The Dissertation Committee for Bianca Joanvye Jones certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

Examining Help-Seeking Attitudes in African American Collegians: The Role of Minority Student Stress, Out-group Comfort, Cultural Congruity, and Counselor Racial Preferences

Committee:

Kevin O. Cokley, Supervisor

Germine H. Awad

Keisha L. Bentley-Edwards

David J. Drum

Dorie J. Gilbert

Examining Help-Seeking Attitudes in African American Collegians: The Role of Minority Student Stress, Out-group Comfort, Cultural Congruity, and Counselor Racial Preferences

by

Bianca Joanvye Jones, B.A.; M.A.

Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas Austin
August 2014

Acknowledgments

There is a popular African proverb that reads “It takes a village to raise a child.” This simple, but eloquent statement causes me to pause and reflect on the network of villages that have contributed to my development and helped me reach my goal of earning the highest degree offered in my chosen field of study. I am immensely thankful for my family who, throughout the years, cultivated me, believed in me, supported me, and made invaluable sacrifices. I greatly appreciate my faith network as they showed me the love of God and set a foundation for a spiritual grounding that helped me to persist through the trials and tribulations innate to life and the journey to a doctorate degree. I am grateful for my educational network in which opportunities were provided to build confidence in my academic abilities and acquire the necessary skills and life lessons needed to arrive at this moment. Interwoven throughout these networks are my friends who unquestionably had my back. Though too many people to name individually, I am truly appreciative of your gifts, and am thankful that you were a part of my life, even if only for a season.

To write a dissertation is to call upon many members of your village, and I must acknowledge those that graciously gave their time throughout this project. First, I thank my academic advisor, Dr. Kevin Cokley, for his guidance, mentorship, encouragement, and support. You believed in me despite my self-doubt and challenged me to become a better student, researcher, psychotherapist, and person. I thank you for welcoming me into the “Cokley Crew” and I hope to make you proud in my future endeavors. I would also like to thank the other members of my dissertation committee, Drs. Awad, Bentley-

Edwards, Drum, and Gilbert, for your thoughtful feedback and guidance. Dr. Awad, I appreciate you offering opportunities to learn from you as your research and teaching assistant, as well as mentee. I have truly benefitted from our personal and professional conversations. To my writing warriors, Karen Marbury and Shana Washington, thank you for providing feedback on the various drafts and helping me improve my writing skills. Finally, I thank my fellow PhDs especially, Andrea, Shannon, Collette, Celina, Alicia, and Brettjet for your support. I'm grateful to call such an amazing collection of people friends and colleagues.

Examining Help-Seeking Attitudes in African American Collegians: The Role of Minority Student Stress, Out-group Comfort, Cultural Congruity, and Counselor Racial Preferences

Bianca Joanvye Jones, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2014

Supervisor: Kevin O. Cokley

In recent years, scholars have moved beyond attributing academic difficulties to cognitive and personal characteristics of African American students, and have begun to consider the effects of the predominantly White university (PWU) setting on the educational and psychological outcomes of Black collegians. Unfortunately, the literature paints a bleak picture of the social context of African American students at PWUs which ultimately impedes students' academic persistence and achievement (Gloria, Kurpius, Hamilton, & Wilson, 1999) as well as psychological wellness (Prelow, Mosher, & Bowman, 2006). The psychological ramifications of social and educational conditions for African American students at PWUs, along with higher attrition rates would substantiate the tremendous use of campus mental health services by this student population. Yet, the literature reveals that even when services are easily accessible and are provided for free or at extremely discounted prices, African American students choose not to seek professional psychological help (Nickerson, Helms, & Terrell, 1994).

Drawing upon the psychosociocultural theoretical framework proposed by Gloria and Rodriguez (2000), this study examined if variables specific to the PWU environment - minority student stress, out-group comfort, and cultural congruity - served as predictors of attitudes towards seeking professional psychological help in a sample of African American collegians. This study also analyzed if counselor racial preference served as a mediator between the predictors and help-seeking. Survey data were collected from 198 Black college students attending a large, PWU in the Southwest. Results revealed that cultural congruity was the only significant predictor of help-seeking attitudes, and counselor racial preference was not a significant mediator. Exploratory analyses indicated gender differences in the relationship between the psychosociocultural variables and counselor racial preferences. Implications for practice and research in counseling psychology are discussed.

Table of Contents

Chapter One: Introduction

Background of Problem

African Americans have overcome many systemic barriers and oppressive forces in the pursuit of equal educational opportunities in institutions of higher education. Prior to the 1964 Civil Rights Act, African Americans were largely excluded from traditionally White public universities; however, over the past few decades, African American enrollment has substantially increased in such university settings (Allen, 1992; Rogers, 2012). Despite a significant increase in African Americans at major colleges and universities, relative to White students, African American have been less likely to graduate within six years, have lower cumulative grade point averages, and have lower progression and retention rates (Swail, Redd, & Perna, 2003).

In recent years, scholars have moved beyond attributing academic difficulties to cognitive and personal characteristics of African American students, and have begun to consider the effects of the predominantly White university (PWU) setting on the educational and psychological outcomes of Black collegians. In fact, empirical research shows that African Americans are most affected by their social context with regards to academic performance, social involvement, and occupational goals (Allen, 1992; Mattison & Aber, 2007). Furthermore, aside from personality characteristics, student development is highly affected by the quality of life at the campus, level of academic competition, university resources, race relations, relationships with faculty and friends, and social support (Allen, 1992). Unfortunately, the literature paints a bleak picture of the

social context and academic experiences of African American students at PWUs. African American students' perceptions of the predominantly white campus is overwhelmingly documented as negative, with students describing universities as hostile, distressing, isolating, and discriminatory (Ancis, Sedlack, & Mohr, 2000; D'Augelli & Herschberger, 1993; Museus, Nichols, & Lambert, 2008; Rankin & Reason, 2005). Such adverse educational conditions have been found to contribute to students' reports of decreased psychological wellness, (Prelow, Mosher, & Bowman, 2006) which ultimately impedes students' academic persistence and achievement (Gloria, Kurpius, Hamilton, & Wilson, 1999).

University mental health counseling centers are considered an integral component of the campus community and an important tool in augmenting student retention and academic success. Research has shown that students who sought counseling for mental health concerns have higher retention rates than their classmates who do not (Sharkin, 2004; Turner & Berry, 2000), are more likely to persist in college (Trippi & Cheatham, 1989), and achieve higher educational attainment (Hayes et al., 2011). The psychological ramifications of social and educational conditions for African American students at PWUs, along with higher attrition rates would substantiate the tremendous use of campus mental health services by this student population. Yet, the literature reveals that even when services are easily accessible and are provided for free or at extremely discounted prices, African American students choose not to seek professional psychological help (Nickerson, Helms, & Terrell, 1994). As a result, the mental health needs of many African American collegians may be left unaddressed, possibly making them vulnerable

to academic difficulties or dropping out. For these reasons, it is essential to understand the obstacles blocking African American collegians from seeking professional psychological help.

The disinclination of African Americans collegians to use counseling service warrants attention; yet peer-reviewed research examining help-seeking attitudes in African American college students is limited. Research on this topic may be limited for a couple of reasons. First, research suggests university counseling centers are serving a greater number of students (Hunt and Eisenberg, 2010; Sullivan, Ramos-Sanchez, & McIver, 2007). The stark increase in counseling center use over the past few decades may have created the illusion that mental health service under-utilization is no longer a problem. Unfortunately, this might mask the reality that African American collegians represent a small proportion of students using such services. Secondly, since the 1980's counseling researchers have devoted an increasing amount of attention to issues in multiculturalism , with a particular focus on therapy and competence (Smith, Southern, & Delvin, 2007). For example, Boboltz, Deemer, and Hoffmann (2010) conducted an analysis of articles published between 1999 and 2009 in the Journal of Counseling Psychology and found that only 3% of articles focused on researching attitudes and beliefs about counselors, counseling services, and mental health services, whereas 15% pertained to multiculturalism and/or diversity. Multiculturalism and/or diversity accounted for the largest number of published articles across the 11-year period, and the category of attitudes and beliefs about counseling was among the lowest. These results suggest that scholars are more interested in examining how to improve therapeutic

services for racial and ethnic minority groups, and less concerned with the factors that attract or inhibit such individuals to counseling. While it is necessary to devote attention to ensuring that therapy is appropriately conducted, the author of this study proposes that continuing to examine help-seeking attitudes will provide pertinent information that can inform both counseling attitudes and practice.

Most studies on help-seeking focuses on African American adults within the general population, and the extant literature on college students has primarily examined the role of racial identity and cultural mistrust in predicting attitudes. Additional scholarship specific to African American collegians has examined psychological and contextual variables, yet this research is minimal. Hence, there is a need to extend the literature by investigating new predictors of help-seeking in African American college students attending PWUs. Examining new predictors of help-seeking attitudes in African American collegians will help university counselor center clinicians better meet students' needs by understanding the different variables that impact their experiences at PWUs, and color their perceptions about the usefulness of campus counseling entities.

One variable that is especially salient to African American students, yet neglected in the help-seeking literature is minority stress. Research shows that African American students at PWUs experience on average, some form of minority status stress in addition to general stress which affects their adjustment to their new learning environment (Edmunds, 1984; Greer & Chwalisz, 2007; Neville et al., 2004; Prillerman et al., 1989; Smedley, Meyers, & Harrell, 1993). Most students experience general stressors of college, such as financial concerns, but race-related stressors, such as racial insensitivity

by professors, can significantly affect the adjustment of Black students. No research has explored how stress related to being a minority in a predominantly white campus environment can influence help-seeking attitudes. This dissertation will address the gap in the African American collegian help-seeking literature by providing the first research that uses minority student stress as a predictor for help-seeking attitudes.

Inherent in the existing literature on minority student stress is the assumption that African American students experience stress when interacting with European Americans at PWU environments, indicating the salience of intergroup interpersonal relationships, or out-group comfort, on collegians' functioning. Research demonstrates the relative academic, social, and personal benefits of being comfortable interacting with Whites (Cole & Arriola, 2007; Cole & Yipp, 2008); however, no research has examined how out-group comfort impacts collegians attitudes about seeking professional psychological help. The understanding of this construct is especially important to deconstructing help-seeking attitudes given that the majority of mental health services providers are of European descent (DHHS, n.d).

The research on minority student stress and out-group comfort collectively suggests that African American students at PWUs are faced with the task of adjusting to an environment that is unfamiliar which reflects possible conflict between the culture from which students' arrived and the predominantly white campus setting. Gloria, Hird, and Navarro (2001) found that racial and ethnic minority students at a PWU (African American, American Indian, Asian American, Hispanic, biracial, and multiracial students) reported feeling as though their culture was incongruent with their college

environment. Some scholars contend that the culture of a predominantly White university tends to promote values, norms, beliefs, and behaviors associated with White American culture (Castillo, Conoley, & Brossart, 2004). This type of university culture may be disadvantageous for minority students with different cultural heritages by hindering their adjustment to the university and decreasing their college persistence (Castillo et al., 2006). This lack of fit has been found to be a significant predictor of help-seeking attitudes for racial and ethnic minority students, but it remains unknown how the relationship between culture of origin and the culture of the institution impacts African American specifically. Given that this dissertation uses a population of only African American undergraduates, critical information about the relationship between cultural congruity and help-seeking attitudes will be delineated along racial lines.

If African American students are experiencing minority student stress, discomfort when interacting with European Americans, and cultural incongruence within their campus environment, it is likely that such students would demonstrate a preference in being assisted by mental health clinicians who students perceive as being understanding of these specific concerns. This means students may articulate or demonstrate a preference for clinicians who share similar racial, ethnic, or cultural backgrounds. African American students might view African American clinicians as especially keen to the various racial and cultural pressures that are present for students who are minorities in the predominantly white campus setting. However, if African American counselors are not employed or are not highly visible at university counseling centers, students who may

have a preference in counselor racial affiliation may choose not to seek help from their campus counseling entity.

The association between presence of African American counselors and counseling center use has not been widely validated; however, Thompson and Cimbolic (1978) established a relationship between counseling center use and counselor race, whereby students were more likely to use the counseling center if an African American counselor was available. Additional research suggests that African American students are likely to voice counselor preferences (Speight &Vera, 2005), and it is consistently a preference for a racially or ethnically similar clinician (Atkinson, 1983; Cashwell, Shcherbakova, & Cashwell, 2003;Coleman, Wampold, & Casali, 1995). Yet, despite this important component of the help-seeking process, no research has examined the potential mediating effect counselor racial preferences could have on various predictor variables and help-seeking attitudes. *Thus, this dissertation investigates several potential impediments specific to the predominantly white university setting that could impact the way African American collegians assess the usefulness of campus mental health services*.

