



# **A Cross-Sectional Examination on the Interplay of Filipino American Demographic Characteristics upon their Self-Reported Experiences of Colonial Mentality and Depression**

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## **ABSTRACT**

This study's primary purpose was to conduct a cross-sectional examination of the interplay among various Filipino American demographic characteristics (ex., gender identity, education level, and cultural generation identity) upon their experiences of colonial mentality and depression. An online survey was distributed through social media (Reddit and Instagram), comprising the Colonial Mentality Scale (David & Okazaki, 2006) and the PHQ-9 (Pfizer, 1999). A total of 63 participants were used in the study. One of the key findings of the current research study is that cis male Filipino Americans reported the highest mean colonial mentality score as compared to their cis female Filipino American counterparts and their LGBTQ Filipino American counterparts. Filipino Americans who had less than a college-level education had the highest level of self-reported depression as compared to Filipino Americans who had completed a college-level education or greater. There was also an interaction effect where the 1<sup>st</sup> generation cis male Filipino Americans reported higher mean depression scores as compared to 2<sup>nd</sup> generation cis male Filipino American counterparts. In contrast, the 1<sup>st</sup> generation cis female Filipino Americans report lower mean depression scores as compared to their 2<sup>nd</sup> generation cis female Filipino American counterparts. Similarly, the 1<sup>st</sup> generation LGBTQ Filipino Americans report lower mean depression scores as compared to their 2<sup>nd</sup> generation LGBTQ Filipino American counterparts. The research findings are discussed in the context of other prior research on cultural mentality and depression among Filipino Americans, along with how this informs culturally competent mental health treatment approaches and considerations when working with the Filipino American population.

## **INTRODUCTION**

The Philippines has endured around 350 years of colonization in its history (Francia, 2013). United States imperialism in the Philippines has influenced the diaspora of the Filipino people

to the United States (Sepina, 2022). Currently, there are about 4.2 million Filipino Americans in the United States (United States Census Bureau, 2020). The psychological impact of the long history of colonization on Filipinos has prompted several research studies into its influence on mental health such as depression (David, 2008), mental health help-seeking attitudes (Tuazon et al. 2019), immigration experiences (David & Nadal, 2013), and family dynamics (Ferrera, 2016) due to the phenomenon of colonial mentality.

Colonial mentality is the internalized belief that Filipino culture is inferior to Western culture (Nadal, 2020). The development of colonial mentality has led to increased assimilation into the dominant culture. In other words, it is highly encouraged for many Filipinos and Filipino Americans to reject Filipino culture and embrace the dominant United States' culture in its place. This has in turn led to a decrease in Filipino Americans' sense of self and identity (David & Nadal, 2013).

Internalized colonialism, or colonial mentality, is described by David (2013) as being the direct consequence of colonialism. David & Okazaki (2010) argue that the colonial mentality is an automatic, involuntary mental process. Tools like the Colonial Mentality Scale (CMS) and the Colonial Mentality Implicit Association Task (CMIAT) support these claims of an automatic, involuntary mental process, with roughly 30% of Filipino Americans self-reporting Colonial Mentality symptoms, while CMIAT reveals 56% of Filipino Americans exhibited implicit, automatic internalized Colonial Mentality attitudes (David, 2017).

The impact of colonialism on Filipino culture has a deep and complicated effect on the psychology of Filipino Americans. David (2008) conducted a study that explored the relationship between depressive symptoms and colonial mentality among Filipino Americans. David (2008) measured 248 Filipino participants' levels of colonial mentality, acculturation, collective and personal self-esteem, ethnic identity, and depressive symptoms. Ultimately, David (2008) found that colonial mentality was related to lower levels of adherence to Filipino culture, negative perceptions of the Filipino culture, and a higher amount of experiencing symptoms related to major depressive disorder (David, 2008). Moreover, Tuazon et al. (2019) also found that Colonial Mentality decreased social support and predicted negative mental health help-seeking attitudes, even after controlling for acculturation, ethnicity, and other factors.

