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Low Self-Esteem Prospectively Predicts Depression in Adolescence and Young Adulthood

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Abstract

Low self-esteem and depression are strongly correlated in cross-sectional studies yet little is known about their prospective effects on each other. The “vulnerability model” hypothesizes that low self-esteem serves as a risk factor for depression, whereas the “scar model” hypothesizes that low self-esteem is an outcome not a cause of depression. To test these models, we used two large longitudinal data sets each with four repeated assessments between the age of 15 and 21 years, and 18 and 21 years, respectively. Cross-lagged regression analyses indicated that low self-esteem predicted subsequent levels of depression, but depression did not predict subsequent levels of self-esteem. These findings held for both men and women in both longitudinal studies, and after controlling for content overlap between the self-esteem and depression scales. Thus, the results supported the vulnerability model, but not the scar model of self-esteem and depression.

Key Words: self-esteem, depression, adolescence, young adulthood

Low Self-Esteem Prospectively Predicts Depression in Adolescence and Young Adulthood

Many theories of depression postulate that low self-esteem is a defining feature of depression (e.g., Abramson, Seligman, & Teasdale, 1978; Beck, 1967; Blatt, D'Afflitti, & Quinlan, 1976; Brown & Harris, 1978). Indeed, numerous studies have documented strong concurrent relations between low self-esteem and depression (Joiner, Katz, & Lew, 1999; Kernis, Grannemann, & Mathis, 1991; Lewinsohn, Hoberman, & Rosenbaum, 1988; J. E. Roberts & Monroe, 1992). However, the nature of this relation – specifically, the temporal order – remains unclear. Does low self-esteem lead to depression, does depression contribute to the development of low self-esteem, or are they reciprocally related?

Two dominant models exist in the literature. The “vulnerability model” hypothesizes that low self-esteem serves as a risk factor for depression, especially in the face of major life stressors (e.g., Beck, 1967; Butler, Hokanson, & Flynn, 1994; Metalsky, Joiner, Hardin, & Abramson, 1993; J. E. Roberts & Monroe, 1992; Whisman & Kwon, 1993). For example, according to Beck’s (1967) cognitive theory of depression, negative beliefs about the self – one of three central components of depressive disorders – are not just symptomatic of depression but play a critical causal role in its etiology.

In contrast, the “scar model” hypothesizes that low self-esteem is an outcome of depression rather than a cause. Specifically, depression is assumed to persistently deteriorate personal resources such as self-esteem, even after remittance of a depressive episode; that is, episodes of depression may leave “scars” in the self-concept of the individual, which progressively chip away at self-esteem over time (cf. Coyne, Gallo, Klinkman, & Calarco, 1998; Coyne & Whiffen, 1995; Rohde, Lewinsohn, & Seeley, 1990; Zeiss & Lewinsohn, 1988).

Thus far, the extant research does not provide clear support in favor of either the vulnerability or the scar model, in part because the scar model has rarely been tested empirically and in part because the two models have seldom been pitted against each other in the context of a single study. To further address this issue, the present research uses data from two longitudinal studies to examine reciprocal relations between self-esteem and depression in adolescence and young adulthood. Below we first review models of the relation between self-esteem and depression and then summarize previous longitudinal research on the link between the two constructs.

Models of the Relation between Self-Esteem and Depression

The Vulnerability Model

The vulnerability model states that low self-esteem is a risk factor for future depression. The underlying assumption of the vulnerability model is that self-esteem, like other personality traits, is a diathesis exerting causal influence in the onset and maintenance of depression. Low self-esteem might contribute to depression through both interpersonal and intrapersonal pathways. One interpersonal pathway is that some low self-esteem individuals excessively seek reassurance about their personal worth from friends and relationship partners, increasing the risk of being rejected by their support partners and thereby increasing the risk of depression (Joiner, 2000; Joiner, Alfano, & Metalsky, 1992; Joiner et al., 1999). A second interpersonal pathway is that low self-esteem individuals seek negative feedback from their relationship partners to verify their negative self-concept, which may further degrade their self-concept (Giesler, Josephs, & Swann, 1996; Joiner, 1995; Swann, Wenzlaff, & Tafarodi, 1992). A third interpersonal pathway is that low self-esteem motivates social avoidance, thereby impeding social support, which has been linked to depression (cf. Ottenbreit & Dobson, 2004). Relatedly, low self-esteem

individuals are more sensitive to rejection and tend to perceive their relationship partner's behavior more negatively, thereby undermining attachment and satisfaction in close relationships (Murray, Holmes, & Griffin, 2000; Murray, Rose, Bellavia, Holmes, & Kusche, 2002). A fourth interpersonal pathway is that low self-esteem individuals engage in antisocial behaviors, such as aggression and substance abuse, that might contribute to their feeling excluded and alienated from others (Donnellan, Trzesniewski, Robins, Moffitt, & Caspi, 2005).

An intrapersonal pathway explaining how low self-esteem contributes to depression might operate through rumination. The tendency to ruminate about negative aspects of the self is closely linked to depression (Morrow & Nolen-Hoeksema, 1990; Nolen-Hoeksema, 1991, 2000; Nolen-Hoeksema & Morrow, 1991; Spasojevic & Alloy, 2001; Trapnell & Campbell, 1999). Mor and Winquist's (2002) meta-analysis of correlational and experimental studies showed that self-focused attention strongly and causally influences negative affect (including depression) and, moreover, that a ruminative self-focus has a particularly strong impact (compared to a reflective self-focus).

The Scar Model

The scar model, in contrast to the vulnerability model, states that low self-esteem, like other correlates of depression such as negative attributional style, might be a consequence of depression rather than a causal factor (Lewinsohn, Steinmetz, Larson, & Franklin, 1981; Rohde et al., 1990). Indeed, it is conceivable that the self-concept and self-esteem are permanently changed by the experience of depression, especially after major depressive episodes. Again, depression might impair an individual's self-esteem through both intrapersonal and interpersonal pathways. A possible intrapersonal pathway is that the experience of depression might influence self-esteem by persistently altering the way individuals process self-relevant information; for

example, the chronic negative mood associated with depression may lead the individual to selectively attend to, encode, and retrieve negative information about the self, resulting in the formation of more negative self-evaluations. One interpersonal pathway is that depressive episodes may damage important sources of self-esteem such as close relationships or social networks. Another interpersonal pathway is that depression might change how the individual is perceived by others. These representations may be relatively persistent, and cause the individual to be treated by others with low regard or in ways that minimize the individual's self-esteem, even if the depression has already remitted (Joiner, 2000). Another pathway is that the disclosure of depression to others may not only shape how others perceive the individual, but also amplify the intrapersonal effects of depression on the self-concept (cf. Tice, 1992), thereby combining interpersonal and intrapersonal processes. Of course, the vulnerability model and the scar model are not mutually exclusive because both processes (i.e., low self-esteem contributing to depression and depression eroding self-esteem) might operate simultaneously.