Important variables specific to the African American PWU experience will be used as predictors of help-seeking attitudes to achieve four main goals: 1) to extend the limited research in this area, as well as add to scholars' and clinicians' understanding of how African American collegians perceive counseling; 2) to provide implications to PWU counseling centers regarding the obstacles faced by Black collegians in an effort to better meet their needs ; 3) by including a specific focus on PWUs, a contextualized explanation will be provided that could ultimately influence outreach methods of campus

counselors to African American students; and 4) to highlight the importance of training, recruiting, and retaining African American counselors, especially in PWU counseling centers.

Theoretical Framework

To gain a multidimensional understanding of the African American college students' experience and its subsequent impact on help-seeking attitudes, a psychosociocultural theoretical framework proposed by Gloria and Rodriguez (2000) will be employed. Drawing upon the scholarship of other multicultural experts, Gloria and Rodriguez (2000) propose that culturally sensitive counselors should approach their work with Latino students from the perspective that psychological, social, and cultural factors are interrelated and should be considered simultaneously. Scholars have since expanded this approach to other racial and ethnic minority students (e.g., Gloria, Kurpius, Hamilton, & Wilson , 1999). The framework extends seminal perspectives by integrating and emphasizing environmental and sociocontextual factors present in the college students' situation (Gloria & Rodriguez, 2000). The scholars challenge counselors in university settings to "not perpetuate oppressions" by overlooking the important social and contextual dynamics that impact students' experiences and persistence in college environments (Gloria & Rodriguez, 2000). In other words, it is imperative that clinicians begin to account for the challenges posed by the university context, as opposed to placing the sole responsibility for Latino students' academic non-persistence on personal and cultural characteristics.

Considering the many similarities in the experiences of students of color in college settings (Reid & Radhakrishnan, 2003) it is fitting that the psychosociocultural framework has been used in research with various racial and ethnic minority groups. The efficacy of the framework has been demonstrated in work with Latino (Gloria, Castellanos, &Orozco, 2005), Asian American (Gloria & Ho, 2003), American Indian (Gloria & Robinson-Kurpius, 2001), and African American (Gloria, et al., 1999) undergraduate students. Collectively, the aforementioned articles reveal self -beliefs (psychological), level of social support (social), and perceptions of university environment (cultural), were interrelated and significantly predicted academic non-persistence.

In addition to concerns regarding the implications of counseling utilization, Gloria and Rodriguez (2000) call on scholars to infuse contextual and psychosociocultural constructs into research designs in order to address the paucity of literature, and to assert the need for holistic and contextualized illustrations of the experiences of students of color. In order to further literature that more accurately captures the experiences of students of color, this dissertation will assess how minority student stress (psychological), out-group comfort (social), and campus cultural fit (cultural) impact help-seeking attitudes in African American college students at PWUs.

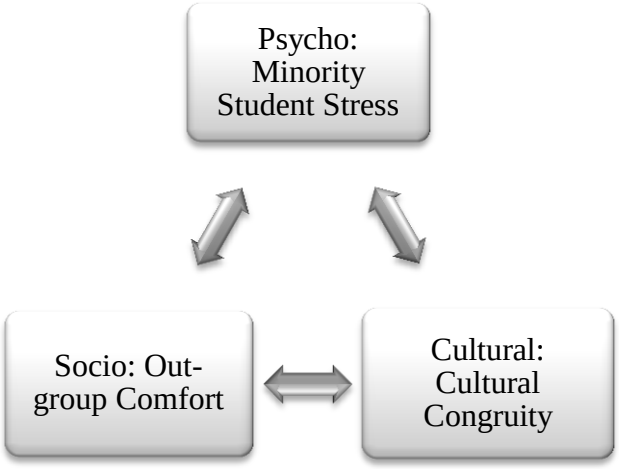

Figure 1. Flow chart demonstrating the application of Gloria and Rodriguez's (2000) psychosociocultural theoretical framework in the current dissertation study.

Research Questions

Research Question 1: Will minority student stress, out-group comfort, and cultural congruity be interrelated?

Research Questions 2: What variables predict help-seeking attitudes?

Research Question 3: Do counselor racial preferences mediate the relationship between minority student stress, out-group comfort, cultural congruity, and help-seeking attitudes?

Chapter Two: Literature Review

African Americans' Experiences in Higher Education

Research demonstrates that African American students at predominantly White universities (PWUs) report less favorable campus climates than other ethnic minority students (Ancis, Sedlacek, & Mohr, 2000), as well as African American students at historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) (Constantine & Watt, 2002). This is primarily due to the race-related stressors African American students encounter at PWUs (Greer & Chwalisz, 2007). Students' perceptions of their campus climate impacts their perceived fit within the university (Gloria, Hird, & Navarro, 2001), academic persistence (Gloria, et al., 1999), and academic achievement (Allen, 1992; Mattison & Aber, 2007). However, despite research that challenges institutions of higher education to create uplifting educational environments for students of color, many universities resist by claiming that campus climate is too abstract or complex to modify (Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1999). Thus, Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pederson, and Allen (1999) established a framework to facilitate a nuanced understanding of campus climate that could be used to inform university policies and practices. Hurtado and colleagues (1999) identified four internal forces or dimensions to assess campus climates: 1) historical legacy of inclusion or exclusion at the university, 2) structural diversity (extent to which students of color are included in the college population), 3) behavioral climate (actual interactions that take place within the campus environment), 4) psychological climate (e.g., perceptions of interracial relationships, attitudes towards different racial/ethnic groups, views about the universities treatments of minorities).

Historical legacy of inclusion or exclusion is an important component of campus climate as the residuals of past segregation polices still affect how African American students experience the university or college setting. According to Hurtado and associates (1999) institutions of higher education, more specifically PWUs, have a history of resisting desegregation which continues to convey the message that students of color are not welcome or appreciated. Although students of color are now allowed to enroll at all colleges and universities, high proportions of White students skew students' social interactions. In such environments, cross racial interactions are limited and minority students feel like outsiders. Thus it is important, for campuses to increase the diversity in enrollees. Post-secondary institutions' efforts in increasing diversity communicate whether or not multiculturalism is a top priority. As diversity increases in representation, unfortunately, intergroup interactions are sometimes negatively impacted (e.g., instances of racism and discrimination), and institutional responses to such incidences can factor into how students experience their campuses. The historical, structural, and behavioral dimensions simultaneously influence how students view race relations, institutional diversity policies, incidences of racial conflict, and attitudes towards individuals from other racial/ethnic groups. These perceptions in turn help to formulate the psychological climate for students of color.

The following section will provide an overview of the experiences of African Americans in higher education. Because this dissertation emphasizes the consideration of contextualized variables, it is important to understand the unique experiences of African American college students at PWUs. As such, a brief overview of each of Hurtado,

Milem, Clayton-Pederson, and Allen's (1999) dimensions as it relates to African American college students will be provided.

Historical legacy. The 1954 U.S. Supreme court case Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka ruled that racially segregated schools were in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. This decision afforded African Americans the opportunity to attend public schools with their White peers (Brown v. Board, 1954). However, when predominantly White post-secondary institutions began to admit African Americans (and other minorities) as a result of the efforts of the Civil Rights Movement, African Americans often found themselves in unwelcoming environments in which peers and representatives of these institution were openly hostile to their presence (Wright, 1987). For example, African Americans were routinely called racial epithets and were excluded from living in the same dormitories as White students. Black students were ignored in the classroom and victims of overt instances of racial discrimination. Needless to say, racial tensions were high and African American students were made to feel like they needed to conform to the "superior" culture of White universities (Taylor, 1989).

Ten years after the Civil Rights Act, affirmative action mandates were instituted by President Lyndon B. Johnson in an effort to eliminate the effects of past discrimination and to prevent future discriminatory acts (Chaney, Muraskin, Cahalan, & Rak, 1997). Access programs, such as The Trio programs were developed to increase minority enrollment and participation in institutions of higher education (Chaney et al., 1997). These efforts helped to prepare disadvantaged students for post-secondary education, as well as provide support and guidance to collegians who were often low-

income and the first in their family to attend college (Pitre & Pitre, 2009). These well-intentioned interventions were successful in the mission to increase minorities in higher education; however, they did little to improve the overall university experience of Black students at PWUs. The physical numbers of minority students were increased, yet students of color were still subjected to hostile campus climates. Alongside universities' initiatives to increase minority representation stood stark opposition to affirmative action policies (Anderson, 2005). Opponents argued race-based admissions violated both the Civil Rights Act and the Fourteenth Amendment by providing admission privileges to Black students at the expense of White students (Greenberg, 2001). Research revealed Black students are generally opposed to attacks on affirmative action (Sax & Arredondo, 1999), thus anti-affirmative action demonstrations by students in favor and in opposition to affirmative action in admissions at colleges and universities often caused further racial tension and hostilities.

Current trends. According to the Journal of Blacks in Higher Education ("Vital Statistics", 2010.), as of 2008 approximately13.5% (N= 2,584,500) of all students enrolled in degree granting institutions were African American, and of that percentage, 32.6% fell within the traditional college age of 18-24 years-old (Snyder & Dillow, 2010). Also, approximately 80% of African American students enrolled in 4-year institutions attend predominantly White universities. Scholars suggest a larger variety of institutions (Harvey & Williams, 1996), better resources, facilities, and prestige (Fleming, 1984; Glasker, 2009) in comparison to HBCUs attracts African Americans to predominantly White universities.

Despite the high enrollment rate of African American students at PWUs, they are not graduating at rates equivalent to Black students attending HBCUs, nor are students performing equally across settings. (Allen, 1992; Cross & Slater, 2001). There are currently 103 HBCUs located in the United States. HBCUs are considered institutions of higher education established prior to 1964 with the primary mission of educating African Americans. These institutions collectively award 30 % of the bachelor's degrees earned by African Americans, although these schools comprise only 4% of all four-year institutions (Humphreys, 2005). As well, differences related to achievement of students attending HBCUs and PWUs exist. For instance, Allen (1992) found that African American students at PWUs reported lower academic achievement than those at HBCUs, and that college racial composition was the second most significant predictor of academic achievement. His results revealed that for African American students, achievement is largely influenced by the "immediate surrounding social context" and interpersonal interactions within the university.

Structural diversity. The percentage of minority college students in American universities has risen since 1976 (Snyder & Dillow, 2010). Specifically, in 2007, 32% of students were racial/ethnic minority students, compared to 15% in 1976. A sizable amount of the increase can be attributed to the rise in the admission of Asian and Hispanic students, nonetheless, the admission of students of African descendants increased from 9 to 13%. On average, African Americans comprise 11% of PWUs student body (Hoffman, Llagas, & Snyder, 2003), and this percentage is slightly less than the percentage of 13%, which represents the proportion of African Americans in the

larger U.S. population. (Rastogi, Johnson, Hoeffel & Drewey, 2011). Although US Census projections estimate the European American population will decline over the next two decades, White students continue to comprise the vast majority of collegians at 4-year post-secondary institutions (Banks, 2009).

A comprehensive study using data from the *National Survey of Student Engagement* found that for a diverse group of college seniors, increased structural diversity—numerical representation of students of color—was related to more frequent informal interactions with racially and ethnically dissimilar peers (Pike & Kuh, 2006) . In particular, structural diversity was more strongly related to informal diverse interactions than other institutional characteristics, such as institutional mission. Surprisingly, structural diversity did not predict increased perceptions of campus support. This implies that although a greater diversity of students increases the likelihood of intergroup interactions, the quality of such dealings may not have been positive enough to elicit perceptions of comfort and support.

In contrast, other available literature demonstrates that for students of different racial and ethnic groups, increased structural diversity is related to a strong sense of campus community, more positive interactions with other students, and higher perceptions of overall campus experience (Park, 2009). Park (2009) also found that when compared to minority and majority students, African Americans were the least satisfied with student diversity (Park, 2009). Black students were also more likely to be displeased with the diversity of the faculty. This is not particularly surprising,

considering that of *all* African American faculty members, only 7% to 13% are employed at PWUs (Bonner, 2001; Snyder & Dillow, 2010).

Collectively, these studies demonstrate that simply increasing the number of students of color in higher education does not inherently enhance campus climate (Hurtado, et al., 1999). Hurtado and associates (1999) contend that despite high minority enrollment, students of color may still feel dissatisfied if intergroup interactions are negative, or if the university has a history of exclusion. This illuminates the complexity of the various factors that construct climate for diversity, as well as the overall importance of the university's initial response to desegregation.