Due to the model minority myth (Walton & Truong, 2023), there has been a negative impact on the psychological well-being of Asian Americans (Noh, 2018; Wong & Halgin, 2006; Yoo et al., 2010), including Filipino Americans are included. Multiple studies have examined the high prevalence of depression among Filipino Americans. For instance, Filipino American adolescents have yielded significantly higher depression scores compared to Chinese American adolescents (Willgerodt & Thompson, 2006) and Caucasian-American adolescents (Javier et al., 2010; Okamura et al., 2016). A study conducted by Kim et al. (2015) has found that among their systematic review consisting of 58 studies and a total of 21,731 Asian American adults, 34.4% of Filipino Americans endorsed experiencing depressive symptoms according to the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CESD) (Kim et al., 2015). In addition, Kuo (1984, as cited in Sanchez & Gaw, 2007) asserts that Asian Americans in primary care settings have an estimated depression rate of 14%, with a higher proportion of that being Filipino Americans. Finally, LGBTQ Filipino Americans facing intersectional discrimination often also experience

Colonial Mentality, which heightens their identity conflict and psychological distress (Pease, 2024).

### PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH STUDY

While the above literature review pointed out substantial background information on the prevalence and impact of colonial mentality and depression among Filipino Americans, the goal of the current research study is to conduct a cross-sectional examination of the interplay among various demographic characteristics (ex., gender identity, education level, and cultural generation identity (1<sup>st</sup> versus 2<sup>nd</sup> generation) of Filipino Americans upon their experiences of colonial mentality and depression.

### Research Questions and Hypotheses

- **RQ1:** Is there a main effect of gender identity (cis male, cis female, LGBTQ) on the experience of colonial mentality and depression among Filipino Americans?
  - **H<sub>0</sub>1:** There are no differences in the experience of colonial mentality and depression among cis male, cis female, and LGBTQ Filipino Americans.
  - **H<sub>a</sub>1:** There are differences in the experience of colonial mentality and depression among cis male, cis female, and LGBTQ Filipino Americans.
- **RQ2:** Is there a main effect of education level (below a college degree, college degree, graduate school degree) on the experience of colonial mentality and depression among Filipino Americans?
  - **H<sub>0</sub>2:** There are no differences in the experience of colonial mentality and depression among Filipino Americans who have earned below a college degree, earned a college degree, versus those who have earned a graduate school degree.
  - **H<sub>a</sub>2:** There are differences in the experience of colonial mentality and depression among Filipino Americans who have earned below a college degree, earned a college degree, versus those who have earned a graduate school degree.
- **RQ3:** Is there a main effect of generation level (1<sup>st</sup> generation immigrants to the United States versus 2<sup>nd</sup> generation natively born in the United States from immigrant parents(s) on the experience of colonial mentality and depression among Filipino Americans?
  - **H<sub>0</sub>3:** There are no differences in the experience of colonial mentality and depression among 1<sup>st</sup> generation immigrant Filipino Americans versus 2<sup>nd</sup> generation natively born Filipino Americans from immigrant parents(s).
  - **H<sub>a</sub>3:** There are differences in the experience of colonial mentality and depression among 1<sup>st</sup> generation immigrant Filipino Americans versus 2<sup>nd</sup> generation natively born Filipino Americans from immigrant parent(s).
- **RQ4:** Is there an interaction effect of gender identity (cis male, cis female, LGBTQ) and education level (below a college degree, college degree, graduate school degree) on the experience of colonial mentality and depression among Filipino Americans?
  - **H<sub>0</sub>4:** There is no interaction effect between gender identity (cis male, cis female, LGBTQ) and education level (below a college degree, college degree, graduate school degree) on the experience of colonial mentality and depression among Filipino Americans
  - **H<sub>a</sub>4:** There is an interaction effect between gender identity (cis male, cis female, LGBTQ) and education level (below a college degree, college degree, graduate

school degree) on the experience of colonial mentality and depression among Filipino Americans