The Common Factor Model

In addition to the vulnerability and scar models, some researchers have argued that self-esteem and depression are essentially one construct and should be conceptualized as opposed endpoints on a continuum (e.g., Watson, Suls, & Haig, 2002). From this perspective, it does not make sense to ask questions about the temporal order of their relation, because low self-esteem and depression are both assumed to derive from the broader construct of negative emotionality. The appeal of the common factor model is its parsimony, and empirical evidence confirms that the two constructs indeed share a large proportion of variance. Indeed, in three studies by Watson et al. (2002), using samples of college students, self-esteem correlated $-.64$ to $-.74$ with the depression scales of the Mood and Anxiety Symptom Questionnaire (MASQ; Watson et al.,

1995), and $-.79$ with the depression facet of the neuroticism scale in the NEO-PI-R (Costa & McCrae, 1992). Based on these results, Watson et al. (2002) cautioned against treating trait measures of self-esteem and depression as distinct constructs (see also Judge, Erez, Bono, & Thoresen, 2002).

However, empirical evidence supports the usefulness of distinguishing between self-esteem and depression. First, the correlations reported by Watson et al. (2002) are relatively high compared to correlations reported in previous research. Cross-sectional correlations ranging from $-.44$ to $-.60$ have been found in adult samples (Abela, Webb, Wagner, Ho, & Adams, 2006; Lewinsohn et al., 1988; J. E. Roberts & Monroe, 1992); from $-.24$ to $-.77$ in college student samples (Butler et al., 1994; Hankin, Lakdawalla, Carter, Abela, & Adams, 2007; Kernis et al., 1991; Kernis et al., 1998; Joiner, 1995; Joiner et al., 1999; Whisman & Kwon, 1993); and of $-.36$ in an adolescent sample (J. E. Roberts & Gamble, 2001). Thus, the correlation between self-esteem and depression varies widely across studies, but the relation is not as strong as would be expected if they were actually opposite poles of the same construct.

Second, the stability of self-esteem (i.e., rank-order stability) is larger than the stability of depression, suggesting that they are driven by different underlying causal dynamics. Trzesniewski, Donnellan, and Robins (2003) reported that the stability of self-esteem is moderately high across the entire lifespan (disattenuated correlations averaging in the .50s to .60s), comparable to the stability of other personality traits (B. W. Roberts & DelVecchio, 2000). In contrast, rank-order stabilities between .30 to .50 (disattenuated for measurement error) are typically reported for depression (Lovibond, 1998). Third, there is emerging evidence from studies using genetically-informed research designs that self-esteem and depression have unique

genetic effects; that is, the genetic influences on self-esteem are at least partially distinct from the genetic influences on depression (Neiss et al., 2005; Trzesniewski, 2007).

Finally, as described below, some studies have shown that self-esteem and depression are prospectively related to each other, even after controlling for prior levels of each construct. This pattern of findings is difficult to reconcile with the idea that they comprise a common factor. Given these differences, we believe that it is useful to distinguish between self-esteem and depression and explore the nature of their relation.

Prospective Studies of the Link between Self-Esteem and Depression

In this section, we review studies of the relation between self-esteem and depression that are prospective (i.e., that tested effects of self-esteem or depression at one occasion on the other variable at a subsequent occasion), and that controlled for effects of prior levels of the predicted variable (i.e., that ruled out the possibility that prospective effects were due to concurrent correlations between the variables and stability of the predicted variable).

Reciprocal Effects

Only two studies have analyzed reciprocal prospective relations between self-esteem and depression. In the first study, Shahar and Davidson (2003) used data from a treatment study of 260 adults with severe mental illness (such as schizophrenia spectrum disorders, bipolar disorder, and psychotic major depression). Using latent variable modeling and a cross-lagged regression model, the authors found a significant effect of depression on self-esteem for one of the time-intervals (from baseline to 4 months), but no significant effect for the other time-interval (from 4 to 9 months). Thus, the results provide partial support for the scar hypothesis, but not for the vulnerability hypothesis.

In the second study, Ormel, Oldehinkel, and Vollebergh (2004) assessed self-esteem and major depressive episodes (MDE) annually for three years in a large probability sample of the Dutch population. They found that individuals who had low self-esteem at Year 1 were more likely to experience a major depressive episode (MDE) at Year 2 and at Year 3. The effect of self-esteem on depression held for individuals with a recurrent history of MDEs as well as those who experienced an MDE for the first time in their lives at Years 2 or 3. In contrast, Ormel et al. (2004) did not find evidence for prospective effects of depression on self-esteem; that is, individuals who experienced a MDE at Year 2 (but not Years 1 or 3) were not more likely to decline in self-esteem across the three-year period. Thus, the two studies simultaneously investigating the vulnerability and scar models have yielded inconsistent findings, with Ormel et al. (2004) supporting the vulnerability hypothesis and Shahar and Davidson (2003) supporting the scar hypothesis.

Effect of Self-Esteem on Depression

Numerous studies have investigated the prospective effect of self-esteem on depression (controlling for prior levels of depression), but not the effect of depression on self-esteem (and thus addressed only the vulnerability hypothesis). In a study using a large community sample of adults, self-esteem significantly predicted depression across a nine-month interval, even after controlling for the occurrence of stressful life events and other variables (Lewinsohn et al., 1988; reanalyzing data reported in Lewinsohn et al., 1981). In another study using a large sample of adults, Fernandez, Mutran, and Reitzes (1998) found that self-esteem predicted depression scores two years later, especially among participants who reported that stressful life events occurred during the time interval. Abela, Webb, Wagner, Ho, and Adams (2006), using a community sample of adults with a history of major depression, found that self-esteem, in interaction with

the occurrence of daily hassles, predicted depression at several time points during the following year.

Many studies have been conducted using college student samples, often investigating reactions to stressful academic events. For example, Metalsky et al. (1993) assessed participants several times before and for five days after receiving a midterm grade. The authors found that, among students receiving a poor grade, low self-esteem predicted depressive reactions on the second through the fifth day after grading. Similarly, two other studies have found that self-esteem prospectively predicted depression after stressful academic events (Ralph & Mineka, 1998; J. E. Roberts & Monroe, 1992). Other studies with college students confirmed the predictive effects of self-esteem on depression in reaction to other types of events or daily hassles (Hokanson, Rubert, Welker, Hollander, & Hedeon, 1989; Kernis et al., 1998; Whisman & Kwon, 1993).

The effect of low self-esteem on depression has also been found in samples of adolescents. Using data from a large representative sample, Trzesniewski et al. (2006) found that self-esteem scores in early adolescence (age 11 to 15) predicted depression at age 26, controlling for adolescent depression, gender, and socioeconomic status. This finding held both for a clinical interview measure of major depressive disorder and an informant-report measure (e.g., ratings by a best friend, relationship partner, or family member) of depressive affect. Likewise, in another study of adolescents, low self-esteem predicted an increase in depression measured 3 months later (Southall & Roberts, 2002). In a study of high school seniors applying for college, participants were assessed several weeks before receiving the admission decision and immediately after receiving the decision and for a third time four days later (Abela, 2002). The

results showed that, among participants receiving a negative outcome, low self-esteem predicted subsequent depressive reactions.

However, some studies failed to find evidence that self-esteem predicts subsequent depression. For example, in three studies with college students, self-esteem was not longitudinally related to depression (Butler et al., 1994; Lakey, 1988; J. E. Roberts & Gotlib, 1997) and, in a study of adolescents, self-esteem at the age of 14 did not predict depression at the age of 18 (Block, Gjerde, & Block, 1991).

Effect of Depression on Self-Esteem

Besides the two studies testing reciprocal effects mentioned above, we are not aware of any studies that have examined the effects of depression on subsequent level of self-esteem after controlling for prior levels of self-esteem.