Behavioral climate. Research demonstrates the relative advantages of interactions with diverse peers on the personal and professional development of college students (Bowman, Hurtado, Locks, & Oseguera, 2008; Hurtado, 2005; Misa, Denson, Sáenz, & Chang, 2006). Bowman and colleagues (2008) found that diverse interactions were related to increased student belonging, which has been shown to improve academic persistence (Allen, 1992; Johnson et al., 2007). Cross-racial interactions are also related to openness toward, and awareness of diversity, critical thinking abilities, personal and professional self-confidence, and improved general knowledge (Misa, et al., 2006) In addition, informal interactional diversity appears to contribute to positive perceptions of the campus environment (Chang, 1999; Gurin,1999; Umbach & Kuh, 2006). An important caveat to these findings is that interactions must be generally positive for such development to occur, however there is a substantial body of literature, which will be summarized later in this section, that suggest otherwise.

An additional important, but sometimes overlooked aspect of behavioral climate is the interactions between African American students and professors. Cokley and colleagues (2004) found that student-professor interactions were significantly related to students' academic self-concepts. Students who experienced professors as comforting and approachable viewed themselves as more capable in their academic abilities. Interestingly, ethnic minority students' perceptions of student-professor interactions did not have a significant impact on academic motivation. The authors suggest that these results could allude to the distant relationship between students of color and White professors (Cokley et al., 2004). Students at PWUs might not view White professors as a source of support, thus a lack of relationship has no bearing on academic motivation. This assertion seems to be supported by their finding that ethnic minority students reported lower connectedness and respectful interactions with professors when compared to White students.

Contemporary literature has begun to focus on African American students' social interactions within identity specific organization such as Black student or multicultural organizations (e.g., Bourke, 2010). One relevant conceptualization of such organizations is that these spaces create opportunities for students to have a safe space to interact with others. These "counterspaces" allow students to vent their frustrations about the campus environment and engage in positive and meaningful social interactions. They offer students solace from the covert and overt racism that is pervasive in society, provide social support, and allow students to view examples of and interact with other high achieving African Americans (Bourke, 2010; Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000).

Psychological climate. Scholars have long been interested in the ways in which African American students experience the predominantly White university setting. One of the earliest studies that explored perceptions of campus climates in African American students found that African American students at PWUs viewed their environment more negatively than did European American students, particularly because of their experiences with personal and institutional racism (Pfeifer & Schneider, 1974). Since then, African American students' perception of their campus climate has received a considerable amount of attention, and research continues to document African American students' negative perceptions of their predominantly white university environments (Ancis, Sedlack, & Mohr, 2000; D'Augelli & Herschberger, 1993; Museus, Nichols, & Lambert, 2008; Rankon & Reason, 2005).

More recent research also supports the notion that students at PWUs continue to experience hostile campus climates. Solorazano, Ceja, and Yosso (2000) investigated African Americans' views about their campus' racial climate with the use of focus groups and found that students are experiencing racial microaggressions in academic and social spaces. In short, microaggressions are considered "unconscious and subtle" forms of racism (Solorazano, Ceja, &Yosso, 2000). One student described her experience as such:

> I've had times when a guy in the class ... [said], 'Well, I don't want to work with you because you're Black.' And he told me to my face.... And it was upsetting 'cause ... I came here thinking that it wouldn't be like this, and that was naive. (p. 67).

This statement was one of many statements that echoed experiences of stereotyping and invisibility. The researchers also found that students who experienced microaggressions

on campus felt frustrated, isolated, discouraged, and exhausted from dealing with reoccurring incidents of racism. Quantitative works also corresponds with the aforeementioned findings and show that students view predominantly White campus environment as alienating, invalidating, and culturally incongruent (Ancis, Sedlack, & Mohr, 2000; D'Augelli & Herschberger, 1993; Museus, Nichols, & Lambert, 2008; Rankon & Reason, 2005). This creates a difficult academic environment which diminishes academic persistence (Gloria, et al., 1999; Museus, Lambert, & Nichols, 2008), educational outcomes (Oseguera, 2005), and career aspirations.

African American Collegians' Help Seeking Behaviors and Attitudes

The following section will provide an overview of the literature surrounding help-seeking utilization and attitudes towards counseling services in African American college students. This section will summarize the mental health help-seeking behaviors and patterns of African American collegians. It is important to note that within the literature utilization and intention is often conflated with help-seeking attitudes. In other words, utilization and intention captures the behavioral aspects of seeking help, yet researchers tend to discuss help-seeking attitudes and behaviors as if they are the same construct. This results in a misunderstanding of the literature, especially when scholars inappropriately conclude that utilization rates explain help-seeking attitudes. This dissertation addresses this limitation by delineating the behavioral and attitudinal factors to help-seeking. A comprehensive review of help-seeking attitudes about professional psychological help within a psychosociocultural framework will be provided.

Help-seeking behaviors and intentions. An 11 year analysis observed the use of counseling services by African American college students (June, Curry, & Gear, 1990). The authors found that in their sample, which consisted of students from a PWU, students would prefer to receive help at the counseling center, over other counseling entities on campus. What makes this university unique, however, is the various ethnicities represented in the counselor center staff (June, Curry & Gear, 1990). The researchers propose that the diverse staff is distinct from other PWU counseling centers and could possibly impact the perceptions African Americans students have about using their services. Students might expect to meet with counselors who are more empathic to their

unique concerns, which could partially explain their likelihood to utilize counseling services.

Boesch and Cimbolic (1994) added to the understanding of African American mental health utilization patterns by using a comparison sample in students at an HBCU and PWU. Using brief summary statistics from counseling center directors from both PWUs and HBCUs, the authors sound to examine if Black and non-Black students used campus counseling differently, and if Black students on PWUs seek services differently than those attending PWUs. The authors found that African American students were not utilizing the counseling centers any less than non-African American students. In fact, African American students significantly outnumbered the percentage of non-African American students who presented for emotional and social counseling. Interestingly, Boesch and Cimbolic (1994) also found that at PWUs, African American students were more likely to visit the counseling center to discuss personal issues if at least one counselor was Black. Boesch and Cimbolic utilized an etic approach to conceptualizing non-Black, thus it is unknown what racial and ethnic groups were included in this study, and what between-group differences may have been present.

More recent research builds upon Boesch and Cimbolic's findings. Castonguay et al. (2011) used enrollment data and counseling center service utilization data at 66 universities to determine if help-seeking behavior differences existed among racial and ethnic minority groups. The scholars found that the use of mental health services for students of color was predicted by the ethnic makeup of the counseling center staff. For example, a higher percentage of African American service providers significantly

predicted greater use of counseling from African American students. The results of this study also found that mental health services were not being significantly underutilized or over-utilized by racial/ethnic minority students when compared to their White peers. In other words, the percentage by race/ethnicity of students using counseling centers was not different from the enrollment percentages at their respective colleges and universities. Though this study utilized a large, nationally represented data set, the authors neglected to employ a study design that would allow for exploring possible counseling utilization differences between racial and ethnic minority students.

In contrast to the findings that suggest equal or greater use, studies also document underutilization. Davidson, Yakushka, and Sanford-Martens (2004) conducted a study of counseling center utilization in various ethnic groups over a five-year period span. They found that of the total number of African American students at the Midwestern university, only 2.9% had used counseling services over that time period. When compared to national and Canadian averages of 9% (Gallagher, 2007), African American usage is significantly lower. Similarly, in a study of graduate students, Hyun, Quinn, Madon, and Lustig (2006) found that African American students were less likely than their Caucasian counterparts to attend counseling of any kind, whether on-campus at the counseling center or at off-campus community mental health clinics. Similarly, Perrone, Sedlacek,and Alexander (2001) found that Whites, Asian Americans and Native Americans were more likely to seek help than Blacks Latino students.

Comparable patterns are evident in African American students in different higher education settings. For example, in a sample of students at a community college, Black

students were less likely to obtain professional mental health counseling for psychological problems than White students (Ayalon & Young, 2005). Moreover, African American students were much more likely to utilize religious services to address mental health concerns. These results remained significant after controlling for level of education and level of distress. Ayalon and Young (2005) suggest that access barriers cannot attribute to the differences because counseling services are easily accessible via student services. Also, the amount of control students believed they had in various situations did not predict help-seeking attitudes, nor did students' beliefs about the cause of their symptoms. These results lend to the notion that cultural and contextual variables might be stronger deterrents than cognitive-affective variables to seeking professional psychological assistance and that it is important to consider psychosociocultural variable simultaneously when assessing help-seeking.

Although there are inconsistencies in the rates of college counseling center utilization, there are distinctions in how African American students use counseling centers. For example, Kearny, Drapper, and Baron (2005), using a large, nationally represented sample indicated that African American students at PWUs averaged significantly fewer sessions than European American students (3.5 vs. 2.2). It is important to note that despite attending fewer sessions, African American students stilled reported symptom reduction after terminating therapy. The authors suggest that this could be a result of the brief, solution-focused approach many African Americans prefer. The authors propose an alternate explanation for the generally brief usage of counseling could be because of a lack of ethnically similar clinicians. Further, it is notable that on

average, African Americans attended more counseling sessions than their Asian American and Latino peers. These results were in contrast with Masuda et al. (2009) which found no significant differences in attendance between African Americans and Asian Americans.

To summarize, the literature suggests that in some cases, African American students are not using counseling centers any less than their European American counterparts, and these results are most apparent in counseling centers that employ a diverse counseling staff. However, recent, contrasting research demonstrates that African American students are indeed obtaining services from counseling centers less than European Americans in terms of utilization rates and number of sessions attended. It remains largely unknown how African American counseling utilization compares to other racial and ethnic minority groups, because scholars have primarily focused on comparing Black and White utilization, and have used an etic approach to including students of color in their studies thus ignoring between group differences. However, the limited research suggests African American collegians may use counseling more frequently than their Latino and Asian American peers. Because prior studies about treatment-seeking among African American college students have focused on the act of seeking help and treatment utilization rates, they might have failed to give adequate consideration to some of the demographic and psychosociocultural variables that affect the step that precedes help-seeking behavior – attitudes. Help-seeking attitudes have consistently been shown to have a strong predictive influence on the patterns of counseling utilization (e.g., Cepada-Benito & Short, 1998; Nickerson et al., 1994; So,Gilbert, & Romero, 2005; Vogel, Wade,

& Hackler, 2007). Therefore understanding help-seeking attitudes seems like a logical component in figuring out how to attract African American students to university counseling centers.

Help seeking attitudes. Edward Fischer and John Turner were the first researchers to develop and standardize a scale to measure the attitude toward seeking professional help for psychological disturbances (Fischer & Turner, 1970). The scale was written in collaboration with several other psychologists familiar with a variety of mental health settings such as state hospitals, private clinics, and school counseling centers. The eventual Attitude Toward Seeking Professional Psychological Help Scale (ATSPPHS) was formed and higher scores on the scale indicates a more positive attitude toward help seeking (Fischer & Turner, 1970). In a follow up study, Fischer and Farina (1995) developed a 10-item unidimensional version of ATSPPHS, aimed at devising a measure with adequate test characteristics to produce a single score representing the subject's attitude toward seeking help (Fischer & Farina, 1995). The ATSPPHS has been the instrument of choice for a range of studies that will be presented in the next sections.

Demographic and background factors. Scholars generally examine the role of gender, age, educational level, socioeconomic status, and race and ethnicity on attitudes towards seeking professional psychological help. Similar to trends in the African American community as whole, demographic characteristics differentially influences help-seeking attitudes for Black collegians. Research reveals African American males have less favorable attitudes towards counseling than African American females (Chaing, Hunter, & Yeh, 2004; Cheatham, Shelton, & Ray, 1987; Wallace & Constantine, 2005;

Webster & Fretz, 1978) and tend to wait until their symptoms are more severe before seeking mental health services (Tomlinson & Cope, 1988). In terms of educational level, increased number of credit hours is positively related to more favorable help-seeking attitudes (So, Gilbert, & Romero, 2005). So, Gilbert and Romero (2005) speculate that students who have been enrolled longer have had more exposure to the campus counseling center, along with other assistance providing entities. Interestingly, Neighbors (1991) revealed that African Americans between the ages of 18 to 24 – the traditional college student age range – are less likely to use professional psychological help than older African American adults. Nonetheless, older students tend to report more favorable help seeking attitudes (Duncan, 2003). Pliner and Brown (1985), Duncan (2003), and Duncan and Johnson (2007) found that students who report a lower socioeconomic status endorsed more positive preferences for professional psychological help.

Research indicates that when compared to European Americans, less African Americans knew someone who had sought such mental health services, and had a close friend or family member diagnosed with a psychological disorder (Masuda et al., 2009). Masuda and colleagues (2009) found that African American students harbored greater anxiety and discomfort about interacting with someone who has a psychological disorder. The authors suggest that personally knowing someone diagnosed with a psychological disorder may cause further apprehension because of the history of mistreatment people of color have experience in the field of psychology. They concluded that indirect exposure to mental health services (e.g., knowing someone who had received services) does not

predict more positive help-seeking attitudes like what is documented in the European American community.

