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ABSTRACT

Differences in help-seeking attitudes and coping strategies among White, African American, and Asian American college students, as well as within Asian Americans (Asian Indian Americans, Chinese Americans, and Korean Americans) were examined in the study. A sample of 2,661 students from a large Eastern university participated. Significant differences among racial groups and gender were found. African American students tended to have more positive attitudes toward seeking help than Asian Americans and Whites, whereas Asian American were more likely to use avoidance coping strategies than African American and Whites. On the other hand, differences among Asian American subgroups only occurred in help-seeking attitudes. Specifically, Korean Americans were more likely than Asian Indian Americans to seek out study skills training. Moreover, females, regardless of race, were more receptive of counseling as well as study skills and time management training, as well as less likely to implement avoidance coping strategies than males. Also, gender differences within Asian Americans revealed a similar pattern in help-seeking attitudes. Implications for counselors working with college students of color were also discussed. (Contains 39 references and 2 tables.) (Author)

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Help-seeking Attitudes and Coping Strategies among College Students by Race ¹

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Abstract

Differences in help-seeking attitudes and coping strategies among White, African American, and Asian American college students, as well as within Asian Americans (Asian Indian Americans, Chinese Americans, and Korean Americans) were examined in the study. A sample of 2,661 students from a large Eastern university participated. Significant differences among racial groups and gender were found. African American students tended to have more positive attitudes toward seeking help than Asian Americans and Whites, whereas Asian Americans were more likely to use avoidance coping strategies than African Americans and Whites. On other hand, differences among Asian American subgroups only occurred in help-seeking attitudes. Specifically, Korean Americans were more likely than Asian Indian Americans to seek out study skills training. Moreover, females, regardless of race, were more receptive of counseling as well as study skills and time management training, as well as less likely to implement avoidance coping strategies than males. Also, gender differences within Asian Americans revealed a similar pattern in help-seeking attitudes. Implications for counselors working with college students of color were also discussed.

Form (1953) reached the conclusion that “all college students do not seek organized counseling when they are confronted with problems. Many prefer to solve their difficulties in their own way or seek advice from other sources” (p.209). Since that time, changes in the demography of the U.S. population have occurred, and the number of students of color in college settings has increased dramatically (Sue, Zane, & Young, 1994). As a result, how students of color perceive and utilize mental health services has drawn attention from researchers, as well as counseling and student affairs professionals (Atkinson, Furlong, & Poston, 1986; Atkinson & Gim, 1989; Atkinson, Lowe, & Matthews, 1995; Pliner & Brown, 1985; Webster & Fretz, 1978).

Researchers in the area of multicultural counseling have long used the terms, *overutilization* and *underutilization*, to describe how often various cultural/racial groups seek mental health services (Maki & Kitano, 2002; Sue & Sue, 1999; 2003; Sue, Zane, & Young, 1994; Trimble & Thurman, 2002). Although widely accepted, the practice of using these terms may encourage mental health professionals to treat White culture as the norm, and value-judge the help-seeking attitudes and behaviors of other racial groups. In order to be consistent with the current literature and culturally sensitive, we will continue to use over- and underutilization in describing help-seeking patterns of cultural/racial groups when citing findings from the existing literature, but avoid this judgmental use of language when presenting results of the current study.

Even though facing additional societal pressures, including immigration and racism, some students of color tend to underutilize mental health services because of the incompatibility between the nature of Western psychotherapy and “minority” cultures (Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1998; Sue & McKinney, 1975; Leong, 1986; Sue & Sue, 1999;

Zhang, Snowden, & Sue, 1998). However, this finding does not seem to be conclusive. For example, in studying a sample of 3,057 community residents aged 18 or older, Leaf, Bruce, Tischler and Holzer (1987) found no difference between Whites and non-Whites in receptivity and perceived access barriers to mental health services. On the other hand, empirical evidence has also shown that differences in help-seeking attitudes and mental health service utilization exist among ethnic minority groups (Sue, Zane, & Young, 1994).