Design of the Present Research

Despite the previous research efforts, the temporal sequence of self-esteem and depression is still unclear because most of the studies examined only the vulnerability hypothesis, but not the scar hypothesis. The two studies that investigated the scar hypothesis resulted in inconsistent findings (Ormel et al., 2004; Shahar & Davidson, 2003). Moreover, these studies were conducted over a relatively short time period and one of them was based on a highly select sample (i.e., individuals with severe mental illness, Shahar & Davidson, 2003), which is of important clinical interest but may not generalize to the general population. It is unclear why these studies yielded different results, because they differ in so many respects, including sample characteristics (e.g., age and education level); design characteristics (e.g., time intervals between assessments, measures used); and data analytic procedures (e.g., statistical analyses to estimate effects across repeated time intervals and control for content overlap between self-esteem and

depression measures). Therefore, in the present research, we used two longitudinal data sets to investigate the long-term temporal sequence of self-esteem and depression.

This research extends previous studies on self-esteem and depression in several ways. First, in contrast to most of the previous studies, we investigated reciprocal effects of self-esteem and depression. By doing so, we were able to simultaneously test the vulnerability and scar models. Second, in contrast to most previous studies, we used more appropriate statistical models based on latent variable modeling, providing better estimates of the effects and more flexibility in controlling for antecedent and concurrent effects (Finkel, 1995; for an application see, e.g., Wetherell, Gatz, & Pedersen, 2001). Third, we tested whether self-esteem and depression are separate factors or whether the data speak in favor of an underlying common factor as proposed by Watson et al. (2002). Fourth, we used data sets that included multiple repeated assessments, so the effects could be replicated across multiple time points, increasing both the reliability and validity of the estimates. Fifth, we cross-validated our results using two large data sets with different measures and design characteristics; by replicating the findings across studies, we reduce methodological concerns unique to each study and strengthen confidence in the overall pattern of results. Sixth, in Study 2, we addressed the possible overlap in item content of self-esteem and depression measures, a problem that has plagued previous research in this area because some depression scales include items that refer explicitly to negative beliefs about the self.

We decided to focus on adolescence and young adulthood for several reasons. First, the prevalence of depressive disorders is high during adolescence and young adulthood (Blazer, Kessler, McGonagle, & Swartz, 1994; Costello, Erkanli, & Angold, 2006; Kessler et al., 2005),

so this developmental period is particularly important for understanding the underlying etiology of depression.

Second, self-esteem and depression are particularly likely to show changes during adolescence and young adulthood because of the many transitions that occur during this time of life (cf. Mirowsky & Kim, 2007; Robins, Trzesniewski, Tracy, Gosling, & Potter, 2002). The adolescent period is associated with rapid maturational changes, shifting societal demands, conflicting role demands, and increasingly complex romantic and peer relationships. After graduating from high school, many young adults move away from home for the first time, begin college and full-time jobs, or marry and have children. Personality theorists and developmental psychologists have long highlighted the importance of this period, describing the complex challenges that young adults face and the patterns of adaptation that follow from their resolution (Arnett, 2000; Erikson, 1983; Helson, 1983; White, 1966). Moreover, the developmental process of becoming an adult often entails a questioning of one's identity and subsequent reformulation of conceptions and evaluations of the self. Together, these various forces are likely to produce changes in self-esteem and depression.

Third, there are theoretical reasons to believe that self-esteem and depression might be particularly strongly linked during adolescence and young adulthood. The confluence of changes that occur during this developmental stage are likely to tax the individual's psychological resources, and previous research suggests that the link between self-esteem and depression might be stronger during stressful events. Moreover, one of the core developmental tasks of this stage of life centers on developing a sense of mastery and competence (Galambos, Barker, & Krahn, 2006; Roisman, Masten, Coatsworth, & Tellegen, 2004), which are closely linked to self-esteem. Thus, it seems plausible that all aspects of adjustment and adaptation, including indicators of

well-being such as depression, would be particularly linked to success in achieving the salient developmental task of this period, establishing a sense of competence and self-worth.

Study 1

Method

The data used in Study 1 come from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY79), a national probability survey which was started in 1979 (for further information about this study, see Center for Human Resource Research, 2006). Since its start, the NLSY79 has collected information on the children of female participants. Since 1994, the NLSY79 began assessing the children who had reached the age of 15 years with separate interviews. These adolescents and young adults were assessed biennially from 1994 to 2004, resulting in six assessments. However, the number of assessments available for each participant varies widely because there is a complex pattern of planned missing data due to budgetary reasons. For example, in 1998, only children between 15 and 20 were interviewed, and in 2000, about 40% of the black and Hispanic oversamples were not surveyed. Moreover, because at every assessment additional children reached the age of 15 years and thus became eligible for assessment, the sample size increased with every assessment (*Ns* ranged from 980 in 1994 to 5024 in 2004). The design of the study also produced substantial age heterogeneity (e.g., participants in the 2004 assessment ranged in age from 15 to 34 years). To reduce the age heterogeneity of the sample, we decided to analyze sequences of four repeated assessments for those individuals who began the survey in 1994, 1996, or 1998 at the age of 15 or 16. The data for these three cohorts were restructured so that the age of every individual was 15 or 16 at Time 1.

Participants

The sample consisted of 2,403 individuals (50% female). Mean age of participants at the first assessment was 15.5 years ($SD = 0.5$, Range = 15 to 16). Sixty-one percent were White (non-Hispanic), 21% were Black, 12% were Hispanic, 2% were American Indian, and 4% were of other ethnicity. Self-esteem and depression data were available for 2,094 individuals at Time 1, 1,272 individuals at Time 2, 710 individuals at Time 3, and 1,108 individuals at Time 4; overall 15% of the data were missing due to participant dropout and 31% of the data were missing due to planned missing data due to budgetary reasons. To investigate the potential impact of attrition we tested for differences on study variables between participants who completed the Time 4 assessment and participants who dropped out of the study before Time 4. For both self-esteem and depression, no significant differences emerged.

Measures

Self-esteem. Self-esteem was assessed with the 10-item Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE, Rosenberg, 1965). The RSE is the most commonly used and well-validated measure of global self-esteem (cf. Robins, Hendin, & Trzesniewski, 2001). Responses were measured on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 4 (*strongly agree*). The alpha reliability of the RSE was .84 at Time 1, .87 at Time 2, .88 at Time 3, and .88 at Time 4.

Depression. Depression was assessed with the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CES-D, Radloff, 1977). The CES-D is a frequently used self-report measure for the assessment of depressive symptoms in non-clinical, sub-clinical, and clinical populations, and its validity has been repeatedly confirmed (Eaton, Smith, Ybarra, Muntaner, & Tien, 2004). The NLSY79 uses a short version of the CES-D with 7 items: “I did not feel like eating; my appetite was poor”, “I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing”, “I felt depressed”, “I felt that everything I did was an effort”, “My sleep was restless”, “I felt sad”, “I could not get

‘going’”. Importantly, none of these items is conceptually related to the construct of self-esteem, but all of them are central to depression. For each item, participants were instructed to assess the frequency of their reactions within the preceding seven days. Responses were measured on a 4-point scale (0 = *rarely, none of the time, one day*; 1 = *some, a little of the time, one to two days*; 2 = *occasionally, moderate amount of the time, three to four days*; 3 = *most, all of the time, five to seven days*). The alpha reliability of this short form of the CES-D was .65 at Time 1, .66 at Time 2, .67 at Time 3, and .68 at Time 4.

