolescent ethnic minorities*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- \*Sasson, S. (2001). The impact of ethnic identity upon the adjustment and satisfaction of Jewish and African American residents in a long-term care facility. *Social Work in Health Care*, 33, 89–104. doi:10.1300/J010v33n02\_06
- \*Schmidt, C. (2006). *Racial/ethnic identity formation and ego development*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Washington State University.
- \*Schneider, M. E. (1995). *How ethnic identity functions as a group identity to affect self-esteem*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, State University of New York, Buffalo.
- \*Schwartz, S. J., Zamboanga, B. L., & Jarvis, L. H. (2007). Ethnic identity and acculturation in Hispanic early adolescents: Mediated relationships to academic grades, prosocial behaviors, and externalizing symptoms. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 13, 364–373. doi:10.1037/1099-9809.13.4.364
- Sellers, R., & Shelton, J. (2003). The role of racial identity in perceived racial discrimination. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84, 1079–1092. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.84.5.1079
- \*Setty, P. (2006). *Relationship between ethnic identity and self-esteem in second-generation Asian Indians*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Chicago School of Professional Psychology.
- \*Shibasaki, K. (1999). *Ethnic identity, acculturation, perceived discrimination, and college adjustment in Mexican Americans*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Texas Tech University.
- \*Shrake, E. K., & Rhee, S. (2004). Ethnic identity as a predictor of problem behaviors among Korean American adolescents. *Adolescence*, 39, 601–622.
- \*Siegel, J. M., Yancey, A., & McCarthy, W. J. (2000). Overweight and depressive symptoms among African-American women. *Preventive Medicine*, 31, 232–240. doi:10.1006/pmed.2000.0712
- \*Sieger, K., & Renk, K. (2007). Pregnant and parenting adolescents: A study of ethnic identity, emotional and behavioral functioning, child characteristics, and social support. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 36, 567–581. doi:10.1007/s10964-007-9182-6
- \*Smith, E. P., & Brookins, C. C. (1997). Toward the development of an ethnic identity measure for African American youth. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 23, 358–377. doi:10.1177/00957984970234004
- \*Smith, F. D. (2003). *Ethnic identity development among African American adolescents: The supportive contexts of family and peers*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Virginia.
- Smith, T. B. (2010). Culturally congruent practices in counseling and psychotherapy: A review of research. In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (3rd ed., pp. 439–450). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- \*Smith, Y. K. (2006). *Relationship between ethnic identity, level of ac-*