Help-seeking Attitudes of African Americans

Sue, Zane, and Young's (1994) review on mental health utilization indicated that African Americans use help sources more often than Whites and other racial groups. The higher levels of various stresses faced by African Americans may have contributed to this high utilization. For instance, African Americans were found to experience more financial, personal, and academic stresses in comparison to Whites, Latinos, and Asian Americans (Pliner & Brown, 1985). Moreover, the majority (63.6%) of over 2,000 African Americans in a national survey, reported experiencing serious personal problems (Leong, Wagner, & Tata, 1995). Despite the multiple stressors facing this population, literature regarding how African Americans utilize help sources is inconsistent. For example, a more recent study (Perrone, Sedlacek, & Alexander, 2001) found that Whites, Asian Americans, and Native Americans were more likely to seek helps than were African Americans or Latino/a Americans, which is different than Sue, Zane, and Young's conclusion (1994). Moreover, some researchers have suggested that African American clients tend to address more impersonal concerns to mental health professionals than do other racial groups. These include educational/vocational issues, or problems with law and social welfare services (Hill & Sedlacek, 1995; Webster & Fretz,

1978; Wood & Sherrets, 1984). Other research, however, has indicated that African American college students have expressed interest not only in career counseling, but also in personal/social issues, such as assertiveness and self-esteem (Stabb & Cogdal, 1992). Variables contributing to this impersonalization may include African Americans' distrust of mental health professionals and institutions (Terrell & Terrell, 1981; 1984), and the dissimilarity in ethnicity, attitudes, and values between African American clients and their therapists, who are primarily White (Atkinson, 1983; Atkinson et al., 1986).

Help-seeking Attitudes of Asian Americans

Generally, seeking help from mental health professionals has been hypothesized to be the final option for Asian Americans, who usually try to deal with psychological issues by themselves, or ask help from friends or family/community members (Maki & Kitano, 2002). The underutilization of mental health sources has been documented for Asian Americans (Chin, 1998; Leong, 1986; Sue & Sue, 1999). For example, results of Snowden and Cheung's study (1990) on the use of inpatient mental health services revealed that Asian Americans, in comparison with other racial groups, had the lowest admission rate (286 per 100,000) to inpatient psychiatric services. Another, more recent study, indicated Asian Americans in the Los Angeles area were unwilling to use mental health services of any type (Zhang et al., 1998). Contradictorily, there is also evidence that Asian Americans may overutilize vocational and academic services (Sue & Kirk, 1975; Tracey, Leong, & Glidden, 1986). These differential findings have created substantial debate on utilization patterns of mental health services by Asian Americans.

The pattern of underutilization of psychological services has been found for a variety of Asian American groups, such as Chinese Americans and Japanese Americans (Uba, 1994). However, what mental health professionals need to guard against, is the tendency to view Asian Americans as a homogenous group. Because Asian Americans are composed of a number of distinct subgroups that differ in religion, language, and values, there may be great differences within this population (Maki & Kitano, 2002; Sandhu, 1997; Sue, 1994; Sue et al., 1994).

Researchers have been investigating help-seeking attitudes in order to explain the phenomenon of underutilizing help sources observed in Asian Americans. In general, Asian Americans demonstrated less positive attitudes toward counseling than their White counterparts (Atkinson, Ponterotto, & Sanchez, 1984; Lee & Mixson, 1995). However, research concerning within-group Asian American differences in help-seeking attitudes and behaviors is inconclusive. In studying Asian American undergraduates, Atkinson and his colleagues (Atkinson & Gim, 1989; Atkinson et al., 1995) found no gender and intra-group differences among Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans, and Korean Americans in their attitudes toward mental health services. On the other hand, Sue and Kirk (1975) found an interaction between sex and ethnicity, when investigating Asian American utilization of counseling services. Specifically, Chinese American female students utilized mental health facilities significantly more frequently than did Japanese American female students.