It is noteworthy that direct exposure to counseling (i.e., being the recipient of professional psychological help) has been found to predict more negative help-seeking attitudes. Diala and colleagues (2003) found that African Americans in the community held positive views about help-seeking prior to receiving mental health services, but after receipt of services, their attitudes were more negative. Similar results were also found in Thompson, Brazile, and Akbar's (2004) study that revealed participants who received psychotherapy were troubled by their therapists' inability to adequately explain goals and benefits of therapy. Participants in this qualitative study also expressed a strong concern about the therapists' ability to understand their problems. One participant stated, "I would say there are more White psychotherapists out there than Blacks. You know if you made an appointment to see a therapist, more likely than not you are going to be sitting down talking to someone who can't relate to you" (Thompson, Brazile, & Akbar, 2004, p. 23). This statement succinctly represents the concerns many African Americans have towards the mental health profession.

Although researchers have conducted a number of studies on the topic of attitudes toward mental health in regards to race and ethnicity in college students, these studies have generally only compared attitudes between African American collegians and their European American peers (e.g., Diala, et al., 2000; Richman & Kohn-Wood, 2007) suggesting that Black students tend to hold more negative attitudes. Yet, limited research is available that compares racial and ethnic groups help-seeking attitudes in the college

student age group and suggest that African American collegians may have more positive attitudes than their racial and ethnic minority peers. Sheu and Sedlacek (2004) examined were 2,678 first-year incoming students at a large mid-Atlantic university and found that African Americans, in general, had more favorable attitudes toward using professional sources of help than did the their Asian American and European American peers. Sheu and Sedlacek (2004) qualified this finding by explaining that these results applied only to using time management and study stills training opportunities, but not other counseling-related sources, such as emotional counseling. Gonzalez, Alegria and Prihoda (2005) also examined whether attitudes toward seeking mental health treatment varied between ethnic groups, using an African Americans, Latino, and European American young adult, community sample. Findings indicated that Black respondents reported a greater likelihood to have a positive attitude toward mental health treatment than either the Hispanic and White respondents. In a similar line of research, Masuda et al. (2009) collected data from a large public 4-year university in the Southeast, and reported that Asian American collegians endorsed lower confidence in psychological professionals than their African American and European American peers.

Psychological influences. A review of the literature reveals that the role of psychological variables in predicting help-seeking attitudes in African American collegians remains unexplained. The sole article that could be found by the primary investigator of this study examined the effect of psychological distress on African American and Latino college students' willingness to seek professional psychological help (Constantine, Wilton, & Caldwell, 2003). For African Americans attending this

particular large, PWU in the northeast, those experiencing higher levels of distress were more likely to obtain mental health services to address mental health concerns compared to students with lower levels of distress.

Social influences. Cauce et al. (2002) argued that the ethnic minority pathway into mental health services are affected by contextual (and also cultural) influences, however, minimal research has focused on the university environment and its influence on help-seeking attitudes in African American college students. In fact, only two articles could be found that investigated this association.

Research reveals university alienation predicts help-seeking attitudes in African American students at PWUs (Delphin & Rollock, 1995). More specifically, university alienation predicted more favorable attitudes towards seeking professional psychological help; however, this did not increase students' likelihood to actually use services. Students high in institutional alienation may be able to recognize the benefits of seeking help, yet they may feel too disconnected from the college or university to actually be proactive in finding services. It is also possible that students highly alienated from the college or university may also harbor feelings of mistrust towards the mainstream population, thus resulting in low service use.

Social support also plays a role in how African American students' view the usefulness of counseling centers, especially considering African American students typically consult with family and friends to deal with personal difficulties. Constantine, Wilton, and Caldwell (2003) found that students who reported greater social satisfaction were less willing to obtain psychological counseling at the time of questioning, or in the

near future. The results suggest students who feel adequately supported by those closest to them are able to use this foundation as a coping mechanism. While it is encouraging that African American students have found their social networks helpful when coping with stressors of school, family and friends are generally not qualified to deal with moderate to severe mental health concerns. Students using the counseling centers as an additional means of support could deter psychological issues from increasing in severity.

Cultural influences. Previous studies of the general African American population's attitudes toward mental health help-seeking have identified numerous culture specific variables that contribute to utilization behaviors and opinions. For example, stigma (So, et al., 2005), misinformation (Thompson, Bazile, & Akbar, 2004), lack of faith in mental health services , and religious affiliation (Neighbors, Musick, & Williams, 1998) have all been documented as factors restraining African Americans from seeking services. However, much less is known about how cultural factors function in a university sample. A review of the literature shows that only a few cultural variables have been examined as predictors of help-seeking attitudes.

Only one article could be found that examined how the construct used in this dissertation, cultural congruity, impacts help-seeking attitudes. Gloria, Hird, and Navarro (2001) found that racial and ethnic minority students (African American, American Indian, Asian American, Hispanic, biracial, and multiracial) at a PWU reported lower cultural congruity than White students. In other words, ethnic minority students were less likely to perceive their culture as congruent with the PWU campus than their European American counterparts. Ethnic students who felt this cultural disconnect also

reported lower help-seeking attitudes. Similar findings were apparent by gender, whereby male students reported lower cultural congruity and help-seeking attitudes than female students. Also, cultural congruity and university environment accounted for more of the variance for help-seeking attitudes than for White students, and this was found only in female participants. For females, cultural congruity was the strong predictor of help-seeking attitudes.

While these findings support the idea that cultural congruity predicts help-seeking attitudes, Gloria and colleagues (2001) utilized an etic approach in their study, thus minimizing differences between various ethnic groups. Their work provided very little insight into how students may uniquely experience the university as a function of their cultural affiliation. A large percentage of the ethnic minority participants in their study were Asian American (19%) and their study included only 12 African American participants; making these results invalid in terms of generalization to African American students. Thus, it remains unclear how cultural congruity impacts attitudes about seeking professional psychological help in African American collegians.

The majority of the cultural variables have focused on Black collegians' attitudes toward counseling as a function of their level of racial identity. These studies have produced mixed results. For example, some studies have shown that higher levels of racial identity (i.e., immersion-emersion stage) were associated with negative attitude toward counseling (Austin, Carter, & Vaux, 1990; Delphin & Rollock, 1995; Parham & Helms, 1981). In contrast, other studies have indicated that the highest level of racial identity (i.e., internalization) was related to more positive help-seeking attitudes

(Ponterotto, Anderson, & Grieger, 1986). Duncan (2007) suggest discrepancies are typically attributed to the different racial identity measures used (e.g., Parham and Helms Racial Identity Attitude Scale; Cross Racial Identity Scale), and not controlling for confounding variables such as previous counseling, or demographic variables (Duncan, 2007).

The second most frequently studied cultural construct is cultural mistrust (Whaley, 2001). Cultural mistrust– the degree to which African Americans mistrust European Americans – is generated by the pervasive mistreatment and racism African Americans experience in society (Terrell & Terrell, 1981). Nickerson, Helms, and Terrell (1994) assessed the relationship between cultural mistrust and help-seeking attitudes in African Americans students at a PWU. Their findings indicated when the counseling staff is primarily European American, those with higher levels of mistrust of Whites report more negative attitudes towards seeking help as well as lower expectations from counseling.

More recent research has also demonstrated the association between cultural mistrust and help-seeking attitudes. Duncan (2003) extended the aforementioned studies by simultaneously exploring how cultural affiliation and cultural mistrust affected help-seeking. He examined how cultural mistrust and African self-consciousness – characterized by positive Black identity as well as knowledge, and practice of African inspired philosophies and culture – influenced attitudes towards seeking professional mental health help in African American male students. In contrast to Nickerson and associates (1994), neither cultural mistrust nor African self-consciousness predicted help-

seeking attitudes. Duncan (2003) contended that African self-consciousness might be more effective at explaining other behaviors. He also proposed that because the study was conducted at a predominantly Black university, cultural mistrust might not have been a salient component of the students' experiences on campus. He goes on to explain that the predominantly African American university provides more opportunities for males to interact with ethnically similar faculty and counselors thus minimizing the prominence of cultural mistrust.

Collectively, the variations in Duncan's research suggest that a possible mediating variable should be included when examining predictors of help-seeking attitudes. One such variable alluded to in his work is the racial and/or ethnic backgrounds of the counselors that represent university counseling centers. Students' expectations about the college counseling center could vary depending on the perceived characteristics of mental health clinicians with whom they will be working. Perceptions might be more positive if they anticipate meeting with an ethnically similar counselor who could better understand their needs. This could be especially true if students are presenting with issues around race or ethnicity.

Overall, African Americans tend to hold the general belief that professional psychological services are not in alignment with their culture. Because demographic factors are known to contribute to the perceptions African American college students form about help-seeking attitudes, it is imperative researchers control for, or incorporate into their analyses such variables. Some existing literature has been limited in generalizability due to when researchers neglect to control for possible confounding

variables. To address this issue, this dissertation will control for highly predicative demographic variables that have been found to influence help-seeking attitudes.

Counselor Race Preferences

The following section will provide a summary of the two dominate frameworks used to explicate African Americans' preferences for racially or ethnically similar mental health clinicians. Secondly, articles from each perspective relative to African American college students will be detailed. Finally, limitations and implications of the counseling racial preference literature will be discussed.

Explanatory frameworks. A meta-analytic review of the counselor race preference literature reveals two perspectives dominate the counselor racial preferences literature (Coleman, et al., 1995). The particularist approach, or phenomenological-demographic, contends that ethnic minority clients will almost always prefer a counselor who shares similar demographics such as race or gender (Tyler, Brome, &Williams, 1991). In addition this perspective contends that an ethnically mismatched dyad results in early termination and dissatisfaction. The alternate compilations of articles in the counselor racial preference literature suggest that one's racial identity and racial consciousness determines the extent to which one prefers an ethnically or racially similar or dissimilar counselor.

Helms and Carter (1991) explored the two competing views in a study that focused on the relationship of White and Black racial identity attitudes and demographic similarity to counselor preference. Results revealed partial support for both perspectives. For White participants, demographic characteristics predicted preferences for female counselors and same sex counselors, especially in female respondents. Nevertheless, racial identity independently predicted preferences for counselors of the same social class

and sex. This implies that the cultural affiliation model was most applicable to female clients, and the particularist approached applied to all White participants. Thus evidence for both perspectives is found.

Regarding Black participants, racial identity attitudes and demographic characteristics predicted preferences only for White counselors, with demographic variables accounting for most variance. Specifically, Black men with lower socioeconomic statuses had stronger White male and male counselor preferences than did Black females. Helms and Carter (1991) suggest that these results counterintuitively support the cultural affiliation approach. Black men and women's strength of preference for Black male counselors did not differ significantly. Therefore it is impossible to conclude gender similarity bias alone accounted for the findings concerning White male counselors.

Particularist approach in African American collegians. Thompson and Cimbolic's (1978) completed one of the first examinations of African American students' counselor preferences and use of university counseling centers at PWU, North Texas State University. The researchers approached the study with the premise that if African Americans had a choice to be serviced by an African American counselor, they would be more inclined to use such services. Their investigation confirmed this hypothesis. They established a relationship between counseling center use and counselor race, whereby students were more likely to use the counseling center if an African American counselor was available. Additionally, Thompson and Cimbolic (1978) found that if African American students at PWUs were forced to choose between an African American and

European American counselor, they would choose the a Black therapist. Sex of the client, sex of counselor, and type of problem appear to have no effect on counseling center use (Thompson & Cimbolic, 1978).

Atkinson, Furlong, and Poston (1986) also evaluated African American preferences for counselor characteristics. The authors extended the existing literature by examining within group differences of African-Americans' counselor preferences using participants from a predominantly Black college in southern California. Results confirmed that African American students tended to prefer Black counselors over non-Black counselors; however, in this sample, other counselor characteristics were more important. Strong preferences were found for counselors who were older, regarded as experts, and held comparable attitudes as the students. Atkinson et al. (1986) concluded that professional, African American counselors would best fit the preferences of most Black clients. This study revealed that although other counselor characteristics were important, race still remained a consistent preference for most Blacks. It is possible that because students were receiving psychological services with a predominantly African American setting, the racial characteristics of the counselor may not have been particularly salient.

Ponterotto, Alexander, and Hinkston (1988) replicated and extended the Atkinson et al. (1986) study to test the generalizability of the results to African-American students attending a PWU in the Midwest. Though both studies indicated that participants preferred counselors who were similar to themselves, Ponterotto's (1988) results revealed a stronger preference for counselors with similar ethnicity. These results indicate that

students may have unique perceptions about the type of counselors who represent counseling centers at PWUs. If mental health clinicians are viewed as an extension of an unwelcoming campus environment, students may find it too risky to meet with an ethnically dissimilar counselor.