- **RQ5:** Is there an interaction effect of gender identity (cis male, cis female, LGBTQ) and generation level (1<sup>st</sup> generation immigrants to the United States versus 2<sup>nd</sup> generation natively born in the United States from immigrant parent(s)) on the experience of colonial mentality and depression among Filipino Americans?
  - **H<sub>0</sub>5:** There is no interaction effect between gender identity (cis male, cis female, LGBTQ) and generation level (1<sup>st</sup> generation immigrants to the United States versus 2<sup>nd</sup> generation natively born in the United States from immigrant parent(s)) on the experience of colonial mentality and depression among Filipino Americans
  - **H<sub>a</sub>5:** There is an interaction effect between gender identity (cis male, cis female, LGBTQ) and generation level (1<sup>st</sup> generation immigrants to the United States versus 2<sup>nd</sup> generation natively born in the United States from immigrant parent(s)) on the experience of colonial mentality and depression among Filipino Americans

## METHODOLOGY

The present study utilized a quantitative between-subjects design to compare the influence of Filipino Americans' demographic characteristics (ex., gender identity, education level, and cultural generation identity (1<sup>st</sup> versus 2<sup>nd</sup> generation) upon their self-reported colonial mentality and depression.

### Sample

The participants consisted of a purposive sample of 63 Filipino American adults. The ages of the participants ranged from 18-35 years old. The mean age was 28.21 years (SD=3.76). In terms of gender identity, 25.4% were cisgender men (n=16), 60.3% were cisgender women (n=38), and 14.3% were LGBTQ (n=9). In terms of generation status, 30.2% were 1<sup>st</sup> generation (n=19), and 69.8% were 2<sup>nd</sup> generation (n=44). For educational attainment, 19% obtained a below a college degree (n=12), 42.9% obtained a college degree (n=27), and 38.1% obtained a graduate degree (n=24).

### Instrumentation

To capture the demographic information reported in this research study, the participants answered demographic questions on their age, gender identity, generation status, and educational attainment. The instrumentation used to measure colonial mentality in this study was David & Okazaki's (2006) Colonial Mentality Scale (CMS), while the Patient Health Questionnaire (PHQ-9) was used to measure depression levels among the participants.

### Colonial Mentality Scale

David & Okazaki's Colonial Mentality Scale (CMS) (2006) is a 36-item scale that is measured on a 6-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = slightly disagree, 4 = slightly agree, 5 = agree, 6 = strongly agree). Higher scores indicate a higher endorsement of colonial mentality. Exploratory factor analysis conducted by David & Okazaki (2006) revealed five factors that the scale measures: within-group discrimination, physical characteristics, colonial debt, cultural shame and embarrassment, and internalized cultural/ethnic inferiority. Overall, the CMS does show a degree of construct validity and can be useful in conceptualizing the

intricate nature of colonial mentality (David & Okazaki, 2006). For this study, the overall score on the Colonial Mentality Scale (CMS) computed from the 36-item scale was used in the data analyses.

### **Patient Health Questionnaire-9**

The PHQ-9 (Pfizer, 1999) is a 9-item questionnaire that uses a 4-point Likert scale that ranges from 0-3, depending on how closely each item applies to the participant, to assess symptoms of depression. The items answer questions related to participants' engagement in activities, eating and sleeping patterns, and feelings of sadness (American Psychological Association, 2020). In total, participants' scores fall within the range of 0-27. Scores that are within the range of 0-4 are reflective of minimal depression, scores that are within the range of 5-9 are reflective of mild depression, scores that are within the range of 10-14 are reflective of moderate depression, scores that are within the range of 15-19 are reflective of moderately severe depression, and scores that are within the range of 20-27 are reflective of severe depression (Pfizer, 1999). This measure has consistently yielded strong internal consistency and test-retest reliability. Furthermore, diagnostic validity has been established using Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM-IV) criteria for depressive disorders. In addition, the tool has been used in multiple settings involving primary care patients, geriatric patients, and disabled patients. Furthermore, the tool has been translated into 30 languages (American Psychological Association, 2020). The instrument yielded a Cronbach's alpha score of 0.89 in primary care settings and 0.86 in obstetrical clinical studies (Spitzer et al., 2014).