The inconclusive literature suggests more empirical studies are needed to further our knowledge regarding differences in help-seeking attitudes among races, as well as within the Asian American group. Moreover, as pointed out by some researchers (Chin, 1998; Sue, S. & Morishima, 1982), most of early studies on this area were carried out

using samples from the West Coast where there may be larger ethnic populations, especially Asian Americans. In the current study, differences in help-seeking attitudes and coping strategies among three racial college student groups (Asian American, African American, and White) at an East Coast university were examined. Differences within Asian American student groups (Asian Indian American, Chinese American, and Korean American) were also studied. Specifically, the following three hypotheses were tested: (a) there were inter-racial group differences in help-seeking attitudes and coping strategies among White, African American, and Asian American college students; (b) there were intra-Asian American group differences in help-seeking attitudes and coping strategies among Asian Indian American, Chinese American, and Korean American college students; and (c) there was no interaction between race and gender for three racial groups, and within Asian Americans on help-seeking attitudes and coping strategies.

Method

Participants

Participants were 2,661 first-year students who responded to a survey at a large Eastern university. Participants had a mean age of 17.92 (SD = 0.51) and were 77% White American, 13% Asian American, and 10% African American. The sample was 53% male. For investigating within group differences in Asian Americans, 123 Asian Indian Americans, 118 Chinese Americans, and 80 Korean Americans were included in the data analysis.

Measures

Responses to two sets of items from a 91-item survey that assessed student help-seeking attitudes and coping strategies were analyzed. Two-week test-retest reliability

was estimated at .84 for a sample. A set of five items (see Appendix) examined attitudes toward seeking help in academic and personal domains, including study skills and time management training, as well as counseling for drugs/alcohol, career plans, and personal concerns. The other set of four items (see Appendix) assessed approach and avoidance coping strategies.

Procedure and data analyses

The survey was administered online during summer orientation in groups by orientation staff. Eighty-three percent of all entering first-year students completed the survey. Data were analyzed using four 3×2 MANOVAs with race and gender as main effects. Although Type I error is often considered more important for the behavioral sciences, Type II error should also be taken into account in multicultural research in order not to miss meaningful differences among racial groups. Thus, for balancing the overall Type I and Type II errors in the current study, alpha was set at .02 for each multivariate analysis. The first two MANOVAs explored group differences among White, African American, and Asian American college students, while the other two MANOVAs investigated within-Asian American group differences among Asian Indian, Chinese American, and Korean American students. The procedure for calculating effect size, the d index, developed by H. Nouri and R. H. Greenberg (cf. Cortina & Nouri, 2000) was also carried out. See the following effect size formulas.

$$d = (\mu_{\max} - \mu_{\min}) \div \sigma_i$$

$$\sigma_i^2 = \left[\sum_{j=1}^i (n_{ij} - 1) \sigma_{ij}^2 + \sum_{j=1}^i n_{ij} (\bar{x}_{ij} - \bar{x}_i)^2 \right] \div (n_i - 1)$$

$$\sigma = \left\{ (n_{\max} - 1)(\sigma_{\max}^2) + (n_{\min} - 1)(\sigma_{\min}^2) \right\} / (n_{\max} + n_{\min} - 2) \}^{0.5}$$

Results

Results of the MANOVA on help-seeking attitudes indicated that the interaction between gender (male, female) and race (White, Asian American, African American) was not significant. However, race ($\Lambda = .962$, $p < .000$) and gender ($\Lambda = .982$, $p < .000$) were significant main effects for the five items assessing help-seeking attitudes when taken as a whole. Results of further univariate analyses and post hoc comparisons are presented in Table 1. African Americans, in general, had more positive attitudes toward utilizing professional help sources than the other racial groups.

Insert Table 1 here.

Specifically, African American students were more likely than Asian American and White students to utilize time management training and career counseling. Moreover, African Americans were more likely to have positive attitudes toward seeking study skills training, followed by Asian Americans, and Whites. Effect sizes (d) of racial groups toward the five domains of professional help were: .60 for study skills training, .07 for alcohol/drug counseling, .25 for career counseling, .14 for personal counseling, and .44 for time management training. The effect size for study skills training might be considered as medium ($\geq .50$) and those for career counseling and time management training might be considered as small ($\geq .20$) (Cohen, 1988). On the other hand, univariate analyses indicated that females of all groups were more likely than males to make use of study skills training, career counseling, personal counseling, and time

management training. However, only effect sizes (.23, .27, and .22) for the latter three were meaningful.