Cultural affiliation approach in African American collegians. Parham and Helms (1981) were among the first to determine that certain racial identity stages, operationalized via the Cross's Racial Identity Attitude Model, shaped African Americans acceptance of African American and European American counselors. In this particular study, Cross's model (Cross, 1971) measured four stages of black identity characterized as an evolution from self-degrading self-perceptions, to one that is affirmed in Black culture. The stages ranging from least to most self-affirmed are preencouter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization (Cross, 1971). Results showed that individuals with preencounter attitudes tended to prefer European American counselors whereas, those in the encounter or immersion/emersion phase preferred African American counselors. Moreover, students in the internalization stage had no preference. This suggest that as African Americans become more comfortable with their racial identity, racial characteristics of the counselor become less important than other features such as skill level.

More recent research continues to find that racial identity attitudes are related to counselor racial preferences. For example, Ferguson and colleagues (2008) used an updated version of Cross racial identity attitudes model, operationalized via the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS). This particular scale updated the original model by

emphasizing one's social identity, using others a reference point to understand what it means to be Black in society (Cross & Vandiver, 2001). In addition to the CRIS, Ferguson and associates also assessed anti-white attitudes and perceived discrimination (via the Johnson and Leci, 2003) among African Americans. Analyses indicated that both racial identity and anti-white attitudes significantly predicted counselor race preferences. In fact, black attitudes towards whites accounted for a significant portion variance beyond what racial identity attitudes explained (Ferguson, Leach, Levy, Nicholson, & Johnson, 2008). The authors propose that racial identity alone should not be used to understand counselor racial preferences and that perceptions students' have about the counselor (especially if the student believes the counselor is White) must also be assessed. If students have strong anti-white attitudes, it would be advantageous to pair them with ethnically similar counselors. (Ferguson, et al., 2008; Townes, Chavez-Korell, & Cunningham, 2009)

One limitation of Ferguson and colleagues (2008) study is that they did not evaluate potential differential influences of each stage of racial identity attitudes on counselor racial preferences. Yet, additional scholarship by Townes, Chavez-Korell, and Cunningham (2009) filled in this gap. In a study of African American students at a PWU, Townes and associates found that preencounter attitudes, antiwhite attitudes, and internalized afrocentricity were all significantly related to counselor racial preferences. In particular, students who endorsed anti-white attitudes and internalized afrocentricity were more likely to prefer a Black counselor. In contrast, students who were more assimilated to the dominate culture were less likely to prefer a Black counselor.

Duncan's and Johnson's (2007) findings delineated the importance of considering cultural mistrust when understanding counselor racial preferences. His research showed students higher in cultural mistrust preferred to see an African American counselor. Previous research supports Duncan's findings. Watkins and colleagues (1989) found that students who score high in mistrust view counselors as less favorable if they were European American and tend to view those counselors as less effective in helping them work through psychosocial issues. Similar results are reported in Watkins & Terrell's (1988) earlier analogue study that examined mistrust levels and the Black-White client-counselor dyad. Watkins & Terrell (1988) also indicate that African Americans who are highly mistrustful expect less from counseling than less mistrustful African Americans and this association persist despite the counselor identifying as African American.

Limitations and implications of counselor racial preference literature. Coleman, Wampold, and Casali (1995) state a limitation of the counselor race preference literature is that in many of the studies, participants were forced to choose between a White and non-White counselor. Therefore, participants did not have the opportunity to select a no preference option. The researchers argue, as the no preference option was restricted, the selection of a non-White counselor increased. This seems to be a valid weak point in this body of work as it does not realistically represent the process of selecting counselors. However, it is important to keep in mind that African American college students, particularly those at PWUs, rarely have the opportunity to choose an African American counselor. The Department of Health and Human Services report only two percent of psychologists in the United States are African American (2001). Social

workers have the largest percentage of African American clinicians, yet the percentage is still minimal at four percent (DHHS, n.d.). This imbalance is also reflected on college campuses. More specifically, Kearney and colleagues (2005) reported that across 40 to 50 counseling centers at US universities, 79.4% of counselors were Caucasian and 6.9% were African American. Further, Gallagher's (2006) survey of post-secondary institutions nationwide summarized that 76.9% of counseling center staff were Caucasian, and 9.6% were African American. If forced selection of counselors' race influences counselor preference, the question of how not being able to see an African American clinician influences perceptions about the utility of campus mental health centers must be asked.

Another limitation in the literature is the lack of knowledge about the role of counselor race preference on help-seeking attitudes and behaviors in African American students. One study suggested counselor race preference was not related to help-seeking attitudes in African Americans at universities and in the community (Townes, et al., 2009). However, another study established a relationship between counseling center use and counselor race, whereby students were more likely to use the counseling center if an African American counselor was available (Thompson & Cimbolic, 1978). As demonstrated above, much of the literature focuses on predictors of counselor race preference, as opposed to investigating how the construct sways opinions about mental health services. Noting the lack of Black mental health clinicians, it is imperative to continue investigating how African American students' helper preferences might restrict their use of college counseling centers. This is especially important because research

shows African Americans are more likely than European Americans to express counselor preferences (Speight & Vera, 2005).

The conclusion in the literature is that an indirect link to counseling utilization has been found, whereby racial identity and African self-consciousness affects decision making towards using counseling services even as it does not directly predict use of these services (Delphin & Rollock, 1995). Overall, African American students who identify strongly with the dominant culture and do not have a strong sense of connection to African American culture are less likely to prefer a Black counselor. Conversely, students who have distant or conflicted relationships with Whites as characterized by mistrust, discrimination, or contempt typically favor an ethnically or racially similar dyad. Having knowledge about students' counselor racial preferences can indicate to campus counselors difficulties students' may have with adjusting to PWUs, as well as complexities that might arise in the counseling dyad if African American counselors are unavailable.

Minority Student Stress

The following section will discuss three key topics; the first being the construct of minority student stress and the various ways this construct has been measured in empirical studies; second, an overview will be provided of the factors affected by minority stress, namely academic achievement, mental, and coping; and lastly, students' cultural affiliation' influence on their experience of minority student stress.

Conceptualizing minority student stress. College students of all races and ethnicities are often challenged by the psychosocial and academic stressors of higher education. Stressors are considered the "intrinsic or extrinsic adverse forces" that threatens an individual's internal equilibrium (Chrousos, 1998), African American students, and those who attend PWUs, in particular, must also cope with the tribulations associated with being a minority in what may be an oppressive and isolating environment (Ancis, Sedlack, & Mohr, 2000; Fleming, 1984; Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). The problems attributed to one's minority status can take on many forms, including experiences of racism or discrimination (Solorzano, et al., 2000), isolation (Johnson et al., 2007), and negative intergroup interactions (Cole & Yip, 2008). Such events contribute to stress as individuals experience physiological responses to a real or perceived threat to their homeostasis (Lazarus &Cohen, 1977). Empirical research documents the reality of culture specific stressors and the effects it has on African American collegians' adjustment (Smedley, Myers, & Harrell, 1993), well-being (Alamilla, Kim, & Lam, 2010), and academic persistence (Wei, Ku, & Liao, 2011).

This type of stress – minority student stress – is distinct from general stress experienced by students attending post-secondary education, and is often experienced by students in a direct and indirect manner. The effects of minority student stress can be direct when stressful experiences are specifically attributed to students' phenotype and outward cultural expression. Minority stress is experienced indirectly when it exacerbates existing chronic stress caused by social, political, and economic inequalities, which often are directly linked to historic patterns of racial discrimination (Smedley, Myers, & Harrell, 1993). Because White students do not face these obstacles in connection with their racial identity, minority student stress can be seen as unique to students to color. According to Smedley and colleagues (1993), types of minority student stress include stressors related to social climate, intragroup interactions, interracial relationships, and incidences of racism and discrimination.

McEwen's and Stellar's(1993) theory on allostatic load can be used to further understand the unique effect of minority student stress on African American collegians. According to this theory, prolonged and repeated exposure to stressful events exerts chronic demands on the body's regulatory system thus resulting in eventual decline of functioning in an individual's ability to mitigate strenuous life events (McEwen & Stellar, 1993). In other words, being challenged with pervasive stressors prevents the body from recuperating, or regaining homeostasis, which can cause adverse health effects. The physiological consequences of prolonged stress is considered allostatic load. Studies have found that allostatic load impairs adult cognitive and physical functioning (Juster, McEwen, & Lupien, 2010). Minorities, such as African Americans, have been

consistently found to have higher allostatic loads when compared to European Americans (Juster, McEwen, & Lupien, 2010), and various studies identify experiences of racial discrimination as one of the culprit to these disparities. Scholars assert that the series of stress responses that are activated when a person experiences chronic race-based discrimination are exclusive from the acute stressors associated with daily life due to the "capacity to condition the appraisals of both current and future interpersonal interactions, especially interactions that are ambiguous." Therefore, discrimination intensifies *and* exacerbates existing stressors. Similarly, the construct of minority student stress, which emphasizes discrimination, can be thought of as an "allostatic stressor" that accumulates over and beyond the stress associated with routine hassles.

Smedley, Myers, and Harrell (1993) found evidence for the divergence of general and minority student stress in a sample of over 1,300 minority and white students attending a large PWU. When controlling for predispositional variables (age, gender, SES, SAT scores) and general stress, minority student stress predicted an additional amount of variance in GPA, indicating the compounding effect of minority stressors. In addition, higher minority student stress was related to lower academic achievement and higher psychological distress. Comparatively speaking, African American students reported higher levels of minority stress in each of the four categories mentioned above than other ethnic minorities. These findings were consistent with other research that indicated African American students reported more racism, ethnic or racial hostility, less equitable treatment, and more pressure to conform to racial stereotypes at rates higher than their Latino and Asian American counterparts (Ancis, Sedlack, & Mohr, 2000).

Greer and Chwalisz (2007) examined stress in African American students at a east coast HBCU and Midwestern PWU and found that students at PWUs endorsed more minority student stress than students at HBCUs. There were no differences in scores for general stress, implying African American students are experiencing stress that can be specifically attributed to their race.

Operationalizing minority student stress. A review of the literature shows that despite various methods used to operationalize minority student stress in African American collegians (e.g., Black Student Stress Inventory; Index of Race Related Stress, Minority Student Stress), findings consistently demonstrate the distinctive nature of stress related to students' racial, ethnic, or cultural backgrounds. The consistent results are likely due to an inclusion of racism, discrimination, and inequality as a component of chronic stressors related to one's race or ethnicity. The primary difference in the measures is that some focus on minority student stressors that can be experienced globally, whereas others have a specific focus on stressful events that occur within institutions of higher education. All measures acknowledge the unique stressors associated with having a minority status in a predominantly White setting.

The first measure to examine stressors related to race or ethnicity in African American students was Edmunds (1984) Black Student Stress Inventory. Edmunds (1984), using a review of the existing themes in the literature and semi-structured interviews with students attending the University of North Carolina-Charlotte, created the Black Student Stress Inventory to examine stress factors for Black students in six areas: 1) personal; 2) interpersonal; 3) academic; 4) environmental; 5) financial; and 6) career.

The results supported the distinct nature of the stress experienced by African American students and highlighted the significance of using assessment approaches that captured and measured stressors that are particularly relevant to Blacks.

Neville, Heppner, and Wang (1997) revised the BSSI by collapsing Edmund's (1984) six domains into two broad categories of stressors: general stressors and culture-specific stressors. However, more recently, Neville, Heppner, Ji, and Thye (2004) found that that the BSSI should be conceptualized as three domains of stressors: race-related stressors, psychological/ interpersonal stressors, and academic stressors. Nevertheless, both studies found that Black students reported and experienced racial issues as a source of stress in the university environment, and that this type of stress was distinct from general college stressors (Neville, Heppner, Ji, & Thye, 2004; Neville, Heppner, & Wang, 1997).

Although the BSSI was conceptualized with the African American collegiate in mind, it includes measures of general stressors that may be experienced by college students, irrespective of race or ethnicity. The general stressors included in the inventory (e.g., concentration and memory difficulties) do not account for the compounding effect that having a minority status adds on more general college stressors. The difficulty in teasing out general and minority stressors is evident in the moderate intercorrelation among the BSSI subsections (.51 to .62, as reported in Neville, Heppner, and Wang, 1997) which in turn lowers the chance of finding unique variances of one specific factor. Furthermore, the BSSI has not been widely used, and only two empirical studies in addition to the aforementioned articles could be found. One study using the BSSI

neglected to use the more psychometrically sound revised version of the BSSI (Landers, Rollock, Rolfes, & Moore, 2011), and the other only used the general stress items, thus excluding a focus on the unique nature of cultural stress (Neblett Jr, Hammond, Seaton, & Townsend, 2010).