Procedure for the Statistical Analysis

The analyses were conducted using Amos 5 (Arbuckle, 2003; Arbuckle & Wothke, 1999). To deal with missing values, we employed the full information maximum likelihood (FIML) procedure; this procedure is recommended because the results are less biased and more reliable compared to conventional methods of dealing with missing data, such as listwise or pairwise deletion (Allison, 2003; Schafer & Graham, 2002).

Model fit was assessed by the Tucker-Lewis-Index (TLI), the Comparative Fit Index (CFI), and the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA), based on the recommendations of (Hu & Bentler, 1998, 1999; MacCallum & Austin, 2000). Hu and Bentler (1999) suggest that good fit is indicated by values greater than or equal to .95 for TLI and CFI, and less than or equal to .06 for RMSEA. In addition to these indices, we report χ^2 -statistics and the confidence interval for RMSEA.

To test for differences in model fit, we followed the recommendation of MacCallum, Browne, and Cai (2006) and used the test of small differences in fit instead of the more commonly used χ^2 -difference test. With sufficiently large samples, the χ^2 -difference test for nested models will always be significant, even when the true difference in fit is very small and

theoretically irrelevant (MacCallum et al., 2006). In contrast, the test of small difference in fit tests for differences greater than an a priori specified small difference, and thus a non-significant difference implies that the true difference is small, assuming that the sample size provides adequate statistical power. In the studies reported in this article, using the test of small difference in fit is particularly appropriate in view of the large size of the samples. In conducting the test, we used the exact specifications given by MacCallum et al. (2006, Program C): $\alpha = .05$, $RMSEA_A = .06$, and $RMSEA_B = .05$ ($RMSEA_A$ and $RMSEA_B$ represent the a priori specified small difference in fit). For all tests of small difference in fit reported in this article, statistical power was very large with values above .99 (2006, Program D).

Results and Discussion

Table 1 shows means and standard deviations of the measures used in Study 1. For the structural equation models, we used item parcels as indicators because they produce more reliable latent variables than individual items (Little, Cunningham, Shahar, & Widaman, 2002). For both the self-esteem and depression scales, we randomly aggregated the items into three parcels.

Measurement Models

First, we compared the fit of two measurement models. In the first measurement model, we freely estimated the factor loadings for eight latent variables measuring self-esteem and depression at Time 1 to Time 4 (Model 1); all factors were correlated with each other and the uniquenesses of individual indicators were correlated over time to account for consistency in parcel-specific variance. The factor variances were fixed to 1 to identify the model. The fit of the first measurement model was good (see Table 2). The second measurement model was identical to the first except that we constrained the factor loadings of each indicator to be equal across

time (Model 2). If the constrained model does not fit worse than the unconstrained model, then the constraints are empirically justified and ensure that the latent constructs are measured similarly across time (i.e., factorial invariance).

The fit of Models 1 and 2 did not differ significantly from each other. Consequently, we favored the more parsimonious Model 2, and retained the longitudinal constraints on factor loadings in the subsequent analyses. The cross-sectional (i.e., concurrent) correlations between the latent constructs assessing self-esteem and depression were -.34 at Time 1, -.37 at Time 2, -.34 at Time 3, and -.36 at Time 4 (all p s < .01).

We also tested a 1-factor model of self-esteem and depression, in which all indicators (i.e., the six parcels) loaded on one common factor, separately for each time point. The fit of this model was low with $\chi^2 = 2876.7$ ($df = 228$, $p < .01$), TLI = .66, CFI = .74, and RMSEA = .070 (90%-CI of RMSEA = .067 - .072). Because the 1-factor and the 2-factor model are non-nested models, no formal test of difference in fit is possible; however, the fit indices clearly indicate the favorability of the 2-factor model. Thus, the results suggest that the two constructs should be modeled separately, rather than as indicators of a common factor.

Finally, we tested for gender differences in the measurement model, using a multiple group analysis. However, a model allowing for different loading coefficients for male and female participants did not have a significantly better model fit ($\chi^2 = 909.3$, $df = 416$, $p < .01$), relative to a model with constraints across gender ($\chi^2 = 964.4$, $df = 422$, $p < .01$).

Structural Models

Next, we tested the fit of two structural cross-lagged models, using the measurement model specified by Model 2. For each of the construct factors, the first loading was set to 1 to identify the model.² In cross-lagged models, a latent variable at Time 2 is predicted by the same

variable at Time 1 (the autoregressor) and the other latent variable at Time 1 (cf. Figure 1). The cross-lagged paths indicate the effect of one variable on the other, after controlling for the stability of the variables over time (Finkel, 1995). We accounted for variance due to specific measurement occasions by cross-sectionally correlating the disturbances of the corresponding factors (cf. Cole & Maxwell, 2003).

In the first cross-lagged model (Model 3), all structural coefficients were freely estimated. Model fit was good (Table 2). In the second cross-lagged model (Model 4), we constrained the structural parameters (stability coefficients and cross-lagged coefficients) to be equal across all three time intervals. The difference in fit between Models 3 and 4 was nonsignificant. Consequently, we favored the more parsimonious Model 4, and retained the longitudinal constraints on structural coefficients in the subsequent analyses.

The structural coefficients for Model 4 are presented in Figure 1 with standardized values. The stability coefficients ranged from .49 to .51 for depression and from .57 to .67 for self-esteem (all $ps < .01$), comparable to self-esteem stabilities reported by Trzesniewski et al. (2003). A consistent pattern emerged for the cross-lagged paths: all of the paths from self-esteem to depression were significant (range = -.09 to -.10, all $ps < .01$) whereas none of the paths from depression to self-esteem were significant (all three coefficients = -.04).

We also tested for gender differences in the structural coefficients, using a multiple group analysis. A model allowing for different coefficients for male and female participants did not significantly improve model fit ($\chi^2 = 1008.0$, $df = 444$, $p < .01$), relative to a model with constraints across gender ($\chi^2 = 1011.5$, $df = 448$, $p < .01$). For both male and female participants the estimates of the structural coefficients were similar to the estimates for the total sample, as displayed in Figure 1.

The results of Study 1 suggest that: (a) self-esteem predicts subsequent levels of depression (consistent with the vulnerability model), (b) depression does not predict subsequent levels of self-esteem (contrary to the scar model), and (c) self-esteem and depression are not well-modeled by a single factor (contrary to the common factor model). However, there is a need to cross-validate the findings. Therefore, we conducted a second longitudinal study of the relation between self-esteem and depression. Study 2 differed from Study 1 in terms of sample characteristics (college students vs. community sample in Study 1), age period studied (18 to 21 years vs. 15 to 21 years in Study 1), and the time interval between assessments (one year vs. two years in Study 1).