Results of the MANOVA on student coping strategies showed that, overall, the main effects of race ($\Lambda = .993$, $p < .019$) and gender ($\Lambda = .995$, $p < .007$) were significant while the interaction was not. Inter-ethnic group differences only occurred in one of the avoidance coping items (Table 1). Specifically, Asian American students were more likely than White and African American students to avoid thinking about or dealing with problems. Effect sizes show the meaningful differences between Asian American and African American students are in terms of not thinking about/dealing with problems (.27) and refusing to believe problems will happen to them (.20). Although univariate analyses indicated that males of all groups were more likely than females to use avoidance coping strategies, such as not concerning themselves with personal problems, not thinking about or dealing with problems, or refusing to believe a problem will happen to them, effect sizes of gender for these dependent variables were not meaningful.

Insert Table 2 here.

Results of MANOVAs revealed that only intra-group ($\Lambda = .925$, $p < .009$) and gender ($\Lambda = .932$, $p < .001$) main effects were found on help-seeking attitudes within Asian American students. Table 2 indicates that Korean Americans and Chinese Americans were more likely than Asian Indian Americans to seek out study skills training with the effect size of .40. Within the Asian American group, females were more likely than males to take advantage of career counseling, personal counseling, and time

management training with effect sizes of .41, .22, .36, respectively. Also, no significant interaction or main effects on coping strategies were found within Asian American students.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine group differences in help-seeking attitudes and coping strategies among Whites, African Americans, and Asian Americans, as well as within Asian American subgroups. Results indicated that race and gender main effects were present but there were no interactions. In other words, significant differences in help-seeking attitudes and coping strategies among these three ethnic groups and three Asian American subgroups were consistent across gender.

Help-seeking attitudes

In terms of help-seeking attitudes, African Americans were more willing than Whites and Asian Americans to use mental health services in general, and more likely to utilize career counseling, study skills, and time management training in particular. This finding seemed compatible with the existing literature indicating the tendency of African Americans to more frequently make use of professional help sources than other racial groups (Sue, Zane, & Young, 1994). Furthermore, findings from the current study supported the hypothesis that African Americans may be more likely to utilize formal help sources for career issues and school-related skills, rather than personal or emotional concerns (Leong et al., 1995; Webster & Fretz, 1978; Wood & Sherrets, 1984). Specifically, compared with Whites and Asian Americans, African Americans had more positive attitudes toward seeking help only for study skills, time management trainings,

and career counseling. In terms of utilizing personal and alcohol/drug counseling, African Americans' help-seeking attitudes were not different from those of Whites and Asian Americans.

In contrast with African Americans' pattern of high utilization being supported in the study, the current data did not indicate the low utilization pattern observed for Asian Americans in most of previous research conducted on the West Coast (Chin, 1998; Zhang et al., 1998). Except for study skills training, help-seeking attitudes toward various counseling sources between Whites and Asian Americans were not significantly different. Level of acculturation may potentially account for this phenomenon. Research has suggested that levels of acculturation among Asian Americans may influence their attitudes and responses to mental health services (Leong, 1986). In a cross-cultural study, Nishio (cf. Leong, 1986) found that Japanese American clients in the U.S. were twice as likely to seek out mental health services than were Japanese clients in Japan. Another more recent study (Kim & Atkinson, 2002) also found that Asian American clients with higher acculturation, indicated by low adherence to Asian cultural values, judged White American counselors as more empathic than did less acculturated clients. Asian American college students participating in this study may have had a higher level of acculturation that reduced the differences in help-seeking attitudes between them and their White counterparts. Finally, gender differences were also observed in the study. Except for help-seeking attitudes toward alcohol/drug counseling, female students were more willing to utilize professional help sources than males, regardless of ethnicity. This finding supported past research on African Americans, which also found gender differences in help-seeking attitudes (Hargrove & Sedlacek, 1997).

Similarly, group and gender main effects, but no interactions in help-seeking attitudes, were found within Asian Americans. Specifically, Korean Americans were more likely to use study skills training than were Asian Indian Americans. On the other hand, gender differences in help-seeking attitudes within Asian Americans were comparable with those among the three racial groups. Asian American females had more positive attitudes toward seeking career and personal counseling, and time management training than males.