### **Procedure**

The participants in this study were recruited through the Filipino Americans Subreddit and the Asian American Psychological Association's Division on Filipinx Americans (DoFA) Instagram page via a solicitation flyer. The solicitation flyer encouraged viewers to share the study with others who fit the following inclusion criteria of self-identifying as Filipino American, an ability to understand English at a 5<sup>th</sup>-grade level, and being between the ages of 18 and 35 years old. The Subreddit was chosen because it is an online forum that facilitates discussion about the experiences of the Filipino American community. The DoFA Instagram page was chosen because it was developed by Filipino American mental health professionals with the aim of spreading education, advocacy resources, and research about the mental health of Filipino Americans. The participants were invited to follow a link to a Microsoft Forms site where they could participate in the voluntary and confidential online survey. The Microsoft Forms site included the informed consent page, the demographic questions, the Colonial Mentality Scale items, the PHQ-9 items, and a debriefing section. The informed consent page outlined that the voluntary online survey would take around 15 minutes to complete, the benefits and risks of participating in the research study, the reassurance that they can withdraw from the study at any time with no penalty, and the assurance that their responses will remain confidential.

## **RESULTS**

All data were entered into SPSS 25 for statistical analyses. A statistical significance p-value of 0.05 was applied to all the statistical analyses.

- **RQ1:** Is there a main effect of gender identity (cis male, cis female, LGBTQ) on the experience of colonial mentality and depression among Filipino Americans?

The researchers conducted a one-way statistical analysis showing that there was a marginally significant main effect of gender identity on the self-reported experience of colonial mentality among Filipino Americans,  $F(2,62)=2.95$ ,  $p=0.060$ . In conducting a post hoc test using Fisher's Least Significant Difference (LSD), it was found that cis male Filipino Americans had reported the highest mean colonial mentality score ( $M=77.37$ ,  $SD=12.52$ ) as compared to their cis female Filipino American counterparts ( $M=65.79$ ,  $SD=19.22$ ),  $p=0.047$ , and their LGBTQ Filipino American counterparts ( $M=60.00$ ,  $SD=13.37$ ),  $p=0.034$ . In contrast, there was no statistical difference via post-hoc analysis between the mean colonial mentality scores between cis female Filipino Americans and LGBTQ Filipino Americans,  $p=0.419$ .

The researchers conducted a one-way ANOVA statistical analysis showing that there was no main effect of gender identity on the self-reported experience of depression among Filipino Americans,  $F(2,62)=0.87$ ,  $p=0.424$ . As such, there were no statistically significant differences between the mean depression scores among cis male Filipino Americans ( $M=16.75$ ,  $SD=6.21$ ), cis female Filipino Americans ( $M=14.79$ ,  $SD=4.47$ ), and LGBTQ Filipino Americans ( $M=15.56$ ,  $SD=4.77$ ). Even though there were no statistically significant differences in gender identity upon depression scores among Filipino Americans, it was still interesting to notice that the mean depression scores among cis male Filipino Americans and LGBTQ Filipino Americans fell within the moderately severe depression range (score of 15-19) of the PHQ-9 measure while the mean depression scores among cis female Filipino Americans fell within the moderate depression (score of 10-14) of the PHQ-9 measure.

- **RQ2:** Is there a main effect of education level (below a college degree, college degree, graduate school degree) on the experience of colonial mentality and depression among Filipino Americans?

The researchers conducted a one-way ANOVA statistical analysis showing that there was no main effect of education level on the self-reported experience of colonial mentality among Filipino Americans,  $F(2,62)=0.660$ ,  $p=0.520$ . As such, there were no statistically significant differences between the mean colonial mentality scores among Filipino Americans who have below a college degree ( $M=66.92$ ,  $SD=21.26$ ), Filipino Americans who have completed a college degree ( $M=71.11$ ,  $SD=22.58$ ), and Filipino Americans who completed a graduate degree ( $M=64.79$ ,  $SD=15.46$ ).