- complishment, and self-esteem in a group of African American individuals. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Alliant International University, Los Angeles.
- \*Sobansky, R. R. B. (2003). *Ethnic identity and psychological well-being among youth in residential treatment: Exploring links with school success and psychological distress*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Nebraska—Lincoln.
- Sue, S. (1999). Science, ethnicity, and bias: Where have we gone wrong? *American Psychologist*, 54, 1070–1077. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.54.12.1070
- Supple, A., Ghazarian, S., Frabutt, J., Plunkett, S., & Sands, T. (2006). Contextual influences on Latino adolescent ethnic identity and academic outcomes. *Child Development*, 77, 1427–1433. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8624.2006.00945.x
- \*Susberry, T. S. (2004). *Racial identification and ethnic identity in Louisiana Creole people of color*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Houston.
- Suzuki, L. A., Alexander, C. M., Lin, P. Y., & Duffy, K. M. (2006). Psychopathology in the schools: Multicultural factors that impact assessment and intervention. *Psychology in the Schools*, 43, 429–438. doi:10.1002/pits.20157
- \*Swenson, R. R., & Prelow, H. M. (2005). Ethnic identity, self-esteem, and perceived efficacy as mediators of the relation of supportive parenting to psychosocial outcomes among urban adolescents. *Journal of Adolescence*, 28, 465–477. doi:10.1016/j.adolescence.2004.09.005
- Syed, M., & Azmitia, M. (2008). A narrative approach to ethnic identity in emerging adulthood: Bringing life to the identity status model. *Developmental Psychology*, 44, 1012–1027. doi:10.1037/0012-1649.44.4.1012
- Syed, M., & Azmitia, M. (2010). Narrative and ethnic identity exploration: A longitudinal account of emerging adults' ethnicity-related experiences. *Developmental Psychology*, 46, 208–219. doi:10.1037/a0017825
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Worchel & W. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 7–24). Chicago, IL: Nelson-Hall.
- \*Tatman, S. M. (1996). *Racial, cultural, and gender differences in relatedness and self-definition among young adults*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Pacific Graduate School of Psychology.
- \*Terrell, B. P. (2005). The impact of ethnic socialization and ethnic identity on the self-esteem and parenting attitudes of African American fathers. *Best Practices in Mental Health*, 1, 86–104.
- \*To, K. V. (1999). *The relationship of ethnic identity and self-esteem among Vietnamese American college students*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, California School of Professional Psychology, Los Angeles.
- \*Tovar-Murray, D. (2004). *Exploring the relationship between race-related stress, identity, and well-being among African Americans*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Western Michigan University.
- \*Tremayne, K. J. (1997). *The relationship between self-esteem, psychological adjustment, and ethnic identity among biracial Japanese American/Caucasian adults*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Pepperdine University.
- Trimble, J. (2007). Prolegomena for the connotation of construct use in the measurement of ethnic and racial identity. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 54, 247–258. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.54.3.247
- Tsai, J., Chentsova-Dutton, Y., & Wong, Y. (2002). Why and how we should study ethnic identity, acculturation, and cultural orientation. In G. C. Nagayama Hall & S. Okazaki (Eds.), *Asian American psychology: The science of lives in context* (pp. 41–65). doi:10.1037/10473-002
- \*Tsoi-Pullar, M. S. (1994). *Acculturation and psychological well-being among Chinese American college students*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.
- \*Turnage, B. F. (1998). *A study of four factors that influence an African American female adolescent's global self-esteem*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Tulane University.
- \*Turnage, B. F. (2004). Influences on adolescent African American females' global self-esteem: Body image and ethnic identity. *Journal of Ethnic & Cultural Diversity in Social Work*, 13, 27–45. doi:10.1300/J051v13n04\_02
- Turner, J. C., Hogg, M., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Oxford, England: Blackwell.
- \*Umaña-Taylor, A. J. (2004). Ethnic identity and self-esteem: Examining the role of social context. *Journal of Adolescence*, 27, 139–146. doi:10.1016/j.adolescence.2003.11.006
- \*Umaña-Taylor, A. J., & Shin, N. (2007). An examination of ethnic identity and self-esteem with diverse populations: Exploring variations by ethnicity and geography. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 13, 178–186. doi:10.1037/1099-9809.13.2.178
- \*Umaña-Taylor, A. J., & Updegraff, K. A. (2007). Latino adolescents' mental health: Exploring the interrelations among discrimination, ethnic identity, cultural orientation, self-esteem, and depressive symptoms. *Journal of Adolescence*, 30, 549–567. doi:10.1016/j.adolescence.2006.08.002
- \*Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Vargas-Chanes, D., Garcia, C. D., & Gonzales-Backen, M. (2008). A longitudinal examination of Latino adolescents' ethnic identity, coping with discrimination, and self-esteem. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 28, 16–50. doi:10.1177/0272431607308666
- \*Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Yazedjian, A., & Bamaca-Gomez, M. (2004). Developing the Ethnic Identity Scale using Ericksonian and social identity perspectives. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research*, 4, 9–38. doi:10.1207/S1532706XID0401\_2
- \*Utsey, S. O., Chae, M. H., Brown, C. F., & Kelly, D. (2002). Effect of ethnic group membership on ethnic identity, race-related stress, and quality of life. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 8, 366–377. doi:10.1037/1099-9809.8.4.367
- \*Van Buren, E. (2004). *School experiences among African American and Latino adolescents: Effects on ethnic identity and school adjustment*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.
- \*Vuong, T. D. (2004). *Ethnic identity, acculturation, and mental health concerns in Chinese Americans in the U.S.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Pacific Graduate School of Psychology.
- \*Walker, R. L. (2002). *An investigation of acculturative stress and ethnic identification as risk factors for suicidal ideation in African American vs. Anglo American men and women: The moderating effects of religiosity and social support*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Florida State University.
- \*Walker, R. L., Wingate, L. R., Obasi, E. M., & Joiner, T. E. (2008). An empirical investigation of acculturative stress and ethnic identity as moderators for depression and suicidal ideation in college students. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 14, 75–82. doi:10.1037/1099-9809.14.1.75
- \*Wallen, V. O. (2001). *Ethnic identity, self-esteem, and academic factors in second-generation post-1970 Jamaican immigrants*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Florida International University.
- \*Ware, A. (2006). *Latina mothers' parenting and girls' anxiety and depression in an urban sample: Associations with ethnic identity and neighborhood context*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, City University of New York.
- \*Weathersby, D. A. (2007). *Exploring the quality of life of Black women: Within-group difference on race related stress, racial identity, and coping*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Loyola University, Chicago.
- \*Webb-Msemaji, R. (1996). *The impact of African self-consciousness, ethnic identity, and racial mistrust on the self-esteem of African American adolescents*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, California School of Professional Psychology.
- \*West, A. E. (2004). *The experience of social anxiety in Native American adolescents*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Virginia.