Coping strategies

Regarding coping strategies, Asian Americans were found to have a higher tendency to implement avoidance coping, when compared with Whites and African Americans. Specifically, effect sizes indicated that Asian Americans were more likely than Whites to not think about/deal with problems, whereas they were more likely than African Americans to refuse to believe problems would happen. In conjunction with their patterns of help-seeking, the tendency of Asian American to employ avoidant coping strategies seems to imply that they may be more passive in problem-solving than Whites, while seeking mental health services as frequently as Whites. Finally, females were also less likely than males to use avoidance approaches in solving their problems regardless of race.

Implications

The significant differences in help-seeking attitudes between White and African American students may suggest that counseling practitioners pay special attention to these two groups. Although African Americans may be more willing to access

professional help sources, it is important to investigate psychological stresses related to this phenomenon, and the rate of premature termination after seeking counseling. It is also important to provide counselors with training regarding help-seeking attitudes of African Americans, in order to help them fully make use of various sources on campus. Additionally, this study supported the observation that African Americans tended to utilize mental health services for career and school-related issues. Practitioners need to explore, and then remove, cultural and institutional barriers that keep African Americans from using available sources for their personal and emotional problems.

Additionally, compared with Whites, Asian Americans' lower utilization pattern in mental health services was not supported. The tendency of Asian Americans to use avoidance coping, in combination with their utilization pattern, suggests that they are willing to seek mental health sources, but may play a more passive role in the helping relationship. How this passive and avoidant tendency influences the counseling process and outcomes warrants future research. Moreover, practitioners need to be sensitive to Asian American clients passiveness and not to overinterpret it as pathology. As indicated by Sue and Sue (1999), counseling is a cultural-bound phenomenon. Coping strategies implemented by Asian Americans may be the product of their cultural values, such as avoidance of shame and self-control (Kim, Atkinson, & Umenmoto, 2001; Maki & Kitano, 2002). Therefore, researchers need to further examine help-seeking and coping of Asian Americans in its cultural context, whereas practitioners need to provide culturally sensitive mental health services which Asian Americans college students would feel comfortable to use.

Finally, given that male students were less willing to take advantage of mental health services, and were more likely to use avoidance coping strategies than females, counseling and student affairs practitioners may want to conduct research in order to understand needs of male college students in psychological services, and develop more appropriate outreach programs accordingly.

Further empirical studies are needed to improve our understanding of the utilization patterns of ethnic minority students, as well as the relationship between their coping strategies and perceptions of mental health services. Also, in order to investigate psychological and cultural factors contributing to help-seeking attitudes and behaviors of minority students, analogue or experimental studies are also needed.

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Table 1. Means, Standard Deviations, Univariate Analyses, and Effect Sizes of Help-seeking Attitudes and Coping Strategies among White, African American, and Asian American Students

Dependent Variable	Whites ^c		African Americans ^c		Asian Americans ^c		Male ^d		Female ^d		F	p	d ^b			
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD						
Positive Help-seeking attitudes																
Study skills training	3.42	.91	3.96	.85	3.61	.91	36.22	.000	.60	.344	.94	3.55	.89	8.97	.003	.12
Alcohol/drug counseling	2.14	.93	2.08	1.08	2.09	1.05	.77	.463	.07	2.11	.98	2.14	.94	1.34	.247	.03
Career counseling	4.15	.74	4.31	.73	4.11	.76	3.55	.029	.25	4.07	.76	4.25	.72	18.98	.000	.23
Personal counseling	3.20	.94	3.22	1.03	3.09	.96	2.20	.111	.14	3.06	.96	3.32	.93	25.00	.000	.27
Time management training	3.29	.96	3.72	.99	3.32	.98	17.96	.000	.44	3.24	.99	3.45	.94	27.02	.000	.22
Coping strategies																
Analyze the problem actively	4.17	.69	4.19	.72	4.15	.74	.24	.787	.05	4.13	.72	4.22	.68	1.31	.253	.13
Not to concern myself with problems ^a	3.13	.95	3.16	.99	3.13	.89	.01	.990	.03	3.07	.95	3.20	.93	9.35	.002	.14
Not to think about/deal with problems ^a	3.54	.98	3.61	1.01	3.33	1.02	6.25	.002	.27	3.45	1.00	3.59	.98	7.32	.007	.14
Refuse to believe problems will happen ^a	3.03	.93	3.20	1.00	3.01	.96	2.13	.119	.20	3.01	.96	3.08	.92	5.21	.023	.08

^a higher mean scores indicate lower tendency to implement avoidance coping strategies.