Study 2

Study 2 used data from the Berkeley Longitudinal Study (BLS), an ongoing study of a cohort of individuals who entered University of California at Berkeley in 1992 (for further information see Robins et al., 2001; Robins, Nofle, Trzesniewski, & Roberts, 2005). Participants were recruited at the beginning of their first year in college and then assessed annually throughout college. Participants were contacted by mail and asked to complete an extensive questionnaire in exchange for money (the financial incentive ranged from \$6 to \$20). Six assessments were conducted over a 4-year period: first week of college, end of first semester, and end of first, second, third, and fourth year of college. For Study 2, we focused our analyses on the latter four assessments (denoted as Time 1 to Time 4 in the remainder of this article) because depression was not assessed in the first two assessments. For 404 out of 508 participants, at least one measure of self-esteem or depression was available at one of the assessments. However, to reduce age heterogeneity, we restricted the sample to 359 participants with an age of 18 or 19 years at Time 1.³

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of 359 individuals (59% female). Mean age of participants at Time 1 was 18.3 years ($SD = 0.5$, Range = 18 to 19). Forty-three percent were Asian, 31% Caucasian, 13% Chicano/Latino, 5% African American, 1% American Indian, 2% of other ethnicity, and 5% did not specify ethnicity.

Data were available for 270 individuals at Time 1, 232 individuals at Time 2, 177 individuals at Time 3, and 277 individuals at Time 4. To investigate the potential impact of attrition we tested for differences on study variables between participants who completed the Time 4 assessment and participants who dropped out of the study before Time 4. For both self-esteem and depression, no significant differences emerged.

Measures

Self-esteem. As in Study 1, self-esteem was assessed with the 10-item Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale, using a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*not very true of me*) to 5 (*very true of me*). The alpha reliability of the RSE was .89 at Time 1, .91 at Time 2, .90 at Time 3, and .90 at Time 4.

Depression. Depression was assessed with the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale. However, in contrast to Study 1, the full 20-item scale was administered in all assessments. Participants were instructed to assess the frequency of their reactions within the preceding seven days. Responses were measured on a 4-point scale (0 = *rarely or none of the time, less than one day*, 1 = *some or a little of the time, one to two days*, 2 = *occasionally or a moderate amount of time, three to four days*, 3 = *most or all of the time, five to seven days*). The alpha reliability of the CES-D was .91 at Time 1, .91 at Time 2, .90 at Time 3, and .91 at Time 4.

Procedure for the Statistical Analysis

All analyses were conducted using Amos 5 and full information maximum likelihood (FIML). Model fit was assessed using the same fit indices as in Study 1.

Results and Discussion

Table 3 shows means and standard deviations of the measures used in Study 2. As in Study 1, we used three item parcels to assess each latent variable.

Measurement Models

The measurement models were identical to those tested in Study 1. Both the freely estimated and the constrained model provided a good fit to the data (see Table 4). The difference in fit was nonsignificant, leading us to retain the longitudinal constraints on factor loadings in the subsequent analyses. The cross-sectional correlations between the latent constructs assessing self-esteem and depression were -.58 at Time 1, -.63 at Time 2, -.51 at Time 3, and -.62 at Time 4 (all $ps < .01$).

As in Study 1, we tested a 1-factor model of self-esteem and depression. Again, the fit of this model was poor with $\chi^2 = 1052.4$ ($df = 228$, $p < .01$), TLI = .77, CFI = .83, and RMSEA = .100 (90%-CI of RMSEA = .094 - .107). The fit indices clearly indicate the superiority of the 2-factor model.

As in Study 1, we tested for gender differences in the measurement model, using a multiple group analysis. However, a model allowing for different loading coefficients for male and female participants did not significantly improve model fit ($\chi^2 = 547.7$, $df = 416$, $p < .01$), relative to a model with constraints across gender ($\chi^2 = 557.4$, $df = 422$, $p < .01$).

Structural Models

As in Study 1, we tested two cross-lagged models, one in which the structural coefficients (stability coefficients and cross-lagged coefficients) were freely estimated and one in which they were constrained to be equal over time. Both models fit the data well and the test for difference in fit was nonsignificant, leading us to favor the constrained model.

The structural coefficients for the constrained model are presented in Figure 2 with standardized values. The cross-lagged paths from self-esteem to depression were all significant (range = $-.20$ to $-.22$, all $ps < .01$), whereas none of the paths from depression to self-esteem were significant (all three coefficients = $.00$). Self-esteem (stability coefficients = $.80$ to $.85$, all $ps < .01$) was more stable over time than depression (stability coefficients = $.34$ to $.35$, all $ps < .01$). The lower stability of depression compared to self-esteem does not mean that the depression measure was less reliable. The findings reported in the method section indicate that both scales were very reliable measures of the corresponding constructs. Moreover, if the low stability of depression across time indicated low reliability, the chances of explaining this variable by using other variables would be low. However, the analyses show that depression is significantly explained by prior levels of self-esteem.

To control for content overlap between the RSE and CES-D, we repeated the analyses after omitting two CES-D items that are conceptually related to self-esteem (“I felt that I was just as good as other people” and “I thought my life had been a failure.”). The correlation between this abbreviated 18-item CES-D and the full 20-item CES-D was above $.99$ at every assessment. Not surprisingly given their strong convergence, the results for the structural models using the 18-item CES-D were virtually unaltered. The stability coefficients were $.80$, $.85$, and $.83$ for self-esteem (for the three time intervals, respectively), and $.34$, $.32$, and $.34$ for depression (all $ps < .01$). The cross-lagged coefficients were $-.20$, $-.21$, and $-.21$ for the effect of self-esteem on

depression (all $ps < .01$), and .01, .01, and .01 for the effect of depression on self-esteem (all coefficients *ns*).

For comparison purposes, we also repeated the analyses using the 7-item version of the CES-D used in Study 1. The alpha reliability of the 7-item version was .77 at Time 1, .77 at Time 2, .77 at Time 3, and .79 at Time 4. The 7-item scale correlated .92 at Time 1, .91 at Time 2, .90 at Time 3, and .92 at Time 4 with the full scale. Then, we computed Model 4, using the 7-item version: the stability coefficients were .80, .85, and .83 for self-esteem (for the three time intervals, respectively; all $ps < .01$), and .33, .31, and .33 for depression (all $ps < .01$). The cross-lagged coefficients were -.16, -.17, and -.17 for the effect of self-esteem on depression (all $ps < .01$), and .01, .01, and .01 for the effect of depression on self-esteem (all coefficients *ns*). Thus, the findings were essentially the same for the full 20-item CES-D, the 18-item CES-D (with self-esteem related content removed), and the 7-item scale from Study 1.

Finally, we tested for gender differences in the structural coefficients, as in Study 1. A model allowing for different coefficients for male and female participants did not significantly improve model fit ($\chi^2 = 591.5$, $df = 444$, $p < .01$), relative to a model with constraints across gender ($\chi^2 = 595.4$, $df = 448$, $p < .01$).

General Discussion

Summary of Key Findings

In the present research, we investigated the temporal sequence of self-esteem and depression in adolescence and young adulthood, using two longitudinal data sets with four repeated assessments between the ages of 15 and 21 (Study 1) and 18 and 21 (Study 2), respectively. The results of both studies support the vulnerability model (low self-esteem contributes to depression), but not the scar model (depression erodes self-esteem). Cross-lagged

regression analyses indicated that low self-esteem significantly predicted subsequent levels of depression, controlling for prior levels of depression. In contrast, depression did not predict subsequent levels of self-esteem, controlling for prior levels of self-esteem.

