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Individualism and Collectivism:  
Well Being within the African American Community

By

Tajana K. Graves

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Date: 11/9/2021

INDIVIDUALISM AND COLLECTIVISM: WELL BEING WITHIN  
THE AFRICAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY

BY

TAJANA K. GRAVES

Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of  
Eastern Kentucky University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

2021

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## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my blood related and chosen family. I am grateful for all that you have done and do. I love you all.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I want to express gratitude to my loved ones for their kindness, grace, love, and support. I want to thank my cohort for being supportive, and courteous during this unique time in our lives. I want to thank Dr. Gore for assisting in reaching my potential, being patient, along with providing reassurance.

## ABSTRACT

The purpose of the current study is to examine how cultural values are linked to well being among African Americans and the generations differences that moderate those links. It is hypothesized that a) that the older generation of African Americas will score higher on allocentrism than idiocentrism, younger generation of African Americans will score higher on indiocentrism than on allocentrism, b) the older generation of African Americans will score lower on well-being than younger generations of African Americans,c) allocentrism will be a stronger predictor of well-being than indiocentrism, d) the link between allocentrism and well-being will be stronger for younger generation African Americans than for older generation African Americans. Participants (n=1,226) completed an online survey of cultural values, and well being. Of those participants the focus was the 353 African American participants. The results identified ways in which allocentrism and idiocentrism assist or hinder well being across generations of African Americans.



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## INTRODUCTION

In 2020, The Center for Disease Control and Prevention reported that 11.2 % of adults over 18 experience regular feelings of worry, nervousness, or anxiety. They also report that 4.7% of individuals over 18 experience regular feelings of depression. Although depression affects a significant portion of the population, there are distinctions among races. Bailey et. al. (2019) state that 17.9% of Caucasians over the age of 18 experience depressive symptoms, while 10.4% of African Americans over the age of 18 report depressive symptoms. These results reveal that depressive symptoms are not equally experienced across races. The findings from the 2016 National Health Interview Survey show that psychological distress interference was high in all groups within the African American community except for older African American men and young African American women. This suggests that there are generational and gender differences in well-being and distress. These differences may be due to shifting cultural values over time. The purpose of the current study is to examine how cultural values are linked to well-being among African Americans and the generational differences that moderate those links.

## CULTURAL VALUES

According to Triandis (1989), culture includes language, technology, economic, political, and educational systems, religious and aesthetic patterns, and social structures. In turn, cultures develop a framework through which their members think and behave. Two examples of such frameworks include individualism and collectivism. In individualistic cultures, people give priority to personal goals over the goals of other people in collectivist people make no distinction between personal and group, or if they do make such distinctions, they subordinate, their personal goals (Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988). Both individualism and collectivism can exist in a culture, few cultures are almost exclusively individualistic or collectivistic. These terms should therefore be seen on a continuous scale and not as fixed categories.

While the United States is a multiethnic country, the majority have shaped what is culturally acceptable. The dominant American culture is typically considered to be individualistic (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1994), but within this and other cultures, people vary in the extent to which they value collectivism or individualism (Triandis, Leung, Villareal, & Clark, 1985). Regarding race, Baldwin and Hopkins (1990) have asserted that the African American worldview emphasizes inclusiveness and connectedness (*allocentrism*), whereas the Northern European American worldview emphasizes separateness and independence from others (*idiocentrism*).

Complex cultures create a greater amount of ingroups that an individual can have the option of joining or not. Factors such as affluence, mobility, the drive to personal goals have an impact on what makes a culture individualistic (Hui & Triandis, 1986). Relationships are based more on an exchange than communal needs. While collectivistic

cultures tend to be concerned about the results of their actions on members of their ingroups, tend to share resources within group members, feel interdependent with ingroup members, and feel involved in the lives of ingroup members (Hui & Triandis, 1986). The ingroup's overall integrity comes before the independence of individuals within the ingroup. Social relationships in this culture also tend to be more communal.

## Kin and Nonkin

Ingroups tend to serve different functions across cultures. In collectivistic cultures, groups tend to be small, whereas in individualistic cultures they are relatively large (Triandis, 1989). Within collectivistic and individualistic cultures, in-group relationships of kin and nonkin can also differ. In Rhee et al (1996), kin was specified as parents, children, and relatives, whereas nonkin includes friends, colleagues, visitors, or neighbors, and other acquaintances. The distinctions between kin and nonkin are recognized differently across cultures. In many cultures, kin is the most important in terms of common fate, and kin relationships serve as prototypes for other relationships (Sinha & Verma, 1987). Family Integrity is a recurring cultural factor that differentiates cross-culturally and is the only factor that correlates negatively with Hofstede's (1980) Individualism factor (Triandis, Bontempo, et al., 1986; Triandis et al., 1988). Therefore, in cultures that emphasize the dignity, and well-being of the family unit, self-actualization and achieving personal goals are set aside to abide by duty to the family.

## Psychological Outcomes Linked to Individualism and Collectivism

Each culture can have set behavioral standards, which can have an impact on psychological outcomes on the individual. Behavior that is deemed to be out of the ingroup's standard can result in negative self-conscious emotions such as guilt and shame. Cohen et al. (2011) defined guilt proneness as the tendency to feel negative about one's behavior after committing a private transgression, and the accompanying tendency to engage in reparative behavior to address the transgression. Shame proneness is the tendency to feel negative about oneself after committing a public transgression, and the

accompanying tendency to engage in withdrawal behavior to distance oneself from the transgressional context. Individuals in individualistic or collectivist cultures can experience guilt, or shame depending on the emphasis on punishment on nonstandard behavior, as well as the duration an individual is made to experience shame, or guilt, can affect an individual's mental health and overall well-being within the culture.

#### Race Differences in Individualism and Collectivism

Individualism and collectivism operate uniquely within each culture. No two forms of individualism or collectivism are the same. The terms horizontal and vertical refer to the cultures' emphasis on equality or hierarchy. Examples of this would be Australia and the United States. Both cultures are individualistic. However, Australia has horizontal individualism, emphasizing equality. Whereas the United State has vertical individualism, that emphasizes hierarchy. Komorraju and Cokley (2008) examined the ethnic difference in horizontal and vertical dimensions of individualism and collectivism to investigate is relationship patterns differ across ethnicities. The results showed African Americans being significantly higher in horizontal individualism and European Americans being higher on horizontal collectivism and vertical individualism. This reveals that even when practicing individualistic traits, it is done so with an emphasis on equality. The results also indicated that both individualism and collectivism can exist among African Americans, but only individualism exists among European Americans. Although previous views have determined individualism and collectivism to be unipolar, independent dimensions, results support that African American's individualism and collectivism can be unipolar and positively related dimensions.

For individualism and collectivism among African Americans, Kambom (1992) stated that the African worldview and philosophy are the foundation for understanding the culture and psychology of Black people. People of African descent have a social philosophy that embraces collectivism, while people of European descent have a social philosophy that embraces individualism. While several studies provide evidence for African Americans having more collectivistic beliefs than European Americans, there is also research that suggests the opposite. Meta-analyses by Koon and Kimmelmeier (2001) and Oyserman et al. (2002) found that African Americans exhibited the highest levels of individualism when compared to European-Americans, Asian-Americans, and Latino-Americans. In contrast, Gaines et al. (2005) found that there were no significant differences in individualism between African-Americans, and European-Americans. Specifically, African Americans scored significantly higher than European-Americans on collectivism. This suggests that there may be important distinctions among African-Americans that may explain these contradictory findings.

Both individualism and collectivism have fundamental goals in common. Both individualism and collectivism are value systems that cultural members aspire to achieve, and these values are given priority over other tasks. Individualism and collectivism differ in kin and non-kin relationships, psychological outcomes, and race, yet little research has been done on the differences across generations, with some exceptions.

#### Generational Differences in Individualism and Collectivism

As cultures continue to practice and teach individualism or collectivism, each generation emerges with new needs, and preferences that correlate with their standards. Zhang and Shavitt (2003) examined Chinese ads to address two issues: the role of

advertising in hastening modernity in terms of consumption values and promoting individualistic cultural values. China is often studied and regarded as a traditionally collectivistic culture. So, a study on the Chinese X- generation is impactful because, with the exposure to technology, globalization, and education, this generation has experienced a shift in cultural values. Specifically, members of the Chinese X- Generation typically work at local offices established by multinational companies in cities in which people from different cultural origins encounter one another. Economically, these 18-35-year old's make more money than their parents and have more disposable income (Taiwan & Thompson, 1996).

The results from their study indicated that not only do modernity and individualism predominate current Chinese advertising, but those ads are prevalent to the Chinese X-generation compared to mass audience advertisements of collectivistic and traditional values (Zhang & Shavitt 2003). While China is still a traditional, and collectivistic culture, the X- generation is vastly different in comparison to previous generations' regarding exposure and access, which can allow for a switch in cultural values.