The researchers conducted a one-way ANOVA statistical analysis showing that there was a statistically significant main effect of education level on the self-reported experience of depression among Filipino Americans,  $F(2,62)=3.67$ ,  $p=0.031$ . In conducting a post hoc test using Fisher's Least Significant Difference (LSD), it was found that Filipino Americans who have below a college degree ( $M=18.67$ ,  $SD=5.90$ ) has the highest mean depression scores as compared with Filipino Americans who have completed a college degree ( $M=15.04$ ,  $SD=4.49$ ),  $p=0.033$ , Filipino Americans who have completed a graduate school degree ( $M=14.7$ ,  $SD=4.51$ ),  $p=0.011$ . In contrast, there was no statistical difference via post-hoc analysis between the mean depression scores of Filipino Americans who have completed a college degree and Filipino Americans who have completed a graduate school degree,  $p=0.519$ .

- **RQ3:** Is there a main effect of generation level (1<sup>st</sup> generation immigrants to the United States versus 2<sup>nd</sup> generation natively born in the United States from immigrant

parent(s)) on the experience of colonial mentality and depression among Filipino Americans?

The researchers conducted a one-way ANOVA statistical analysis showing that there was no main effect of generation level on the self-reported experience of colonial mentality among Filipino Americans,  $F(1.62)=0.030$ ,  $p=0.856$ . As such, there were no statistically significant differences between the mean colonial mentality scores among 1<sup>st</sup> generation Filipino Americans ( $M=67.21$ ,  $SD=22.97$ ) versus 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Filipino Americans ( $M=68.20$ ,  $SD=18.51$ ).

Moreover, the researchers conducted a one-way ANOVA statistical analysis showing that there was no main effect of generation level on the self-reported experience of depression among Filipino Americans,  $F(1.62)=0.21$ ,  $p=0.645$ . As such, there was no statistically significant differences between the mean depression scores among 1<sup>st</sup> generation Filipino Americans ( $M=15.84$ ,  $SD=6.38$ ) versus 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Filipino Americans ( $M=15.20$ ,  $SD=4.33$ ).

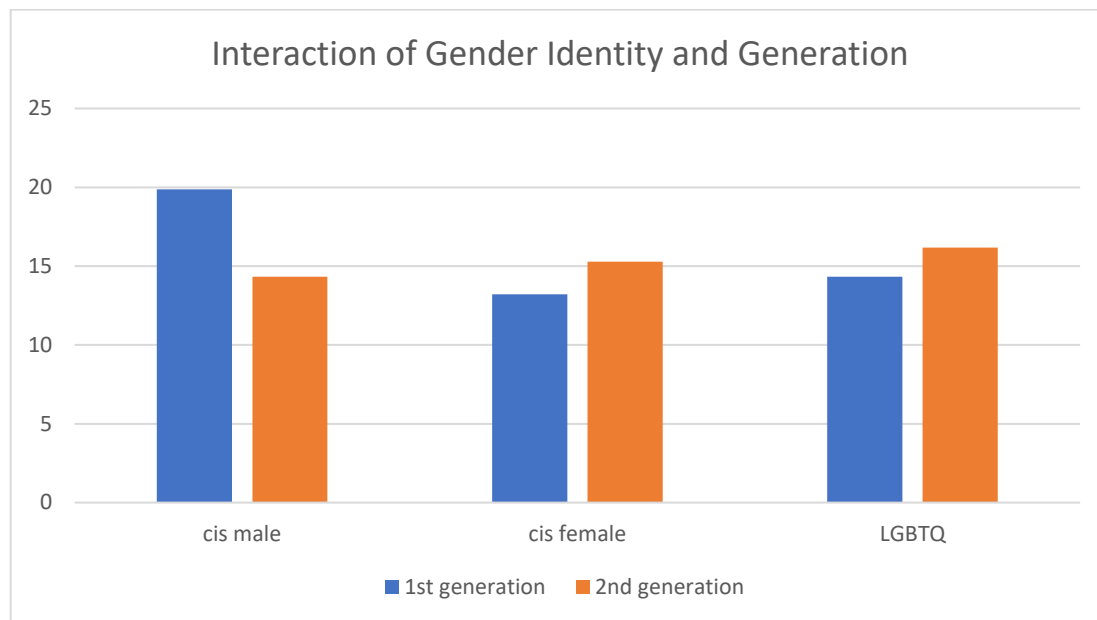
- **RQ4:** Is there an interaction effect of gender identity (cis male, cis female, LGBTQ) and education level (below a college degree, college degree, graduate school degree) on the experience of colonial mentality and depression among Filipino Americans?