Scholars have also used Utsey and Ponterotto's Index of Race-Related Stress (IRRS) (Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996) to capture the unique stressors associated with being an African American at PWUs. The IRRS is a measure of the race-related stress experienced by African Americans in their daily lives. Respondents are asked to evaluate race-related situations that they or someone close to them experienced and indicate their degree of psychological upset The IRRS provides three subscale scores and a total scale score. The three subscales are 1) Cultural Racism —stress related to the denigration of one's culture ("You notice that when a Black person is killed by a White mob or policeman no one is sent to jail."); 2) Institutional Racism— stress related to racism embedded in institutional policies and practices (You did not get the job you applied for although you were well qualified; you suspect because you are Black."); and 3) Individual Racism racism experienced interpersonally ("You were treated with less respect and courtesy than Whites and other non-Blacks while in a store, restaurant, or other business establishment.").

This particular measure captures racism at a global level, and may not accurately depict the distinctive type of stress present at universities. In addition, given that college students may not have experienced scenarios presented on the IRRS (e.g., held jobs or sought independent housing), the measure is limited in its appropriateness for the

university population. Yet, results suggest that race-related stress had a greater impact on negative psychological functioning than stressful life events. More specifically, race-related stress was a stronger predictor of psychological distress than stressful life events (Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996). According to Utsey, Giesbrecht, Hook, and Stanard (2008) "stressed caused by racism is pervasive, perpetual, and systematic, whereas the impact of stressful life events may be time limited."

In recent years, the most commonly used minority student stress scale for all university students of color is the Minority Student Stressors measure (MSS). Items for the MSS scale were obtained from the Black Student Stress Inventory (Edmunds, 1984), the College Adjustment Rating Scale (Zitzow, 1984), and from qualitative data collected in a pilot sample of 100 minority students. The MSS items reflect both unique, minority-specific stressors (for example, "Too many people of my race are employed in low-status jobs at the university."), as well as "generic" student role stresses that may be compounded by a students' racial/ethnic or social class background (for example, "being the first from my family to attend college"). Unlike other measures, the MSS is unique to a predominantly white university setting and accounts for the compounding nature of race and ethnicity on general stresses when one has a minority status in this specific environment.

Research on minority student stress.

Minority student stress and academic achievement and persistence. Research suggests that when students experience stress attributed to their race or ethnicity, they

might feel like it will be extremely difficult to persist in their educational endeavors. Smedley, Myers, and Harrell (1993) examined the unique impact of having a minority status on academic achievement in freshmen students of color attending a large PWU using the MSS. The authors proposed that academic achievement would be influenced by the interacting effects of personal attributes, psychological and sociocultural stress, and coping strategies (Smedley, et al., 1993). Results revealed that in a group of diverse students, generic student stressors did not predict academic achievement, yet, minority student stress accounted for a significant portion of the variance even after controlling for predispositional variables such as prior academic preparation. In this study, students with higher minority student stress reported lower academic achievement as measured by self-reported grade point averages. Smedley and associates (1993) stated that these results support the idea that minority student stress causes college adjustment hardships for minority students, over and beyond what would be expected in the majority group university students.

Although the aforementioned study provided evidence for the distinct contributions of minority student stress for students of color, the results are only generalizable to university freshmen. This provides an incomplete understanding of minority student stress as the cumulative effects of such stressors remain unknown. Further, the study assumed an etic approach that neglected to analyze how the relationship among variables might function in different racial and ethnic groups.

In a similar study, Wei, Ku, and Liao (2011) addressed some of the abovementioned limitations by examining a mediation model in different ethnic groups in

various classifications. The authors hypothesized that students who experienced minority stress (measured by the MSS) would have more negative perceptions of the university environment which would then cause more negative persistence attitudes. Stated differently, the researchers sought to examine if the relationship between minority student stress and academic persistence would be mediated by minority students' perceptions of university environment. Wei and colleagues found support for their model for all ethnicities, and there were no differences in the fit of the model between groups indicating the negative effects of minority student stress for all groups. Group comparisons among African American, Latino, and Asian American students, revealed that African American students attending this particular PWU reported experiencing the most minority student stress (Wei, et al., 2011). Cokley, McClain, Encisco and Martinez (2013) also found that African Americans at a large PWU in the Southwest reported higher levels of minority student stress than their Asian American and Latino peers.

Minority student stress and mental health. Research suggests that the psychological functioning of African Americans and other racial and ethnic minority student groups may be influenced by different factors than those of White students, such as unique psychosocial stressors (Sedlacek & Brooks 1976; Tracey &Sedlacek, 1985). Using the modified version of the Black Student Stress Inventory (BSSI), Neville, Heppner, Ji, and Thye (2004) found that African American students at one of four Midwestern PWUs were experiencing a moderate level of stressors specifically related to their race. Students experiencing such stressors were more likely to endorse higher psychological distress. However, general stress was also related to psychological distress

which could possibly weaken the argument that race related stress was a unique predictor of distress. As mentioned above, the BSSI does not specifically account for the compounding effects of one's race on general academic stress, thus it is difficult to demarcate the distinct effects of general and race related stress.

In a comparable study measuring minority student stress, Parker and Jones (2009) found that in a sample of African American students attending Virginia Tech, a large PWU, minority student stress was negatively associated with psychological adaptation. Students who reported more minority stress experienced difficulty personally and emotionally adjusting to the university environment. Parker and Jones (2009) suggest that researchers interested in the stress and functioning of African American students should study such variables using contextual variables as opposed to examining the constructs globally.

Minority student stress and coping. Inconsistent findings are apparent in the small amount of literature available on the relationship between minority student stress and coping. Greer and Chwalisz (2007) found that minority student stress was not related to avoidant or approach coping strategies in African American students at a medium-size, Midwest PWU . Stated differently, students experiencing stressors attributed to their minority status did not seek out help nor avoid confronting their problems. In contrast, Greer and Brown (2011) found that students utilized problem-oriented approaches to deal with minority student stress, and when doing so they experienced higher levels of general stress. Thus, students who actively sought to resolve issues related to minority student stress felt more overwhelmed by their problems. Also students who coped with minority

stress by disengaging from their problems, reported less general stress (Greer & Brown, 2011).

Some students experiencing minority student stress may view such pressures as inevitable and not actively seek to alleviate these concerns (Greer & Brown, 2011). It may be easier to ignore pervasive issues such as oppression as opposed to fighting against them. Another alternate explanation is that collectivist nature of many African Americans serves as protective factor against minority student stress. For example, sociofamilial resources have been found to buffer the effects of race related stressors for African American university students (Utsey, Giesbrecht, Hook, & Stanard, 2008). In other words, when students feel supported by their family and social circle they are less affected by race-related stress. As well, framing the results within the racial identity literature, it is possible that students with a higher sensitivity to racial and social injustices may experience more minority student stress which subsequently affects their overall psychological functioning.

Greer and Brown's (2011) research does not assess the specific types of actions taken by students to alleviate minority student stress. Therefore it is unknown if seeking counseling at the university mental health center was one approach students used to eliminate their race-related stress. Not being assisted by a culturally sensitive clinician who understands such issues could potentially cause more distress to students. No research exploring the relationship between minority student stress and help-seeking attitudes could be found, nevertheless, the abovementioned sources suggest students might be disinclined to seek services for such problems. This might be especially true for

students that assume the campus counseling center will be insensitive towards culture-specific issues, or for students who would prefer to address such concerns with an African American or racial/ethnic minority counselor.

Cultural affiliation and minority student stress. It has been suggested that African American students' racial identity can be used to describe the culture-specific adjustment of African Americans (Helms, 1995; Prillerman, Meyers, & Smedley, 1989). Neville, Heppner, and Wang (1997) used the revised BSSI in a study examining the predictability of racial identity on race related stress in students attending a large, land-grant PWU in the Midwest. Results revealed students immersed in Black culture with anti-white attitudes (Immersion/Emersion) endorsed greater general and culture specific college stressors. However, regression analyses indicated only immersion/emersion attitudes significantly predicted general stressors. In addition, encounter attitudes, as characterized by students experiencing heightened awareness of racial issues (encounter), was related to culture specific stress. The authors proposed that students in the immersion/emersion phase might believe racial inequality is inevitable and might be less affected by cultural stressors. Relevant research shows students with no awareness of racial problems were not bothered by such events, as preencounter attitudes were not correlated with race-related stress (Johnson & Arbona, 2006). Johnson and Arbona (2006) also found that the association between ethnic identity and cultural and individual race related stress was insignificant. The authors explain this contradiction by highlighting the salience of race over ethnicity for African American students.

Collectively, the literature suggest that African American students are indeed experiencing stressors related to their outward phenotype, cultural expression, and these stressors negatively impact students' academic achievement and mental health. Black collegians may respond differently to minority student stressors based upon racial identity attitudes, with individuals experiencing one or more racially salient encounter(s) that force(s) the individuals to challenge their race neutral or anti-Black framework being particularly prone to experiencing minority student stress. Students dealing with culture specific stressors may attempt to avoid dealing with such issues, as a problem solving coping approach may cause additional distress, especially when coping efforts are met with invalidation and oppression. Given that race is particularly salient for African American collegians, along with the consequences of oppression, it is integral to understand how race, particularly in terms of counselor racial preferences, impacts the help-seeking process.

Out-group Comfort

The following section will provide a description of the conceptualization of out-group comfort. Secondly, common instruments used to measure out-group comfort will be detailed. Finally, research using the out-group comfort construct will be reviewed.

Unpacking out-group comfort. The construct of out-group comfort is generally defined as the ease with which individuals interact with out-group members (Cole & Arriola, 2007; Cole & Yipp, 2008). With regards to African American students, out-group comfort pertains to a specific component of the adaptation process at PWUs when collegians must establish a degree of confidence and security in their interactions with European American students, faculty, and staff (Cole & Arriola, 2007; Cole & Yip, 2008). For many African Americans, matriculation in higher institutions of educations represents their first exposure to predominantly White educational settings. For instance, only nine percent of Black students attend elementary and secondary public schools with less than 25% minority enrollment. Yet, 80% of African Americans attend universities that enroll an average of 32% of minorities (JBHE, n.d.; Snyder & Dillow, 2010). Therefore, Black collegians are faced with the task of adjusting socially to the PWU environment. Cole and Arriola (2007) suggest that the contact, or social interactions, that occurs between African American and European Americans at PWUs is similar to an acculturation process because Black students are learning how to function within a culturally unfamiliar learning environment.

Considering the interrelatedness between out-group comfort and acculturation, a discussion of acculturation is warranted. Berry and colleagues conceptualized

acculturation as a multidimensional process of change that transpires when persons of differing cultural groups come into continuous contact (Berry, 1980; Berry & Sam, 1997). In Berry and colleagues' framework, individuals' reactions to this contact positions them along a continuum in which the ends are defined by identification retainment and involvement with culture of origin, and the extent to which one participates in, or values the mainstream, dominant culture. Along that continuum exists four acculturation styles or strategies: *assimilation,* defined as identification with the dominant culture; i*ntegration,* which is considered an investment in both preserving one's cultural identity and maintaining relationships with other groups; *separation*, as characterized by an identification with one's ethnic culture only; and *marginalization* is characterized by a lack of identification or involvement in both cultures (Berry, 1980; Berry & Sam, 1997). Stated more simply, the four modes of acculturation are based upon varying degrees of culture maintenance and intergroup contact.

Berry's model of acculturation is important for African American students at PWUs interpersonally because it emphasizes the role of intergroup contact that transpires in dominant and non-dominant relationships. In such dynamics, the group that is in the non-dominant side of the power differential is likely to experience a degree of anxiety about possible negative evaluations and humiliations from members of the dominant group (Depret & Fiske, 1993) which ultimately influences the ways in which African Americans interact with European Americans. For example, a recent qualitative study found that students of color viewed European American students as being unaware of power and privilege. For African American students, this lack of awareness forced them

to alter how they interacted with, and reacted to White Americans who may or may not be sensitive to issues of oppression (Morrison, 2010). Therefore, the minority status of Black collegians forces them to bear the burden of making personal adjustments interpersonally when associating with the majority group.

Research suggests that African American students at PWUs often assume an integrationist, or bicultural approach, when negotiating predominantly white settings (Diemer, 2007; Worrell, Vandiver, Schaefer, Cross, & Fhagen-Smith, 2006). This translates into being able to maneuver in predominantly white campus environments while developing and retaining a strong African American identity (Rashid, 1984). While a collective body of literature suggests African American collegians maintain an affiliation with their heritage by maintaining close ties with family and friends (Russell & Atwater, 2005) spiritual and religious communities (Constantine, Wilton, Gainor, & Lewis, 2002), and black cultural spaces (Patton, 2006), less is known about how students perceive their interactions with European American faculty, peers, and staff. However, given the expansive research that documents Black collegians' perceived instances of racism and discrimination at PWUs it can be assumed that discomfort and anxiety about interacting with Whites is a salient part of students' educational experiences.