The context in which generational studies are done is important to note. Typically, younger generations have better access to resources such as food, education, healthcare, mobility, and have an overall higher quality of living in contrast to older generations. Also, the demands of the world have changed as well. Older generations had more flexibility in how to earn an income without an education. In modern society, it is not only encouraged but, in many ways, mandatory depending on your desired field to have formal education. Older generations often lived, worked, and raised a family in the same location. Younger generations in contrast often move for school, work, and are encouraged to travel for



pleasure (“Millennials Are Moving”, 2019). Societal standards change across generations. So, while individualistic values can increase in younger generations, it does not completely dissolve the collectivistic teachings of previous generations. This in turn could factor into how individualism and collectivism can coexist not just ethnically but, intergenerationally as well.

## CULTURE AND WELLBEING

Overall well-being and self-regard are factors that are not only predicted by individual differences, but by cultural values as well. Positive self-regard is thought by many to be essential for achieving mental health (e.g., Baumeister, 1993; Leary, Tambor, Terdal & Downs, 1995; Taylor & Brown, 1988). It has been actively studied from the North American point of view, which centers around individualistic values of worth. Not every culture practices individualism, however, so self-regard from an individualistic perspective cannot be applied globally. Heine et al., (1999) examined Japanese and North American cultural contexts to articulate how specific socialization processes (i.e., specific social environment arrangements of practices and institutions), can promote and sustain particular mentalities (i.e., the psychological experiences associated with self-regard).

The results from the literature review suggest that allocentrism may play a greater role in influencing the subjective well-being of African Americans when compared to European Americans (Kernahan, Bettencourt, Dorr 2000). For African Americans, those higher in allocentrism seem to experience a more positive sense of subjective well-being (Kernahan, Bettencourt, Dorr, 2000). The results also suggest that the collectivistic nature of the African American worldview may positively buffer African Americans from the negative consequences of the individualistic emphasis in the larger society (Kernahan, Bettencourt, Dorr, 2000). This is especially interesting when we consider how individualism is promoted as an important and adaptive character trait in American society (Kernahan, Bettencourt Dorr, 2000). African Americans having allocentric values that serve their overall well-being show harmony in values that exist between cultural values

within the African American community as well as societal standards by the majority culture. American individuals can be seen as a culture with high self-regard due to the teachings on why America was founded, the many accomplishments, and the country is regarded as the greatest nation on Earth. High self-regard propels these narratives forward to emphasize individuals to be the best and achieve the best. Any ethnicity that emphasizes the needs of their own would fit in the preexisting narrative of American culture.

A part of positive self-regard is self-esteem. Within the field of social psychology, many have come up with their definitions of self-esteem. Rosenberg (1979) defined self-esteem as a self-reflexive attitude that results from conceiving the self as an object of evaluation. Brown (1998) defined self-esteem as feelings of affection for oneself, and he described high self-esteem as a general fondness or love for oneself. Both definitions regard self-esteem as an internal reflection for a person views oneself. This view of oneself is important in the process of human development.

Human development is a universally shared process. Greenfield et al (2003) review three universal tasks of human development: relationship formation, knowledge acquisition, and the balance between autonomy and relatedness at adolescence. Each can be addressed through two ideal developmental pathways, one emphasizing individualization and independence, the other emphasizing group membership and interdependence. There is an agreement across different theoretical approaches that the formation of relationships is the first integrative developmental task that infants and their caregivers have to master (Keller 2002). In cultural communities that value independence, the early relationship matrix is founded on the ethnotheory of infants' early independent functioning (Greenfield et al 2003). In the interdependence model, the child's dependence

on the parents comes to be reversed at adulthood when parents become dependent on adult children.

North Americans are socialized to be autonomous from childhood. Given this type of socialization and children engaged in North American cultural contexts are likely to become motivated to regard the self positively – to discover and identify positively valued intern attributes of the self, express them in public, and confirm them in private (Kitayama, Markus, Matsuoto, & Norasakkunit, 1997; Markus & Kitayama, 1991b; Shweder et. al., 1998). In contrast to North America ,Japanese culture has a shared belief in the interdependence of the self with others (Hamaguchi, 1965; Kondo, 1990; Markus & Kitayama,1991b; Triandis, 1989). Those raised in cultures as this have a greater emphasis on belonging and being accepted by the group rather than their needs, or self-actualization. In the context of overall well-being, encouragement of self-actualization, is linked to well-being. In contrast, collectivistic cultures emphasize validation of social standing within the relationship and shared experiences and these are more strongly linked to feelings of worth. African American culture shares similar beliefs with the North American and Japanese culture. As African Americans have lived in North America, the sense of autonomy has been adopted. Similarly to Japanese culture, African Americans also put importance on the group’s acceptance of a child. The similarities shared cross-culturally show uniqueness in African American culture as it stands within the bigger context of the majority culture within the United States.

## Culture Fit Theory

Taken together, these results suggest that well-being and feelings of worth are mostly grounded in embodying the culture's ideal. Culture Fit Theory suggests that fitting in one's culture results in heightened satisfaction, and failure to do so results in heightened anxiety (Spiro, 1961). The strong influence of a culture's values can be determined by the culture's affluence, which is reflected in the group's income and employment rate (Furman et. al., 2015). The culture's affluence is also often associated with urbanization, which often results in members taking on more individualistic than collectivistic values (Hofstede, 1980, 2001). When cultural values are shared among members of this large group, the people within the culture are socially motivated to be good cultural members (Spiro, 1961). For people within the culture, it is not a task to perform cultural values, traditions, or expectations. Rather it becomes a part of a desire to constantly fit within the culture and do their part to accomplish the goals set by the cultural ingroup.

## Generational Differences

A study that closely resembles what we are trying to accomplish is Mishra's (1994) study which examines the individualistic and collectivistic orientations of younger and older generations of Indian people of different residential and educational backgrounds toward certain aspects of their lives. It was hypothesized that a) people would exhibit both individualistic and collectivistic orientations and values at the same time, (b) people of the younger generation would have fewer collectivistic orientations and values than would the older generation, and (c) higher levels of education and urban residence would reduce collectivistic orientations and enhance individualistic orientations.

The results indicated that both individualistic and collectivistic values are held by people at the same time, though the former were held somewhat more strongly than the latter (Mishra 1994). The findings also reveal that individualistic values such as personal happiness, economic gain, and personal beliefs can co-exist with collectivistic values such as salvation, enduring relationships, and altruism among people (Mishra 1994). Understanding the Indian state of mind can be complex. Individualism and collectivism are placed in the context of the socio-cultural demands of individuals. Rural areas tend to be large areas of land with a low population density that tend to have occupations relating to agriculture. With a low population density and the common occupation being agriculture the community could close in a relationship and emphasize that closeness for a stronger sense of community. Urban communities have a high population density, with a wide range of occupations. With resources being limited, helping others could be a tool to ensure survival in this area. The needs of the community of the individual can be based on a person's strength of values or of their hierarchy within the community.

This study shows similarities in Indian culture and African American culture in that both have a unique relationship with individualism and collectivism. Findings reveal the well-being of the family to be the dominant concern of Indian people (Sinha, 1969; Mishra & Tiwari, 1980; Roy & Srivastava, 1986). This is regarded as dharma (sacred duty) of a grihastha (householder) in India. This could indicate that the roots of collectivism for Indians begin with family first. Then once the well-being of a family is secure, collectivism can expand to non-relatives. The Indian form of collectivism seems to contain some traits of individualism (Tripathi, 1988). Tripathi (1988) has argued that such orientations are generally used as strategies for enhancing one's own or one's family's position in society

or for providing standards of comparison that allow one to reflect on one's situation rather than on the situation of the group.

A common problem throughout the various studies on individualistic and collectivistic cultures is that most work focuses on Asian cultures to represent collectivism. The reasons for the mass study on Asian cultures, specifically China and Japan, could be the extensive history of maintaining collectivistic values, which makes these countries ideal studies within the subjects of individualism and collectivism. For the sake of a better understanding of individualism and collectivism, more research needs to be done on minorities within cultures such as African Americans. The framework of North America culturally being individualistic, and the historical knowledge of African Americans has the potential to provide great insight on what individualism and collectivism look like within a poly ethnic society, specifically when the ethnicity of the study did not voluntarily come to said country. Further research could provide insight into the African American thought process within their own culture and how they have navigated dominating European American culture for generations. The following section outlines some of the recent work on cultural well-being among African Americans and the elements that require further examination.

## AFRICAN AMERICAN WELL BEING

Each ethnic group has a different reason for coming to the United States. Some European Americans may be able to trace their ancestry back to some of the first immigrants who sought asylum from Europe. However, many African Americans are the descendants of chattel slavery. According to Komarraju and Cokley (2008), two different ethnic groups may score high on individualism but may do so for different aspects of individualism.