The researchers conducted a 2-way ANOVA statistical analysis showing that there was no interaction effect of gender identity (cis male, cis female, LGBTQ) and education level (below a college degree, college degree, graduate school degree) on the self-reported experience of colonial mentality among Filipino Americans,  $F(4, 54)=0.24$ ,  $p=0.913$ . Moreover, the researchers conducted a 2-way ANOVA statistical analysis showing that there was no interaction effect of gender identity (cis male, cis female, LGBTQ) and education level (below a college degree, college degree, graduate school degree) on the self-reported experience of depression among Filipino Americans,  $F(4, 54)=0.03$ ,  $p=0.999$ .

- **RQ5:** Is there an interaction effect of gender identity (cis male, cis female, LGBTQ) and generation level (1<sup>st</sup> generation immigrants to the United States versus 2<sup>nd</sup> generation natively born in the United States from immigrant parent(s)) on the experience of colonial mentality and depression among Filipino Americans?

The researchers conducted a 2-way ANOVA statistical analysis showing that there was no interaction effect of gender identity and generation level on the self-reported experience of colonial mentality among Filipino Americans,  $F(2, 57)=1.56$ ,  $p=0.220$ . In contrast, the researchers conducted a 2-way ANOVA statistical analysis showing that there was an interaction effect of gender identity and generation level on the self-reported experience of depression among Filipino Americans,  $F(2, 57)=3.28$ ,  $p=0.045$ . Based on Figure 1 below, the interaction effect is that the 1<sup>st</sup> generation cis male Filipino Americans report higher mean depression scores ( $M=19.86$ ,  $SD=7.86$ ) as compared to their 2<sup>nd</sup> generation cis male Filipino Americans counterparts ( $M=14.33$ ,  $SD=3.32$ ). In contrast, the 1<sup>st</sup> generation cis female Filipino Americans report lower mean depression scores ( $M=13.22$ ,  $SD=4.35$ ) as compared to their 2<sup>nd</sup> generation cis female Filipino American counterparts ( $M=15.28$ ,  $SD=4.46$ ). Similarly, the 1<sup>st</sup> generation LGBTQ Filipino Americans report lower mean depression scores ( $M=14.33$ ,

SD=3.79) as compared to their 2<sup>nd</sup> generation LGBTQ Filipino American counterparts (M=16.17, SD=5.42).



**Figure 1: Interaction of gender identity and generation level on the self-reported experience of depression among Filipino Americans**

## DISCUSSION

This study's primary purpose was to conduct a cross-sectional examination of the interplay among various Filipino American demographic characteristics (ex., gender identity, education level, and cultural generation identity (1<sup>st</sup> versus 2<sup>nd</sup> generation) upon their experiences of colonial mentality and depression. One of the key findings of the current research study is that cis male Filipino Americans reported the highest mean colonial mentality score as compared to their cis female Filipino American counterparts and their LGBTQ Filipino American counterparts. In reviewing the research literature, the majority of the previously published studies have focused on the levels and mental health impact of colonial mentality among cis female Filipino Americans (i.e., Felipe, 2016) and LGBTQ Filipino Americans (i.e., Pease, 2024). This study is one of the few studies that highlight the high level of colonial mentality among cis male Filipino Americans. As such, cis male Filipino Americans would be a key target of community outreach and psychoeducation to reaffirm Filipino cultural strengths and integrate indigenous coping strategies (Enriquez, 1975) to help overcome colonial mentality. When considering the impact of colonial patriarchal ideals on the Filipino culture, this finding could provide more insight into how Filipino American men conceptualize their mental health. For instance, Arnaldo (2020) explores how, within the context of sports fandom, men establish in-group belonging in their favored teams or athletes by feminizing their opponents. This phenomenon is both due to and perpetuates colonial mentality, since the patriarchy that has been established due to colonialism has strict criteria on gender norms (Nadal, 2020). The reduction of colonial mentality among cis male Filipino Americans might be a key pathway to help this group acknowledge their unspoken levels of depression, along with possibly increasing their mental health seeking attitudes. Even though there were no statistically significant differences in gender identity in depression scores among Filipino Americans, it was