In addition to providing insights into the temporal order of the relation between self-esteem and depression, the results provide further support for the importance of distinguishing between the two constructs, and counter claims that self-esteem and depression are simply positively and negatively keyed indicators of a broad negative emotionality factor (e.g., Watson et al., 2002). First, it is unlikely that two indicators of a common factor would have replicable cross-lagged effects because their shared variance has been systematically removed; at the very least, the findings imply that the unique variance in self-esteem is psychologically meaningful and prospectively predicts subsequent levels of depression. Second, in both studies, the one-factor model did not provide a good fit to the self-esteem and depression data whereas the two-factor model did. Third, as in most previous studies, the cross-sectional correlations were weaker (.30s in Study 1 and .50s in Study 2) than one would expect between two variables that are presumably opposing endpoints of the same continuum. Fourth, and also consistent with previous studies, the rank-order stability of self-esteem was considerably higher than the rank-order stability of depression, even after taking into account differences in the reliability of the two scales; if self-esteem and depression are two interchangeable indicators of negative emotionality, then they should have comparable stabilities over time because their individual stabilities should each reflect the stability of the broader common factor.

Two additional results are of interest. First, the results of Study 2 showed that the correlation between self-esteem and depression is not due to overlap in the item content of the measures. More precisely, when we controlled for two items of the CES-D tapping into the self-

esteem construct, the cross-lagged coefficients were virtually unaltered. Second, the results of both studies showed that the structural coefficients were similar for men and women. Of course, the fact that the structural model replicates across genders does not mean that men and women do not differ in their average level of self-esteem and depression; in fact, men did tend to score higher in self-esteem and lower in depression. However, it suggests that the structural relations between self-esteem and depression are unaffected by gender.

Illustration of Effect Sizes

The present findings show that low self-esteem serves as a risk factor for depression in adolescence and young adulthood. But, how strong is this effect? The size of the cross-lagged effects can be assessed by converting the regression coefficients into the r -metric (using sample size and the Z -values computed from the unstandardized coefficients and their associated standard errors; see, e.g., Rosenthal, 1994). In Study 1, the effect of self-esteem on depression corresponded to $r = .08$, indicating a small effect. The effect of depression on self-esteem, which was nonsignificant, corresponded to $r = .03$. In Study 2, the effect of self-esteem on depression corresponded to $r = .23$, indicating a medium effect. The cross-lagged effect of depression on self-esteem, which was nonsignificant, corresponded to $r = .00$.

Another way to evaluate the size of the effect of self-esteem on depression is by plotting the model-implied means (see Figure 3). The values are derived from the unstandardized estimates of cross-lagged models in which the RSE and the CES-D were used as single indicators.² The three lines depicted in each panel of Figure 3 represent the trajectory of self-esteem (or depression) for an individual with a mean self-esteem (or depression) score, as a function of different initial levels of depression (or self-esteem). Figure 3 shows that, for both Study 1 and 2, the expected trajectory of self-esteem is only slightly influenced by initial

depression levels, but that the expected trajectory of depression is significantly influenced by initial levels of self-esteem. The figure also illustrates the different effect sizes for the effect of self-esteem on depression found in Study 1 (small effect size) versus Study 2 (medium effect size).

Limitations

Importantly, the study designs do not allow for strong conclusions regarding the causal influence of low self-esteem on depression. As in all passive observational designs, effects between factors may be caused by third variables that were not assessed (Finkel, 1995). For example, situational factors such as involvement in supportive romantic relationships might simultaneously affect both self-esteem and depression. Therefore, future research should test theoretically-relevant third-variable models that might account for the relation between self-esteem and depression. Nevertheless, longitudinal analyses are useful because they can indicate whether the data are consistent with a causal model of the relation between the variables.

Also, for a number of reasons, the results do not allow for firm conclusions with regard to clinical levels of depressive affect or for the clinical category of major depressive disorder (MDD). First, the depression measure used in our research relies on self-report, but conclusions about the antecedents of MDD should be based on diagnoses of depression from clinical interviews. Second, the results of our analyses are based on nonclinical samples, which, even if a non-trivial proportion of the sample experienced relatively high levels of depression, do not allow for valid conclusions about depressive episodes in clinical populations. Nevertheless, we believe that the results are relevant for levels of depressive affect that represent a significant impairment in the psychological well-being of the individual. Clinically significant levels of depressed mood do not necessarily have to meet the criteria for MDD as given in the *Diagnostic*

and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (4th ed., text rev., American Psychiatric Association, 2000) and many persons not in treatment can have clinically significant levels of depressed mood. Future research should, however, continue to examine self-esteem as a risk factor in the onset, maintenance, remission, or recurrence of depressive episodes in MDD (cf. J. E. Roberts & Monroe, 1999).

Another limitation of the present research is that, in both studies, only self-report measures of depression were available. In future research, it would be useful to include informant-based measures to control for possible self-report biases (e.g., an unwillingness to acknowledge the symptoms of depression) and to account for the effects of shared method variance on the correlations between depression and self-esteem. Note, however, that shared method variance cannot account for cross-lagged effects, because shared method variance has already been statistically removed by controlling for concurrent relations and the stability of each construct over time.

One strength of the present research is the convergence of findings across Study 1 and 2, which helps alleviate some methodological concerns. For example, a limitation of Study 1 was that only a short version of the depression scale, a 7-item CES-D, was used; however, this limitation was addressed in Study 2, in which the complete 20-item CES-D was used. A limitation of Study 2 was that the sample, a cohort of college students, was not representative of the U.S. population; however, this limitation was addressed in Study 1, in which data from a national probability sample were used, increasing confidence in the generalizability of our findings. The two studies also differed in the age of the sample (i.e., 15- to 21-year olds in Study 1 vs. 18- to 21-year olds in Study 2) and the time interval between assessments (two years in Study 1 vs. one year in Study 2). These differences might also explain why the studies yielded

somewhat different effect sizes. However, given that the two studies differed on several dimensions, it is not possible to determine which of the many study characteristics accounts for the observed differences in effect sizes. Moreover, as always, effect size differences may simply be due to within-study sampling error. The most important point in this context is that the general pattern of results was identical in both studies, strengthening confidence in the results. An additional strength of the present research, compared with previous studies, is the use of more appropriate statistical models based on latent variable modeling, which allow for more precise measurement across assessments and more controlled tests of prospective effects.

Future Directions and Conclusions

In this study, we focused on one developmental stage—adolescence and young adulthood. Future research, therefore, should test whether the results hold at other developmental stages, such as midlife and old age. It is possible that the general pattern of results, such as the unidirectionality of the effect of low self-esteem on depression, holds across age groups, but the processes that might account for the effects (e.g., a tendency for low self-esteem individuals to seek negative feedback and engage in excessive rumination) change over the life course.

Moreover, future studies should examine longitudinal relations between self-esteem and depression across even longer periods of time (e.g., decades instead of years), as well as across much shorter time intervals, using daily or weekly assessments of self-esteem and depression (for a discussion of temporal designs, see Collins, 2006). If effects of self-esteem on depression were detectable using a much shorter temporal resolution, then this finding would suggest that the individual processes that account for the effect operate across short time intervals. Effects revealed by studies using longer time intervals might then be traced back to the accumulation of short-term effects.

Future research should seek to identify the mediating processes of the effect of self-esteem on depression, which might consist in, for example, the interpersonal and intrapersonal processes described in the Introduction. Ideally, these studies should be conducted, like the present research, using a longitudinal design with multiple repeated assessments because only longitudinal mediator tests, but not cross-sectional tests, allow for valid conclusions about the temporal sequence of predictor, mediator, and outcome (Cole & Maxwell, 2003).