A TRIOS (Time, Rhythm, Improvisation, Orality, and Spirituality) model by Jones (2003) describes the cultural values brought by African Americans when they arrived on the shores of the United States and how these have evolved to protect and enhance them when faced with racism. In particular, the value of improvisation reflects individualistic self-reliance, a unique personal style that encourages a sense of being in control, even in unpredictable circumstances. At the same time, the value of orality in social context emphasizes collectivistic orientations, such as the importance of group cohesion, maintaining group harmony, and strengthening bonds with friends and family. Thus, the TRIOS model captures the unusual manner in which both individualism and collectivism can coexist within African Americans.

It is very important to include historical context when referring to individualism and collectivism among different generations amongst African Americans. Historical context shows that African culture tends to be more collectivistic with an emphasis on collective unity. Nobles (1972) noted that African proverbs such as, “I am because we are and because we are, therefore, I am”-are believed to be also embraced by African Americans. This statement emphasizes the interconnectedness of the individual to the



overall community. Within the 1970s, the African American community had a surge of ethnic and racial pride coming off the tail end of the Civil Rights Movement and the rise of the Black Panther Party. Taking care of the community was a common theme during this era. Komarraju and Cokley (2008) indicated that both individualism and collectivism exist among African Americans, but only individualism exists among European Americans. Present-day, the Black Lives Matter Movement has united several generations of people including younger generations who are protesting and becoming more politically involved. Although previous views have determined individualism and collectivism to be unipolar, independent dimensions, results support that African Americans' individualism and collectivism can be unipolar and positively related dimensions (Komarraju & Cokley, 2008). However, with society having a greater emphasis on self-improvement, younger generations would have to find a balance between personal-well-being and community well-being.

Within the United States, African Americans historically have endured societal oppressions that have affected mental health and well-being. Jackson and Carter (2007) examine the relationships between race-related stress, racial identity, and mental health. They further support the existence of interdependent mode strengths-based based Black cultural values that include black racial identity, Black racial socialization, communal, and cultural spirituality, and racism-related coping. This indicates that African Americans have a complex harmony of values, that are equal in importance.

## Factors That Predict Well Being

In 2016, the American Psychological Association conducted a nationwide survey that found that 69% of American adults reported at least one experience of everyday discrimination, 35% of the 69% , were African American. It has been established that racial discrimination has a particularly strong psychological impact on the well-being of African Americans. Utsey, Chae Brown, and Kelly (2002) found that Blacks reported more experiences of individual and cultural race-related stress than other people of color and had equal institutional race-related stress. Researchers have found that encounters with racism have led to psychological symptoms such as trauma (Carter, 2007), general psychological distress (Carter, Forsyth, Mazzula, & Williams, 2005; Klonoff, Landrine, & Ullman, 1999), cultural mistrust (Combs et al, 2006), poor quality of life, less life satisfaction, and depression (Noh & Kaspar ,2003; Utsey & Payne, 2000). Specifically, racism has been implicated in the onset of several stress-related diseases, including hypertension, coronary heart disease, cancer, lung ailments, accidental injuries, and cirrhosis of the liver (McCord & Freeman, 1990; Outlaw, 1993). Psychologically chronic exposure to racism has been associated with increased levels of depression (Simpsons & Yinger, 1985), lowered life satisfaction and self-esteem (Broman, 1997; Fernando, 1984), and feelings of trauma, loss, and helplessness (Murray, Khatib, & Jackson, 1989).

### Societal Factors

Broman (1997) found that the life satisfaction of African Americans was negatively affected by their experiences with racial discrimination. Utsey et al., (2002) examined the relationships among race-related stress, quality of life indicators, and life satisfaction

among elderly African Americans. The results indicated that African American men had significantly higher stress levels of race-related stress than elderly African American women. In the context of U.S. society, elderly African Americans are consistently confronted with the lingering cultural attitudes toward the old, insidious forms of racism, and severe economic deprivation (Coke & Twaite, 1995).

According to statistics compiled by the National Council on Aging (2016), older workers of color are most at risk for unemployment, with older African American men twice as likely to be unemployed as older white men. In 2017, households containing families headed by African Americans age 65 and over reported a medium income of \$43,705. The comparative figure for all other households was \$61,946 (Administration on Aging 2018). In 2018, 78% of the African American population age 65 and older had finished high school, and 20% had a bachelor's degree or higher; in contrast 87% of all older persons were high school graduates and 29% had a bachelor's degree or higher (Administration on Aging 2018).

#### Individual Differences in Well Being

Within the African American community, however, not all encounters with racism result in psychological symptoms (Carter, Forsyth, et al.,2005). One way of understanding differences among Blacks in their perceptions of discrimination or racism and in perceptions of racism as a stressor is through examining Black racial identity status attitudes or profiles (e.g., Carter, Helms, & Juby, 2004; Helms,2001; Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk-Cone, & Zimmerman, 2003; Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Thompson & Carter,1997). Black racial identity consists of four statuses: Pre encounter, a status in which one denies the salience of one's race and racial group; Encounter, a status in which one

confronts an experience that makes the race more salient, leading to a psychological state of transition and confusion; Immersion-Emersion, a status that involves an active process of learning about one's race and culture; and Internalization, a status wherein one integrates race and its meaning with one's identity (Carter,1995,2005,2007; Carter, Williams ,& Pieterse,2005). This implies that not just race but the relationship with race identity have an impact on the perception of racial discrimination.

Pillay (2005) found Black racial identity status attitudes to be predictive of psychological health (e.g., depression, anxiety, positive affect, and behavioral control). The results of Pillay (2005) study show that racial identity status attitudes are important to consider when examining the mental health outcomes of race-related stress for Black Americans (Franklin-Jackson, Carter,2007). Furthermore, mental health (as measured by well-being and distress) was predicted by both race-related stress and racial identity status attitudes, with racial identity as a stronger predictor (Franklin-Jackson, Carter,2007).

Another factor that African Americans experience is the aspect of acculturation. History has shown that African Americans have been forced to assimilate to the dominant culture through slavery, Reconstruction, and Jim Crow. This along with the intricacies of racial identity provide another context for African Americans. Wilcots (2000) found there is a relationship between racial identity and acculturation. Parham and Helms (1985a) investigated the relationship between racial identity and self-esteem. The assumption is that adopting the beliefs and attitudes of the Black experience leads to an increase in self-confidence. The results indicated that pre-encounter and immersion attitudes were correlated with low self-esteem (Parham & Helms 1985). The authors also suggested that Black students can devalue themselves because they are Black and may have low self-

esteem; yet by confronting these negative feelings in the encounter stage, a positive racial self-concept emerges (Parham & Helms,1985a). Acculturation is a considerable factor in the lives of African Americans as it relates to racial identity and contributes to self-esteem. Confronting the feelings of inadequacy can not only have positive results for self-esteem but can also possibly affect other aspects of their well-being.

Low self-esteem and inadequacy due to being Black are the result of the low social status that the majority culture places African Americans in. Garcia Coll et. al., (1996) outlined a model that situates the social position (i.e., race-ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and gender) of minoritized children within a socially stratified society. The model specifically looks to understand the growth and development of minority children and families. It also acknowledges that society inevitably creates systematic oppression (e.g.-isms) placing them in certain settings that may be segregated and have implications for their wellbeing. This could help unravel the complexities in family interaction integrating history, traditions, and adaptive responses. Identifying the complexity and relationship these elements have with each other can help make better sense of why the impact of mental health disorders is so significant.

#### Generational Differences on Well Being for African Americans

Depression has a unique and pronounced impact on African Americans (Mereish et.al, 2016). Although the prevalence of major depression is lower for African Americans than non-Hispanic White Americans, it is often untreated and its consequences are more severe and disabling for African Americans (Mereish et.al, 2016). Well-being in African American men and African American women have different sources and consequences. To understand these differences better it is important to discuss the details of the African

American male experience in the United States. Mereish et. al, (2016) examines how the mediating effects of self-esteem in discrimination and depressive symptoms depend on ethnicity. The results showed that discrimination plays an important role in depressive symptoms for both groups of Black American men (Mereish et.al, 2016). For African American men, self-esteem was a mediator of the relationship between discrimination and depressive symptoms (Mereish et. al,2016). Specifically, everyday discrimination was associated with poorer self-esteem and in turn depressive symptoms only in African American men (Mereish et. al 2016). The results indicated that ethnic group membership served to protect Afro-Caribbean American's self-esteem against everyday discrimination (Mereish et.al, 2016.) This magnifies that African Americans experience discrimination to a different degree, which impacts their self-esteem more than their Black counterparts.

As it pertains to identity devolvement it is important to note that, identity formation is a developmental process, leading to ideally a fusion of identities (Erikson 1968). It is assumed that ethnic identity development occurs in a progression from diffusion/foreclosure (i.e., unexamined), through exploration (moratorium) to ethnic identity achievement (Phinney & Chavira 1992). Several other models of ethnic or racial identity formation suggest similar changes over time (e.g., Atkinson, Morten, and Sue,1983; Helms 1990). African American identity is a combination of African heritage and American acculturation. With the African identity continuously being demeaned, embracing this part of ethnic identity is increasingly harder as it is seen as unvaluable to the majority culture.