still interesting to notice that the depression scores among cis male Filipino Americans were higher than those of either LGBTQ Filipino Americans or cis female Filipino Americans. Future research might help in further teasing out the gender identity differences in depression scores among Filipino Americans.

Another key finding of the study is that there were no differences in colonial mentality levels based on education level among Filipino Americans. Still, this study did point out that Filipino Americans who had less than a college-level education had the highest level of self-reported depression, as compared to Filipino Americans who had completed a college-level education or greater. This finding reflects the pattern of prior longitudinal research highlighting the protective factor of individuals attaining higher education levels in reducing their experience of depression (i.e., Bjelland et al., 2008). This may reflect the increased awareness of the importance of mental health of individuals in their daily lives, along with the awareness and access to mental health services.

The final key finding of this study is the interaction effect of gender identity and generation level on the self-reported experience of depression among Filipino Americans. It was found that 1<sup>st</sup> generation cis male Filipino Americans report higher mean depression scores as compared to 2<sup>nd</sup> generation cis male Filipino American counterparts. This result complements the key finding from this study that cis male Filipino Americans appear to have the highest level of colonial mentality, and cis male Filipino Americans were trending to have the highest self-reported scores on depression. This distinction of depression score between 1<sup>st</sup> generation cis versus 2<sup>nd</sup> generation male Filipino Americans highlights the greater impact of depression among the Filipino American males who had first-hand experience of immigration to the United States as compared to 2<sup>nd</sup> generation cis male Filipino Americans counterparts who were born in the United States from immigrant parents. Prior research on 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Filipino Americans (Morente, 2015) indicated they experience moderate levels of colonial mentality, but high levels of ethnic identity and collective self-esteem. As such, the high levels of ethnic identity and collective self-esteem among 2<sup>nd</sup> generation cis male Filipino Americans might be a protective factor in reducing their experiences of depression as compared to the 1<sup>st</sup> generation cis male Filipino American counterparts.

In contrast, the 1<sup>st</sup> generation cis female Filipino Americans reported lower mean depression scores as compared to their 2<sup>nd</sup> generation cis female Filipino American counterparts. Similarly, the 1<sup>st</sup> generation LGBTQ Filipino Americans reported lower mean depression scores as compared to their 2<sup>nd</sup> generation LGBTQ Filipino American counterparts. These findings may reflect the intersectional minority stress (Rivas-Koel et.al., 2023) experienced by 2<sup>nd</sup> generation cis female Filipino Americans (i.e. Felipe, 2016) and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation LGBTQ Filipino Americans (i.e. Pease, 2024) due to the implicit pressures to conform with the model minority myth (Walton & Truong, 2023), especially for 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Filipinos who were born and grew up in the dominant United States culture. Similarly, the Philippines has been influenced by stricter patriarchal ideals compared to the United States (Nadal, 2020), which could also explain why 1<sup>st</sup> generation cis female Filipino Americans and LGBTQ participants reported lower depression scores, as there is less pressure to adhere to strict gender norms. More research is recommended to explore the complex interplay between generation status, gender, sexual orientation, and depression in this population.

Overall, this study yielded insightful cross-sectional findings across various Filipino American demographic characteristics (ex., gender identity, education level, and cultural generation identity (1<sup>st</sup> versus 2<sup>nd</sup> generation) upon their experiences of colonial mentality and depression. These findings bridge the research gap that exists in the psychological literature regarding Filipino Americans. Furthermore, this study provides insights for clinicians and mental health counselors to employ culturally competent approaches and considerations when working with the Filipino American population.

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