- \*White, C. L., & Burke, P. J. (1987). Ethnic role identity among Black and White college students: An interactionist approach. *Sociological Perspectives, 30*, 310–331.
- \*Wong, C. A., Eccles, J. S., & Sameroff, A. (2003). The influence of ethnic discrimination and ethnic identification on African American adolescents' school and socioemotional adjustment. *Journal of Personality, 71*, 1197–1232. doi:10.1111/1467-6494.7106012
- \*Worrell, F. C. (2007). Ethnic identity, academic achievement, and global self-concept in four groups of academically talented adolescents. *Gifted Child Quarterly, 51*, 23–38. doi:10.1177/0016986206296655
- \*Yang, J. (2006). *The relationship between contextual factors of psychological distress with emotional eating and body weight in Hmong and Hmong American college populations*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Alliant International University, Fresno.
- \*Yasui, M., Dorham, C. L., & Dishion, T. J. (2004). Ethnic identity and psychological adjustment: A validity analysis for European American and African American adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 19*, 807–825. doi:10.1177/0743558403260098
- \*Ying, Y. W., & Lee, P. A. (2006). The contribution of ethnic and American identities to the migrant's self-esteem: An empirical investigation. *International Journal of Applied Psychoanalytic Studies, 3*, 39–50. doi:10.1002/aps.51
- \*Yip, T. (2005). Sources of situational variation in ethnic identity and psychological well-being: A pilot study of Chinese American students. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 31*, 1603–1616. doi:10.1177/0146167205277094
- \*Yip, T., & Cross, W. E., Jr. (2004). A daily diary study of mental health and community involvement outcomes for three Chinese American social identities. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology, 10*, 394–408. doi:10.1037/1099-9809.10.4.394
- \*Yip, T., & Fuligni, A. J. (2002). Daily variation in ethnic identity, ethnic behaviors, and psychological well-being among American adolescents of Chinese descent. *Child Development, 73*, 1557–1572. doi:10.1111/1467-8624.00490
- \*Yip, T., Gee, G. C., & Takeuchi, D. T. (2008). Racial discrimination and psychological distress: The impact of ethnic identity and age among immigrant and United States-born Asian adults. *Developmental Psychology, 44*, 787–800. doi:10.1037/0012-1649.44.3.787
- \*Yip, T., Seaton, E. K., & Sellers, R. M. (2006). African American racial identity across the lifespan: Identity status, identity content, and depressive symptoms. *Child Development, 77*, 1504–1517. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8624.2006.00950.x
- \*Yoo, H. C. (2006). *Racism and well-being of Asian Americans: The role of ethnic identity, approach-type coping, and perceived control*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.
- \*Yoo, H. C., & Lee, R. M. (2005). Ethnic identity and approach-type coping as moderators of the racial discrimination/well-being relation in Asian Americans. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 52*, 497–506. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.52.4.497
- Yoo, H. C., & Lee, R. M. (2008). Does ethnic identity buffer or exacerbate the effects of frequent racial discrimination on situational well-being of Asian Americans? *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 55*, 63–74. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.55.1.63
- \*Yoon, D. P. (2001). Causal modeling predicting psychological adjustment of Korean-born adolescent adoptees. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment, 3*, 65–82. doi:10.1300/J137v03n03\_06
- \*Yuh, J. (2005). Ethnic identity and its relation to self-esteem and ego identity among college students in a multiethnic region. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 35*, 1111–1131. doi:10.1111/j.1559-1816.2005.tb02162.x
- \*Zaff, J. F., Blount, R. L., Phillips, L., & Cohen, L. (2002). The role of ethnic identity and self-construal in coping among African American and Caucasian American seventh graders: An exploratory analysis of within-group variance. *Adolescence, 37*, 751–773.

Received October 24, 2009

Revision received July 20, 2010

Accepted August 10, 2010 ■