Phinney (1992) found significantly higher scores on ethnic identity achievement among college students than among high school students. Low levels of the racial identity

of Black students are associated with low self-esteem, and feelings of inferiority and anxiety (Parham&Helms,1985). Ethnic identity development among minority adolescents from various backgrounds is positively associated with self -evaluation and self-esteem (Phinney& Alipuria,1990). Ethnic identity achievement requires sufficient confidence for the individual to explore and question what has been taken for granted (Phinney & Chavira 1992). The study found higher stages of ethnic identity over three years. Participants who progressed over the three years had not only higher initial self-evaluation scores, but also high scores on social and peer relations and on family relations. Confidence or high self-esteem is a critical component for the individual growth of ethnic identity. Without confidence, an individual will not be compelled to explore the achievements of their ethnic background. Without this exploration, an individual could cease pursuing personal accomplishments as they would see no value in it.

For Black women, self-esteem has another layer of significance because of their intersectionality between race and gender. Patterson (2004) conducted a study that examined the self-esteem of African American women over the course of 14 years. Support networks, achievement outcomes, and racial esteem were the specific variables analyzed. The research also sheds light to stress the socio-cultural characterizes that enable Black women to attain and sustain a healthy sense of self, despite being marginalized and devalued in society (Patterson 2004). Research reveals that for the general Black population, Whites do not contribute significantly to the formation of Black self-esteem (Baldwin, Brown, & Hopkins, 1991; Crocker & Major, 1989, Rosenberg, 1979; Rosenberg & Simmons, 1972). Self-esteem is developed in immediate interpersonal environments (Patterson 2004). Most African Americans live and socially interact in

segregated environments, their relevant others are usually other Blacks (McCarthy & Yancey,1971; Rosenberg, 1965, Rosenberg & Simmons,1972). Similarly, Krause (1983) found that even in interracial environments such as schools, that interracial contact with Whites did not negatively affect Black's self-esteem. This provides insight into how black identity and self-esteem are cultivated. The immediate environment is more important than the dominant culture. The self-esteem and mental health of those around you has a deeper effect than those you do not have much interaction with.

The results of Patterson's (2004) study found that African American women maintained high levels of self-esteem over 14 years. She found that the self-esteem develops from being supported by similar others anchors them and enables them to resist not only demeaning images of their group but the devaluation of themselves as substandard. Members of subjugated groups that can affirm their self-worth should also be able to withstand the assault of racial discrimination and other forms of inequality (Patterson,2004).

These findings are significant in studying Black women's self-esteem. This information reveals that Black women reject the portrayals of the majority culture, and do not use them as a source of validation. Black women were once predicted to have low self-esteem because scholars thought they internalized demeaning messages of themselves and measured themselves against a White female standard (Miller, 1992; Myers, 1975,1980; Scott,1991). Black women, however, are consistently shown to have higher self-esteem than White women, and black women may be better able to maintain high self-esteem throughout their life courses (Boyd,1993; DeFrancisco & Chatham- Carpenter,2000; Hoelter, 1983; Myers,1975, 1980; Turner& Turner,1982). Findings substantiate that



African American's primary sources of self-esteem are family, friends, church, and community, all of which are composed mostly of other Blacks (Eugene,1995; Miller,1992; Myers,1975,1980; Scott,1991). While this information is important it is worthy to note that most of these studies are over twenty years are missing an entire generation of African Americans, and also many cultural events have happened that could have a significant effect on African American women self-esteem.

Self-esteem in African American women is seen to be initially developed and sustained by outside similar anchors. Myers (1980) found that other Black women are the primary sources of Black women's self-esteem because it is their evaluations that are most important for their self-assessments. According to White (1985), slave women had to be self-reliant and self-sufficient to develop their means of survival because Black men were often not present to take care of them to add their families. Slave women also relied on each other in what White calls a "female slave network." DeFrancisco and Chatham-Carpenter (2000) found that self-esteem was fundamentally community-based for African American women in their study. They also explained that social support was so central to their participant's overall sense of self because it gave them the adaptive skills to survive, and even thrive, in an oppressive society. Porter and Washington (1979) concluded that group pride is an important factor in self-esteem for Blacks. These studies show self-esteem serves a role beyond positive self-view. A positive or negative sense of self-esteem can impact how an individual successfully moves in the dominant culture.

#### Access to Treatment and Use of Treatment

Self-esteem is an important factor in mental health because of its relationship with depression and anxiety. Mental health treatment is an important factor in well-being that

African Americans have disparities in. Although African Americans have lower rates of mental illnesses than other ethnic groups, mental illnesses are more severe and persistent in African Americans, arguably due to inadequate access and treatment (Breslau et al.,2005). Compared to their white counterparts, African Americans are disproportionately affected by mental illnesses, in part, because of certain barriers that affect their mental health care access and utilization (Chang & Downey,2012).

If unrecognized, these barriers can further increase the rate at which mental illness and treatment are handled within the African American community. To combat the existing racial disparities in mental health ,more treatments that work cross-culturally need to be equipped to meet the unique needs of African American communities (Kawaii-Boque, et., al,2017). Integrative care models have become more commonplace over the past few decades and even more widespread since the enactment of the Affordable Care Act (ACA: Berryman, Palmer, Kohl, &Parham,2013). Yet, for African Americans, previous models have fallen short in providing culturally sensitive frameworks for mental health care. Kawaii-Bboque et.al., (2017) presented an integrative framework for mental health service delivery that is positioned within the context of African Americans communities. Perceived stigma related to their mental illness often prevents African Americans from seeking help in professional settings or confiding in others about symptomatology (Johnson, Mills, DeLeon, Hartzema, & Haddad, 2009). It is necessary to develop health care strategies that are more sensitive to the experiences of communities of color effective in reducing the stigma associated with seeking health care (Kawaii-Boqu are e et.al, 2017). Researchers have also noted that the cost of care may prevent ethnic minorities from accessing adequate mental health services (Miranda et al., 2003). Furthermore, increased rates of prevalent

chronic mental health conditions are correlated with socioeconomic status, and African Americans are overrepresented in socio-economic disadvantaged communities (Boe, Overland, Lundervold, & Hysing, 2012). Costs of care of mental health insurance coverage are important considerations for the creation of mental health services targeting the African American community (Kawaii-Boque et al., 2017). Another strategy for reducing stigma-related barriers in the African American community is to hire African American clinicians (Kawaii-Boque et al., 2017). Research has confirmed that mental health providers tend to over-pathologize African Americans patients (Gallman, 2006). Cultural training and awareness need to be implemented to assist in the treatment of mental illness in the African American community. Without it, mental illness will continue to affect African Americans harsher than their White counterparts.

Transportation is a documented barrier to accessing mental health services (Arcury, Preisser, Gesler, & Powers, 2005). Transportation is a larger issue for African Americans because they have long been the largest minority group in rural communities in the United States (Housing Assistance Council, 2012). It is proposed that clinics should provide a transportation incentive to lower-income clients so that they do not incur a financial burden due to this extra cost of care (Kawaii-Boque et al., 2017). Finally, childcare is a barrier to mental health care access. In a comprehensive study examining barriers to treatment-seeking among a sample of low-income African Americans with depression, 24 percent of participants reported “competing obligations” as a barrier to accessing treatment; childcare accounted for approximately one-third of these competing obligations (Post et al., 2006). These barriers faced by the African American community vary but have solutions. These solutions can take time but are achievable, nonetheless. Transportation is a barrier for

African Americans due to the overrepresentation they have in low socioeconomic environments. These environments tend to not be prioritized or are underfunded in many areas; transportation is one of them. Personal transportation requires a steady source of income that pays enough to sustain a vehicle. Public transportation is not available in areas where people may need it the most. They can have limited routes or times that conflict with an individual's schedule. Without transportation, people who need treatments will not be able to reach the proper facilities to get it.

### Individualism and Collectivism Predict Well Being

Within this context of majority versus minority culture, African American well-being and allocentrism must be compared. Kernahan, Bettencourt, Norr (2000) examined the relationship between allocentric and subjective well-being among African Americans and European Americans. They also tested the groups for the relationship between egocentrism and subjective well-being. Allocentric are those individuals in a given culture who tend toward collectivism, whereas indiocentrics those who tend toward individualism. Given that allocentrics are more connected with members of their groups and tend to rely more on others, it is not surprising that allocentrism is correlated with psychological well-being (Sinha & Verma,1994), life satisfaction (Verkuyten & Kwa, 1994), and decreased loneliness (Triandis et al.,1980, whereas indiocentrism is correlated with more loneliness and depression (Triandis et al.,1988). If African Americans value collectivist tendencies are related to their cultural worldview, allocentrism may then play a greater role in predicting subjective well-being, or happiness for African Americans (Diener,1984).