Future research should also continue to examine the effects of other characteristics of self-esteem, besides its level, such as the intraindividual stability of self-esteem. Prospective studies have shown that self-esteem stability (typically measured as the within-person standard deviation of a self-esteem measure across several consecutive days) predicts subsequent level of depression, even when controlling for the effect of self-esteem level (Butler et al., 1994; Kernis et al., 1991; J. E. Roberts & Monroe, 1992).

Together, the future studies proposed here will contribute to the development of a broader theory of how, when, why, and for whom low self-esteem serves as a risk factor for depression. Ultimately, such knowledge might serve as the basis for designing effective interventions aimed at preventing or reducing depression.

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Footnotes

¹Throughout this article, we use the term “depression” to denote a continuous variable (i.e., individual differences in depressive affect), rather than a clinical category such as major depressive disorder (American Psychiatric Association, 2000). Indeed, taxometric analyses suggest that depression is best conceptualized as a dimensional rather than a categorical construct, for children, adolescents, and adults (Hankin, Fraley, Lahey, & Waldman, 2005; Lewinsohn, Solomon, Seeley, & Zeiss, 2000; Prisciandaro & Roberts, 2005; Ruscio & Ruscio, 2000).

²Whereas in the measurement model the latent factors are identified by setting the factor variances to 1 (corresponding to eight degrees of freedom), in the structural model the factors are identified by setting one loading per construct to 1 (corresponding to two degrees of freedom). This difference explains why the first structural model (Model 3) has only six more degrees of freedom than the underlying measurement model (Model 2), even if the structural part of the model constrains 12 parameters. In the structural model, no other identification method is available because variances cannot be modeled for the endogenous construct factors at Time 2 to 4. In the measurement model, we decided to use the factor variances for identification, because this procedure allows testing measurement invariance simultaneously for all factor loadings.

³We also ran all models using the sample with unrestricted age ($N = 404$). However, the results of the analyses were virtually unaltered, and all significant effects remained significant.

⁴The values could not be derived from multiple-indicator models because, in contrast to single-indicator models, multiple-indicator models do not allow estimating meaningful model-implied means for the constructs. The structural part of the single-indicator models was identical to the multiple-indicator models. The single-indicator models resulted in very similar

standardized estimates of the structural coefficients.

Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations of Measures (Study 1)

Variable	Time 1		Time 2		Time 3		Time 4	
	(15 years)		(17 years)		(19 years)		(21 years)	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
RSE	3.19	0.41	3.25	0.42	3.29	0.45	3.27	0.42
CES-D	0.71	0.52	0.69	0.51	0.70	0.54	0.68	0.54

Note. Response scales ranged from 1 to 4 for the RSE and from 0 to 3 for the CES-D. RSE =

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale; CES-D = Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale.

Table 2

Fit Indices of the Models Tested (Study 1)

Model	χ^2	df	TLI	CFI	RMSEA	90%-CI of RMSEA
Measurement models						
1. Free loadings	644.3**	188	.93	.96	.032	.029 - .034
2. Longitudinal constraints on loadings	681.4**	206	.93	.95	.031	.028 - .034
Structural models						
3. Free structural coefficients	739.8**	212	.93	.95	.032	.030 - .035
4. Longitudinal constraints on structural coefficients	752.1**	220	.93	.95	.032	.029 - .034

Note. $N = 2403$. TLI = Tucker-Lewis Index; CFI = Comparative Fit Index; RMSEA = Root

Mean Square Error of Approximation; CI = confidence interval.

** $p < .01$.

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations of Measures (Study 2)

Variable	Time 1		Time 2		Time 3		Time 4	
	(18 years)		(19 years)		(20 years)		(21 years)	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
RSE	3.82	0.77	3.88	0.82	3.86	0.77	4.06	0.72
CES-D	0.98	0.58	0.94	0.57	0.82	0.53	0.74	0.52

Note. Response scales ranged from 1 to 5 for the RSE and from 0 to 3 for the CES-D. RSE =

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale; CES-D = Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale.

Table 4

Fit Indices of the Models Tested (Study 2)

Model	χ^2	df	TLI	CFI	RMSEA	90%-CI of RMSEA
Measurement models						
1. Free loadings	226.8*	188	.99	.99	.024	.009 - .035
2. Longitudinal constraints on loadings	257.1**	206	.98	.99	.026	.014 - .036
Structural models						
3. Free structural coefficients	284.0**	212	.98	.99	.031	.021 - .040
4. Longitudinal constraints on structural coefficients	288.3**	220	.98	.99	.029	.019 - .038

Note. $N = 359$. TLI = Tucker-Lewis Index; CFI = Comparative Fit Index; RMSEA = Root Mean Square Error of Approximation; CI = confidence interval.

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

Figure Captions

Figure 1. Cross-lagged regression model of self-esteem and depression with longitudinal constraints on structural coefficients (Model 4, Study 1). Values shown are standardized coefficients. To keep the figure simple, estimates of error variances and covariances are not shown. RSE = Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale; CES-D = Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale; RSE1a to RSE4c = RSE parcels; CESD1a to CESD4c = CES-D parcels.

Figure 2. Cross-lagged regression model of self-esteem and depression with longitudinal constraints on structural coefficients (Model 4, Study 2). Values shown are standardized coefficients. To keep the figure simple, estimates of error variances and covariances are not shown. RSE = Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale; CES-D = Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale; RSE1a to RSE4c = RSE parcels; CESD1a to CESD4c = CES-D parcels.

Figure 3. Model-implied means of self-esteem and depression for Study 1 and Study 2. The values are derived from the unstandardized estimates of cross-lagged models in which the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE) and the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CES-D) were used as single indicators. The three lines depicted in each panel represent the trajectory of a Variable X for an individual with mean values for X, as a function of different initial values for the Variable Y (i.e., $+1.96\text{ SD}$, M , and -1.96 SD , with the trajectory for the mean initial value for Y indicated by solid lines). Because in the single-indicator models all cross-lagged effects had negative values, the upper lines for X correspond to lower initial values for Y and vice versa. The dashed lines mark the limits of the area where 95% of the expected trajectories are located, for individuals with mean initial values for X.