^b Effect size: $d = (m_{max} - m_{min}) / \sigma$ (Cortina & Nouri, 2000)

m_{max} = the largest of the k means, m_{min} = the smallest of the k means, σ = the common standard deviation within the populations.

^c Because of different numbers of missing values, sample size ranges from 2,058 to 2,067 for Whites, 273 to 276 for African Americans, and 346 to 349 for Asian Americans.

^d Because of different numbers of missing values, sample size ranges from 1,397 to 1,406 for males and 1,282 to 1,287 for females.

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Table 2. Means, Standard Deviations, Univariate Analyses, and Effect Sizes of Help-seeking Attitudes and Coping Strategies among Asian American Subgroups (Asian Indian Americans, Chinese Americans, and Korean Americans)

Dependent Variable	Asian Indian Americans ^d			Chinese Americans ^d			Korean Americans ^d			Male ^e			Female ^e					
	M	SD		M	SD		M	SD		M	SD		M	SD				
Positive Help-seeking attitudes																		
Study skills training	3.46	.96		3.61	.88	4.85	3.82	.82	4.85	.008	.40	3.55	.94	3.68	.86	1.16	.282	.15
Alcohol/drug counseling	2.12	1.10		1.96	.99	1.26	2.15	1.05	1.26	.286	.19	2.01	1.07	2.14	1.00	1.24	.266	.13
Career counseling	4.18	.70		4.07	.77	1.26	4.05	.81	1.26	.284	.18	3.98	0.78	4.28	.70	13.4	0	.41
Personal counseling	2.98	.92		3.00	1.01	.76	3.16	.93	.76	.469	.19	2.94	.99	3.16	.91	4.04	.45	.22
Time management training	3.33	1.00		3.33	1.04	.43	3.24	.89	.43	.653	.09	3.15	.98	3.50	.96	12.6	0	.36
Coping strategies																		
Analyze the problem actively	1.80	.74		1.87	.73		1.94	.79				4.11	.76	4.20	.72			
Not to concern myself with problems ^a	3.05	.85		3.19	1.00		3.21	.79				3.08	.92	3.24	.86			
Not to think about/deal with problems ^a	3.40	1.00		3.31	1.03		3.23	1.01				3.25	.98	3.43	1.05			
Refuse to believe problems will happen ^a	2.89	.96		3.05	.96		3.05	.95				2.98	1.01	2.99	.89			

^a higher mean scores indicate lower tendency to implement avoidance coping strategies.

^b Due to the insignificant result of MANOVA, univariate analyses were not carried out.

^c Effect size: $d = (m_{max} - m_{min}) / \sigma$ (Cortina & Nouri, 2000)

^d m_{max} = the largest of the k means, m_{min} = the smallest of the k means, σ = the common standard deviation within the populations.

^e Because of different numbers of missing values, sample size ranges from 119 to 122 for Asian Indian Americans, 114 to 117 for Chinese Americans, and 79 to 80 for Korean Americans.

^f Because of different numbers of missing values, sample size ranges from 181 to 183 for males and 133 to 136 for females.



Appendix

Help-seeking attitudes*:

Item 2: I would consider seeking study skill training while at the University of Maryland.

Item 4: I would consider seeking counseling for drugs/alcohol while at Maryland.

Item 6: I would consider seeking counseling regarding career plans.

Item 9: I would consider seeking counseling for personal concerns.

Item 37: I would not consider time management training is available.

Coping strategies*:

Item 12: When I have a personal problem, I try to analyze the situation in order to understand it.

Item 16: Many times by not concerning myself with personal problems, they work themselves out.

Item 24: I try not to think about or deal with problems as long as I can.

Item 28: Sometimes I refuse to believe a problem will happen, and things manage to work themselves out.

* Item numbers indicate the order by which these items appear in the survey.



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