The effect of minority versus majority culture on African Americans can impact how they interact socially. Rose et al (2019) examined patterns of social connection and

Black Adolescents' well-being and whether they differ by ethnicity and gender. The results showed that there was not a significant difference among minimally connected youth compared to those in the well-Connected profile. Rose et al. (2019) suggested that the combination of connections, though minimal, was enough to provide a similar amount of relief from symptoms and functioned more as a protective factor. It was also observed that younger adolescents were more represented in the Well-Connected profile and older adolescents were more represented in the Minimal Connection and Unconnected profiles (Rose et al,2019). This is consistent with findings that older youth are less connected to the family (Oldfield et al. 2016) and that family may be more influential in predicting wellbeing among younger youth (Detrie & Lease, 2007). This could be due to a change in cultural values over time. Children rely more on their family and environment to shape their self-esteem, and how to handle discrimination. As children age, they must rely on themselves to use the tools given to them to safely navigate their environment. This usually results in a change of location, new job, and having their own income, ultimately relying less on their family. Overall well-connected youth, those with greater connections to all social settings, had better psychological well-being than those who are less connected (Rose et al,2019).

African American men have a different relationship than others regarding well-being and racism within North America. Franklin (1999) posited that African American men, because of the constant onslaught of racism and oppression, experience a sense of invisibility. For many of the participants in the study, as with other African Americans in the same age cohort, government-sanctioned discrimination in housing, education, employment, health care, and public policy was a chronic source of race-related stress

during their early and middle developmental years (Utsey et al., 2002). It is to be noted however that other factors (factors not examined in their study), such as coping strategies and resources, differential exposure to stress, and socialization, are potential mediators of and may explain some of the variances in race-related stress (Utsey, Ponterotto, Reynolds, & Cancelli, 2000). The difference in the relationship that African American men and women have to race-related stress and well-being could be the cultural values each gender has on how to cope with stress, and the overall importance of well-being.

## RATIONALE AND HYPOTHESIS

It has been established that, within the African American community, psychological distress was high in all groups except for older African American men and young African American women (NHS, 2016). Several studies have indicated generational differences happen through a changing of life priorities, but these have not been linked to cultural values.

The lack of research on how cultural values are linked to well-being among African Americans and the generational differences that moderate those links leave the potential for a better understanding of these concepts. We do not know how individualism and collectivism can coexist within African Americans. We also do not know why older African American men and younger African American women specifically have lower levels of psychological distress.

The historical context of African Americans provides information that explains why cultural values are so significant for relationships within the African American community. Other ethnic minority groups such as Asian Americans and Latino Americans that have retained some of their cultural identity, have stronger relationships within the community that can have a positive effect on their well-being. Any strain on cultural values or distress within the community has several psychological effects on well-being. Racial discrimination has such an impact on African Americans that it impacts cultural values and can power, well-being for several generations. A shift in cultural values causes a change in perspectives of cultural fit and overall well-being.

There were four predictions for this study. The first is that the older generation of African Americans will score higher on allocentrism than idiocentrism. The younger generation of African Americans will score higher on indiocentrism than on allocentrism. Second, the older generation of African Americans will score lower on well-being than younger generations of African Americans. Third, allocentrism will be a stronger predictor of well-being than indiocentrism. Lastly, the link between allocentrism and well-being will be stronger for younger generation African Americans than for older generation African Americans.



## METHOD

### Participants and Procedure

1,226 participants were recruited from social discussion forums on Facebook, Snapchat, and Instagram. From there they were able to follow the link to the survey (see Appendix). Participants in this study varied in age range, the lowest being 18 years old and live within the United States. While this study is collecting data from various races and ethnicities , it is looking specifically at African Americans. Participants took part in this research with an option to enter a drawing to win an Amazon gift card of \$20.

The Triandis Attitude Scale (1991), Triandis Self Behavior Scale (1991), and Ryff Scales of Psychological Wellbeing (1995) were administered through various research social media discussion forums beginning of January 2021. The only results that were used were from participants that have completed the survey in its entirety. Participants were informed that the study is about how cultural values are linked to well-being among African Americans and the generational differences that moderate those links. Participants completed the questionnaires in 30 minutes. Participants were also given a debriefing that included an optional code to email the principal investigator to enter a drawing for an Amazon gift card. Afterward, they were thanked for their participation and exited the survey.

## Materials

**Cultural Values.** The Triandis Attitude Scale (1991) consists of 6 items with a 6-point scale ranged from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (6). The Triandis Attitude Scale consists of three subscales. Two items from the General Others Collectivism, two items form up Kin Collectivism, and two items form up General Others Collectivism. Triandis Self – Behavior Scale (1991) consists of 20 items with a 9-point scale that ranges from disagree/false (1) to agree/true (9). The Triandis Self -Behavior Scale is made up of five subscales. Four items form Kin Collectivism, three items form Kin Individualism, six items from the NonKin Collectivism, five items form NonKin Individualism, and two items form General Others Individualism.

**Well Being.** The Ryff Scales of Psychological Wellbeing (1995) measures six aspects of wellbeing and happiness: autonomy, environmental mastery, personal growth, positive relations with others, purpose in life, and self-acceptance. The scale consists of 18 items with a 7-point scale that ranges from strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (7).

**Demographics.** These items include age, gender identity, ethnicity, education level, and location to better understand certain background characteristics of the participants. Demographics are necessary for the determination of whether the individuals in a particular study a representative sample of the target population for generalization purposes are.

## RESULTS

Since generational differences were being analyzed generational differences were represented with a 0 (date of birth after 1980), and 1 (date of birth before 1980). Hypothesis 1 was that the older generation of African Americans will score higher on allocentrism than idiocentrism. Hypothesis 2 was that the younger generation of African Americans will score higher on idiocentrism than allocentrism. Hypothesis 3 was that the older generation of African Americans will score lower on well-being than younger generations of African Americans. These three hypotheses were tested using independent samples t-tests with generation as the independent variable and all cultural and well-being variables as the dependent variables (displayed in Table 1).

Table 1 displays the generational mean differences on study variables (i.e., kin allocentrism, nonkin allocentrism, general allocentrism, total allocentrism, kin idiocentrism, nonkin idiocentrism, general idiocentrism, total idiocentrism, autonomy, environmental mastery, personal growth, positive relations, purpose in life, self-acceptance, ethnic identity, and discrimination). Overall, the results in Table 1 displayed that the younger generation members are lower in overall well-being and in identifying with their ethnicity, but they are also higher in reported discrimination than the older

generation.

Table 1  
Mean Differences on Study Variables

	Younger Generation		Older Generation		<i>t</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
Kin Allocentrism	4.38	1.21	4.11	1.15	1.10
Nonkin Allocentrism	5.12	1.41	4.84	1.51	0.95
General Allocentrism	3.85	1.06	3.71	1.20	0.64
Total Allocentrism	4.62	0.98	4.37	0.88	1.28
Kin Idiocentrism	4.45	1.55	4.65	1.80	-0.62
Nonkin Idiocentrism	4.67	1.18	4.33	0.91	1.41
General Idiocentrism	4.72	1.11	4.81	0.95	-0.39
Total Idiocentrism	4.63	0.82	4.57	0.75	0.38
Autonomy	4.73	1.04	6.05	0.92	-6.21**
Environmental Mastery	4.61	1.07	4.69	1.24	-4.86**
Personal Growth	5.11	1.17	6.26	0.78	-4.89**
Positive Relations	4.48	1.15	5.85	1.29	-5.78**
Purpose in Life	4.42	1.15	5.44	1.26	-4.34**
Self-Acceptance	4.87	1.18	5.74	1.25	-3.56**
Ethnic Identity	3.08	0.47	3.32	0.48	-2.24*
Discrimination	2.28	0.64	1.97	0.39	2.26*

Note. \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ .

Hypothesis 4 was that allocentrism will be a stronger predictor of well-being than idiocentrism. Hypothesis 5 was that the link between allocentrism and well-being will be stronger for younger generations of African Americans than for older generations of African Americans. These hypotheses were tested using a series of regression analyses with the two cultural values on the well-being variables. These were conducted for the total sample as well as for the subsamples by generation (as displayed in Table 2).

Table 2 displays how allocentrism and idiocentrism predict the different well-being variables. Overall, allocentrism was associated with better well-being than idiocentrism. Idiocentrism was not a positive predictor of any well-being variables for the overall sample. Allocentrism was a positive predictor of Environmental Mastery, Positive Relations, and

Self-Acceptance, whereas Idiocentrism was a negative predictor of those same variables. Allocentrism was also a negative predictor of Autonomy.

When comparing the generational subsamples, there were some noteworthy differences. For the younger generation, Allocentrism was a positive predictor of Environmental Mastery, Positive Relations, and Self-Acceptance, whereas Idiocentrism was a negative predictor of those variables. Also, for the younger generation, Allocentrism was a negative predictor of Autonomy. This was the same pattern for the overall sample because the younger generation subsample was much larger than the older generation subsample. For the older generation, Allocentrism was positively associated with Positive Relations and Self-Acceptance, whereas Idiocentrism was positively associated with Personal Growth, Purpose in Life, and Self-Acceptance. Thus, allocentrism and idiocentrism appear to serve differential benefits for the older generation.