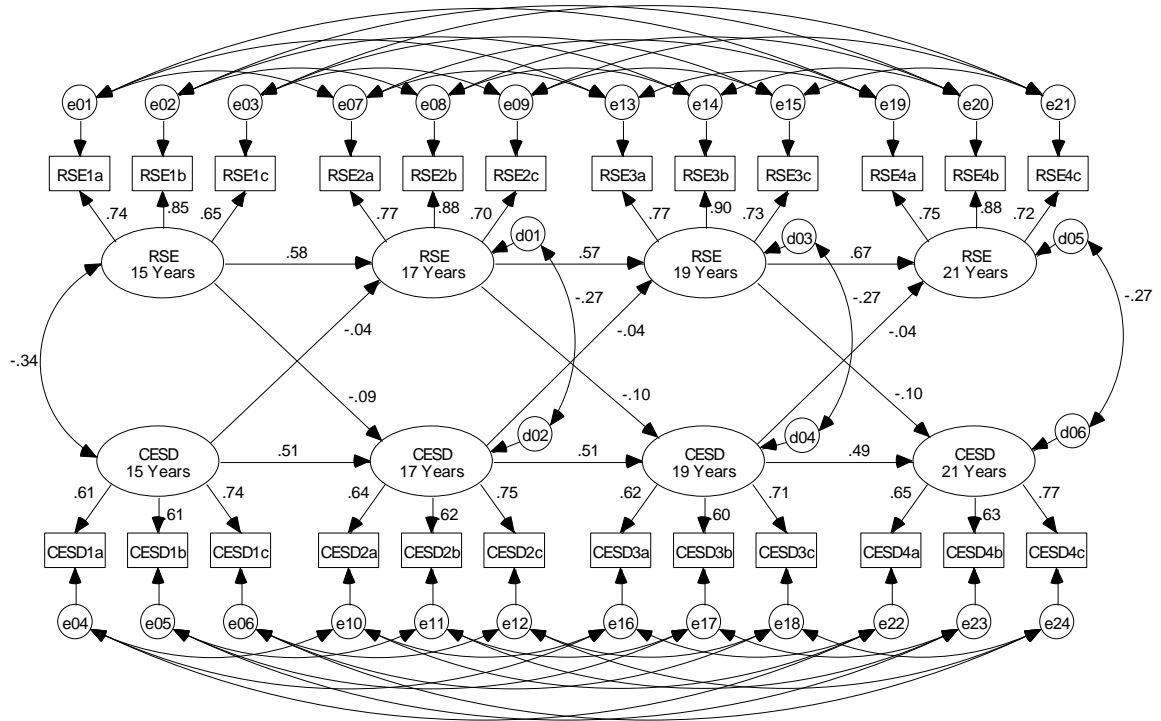


Figure 1

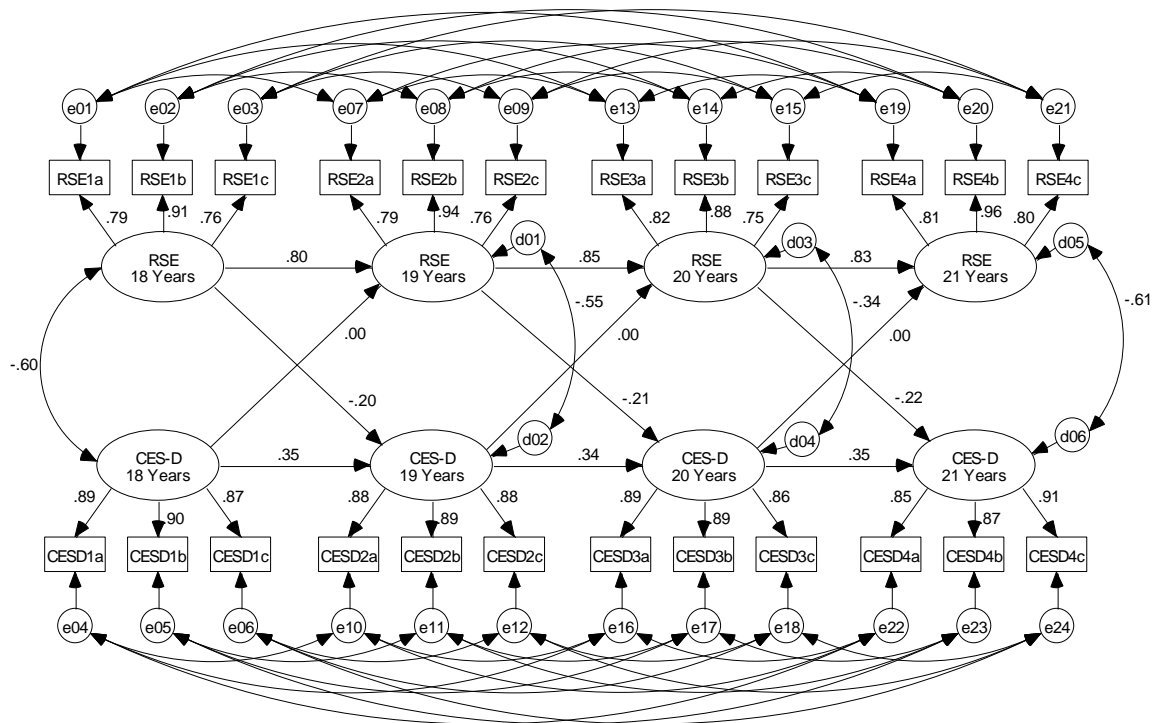


Figure 2

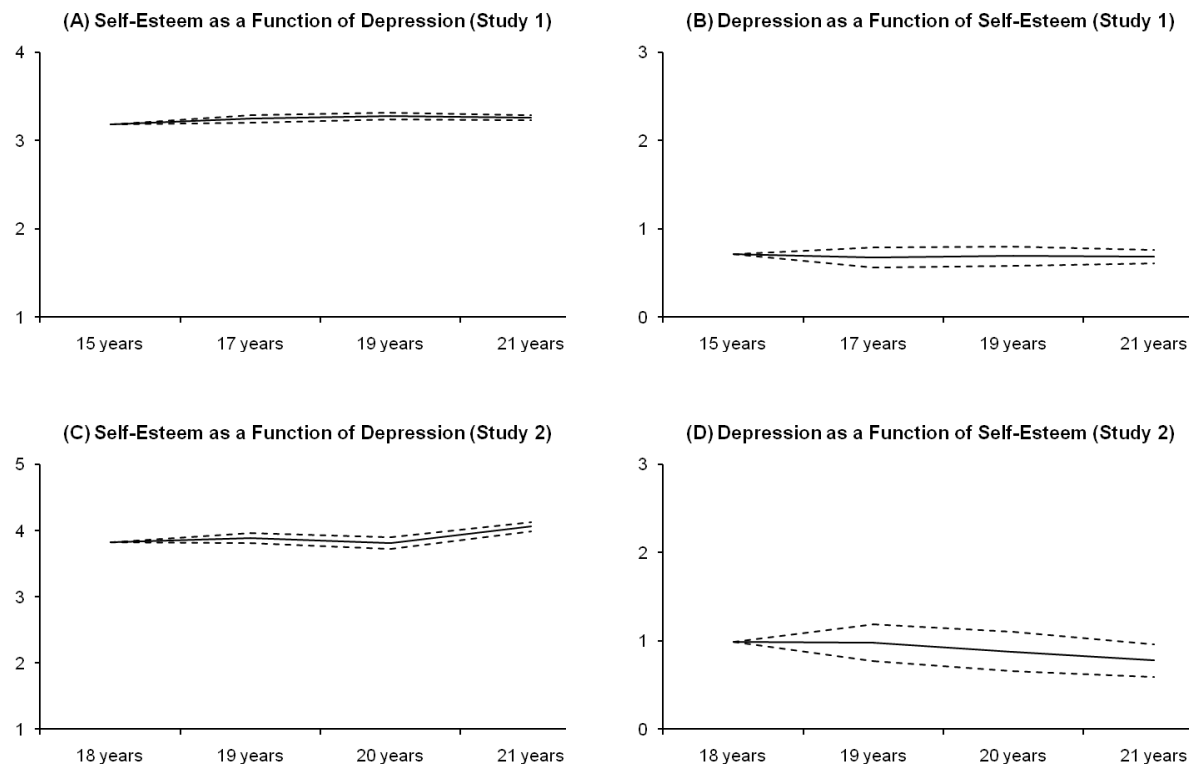


Figure 3