Issues in measurement. Although the importance of intergroup contact is evident in the African American acculturation experience, it is often deemphasized in empirical research on acculturation. For example, Landrine and Klonoff's (1994) African American Acculturation Scale (AAAS) (which was later revised in Klonoff and Landrine, 2000) was for several decades the most widely used measure; however, the

scale is unidimensional by only measuring the extent to which an individual does or does not adhere to a traditional African American cultural orientation, or enculturation (Cokley & Helm, 2007), as defined by the authors. This unidimensional approach inherently neglects to account for the role of between-group contact which excludes an essential and fundamental element of the acculturation process. In addition, scholars (Obasi & Leong, 2010) have critiqued the AAAS as being an inaccurate interpretation of Black culture because of the inclusion of items that seem racist and stereotypical (e.g., "I know how to cook chit'lins", "Deep in their hearts, most White people are racists).

Obasi and Leong (2010) sought to correct some of the flaws of the AAAS by putting forth a bidimensional measure, The Measurement of Acculturation Strategies for People of African Descent (MASPAD), based on the model proposed by Berry (1980). The bidimensionality allows scholars to measure both the extent to which African descendants adhere to an Africentric orientation as well as other points of reference. This interpretation differs from, and extends Berry's (1980) model by assuming that individuals can acculturate to other ethnocultural groups besides European Americans, and the traditionalist strategies are characterized by African-centered practices such as participating in an African naming ceremony, or having a preference for African art and music.

Although Obasi and Leong (2010) contend that the MASPAD assesses African descendants contact preferences, closer examination of the items on the measure reveal that intergroup relations is only minimally included. Similar to the AAAS, the majority of the items of the MASPAD assess the extent to which individuals operate from an

Africentric orientation, and excludes an adequate assessment of the role of intergroup contact on acculturation strategies. In addition, the idea that to be in contact with and participating in other ethnocultural groups negates one's adherence to an Africentric orientation may be an inaccurate and offensive assumption. Similar to the AAAS, the items on the scale may not be particularly salient to most African American collegians, especially those who do not consider their identity to be as closely related to African culture as assumed in the MASPAD. The institution of slavery required enslaved Africans to identify with, and assimilate to their European oppressors' culture as a means of survival. In doing so, traditional African culture was altered and fused with European ideals resulting in Black American culture (Utsey et al., 2001). Although residuals of African culture continue to reside in, and influence Black culture today, African Americans may not be consciously aware of this association. Thus a scale measuring how "African" one may not accurately fit with African American culture.

Overall, despite the vast amount of research that has been done on acculturation, the narrative remains somewhat incomplete for African Americans. Intergroup contact is inadequately included and explored in the aforementioned measures, thus painting an insufficient picture about African American acculturation. Furthermore, there is a lack of acknowledgement of the unique adaptation process for African American collegians within the PWU context. Noting the gaps in the literature, Cole and Arriola (2007) sought to create a measure of acculturation that addressed these limitations.

Towards a contextual measure of acculturation. Using the foundation of Berry's theorizing of acculturation and building upon Black psychology literature, Cole

and Arriola (2007) suggested an approach to understand how African American collegians' experience and negotiate PWUs. According to the scholars, African Americans attending PWUs go through a process similar to acculturation. For many Black students, higher educational settings are usually the first place young Blacks are exposed to predominantly white environments; therefore, students are faced with the challenge of learning how to function in the majority, White culture of the campuses. This adaption requires students to become fluent in the culture of the PWU, which is essentially a process of change that results from being in contact with another cultural group.

African American students' adaptation to PWUs is comprised of maintaining heritage and identity (enculturation), and becoming comfortable interacting with members of the out-group (White Americans) (Cole & Arriola, 2007). The authors suggest it is important to focus only on Black and White interactions because of the pervasive nature of racial tension and unwelcoming campus climates at universities with a predominant White enrollment. Further, the Black Exceptionalism Thesis posits that the legacy of European American institutional racism, Jim Crow and forced segregation, caused a rigid racial hierarchy that places European Americans at the top and African Americans at the bottom (Sears & Savalei, 2006). The unjustified hierarchy of European Americans over Black substantiates an examination of the intergroup relations between these two specific groups.

Cole and Arriola (2007) devised the Black Acculturation Scale that measures these two important components. The first orientation is characterized by maintaining a

collectivistic ideal, appreciating Black culture and history, being aware of discrimination, being socially responsible to the Black community, and considering one's racial identity to be inextricably linked to the individual's larger personal identity. The second orientation takes into account the anxiety and distance that is often associated with intergroup relations, and how those feelings factor into how comfortable African American collegians are when interacting with European Americans. Cole and Arriola (2007) suggest the discomfort some Black students feel when interacting with White students stems from unpleasant race relations and campus climates at PWUs. The foundation of out-group comfort is primarily based on Stephan and Stephan's (1985) work on intergroup anxiety. Stephan and Stephan (1985) theorized that intergroup anxiety is comprised of an agglomeration of negative consequences - behavioral, cognitive, and affective - feared by people who may have contact with an out-group. This might include fear of embarrassment, fear of exploitation or domination, or negative evaluations.

Overall, intergroup anxiety reflects an individual's concerns regarding outcomes of interactions with members of an out-group. This uneasiness may ultimately cause individuals to feel threatened by the out-group. A metanalysis suggested that intergroup anxiety has been demonstrated to predict higher levels of prejudice, negative expectancies, increased hostility, and desire to avoid contact with out-groups (Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006). Interestingly, Mack and colleagues (1997) found that Black students at a PWU reported less intergroup comfort than both their White and Hispanic peers.

Intergroup anxiety differs from out-group comfort in that Cole and Arriola (2007) put forth a more specific construct that takes into account the minority status of African Americans specifically, as well as the unique setting of PWUs. Scores on out-group comfort may be thought to demonstrate a special case of intergroup anxiety specific to Black Americans' experiences of discrimination, segregation, and negative stereotyping. Further, out-group comfort is conceptualized as an individual difference among Black collegians, thus accounting for the heterogeneity in the population. Cole and colleagues (Cole & Arriola, 2007; Cole & Yip, 2008) move away from current deficit models in empirical research with African Americans and situate out-group comfort as a strength when adjusting to PWUs or any diverse space.

Research with out-group comfort. Given the oversight of out-group comfort in most studies of acculturation, it comes as no surprise that the research on the construct is minimal. It is expected that more research on this topic will be conducted as scholars become aware of the newly created measure of Black student acculturation. A review of the literature found only two scholarly articles that specifically examined the function of out-group comfort in the role of African American collegians. Results revealed that generally, being comfortable in interactions with White Americans at is related to increased well-being. In a study of African American freshmen at one of five, large PWUs in the Northeast, increased out-group discomfort was related to higher anxiety (Cole & Arriola, 2007). Students who were more comfortable interacting in predominantly white settings endorsed more frequent interactions with different racial and ethnic groups. This contact strengthened students' bicultural skills, causing them to

feel more competent when interacting with diverse people. As well, students who expressed less discomfort when interacting with Whites were less likely to be concerned that their academic success might cause them to feel criticized by their peers. Notably, out-group comfort was more salient to well-being for women, but not men. Women who felt comfortable interacting within the predominantly white setting reported greater well-being at the end of the school year (Cole & Arriola, 2007). Cole and Yip (2008) suggest African American men's male privilege may buffer the impact of out-group comfort on well-being.

In a related vein, students with higher out-group comfort reported less state anxiety than those with more discomfort. The chronic anxiety experienced by those with out-group discomfort suggests that such students, especially while in predominantly white settings, might be more cognizant of racial issues and more aware of the stereotypes and stigma that is associated with their phenotype (Cole & Yip, 2008). This seems to illuminate the propensity for African Americans to be disinclined from using mental health services, especially if the clinician is White. Although the findings show evidence for the impact of comfort with Whites in predicting mental health outcomes, the results are only generalizable to African American students' in their first year of college.

Additional research provides insight into this pattern with students at various classifications (McDonald &Vrana, 2007). With a sample of undergraduate African Americans in all classification levels at a medium-sized PWU, interracial social comfort was examined as a predictor of college adjustment. Results indicated that interracial social comfort significantly predicted college adjustment. Specifically, comfort with

Whites predicted college adjustment, regardless of the quality of students' interaction with other Black students. Conversely, when social comfort with Whites is low, it becomes particularly important for African American students to be supported by racially similar support networks to ensure adequate college adjustment. When interactions with Whites are common, it could be advantageous for African American students to have positive interactions, yet positive intragroup peer relationships still serve as an important protection against the concerns and stresses common in PWU settings.

Overall, the research suggests that out-group comfort is an important, but largely overlooked component of the African American acculturation experience. The limited research available on this subject suggest that for Black collegians, being comfortable interacting with White Americans is a protective feature that helps to promote well-being and adjustment at PWUs. African American students with less comfort interacting with Whites may experience increased psychological distress that warrants professional counseling services, yet they may simultaneously experience ambivalence about obtaining counseling services with a European American clinician. Having an understanding about the intersection of students' out-group comfort and counselor racial preferences, can inform campus mental health professionals about the dynamics that might arise in the counseling dyad.

Cultural Congruity

The following section will discuss three key topics, the first being a definition of the construct of cultural congruity and its salience to African American collegians; second an overview will be provided of the factors affected by cultural congruity, namely academic achievement and life satisfaction; and lastly predictors of cultural congruity will be discussed. The Cultural Congruity Scale developed by Gloria and Robinson-Kurpius (1996) has been the instrument of choice for a range of studies that will be presented in the next sections.

Defining cultural congruity. The concept of cultural congruity refers to the cultural fit or match between one's internal values and those of the university environment (Gloria & Robinson Kurpius, 1996). More specifically, this constructs assumes that racial/ethnic minority students experience feelings of discomfort or incongruence because their beliefs, behaviors, and/or values may differ from those of White academic institutions (Jones, Castellanos & Cole, 2002; Gloria & Pope-Davis, 1997). Cultural incongruity is in part due to higher education system having long-standing tenets that are based on serving White, middle class students which contrast to an increasingly diverse student population. For example, white campus culture emphasis on rigid schedules, autonomy, competition, and individual achievement (Ponterotto, 1990) may not be representative of all ethnic groups, including African American culture which is thought to value flexible schedules, collaboration, and group achievement (Belgrave & Allison; 2010; Jones, 1991; Parham, 2002). Minority students must also face the challenge of retaining their cultural values while trying to adapt to the majority,

Eurocentric campus culture. The following sections will demonstrate how this condition impacts various facets of the campus experience.

Research with cultural congruity.

Cultural congruity and help-seeking attitudes. Gloria, Hird, and Navarro (2001) found that racial and ethnic minority students at a large PWU in the Southwest (African American, American Indian, Asian American, Hispanic, biracial, and multiracial) reported lower cultural congruity and help-seeking attitudes than white students. Similar findings were apparent by gender, whereby male students reported lower cultural congruity and help-seeking attitudes than female students. Also, cultural congruity and university environment accounted for more of the variance for help-seeking attitudes than for white students, and this was found only in female participants. For females, cultural congruity was the strong predictor of help-seeking attitudes.

While these findings support the idea that cultural congruity predicts help-seeking attitudes, Gloria, Hird, and Navarro (2001) utilized an etic approach in their study, thus minimizing differences between various ethnic groups. Their work provided very little insight into how students may uniquely experience the university as a function of their cultural affiliation. A large percentage of the ethnic minority participants in their study were Asian American (19%) and their study included only 12 African American participants. It is risky to assume these results are generalizable to African American students.

Cultural congruity and academics. Gloria and colleagues (1999) investigated different predictors of academic persistence in African American students at a large Southwestern PWU. Their results indicated that increased levels of social support along with higher levels of comfort in the university and self-beliefs predicted more positive persistence decisions. Further analyses revealed social support and campus comfort were the strongest predictors. These findings support earlier works that emphasize the importance of campus climate on academic outcomes (Allen, 1992; Fleming 1984). The authors propose that students who reported greater campus comfort may not have been dealing with isolation, racism, and alienation, or they were able to use various coping strategies, such as bicultural skills to buffer the effects of the negative environment (Gloria et al., 1999).

Additional empirical evidence also demonstrates the importance of cultural congruity in the academic outcomes of minority students. In a study of African American, Asian American, Latino, and European American community college students, researchers found that students' perception of campus cultural fit, and their sense of academic efficacy - as related to their understanding of academic success- differed across ethnic groups (Edman & Brazil, 2008). Specifically, cultural congruity was positively associated with grade point average for all ethnic groups expect African Americans. What was unique about this group is that overall, students, including students of color did not report low perceptions of campus climate. This is especially surprising considering other studies consistently document lower campus perceptions in students of color (Johnson et al., 2007; Museus, Lambert, & Nichols, 2008; Pieterse,

Carter, Evans, & Walter, 2010; Reid & Radhakrishnan, 2003). Also, perceptions remained positive despite reports of low levels of peer social support, mentoring, and campus involvement.