Table 2  
Cultural Values Predicting Well-Being for Total Sample and Subsamples

Outcome Variables	Predictor Variables					
	Allocentrism			Idiocentrism		
	Total	Younger	Older	Total	Younger	Older
Autonomy	-.16**	-.16**	-.05	.04	.03	.25
Environmental Mastery	.14**	.18**	.12	-.15**	-.19**	.22
Personal Growth	.00	.00	.30	-.04	-.06	.36 <sup>+</sup>
Positive Relations	.11*	.11*	.44*	-.17**	-.20**	.08
Purpose in Life	.07	.08	.26	.00	-.03	.51**
Self-Acceptance	.09 <sup>+</sup>	.09 <sup>+</sup>	.38*	-.12*	-.16**	.41*

Note. <sup>+</sup> $p < .10$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ .

### Were the Hypotheses Supported?

Hypotheses 1 and 2 were not supported. For Hypothesis 3, the younger generation was lower in well-being, which is the opposite of what was expected. Hypothesis 4 was

partially supported. For Hypothesis 5, it was partially supported. The older generation has psychological benefits in both allocentrism and idiocentrism.

## DISCUSSION

The purpose of the current study was to examine how cultural values are linked to well-being among African Americans and the generational differences that moderate those links. Hypotheses 1, 2, and 3 were not supported. Specifically for Hypotheses 1 and 2, there were no significant differences in the scores. The third hypothesis was not supported, and the opposite was found. The older generation of African Americans scored higher in well-being than the younger generation. Interestingly, the younger generation of African Americans scored significantly higher in reported discrimination compared to the older generation of African Americans. Hypothesis 4 was partially supported. Allocentrism was only positively associated with environmental mastery, positive relations, and self-acceptance, but not the other well-being variables. Hypothesis 5 was partially supported. For African Americans, allocentrism is better than idiocentrism in terms of well-being. When comparing generational subsamples, however, idiocentrism is particularly harmful to younger generations of African Americans.

A study that best resembled what I wanted to accomplish in my thesis was Mishra (1994) study, which examines the individualistic and collectivistic orientations of younger and older generations of Indian people of different residential and educational backgrounds. Similar to Mishra (1994), I sampled from two generational groups and used a Triandis instrument to measure individualism and collectivism. Like the Mishra (1994) study, my results showed no difference in allocentrism and idiocentrism across generations. My study also found that both allocentrism and idiocentrism have links to well-being. However, these links are only significant with the older generation. Zhang and Shavitt (2003) found that modernity and individualism predominate current Chinese advertising,

but those ads are prevalent to the Chinese X- generation compared to mass audience advertisements of collectivistic and traditional values. This shows that the younger generation is exposed to globalization, technology, and changes in social values that could affect the significance of collectivism values. Zhang and Shavitt (2003) show the cultural shift in values moving towards idiocentrism, whereas my study is showing the outcome of having these values.

Some past research has stated that the African American worldview emphasizes allocentrism (Baldwin & Hopkins, 1990; Kambom, 1992), whereas other studies have shown the opposite: that African Americans exhibited higher levels of individualism (Koon & Kemmelmeier, 2001; Oyserman et al., 2002). The current study found that there were no significant differences in allocentrism and indiocentrism regarding generation. Table 1 has kin, nonkin, and general distinctions for idiocentrism and allocentrism. This distinction between kin and nonkin is recognized differently across cultures and is generally used to differentiate ingroup relationships. Rhee et al (1996), defined kin as parents, children, and relatives, whereas nonkin included friends, colleagues, visitors, or neighbors, and other acquaintances. However, our results showed that there are no generational differences between kin, nonkin, and general. This provides insight that African Americans have an interconnectedness with each other, and that interconnectedness is based on ingroup relationships rather than blood relations. The lack of support for Hypothesis 1, and 2 could be because of us looking at different subcultures in contrast to previous research, different generations, and the measures needing to improve on clarity.

In previous research, Komarraju and Cokley (2008) indicated that both individualism and collectivism exist among African Americans, but only individualism



exists among European Americans. Societal standards change across generations. So, while individualistic values can increase in younger generations, it does not completely dissolve the collectivistic teachings of previous generations. A TRIOS model by Jones (2003) describes the cultural values brought by African Americans when they arrived on the shores of the United States and how these have evolved to protect and enhance them when faced with racism. In particular, the value of improvisation reflects individualistic self-reliance, a unique personal style that encourages a sense of being in control, even in unpredictable circumstances. At the same time, the value of orality in social context emphasizes collectivistic orientations, such as the importance of group cohesion, maintaining group harmony, and strengthening bonds with friends and family. Thus, the TRIOS model captures the unusual way both individualism and collectivism can coexist within African Americans across generations.

However, older generations of African Americans seem to benefit the most from coexisting values from idiocentrism and allocentrism. For this study, older generation members are those who were born before 1980 which would include Generation X (41 years old-56 years old), and Baby Boomers (57 years old -75 years old). These generations would have experienced significant events that would have marked their generations such as a multitude of race riots, the civil rights movement, the assassinations of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr, and Malcolm X, desegregation of schools, Brown vs. Board, etc. Research has shown that specifically elderly African Americans are consistently confronted with the lingering cultural attitudes towards the old, insidious forms of racism (Coke and Twaite 1995). Yet, Table 1 shows that older generations of African Americans had lower scores

in reported discrimination and higher scores in ethnic identity which research has linked to how these can impact overall well-being.

It could be, that the older generation coped with the discrimination they have faced across their lifespan by connecting shared experiences with their ethnic group such as the effects of racism (discrimination in education, employment, housing, or physical violence) rather than reporting. With Table 1 showing that older generation members having higher scores in ethnic identity, examining the black identity could provide insight. Within the four statuses of Black racial identity, older generations could be in the internalization status in which one integrates race and its meaning with one's identity (Carter, 1995, 2005, 2007; Carter, Williams, & Pieterse, 2005). Table 2 shows the integration of this status in terms of the dimensions of well-being. Older generations have learned the harmony of having benefits in idiocentrism and allocentrism. This means that race and the relationship with race identity have an impact on the perception of racial discrimination, which then could impact overall well-being.

These results could be used in human services such as academia, and government. In education, specifically K-12, there is considerable attention towards the younger generation. Knowing that well-being and identifying with their ethnicity are both low, and reported discrimination is high means schools can create spaces for these children to feel safe, and explore their identity. Implementing opportunities for this generation to showcase their ethnic identity, and culture could help. The teachers will be important in establishing a trusting relationship between them and the younger generations so reported discrimination can continue to be reported and handled in a just manner. Higher education

often has a mix of generational mentor /mentee programs that can work at a student level and faculty/staff level.

The government, government assistance programs, and federal outreach programs can also utilize this information as a way to measure how well their programs are helping. Many governments assistance programs and federal outreach programs are there to assist in improving the well-being of individuals. However, these programs can be improved to better assist the needs of older and younger generations of African Americans. The government could focus on the feeling of connectedness, and other allocentric needs rather than amplifying idiocentric values, which the results show is detrimental to younger generations' well-being. An example of this would be SNAP (Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program) Benefits. According to Hunger in Kentucky, 1 in 7 people face hunger, 1 in 6 of those people are children (Feeding America, 2021). Having the local Department of Community Based Services visit campus, go through the application, and discuss who qualifies for the services would focus on the feeling of connectedness to people rather than to an institution. Actions such as this could have long term benefits in helping to fight hunger. A question that could be further explored would be, how can allocentric values be implemented even in cultures that value idiocentrism?

#### Limitations and Future Directions

This investigation has a couple of limitations that should be considered. Despite a large amount of data, it has imbalanced representation in terms of the younger generation and older generation with the number of participants that reported being younger generation being significantly larger than the older generation. Another limitation was low reliability in some of the measures. This could be as a result of difficulty level, or clarity

of expression of the question of a test item. Low reliability was especially prevalent in the following measures: kin collectivism, kin individualism, non-kin individualism, general individualism.

Revising the wording in the measures would be an important step in improving the reliability of these measures. Improving the wording could provide clarity. This could result in updating the measures or creating a new scale that provides better clarity. There would also be an emphasis on collecting balanced data from younger and older generations. This would mean implementing different methods for creating surveys that appeal to the older generations as well as collecting data. High contrast colors, using larger font sizes, and marking buttons for survey actions could help older generations interact with the survey without frustration (The Accessibility Tips for Surveying an Ageing Population, 2016). While the number of older generations that are online increases, this does not mean that they are comfortable giving out confidential information over the internet. This would mean that the best method for collecting data from older generations would be in person, hand delivered. Understanding where older adults congregate in the community is going to be a key component in data collection. There also a need to consider the subsamples of older generation members (“superstars”) who have a higher computer literacy. A match-group design could be considered on various elements or could be used to control for those confounding elements. Education level of the participants is another consideration to be included, specifically how much the degree is worth more in relation to SES for older generation members. Future research should explore gender as it relates to biculturalism and ethnic identity or how people take on a bicultural identity when navigating mainstream society.

## CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of the current study was to examine how cultural values are linked to well-being among African Americans and the generational differences that moderate those links. Contrary to my predictions, I found that younger generation members have lower overall well-being and in identifying with their ethnicity but, are higher in reported discrimination than the older generation. Overall, allocentrism was associated with better well-being than idiocentrism. I discovered that older generations gain various benefits from both idiocentric and allocentric values. A beneficial harmony between allocentrism and idiocentrism is ideal, however, the reality is that for African Americans well-being is significantly impacted by social factors. Knowing this information can be used in education and government to create programs that can be applied to younger or older generations for their specific needs.

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## APPENDICES

APPENDIX A:

RECRUITMENT STATEMENT

**APPENDIX A:**  
Recruitment Statement

{NOTE TO IRB REVIEWER: THIS WILL BE POSTED IN THE SOCIAL MEDIA  
PLATFORMS FOR RECRUITMENT PURPOSES}

Hello, my name is Tajana Graves I am a graduate student at ECU in the Psychology Department. I am researching how cultural values are linked to well-being among African Americans and the generational differences that moderate those links. I am inviting you to participate because you are at least 18 years of age and live in the United States.

Participation in this research includes taking a survey about your attitudes toward relationships, behavior, and attitudes towards relatives and nonrelatives. The survey will also survey your overall well-being. which will take approximately 10 minutes. If you participate in both the survey and the interview, you will be given a code with an option to enter a drawing for an Amazon gift card.

If you have any questions or would like to participate in the research, I can be reached at [tajana\\_graves@mymail.ecu.edu](mailto:tajana_graves@mymail.ecu.edu)

APPENDIX B:

CONSENT STATEMENT

Appendix B:

Consent Statement

{NOTE TO IRB REVIEWER: THIS WILL BE POSTED ON THE FIRST SCREEN OF THE QUALTRICS SURVEY}

Individualism and Collectivism: Well, Being Within the African American Community

We are asking you to take part in a research study being led by Tajana Graves at Eastern Kentucky University.

Participating in this study is voluntary. If you do not feel comfortable answering any of the questions, you may skip the item and move on. You are also allowed to quit at any time if you desire to. If at any point you feel distressed or discomfort while completing the study, immediately quit and seek help if needed.

The information collected in this study is strictly for research purposes only. No identifying information will be obtained by the researchers.

We ask participants to provide honesty and effort when answering questions about themselves. Participants will be asked about subjects including how your relationship, behavior, and attitudes towards relatives and nonrelatives as well as overall well-being.

Please direct questions to Tajana Graves at [tajana\\_graves@mymail.eku.edu](mailto:tajana_graves@mymail.eku.edu) or [tajana\\_graves@eku.edu](mailto:tajana_graves@eku.edu). If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant, contact the Eastern Kentucky University Institutional Review Board at (859) 622-3636.

Would you like to continue? YES NO

APPENDIX C:

DEBRIEFING FORM



## APPENDIX C:

### Debriefing Form

**{NOTE TO IRB REVIEWER: THIS WILL BE POSTED ON THE LAST PAGE OF THE QUALTRICS SURVEY}**

#### Individualism and Collectivism: Well, Being Within the African American Community

Thank you for completing the study.

This study is attempting to examine how cultural values are linked to well-being among African Americans and the generational differences that moderate those links.

First, we investigated the various ways in which individualism and collectivism can differ in African Americans compared to European Americans, as well as generational differences that affect individualism and collectivism. We expect people older generations of African Americans will score higher in collectivism and individualism. Younger generations of African Americans will score higher on individualism than on collectivism.

Second, we investigated if cultural differences affect well-being for African Americans, specifically societal factors, access to treatment, and individuals' differences. We also expect older generations of African Americans will score lower on well-being than younger generations of African Americans. Also, that individualism will be a stronger predictor of well-being than collectivism.

You have the option to enter a drawing for an Amazon gift card upon the conditions that you have not incorrectly answered 3 or more items serving as attention checks and you fully complete the study without exiting early. The code to enter the drawing is YJ9NGFPD. Use this code and email it to [tajana\\_graves@mymail.eku.edu](mailto:tajana_graves@mymail.eku.edu) with the word Drawing in the subject line.

Please feel free to send any questions, comments, or inquiries to learn more contact Tajana Graves at [tajana\\_graves@mymail.eku.edu](mailto:tajana_graves@mymail.eku.edu)

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APPENDIX D:

DEMOGRAPHICS

APPENDIX D:

Demographics

**Demographics**

**1. Age**

Open response

**2. Gender Identity**

- A) Female
- B) Male
- C) Non-binary
- D) Other (please specify)

**3. Ethnicity**

- A) Hispanic or Latino
- B) Not Hispanic Latino

**4.**

**Race**

- A) Native American
- B) Asian/ Asian American
- C) Black or African American
- D) Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
- E) White / European American

**5. Education**

- A) Less than a high school diploma
- B) High school degree or equivalent
- C) Bachelor's Degree
- D) Master's degree
- E) Doctorate

**6. Please fill in your zip code.**

\*drop down for zip code

**7. Please circle the answer that best describes your income .**

- A) Less than \$20,000 (below or near poverty)
- B) B) \$20,000-\$44,999 (low income)
- C) \$45,000-\$139,999 (middle class)
- D) \$140,000-\$149,000 (upper middle class)

**8. How would you describe your residence?**

- A) Rural
- B) Urban
- C) Suburban

APPENDIX E:

TRIANDIS SCALE

APPENDIX E:

Triandis Scale

**Please indicate your degree of agreement (using the score 1-9) to the following sentences, strongly disagree/false (1) to agree/true (9)**

**Triandis Behaviors Kin Collectivism (4 items)**

1. Ask your old parents to live with you?  
(disagree/false) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (agree/true)
2. Ask close relatives for a loan?  
(disagree/false) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (agree/true)
3. Have parents who make enormous (outsiders would say "unreasonable") sacrifices for you?  
(disagree/false) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (agree/true)
4. Have parents who consult your fiancée's parents extensively, before they decide whether you two should get married  
(disagree/false) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (agree/true)

**Triandis Behaviors Kin Individualism (3 items)**

1. Place your parents in an old peoples' home or nursing home?  
(disagree/false) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (agree/true)
2. Decide to get married and then announce it to your parents and friends?  
(disagree/false) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (agree/true)
3. Live far from your parents?  
(disagree/false) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (agree/true)

**Triandis Behaviors NonKin Collectivism (6 items)**

1. Stay with friends, rather than in a hotel, when you go to another town?  
(disagree/false) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (agree/true)
2. Call on a friend, socially, without giving prior warning?  
(disagree/false) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (agree/true)
3. Take time off from work to visit an ailing friend?  
(disagree/false) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (agree/true)
4. Consult with your friends before buying an expensive item?  
(disagree/false) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (agree/true)
5. Entertain visitors even when they drop in at odd hours?  
(disagree/false) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (agree/true)
6. Entertain even unwelcome guests?  
(disagree/false) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (agree/true)

### **Triandis Behaviors NonKin Individualism (5 items)**

1. Prefer to stay in a hotel rather than with distant friends when visiting another town?  
(disagree/false) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (agree/true)
2. Call your friends every time before visiting them?  
(disagree/false) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (agree/true)
3. Prefer going to a cocktail party rather than going to dinner with four of your close friends?  
(disagree/false) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (agree/true)
4. Spend money (e.g., send flowers) rather than take the time to visit an ailing friend?  
(disagree/false) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (agree/true)
5. Show resentment toward visitors who interrupt your work?  
(disagree/false) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (agree/true)

### **Triandis Behaviors General Others Individualism (2 items)**

1. Have frank talks with others, so as to clear the air?  
(disagree/false) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (agree/true)
2. Get to know people easily, but it is also very difficult for you to know them intimately?  
(disagree/false) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (agree/true)

### **Triandis Attitudes Kin Collectivism (2 items)**

1. Aging parents should live at home with their children.  
(strongly disagree) 1 2 3 4 5 6 (strongly agree)
2. When faced with a difficult personal problem, one should consult widely with one's relatives.  
(strongly disagree) 1 2 3 4 5 6 (strongly agree)

### **Triandis Attitudes General Others Collectivism (2 items)**

1. One of the pleasures of life is to be related interdependently with others.  
(strongly disagree) 1 2 3 4 5 6 (strongly agree)
2. One of the pleasures of life is to feel being part of a large group of people.  
(strongly disagree) 1 2 3 4 5 6 (strongly agree)

### **Triandis Attitudes General Others Individualism (2 items)**

1. When faced with a difficult personal problem, it is better to decide what to do yourself, rather than follow the advice of others.  
(strongly disagree) 1 2 3 4 5 6 (strongly agree)
2. One should live one's life independently of others as much as possible.

(strongly disagree) 1 2 3 4 5 6 (strongly agree)



APPENDIX F:

RYFF PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL BEING SCALE

## Appendix F:

### Ryff Psychological Well Being Scale

Instructions: Circle one response below each statement to indicate how much you agree or disagree.

1. "I like most parts of my personality."

1 (strongly agree) 2(somewhat agree) 3( a little agree) 4( neither agree or disagree) 5(a little disagree) 6 ( somewhat disagree) 7 ( strongly disagree)

2. "When I look at the story of my life, I am pleased with how things have turned out so

far.

1 (strongly agree) 2(somewhat agree) 3( a little agree) 4( neither agree or disagree) 5(a little disagree) 6 ( somewhat disagree) 7 ( strongly disagree)

"Some people wander aimlessly through life, but I am not one of them."

1 (strongly agree) 2(somewhat agree) 3( a little agree) 4( neither agree or disagree) 5(a little disagree) 6 ( somewhat disagree) 7 ( strongly disagree)

"The demands of everyday life often get me down."

1 (strongly agree) 2(somewhat agree) 3( a little agree) 4( neither agree or disagree) 5(a little disagree) 6 ( somewhat disagree) 7 ( strongly disagree)

• "In many ways I feel disappointed about my achievements in life."

1 (strongly agree) 2(somewhat agree) 3( a little agree) 4( neither agree or disagree) 5(a little disagree) 6 ( somewhat disagree) 7 ( strongly disagree)

• "Maintaining close relationships has been difficult and frustrating for me."

1 (strongly agree) 2(somewhat agree) 3( a little agree) 4( neither agree or disagree) 5(a little disagree) 6 ( somewhat disagree) 7 ( strongly disagree)

- “I live life one day at a time and don’t really think about the future.”

1 (strongly agree) 2(somewhat agree) 3( a little agree) 4( neither agree or disagree) 5(a little disagree) 6 ( somewhat disagree) 7 ( strongly disagree)

- “In general, I feel I am in charge of the situation in which I live.”

1 (strongly agree) 2(somewhat agree) 3( a little agree) 4( neither agree or disagree) 5(a little disagree) 6 ( somewhat disagree) 7 ( strongly disagree)

- “I am good at managing the responsibilities of daily life.”

1 (strongly agree) 2(somewhat agree) 3( a little agree) 4( neither agree or disagree) 5(a little disagree) 6 ( somewhat disagree) 7 ( strongly disagree)

- “I sometimes feel as if I’ve done all there is to do in life.”

1 (strongly agree) 2(somewhat agree) 3( a little agree) 4( neither agree or disagree) 5(a little disagree) 6 ( somewhat disagree) 7 ( strongly disagree)

- “For me, life has been a continuous process of learning, changing, and growth.”

1 (strongly agree) 2(somewhat agree) 3( a little agree) 4( neither agree or disagree) 5(a little disagree) 6 ( somewhat disagree) 7 ( strongly disagree)

- “I think it is important to have new experiences that challenge how I think about myself and the world.”

1 (strongly agree) 2(somewhat agree) 3( a little agree) 4( neither agree or disagree) 5(a little disagree) 6 ( somewhat disagree) 7 ( strongly disagree)

- “People would describe me as a giving person, willing to share my time with others.”

1 (strongly agree) 2(somewhat agree) 3( a little agree) 4( neither agree or disagree) 5(a little disagree) 6 ( somewhat disagree) 7 ( strongly disagree)

- “I gave up trying to make big improvements or changes in my life a long time ago”

1 (strongly agree) 2(somewhat agree) 3( a little agree) 4( neither agree or disagree) 5(a little disagree) 6 ( somewhat disagree) 7 ( strongly disagree)

- “I tend to be influenced by people with strong opinions”  
1 (strongly agree) 2(somewhat agree) 3( a little agree) 4( neither agree or disagree) 5(a little disagree) 6 ( somewhat disagree) 7 ( strongly disagree)
- “I have not experienced many warm and trusting relationships with others.”  
1 (strongly agree) 2(somewhat agree) 3( a little agree) 4( neither agree or disagree) 5(a little disagree) 6 ( somewhat disagree) 7 ( strongly disagree)
- “I have confidence in my own opinions, even if they are different from the way most other people think.”  
1 (strongly agree) 2(somewhat agree) 3( a little agree) 4( neither agree or disagree) 5(a little disagree) 6 ( somewhat disagree) 7 ( strongly disagree)
- “I judge myself by what I think is important, not by the values of what others think is important.”  
1 (strongly agree) 2(somewhat agree) 3( a little agree) 4( neither agree or disagree) 5(a little disagree) 6 ( somewhat disagree) 7 ( strongly disagree)

APPENDIX G:

MEIM SCALE

Appendix G:

MEIM Scale

Please fill in: In terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be \_\_\_\_\_

Use the numbers below to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

(4) Strongly agree (3) Agree (2) Disagree (1) Strongly disagree

1- I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.

(4) Strongly agree (3) Agree (2) Disagree (1) Strongly disagree

2- I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.

(4) Strongly agree (3) Agree (2) Disagree (1) Strongly disagree

3- I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.

(4) Strongly agree (3) Agree (2) Disagree (1) Strongly disagree

4- I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.

(4) Strongly agree (3) Agree (2) Disagree (1) Strongly disagree

5- I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.

(4) Strongly agree (3) Agree (2) Disagree (1) Strongly disagree

6- I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.

(4) Strongly agree (3) Agree (2) Disagree (1) Strongly disagree

7- I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.

(4) Strongly agree (3) Agree (2) Disagree (1) Strongly disagree

8- In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.

(4) Strongly agree (3) Agree (2) Disagree (1) Strongly disagree

9- I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group.

(4) Strongly agree (3) Agree (2) Disagree (1) Strongly disagree

10- I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.

(4) Strongly agree (3) Agree (2) Disagree (1) Strongly disagree

11- I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.

(4) Strongly agree (3) Agree (2) Disagree (1) Strongly disagree

12- I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.

(4) Strongly agree (3) Agree (2) Disagree (1) Strongly disagree

13- My ethnicity is

(1) Asian or Asian American, including Chinese, Japanese, and others

(2) Black or African American

(3) Hispanic or Latino, including Mexican American, Central American, and others

(4) White, Caucasian, Anglo, European American; not Hispanic

(5) American Indian/Native American

(6) Mixed; Parents are from two different groups

(7) Other (write in): \_\_\_\_\_

14- My father's ethnicity is (use numbers above)

15- My mother's ethnicity is (use numbers above)

APPENDIX H:  
PEDQ-CV SCALE



Appendix H:

PEDQ-CV Scale

Think about your ethnicity /race. What group do you belong to? Do you think of yourself as : Asian? Black? Latino? White? Native American? Americans? Caribbean? Irish/ Italian ? Korean? Another group?

Your Ethnicity /Race: \_\_\_\_\_

How often have any of the things listed below ever happened to you, because of your ethnicity?

Because of your ethnicity /race?

A. How often ...

1. Have you been treated unfairly by teachers, principal's, or other staff at school?  
(1) Never happened (3)sometimes. (5) happened very often
2. Have others thought you couldn't do things or handle a job?  
(1) Never happened (3)sometimes. (5) happened very often
3. Have others threatened to hurt you ( Ex: said they would hit you )?  
(1) Never happened (3)sometimes. (5) happened very often
4. Have others actually hurt you or tried to hurt you ( Ex: kicked or hit you )?  
(1) Never happened (3)sometimes. (5) happened very often
5. Have policeman or security officers been unfair to you ?  
(1) Never happened (3)sometimes. (5) happened very often
6. Have others threatened to damage your property?  
(1) Never happened (3)sometimes. (5) happened very often

7. Have others actually damaged your property?  
(1) Never happened (3)sometimes. (5) happened very often
8. Have others made you feel like an outside who doesn't fit in because of your dress, speech, or other characteristics related to your ethnicity?
9. (1) Never happened (3)sometimes. (5) happened very often
10. Have you been treated unfairly by co-workers or classmates?  
(1) Never happened (3)sometimes. (5) happened very often
11. Have others hinted that you are dishonesty or can't be trusted?  
(1) Never happened (3)sometimes. (5) happened very often
12. Have people been nice to your face, but said bad things about you behind your back?  
(1) Never happened (3)sometimes. (5) happened very often
13. Have people who speak a different language than made you feel like an outsider?  
(1) Never happened (3)sometimes. (5) happened very often
14. Have others ignored your or not paid attention to you?  
(1) Never happened (3)sometimes. (5) happened very often
15. Have your boss or supervisors been unfair to you?  
(1) Never happened (3)sometimes. (5) happened very often
16. Have others hinted that you must not be clean?  
(1) Never happened (3)sometimes. (5) happened very often
17. Have people not trusted you?  
(1) Never happened (3)sometimes. (5) happened very often
18. Has it been hinted that you must be lazy?  
(1) Never happened (3)sometimes. (5) happened very often

If you would like to tell us more about your experiences of discrimination, please write your story here: \_\_\_\_\_