It seems possible these unlikely findings could be attributed to students' ongoing connection to their home environment. Because of closer physical proximity, cultural ties and values might be stronger thus buffering any possible negative effects of campus climate on academic outcomes. The authors offered the explanation that the culture of community colleges does not assume a certain degree of campus involvement and connection, and that such measures might be better suited for students at four-year universities (Edman & Brazil, 2008).

Cultural congruity and life satisfaction. Constantine and Watt (2002) added to the literature on cultural congruity by examining its influence, along with womanist identity, on life satisfaction in African American women at HBCUs and PWUs. HBCU enrollees reported higher cultural congruity and life satisfaction than those at PWUs. In addition, cultural congruity was a significant predictor of life satisfaction such that African American women who feel more connected to their university report more satisfaction. Womanist identity – a measure of gender role identity – did not account for a significant portion of the variance in life satisfaction when examined along with cultural congruity. The results demonstrate how university cultural fit is a more integral component of African American collegians life satisfaction then other components of their identity.

Predicting cultural congruity. With an increasing appreciation for the influence of the campus fit on African American students' academic persistence (Gloria et al., 1999), life satisfaction (Constantine & Watt, 2002), and help-seeking attitudes (Gloria, Hird, & Navarro, 2001), it becomes important to discover factors that contribute to perceptions of cultural congruity. Such implications can be used to guide structural changes to increase comfort within the university setting. Only one study could be located that probed possible predictors. Constantine, Robinson, Wilton, and Caldwell (2002) assessed the impact of collective self-esteem and social support on African American and Latinos students' perceptions of campus congruity at a Midwestern PWU. For all students, higher collective self-esteem and social support accounted for a significant amount of the variance in positive cultural congruity scores. These findings mirror various other scholarship that attest to the protective features of communalism in the African American community (Parham, 2002)

To summarize, the cultural congruity literature suggests feelings of incongruence between students' cultural background and that of their campus lead to a myriad of negative consequences including decreased academic persistence, limited self-perceived academic efficacy, and lower grade point average. Further, students experiencing cultural incongruity endorse less life satisfaction, yet such students are also disinclined to seek professional psychological services. Collectively, the literature suggests cultural congruity is a salient, and perhaps prominent component of the African American PWU experience that inhibits collegians from acknowledging the usefulness of university counseling centers. This information is important for counseling centers because it

challenges counseling entities to foster feelings of acceptance and appreciation for students of diverse backgrounds. Perhaps increasing the diversity among university counselors would demonstrate recognition of the cultural importance for many African Americans to meet with racially and/or ethnically similar clinicians.

Chapter Three: Methods

Participants

A G*Power A priori power analysis was conducted to determine the smallest sample size needed to detect a medium effect size (.35) that is significant at the .05 level. Results indicate approximately 117 participants were needed to produce a minimum power of .80 for all analyses. A total of 198 participants were used in this study.

Individuals targeted for participation self-identified as "African American," were undergraduates at The University of Texas at Austin, and over 18 years of age. The majority of participants (n=130) were recruited through the University of Texas Educational Psychology subject pool during the Fall 2012 and Spring 2013 semesters. The Psychology 301 subject pool was utilized during the Spring 2013 semester and yielded approximately 35 participants. The remaining 33 participants were recruited by the principal investigator or research assistant using internet snowball sampling and meeting with student organizations with high percentages of African American members. To increase the participation rate for individuals recruited through internet snowball, a lottery was held as an incentive for participation. Students who participated in the study had a chance of winning one of three cash prizes: a $50.00 prize or one of two $25.00 prizes.

Demographic information for all participants is included in Table 1. The majority of participants (80.3%) identified as African American or Black and the remaining participants identified as African (14.6%), Biracial (3%), Multiracial (1.5%) or other (0.5%). In all, the participants' ages ranged from 18-26 (M=20.13, SD=1.49). In terms

of gender representation 66.7% of the sample identified as female and 33.3% identified as male. Participants were undergraduate students representing a variety of academic standings: Freshmen (n = 44), sophomore (n = 51), junior (n = 44), and senior (n = 59). The self-report grade point average was 2.84 (SD= 0.63) With regard to social class, 51.3% of the sample identified as middle class, 32% as working class, 14.2% upper middle class, 0.5% as upper class, and 2% identified as other. Regarding upward mobility, participants reported a mean of 5.49 (SD=1.62) on a 1- 10 scale.

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of Participants

Characteristics	n	%
Race		
Black/African American	159	80.3
Black/African	29	14.6
Biracial	6	3.0
Multiracial	3	1.5
Other	1	0.5
Age		
18	22	11.1
19	55	27.8
20	48	24.2
21	39	19.7
22	26	13.1
23	2	1.0
24	4	2.0
25	0	0
26	2	1.0
Gender		
Female	132	66.7
Male	66	33.3
Class Standing		
Freshman	44	22.2
Sophomore	51	25.8
Junior	44	22.2
Senior	59	29.8

Table 1 continued

SES		
Working Class	63	32.0
Middle Class	101	51.3
Upper Middle Class	28	14.1
Upper Class	1	0.5
Other	4	2.0

Measures

Demographic Questionnaire (Appendix A): Demographic items to be included in this study are race, ethnicity, gender, age, year in school (classification), grade point average, and socioeconomic status. Participants will also be asked the following yes or no response questions: "Have you ever received counseling from a mental health professional?", "Are you currently receiving services from a mental health professional?", "Have you ever received counseling from your university's counseling center?", "Are you currently receiving services from your university's counseling center?" Respondents who answered "yes" to the aforementioned questions were asked additional questions to ascertain the race of their provider, the type of mental health provider, approximate number of sessions attended, and whether or not psychotropic medications were used to help manage symptoms. Participants were also asked: "If needed, would you seek mental health counseling from a mental health professional?", "If needed would you seek mental health counseling from the university counseling center", "How many sessions of career counseling have you attended at your university", and "If needed, would you seek career counseling from your university?" The following

open-ended question was asked: “What are your general impressions about your university’s mental health counseling center?”

Attitudes Towards Seeking Professional Psychological Help – Short Form (ATSPHH-SF; Fischer & Farina,1995) (Appendix B): The ATSPPH – Short Form is designed to measure attitudes towards seeking professional psychological help. The inventory consists of 10 items that produce a single score representative of the participants’ help-seeking attitudes; higher scores indicate more positive attitudes. The measure uses a four point Likert scale ranging from disagree to agree. The ATSPPH – Short Form is comprised of four subscales: Recognition of Personal Need for Professional Psychological Help (Need), Tolerance of the Stigma Associated with Psychiatric Help (Stigma), Interpersonal Openness Regarding One’s Problem (Openness), and Confidence in the Mental Health Profession (Confidence) (Fischer & Farina, 1995; Fischer & Turner, 1970). Sample items included are : “ There is something admirable in the attitude of a person who is willing to cope with his or her conflicts and fears without resorting to professional help (item 4)” and “ I might want to have psychological counseling in the future (item 6).” The scores on the short form scale correlated .87 with scales on the original 29 item measure and demonstrated a .80 four week test-retest reliability (Fischer & Farina, 1995). Additionally, the ATSPPH – Short Form has a .84 internal consistency. Known-groups method with males and females who experienced a serious emotional or personal problem was used to measure construct validity. Thirty seven percent of the females and ten percent of the males had sought professional help. The point biserial correlation between those who sought help and those

who did not was .39 ($p<.0001$) for both men and women, .24 ($p<.03$) for women, and .49 ($p<.0001$) for men (Fisher & Farina, 1995). In this study, Cronbach's alpha was .82 for ATSPPH-SF.

Counselor Preference Scale (CPS; Parham and Helms, 1981) (Appendix C): The CPS was originally developed by Parham and Helms (1981) to assess Black students' preferences for counselor's race, sex, and socioeconomic status in 10 different situations (Parham & Helms, 1981). These problem areas were determined by examining the top 10 reasons college students sought counseling (Webster et al., 1979). The problem areas consist of (a) choosing a major, (b)girlfriend/boyfriend relationships, (c) roommate, (d) relating to people, (e) study habits and skills, (f) meeting new people, (g) racial issues, (h) loneliness, (i) sexual issues, and (j) parents (Webster, Sedlacek, and Miyares,1979). This dissertation will use a version of the CPS as modified by Townes, Chavez-Korrell and Cunningham (2009). In this modified version of the CPS, the choices of age, sex, and SES were excluded, leaving only an assessment for racial preference. Likert scales are replaced with statements that directly assessed the respondents' preference for a Black counselor. The modified CPS preferences include "I would prefer a Black counselor" and "I would have no preference in this situation. The basic template and wording of the CPS will not be modified because the original items are designed to capture counselor preferences in the college student population. Participants respond to 10 statements and each preference is assigned a value (no preference = 0, Black = 1) for the purpose of scoring, and adding all 10 values produced a total score. Higher scores (higher than 5) are indicative of a strong preference and lower scores suggest a weak preference. Townes

and associates (2009) reported a Cronbach's alpha for the 10 items of the modified CPS as .89 for a pilot sample (*M* = 4.18, *SD* =3.60). Construct validity was supported by a positive relationship between cultural mistrust and preference for a Black counselor. In addition, respondents who endorsed immersion/emersion attitudes were more likely to prefer a Black counselor. Predictive validity was supported by a hierarchical multiple regression that revealed racial identity and cultural mistrust predicted preferences for a Black counselor. In this study, Cronbach's alpha was .89 for CPS.

Minority Student Stress Scale (MSSS; Smedley et al., 1993) (Appendix D): The MSSS assesses participants' experience of minority-related stressors on their campus. The MSSS is a 37-item questionnaire that uses a 6-point Likert scale (0-"does not apply" to 5-"very stressful") to assess five areas of stress that students of color may experience and attribute to their race/ethnicity. The two types of stressors identified in the scale are minority-specific stressors ("few students of my race are in my class") and generic stressors ("the university is an unfriendly place"). The five subscales of the MSS include: (a) Social Climate Stressors (e.g., few professors of my race, few students of my race in my classes); (b) Interracial Stressors (e.g. White-oriented campus culture, negative relationship between different ethnic groups); (c) Intragroup or Within-Group Stressors (e.g., pressure to show loyalty to own race, relationships between males and females of own race); (d) Racism and Discrimination Stresses (e.g. being treated rudely or unfairly due to race, having to prove abilities); and (e) Achievement Stressors (e.g. doubts about abilities, family expectations and pressure due to being a 1st generation college student). Each subscale is scored to indicate high stress among the various subscales, but

also averaged together to produce a total minority-status stress score. Subscale scores range from 0-55, depending on the scale, and the total score ranges from 0-165. For African American students, Greer and Brown (2011) reported a Cronbach's alpha reliability for the total MSS score as .93. Construct validity was supported by positive associations with perceived general stress among African American college students (Greer & Chwalisz, 2007). In this study, Cronbach's alpha was .92 for MSSS.

Black Acculturation Scale (BAS; Cole & Arriola, 2007) (Appendix E): The BAS measures Black people's level of acculturation. The measure consists of 42 items across two subscales and uses a five point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. The culture, heritage and identity subscale (CHI) has 26 items that captures attitudes, feelings, and behaviors relevant to college students' lives. Sample items include: "I take a lot of pride in Black historical accomplishments (item 1), "When I see a Black person achieve something significant, I feel a sense of pride myself (item 14)." CHI scores can range from 26 – 130 with higher scores representing strong affiliation to one's culture, heritage, and identity. The out-group comfort subscale (OC) has 16 items that capture feelings in and preferences for social situations varying in racial representation. Sample items include: "Socializing with White people is especially difficult for me" (item 30), "I avoid social situations if I think there will not be many other Black people there (item 37)". OC scores can range from 16 – 80 with higher scores indicating increased discomfort interacting with non-Black individuals. The BAS has a coefficient alpha of .90 for the CHI and .87 for the OC in the validation sample. Construct validation for the CHI subscale was supported by a strong positive

association with collective self –esteem. Further validity was demonstrated by a negative association with preencounter attitudes, and a positive relationship with immersion/emersion and internalization attitudes. Predictive validity for the OC subscale was supported by a study which found that out-group discomfort significantly predicted higher anxiety (Cole & Yip, 2008). In this study, Cronbach's alpha was .91 for the OC subscale.

Cultural Congruity Scale (CCS; Gloria & Kurpius, 1996) (Appendix F): The CCS measures racial and ethnic minority students' cultural fit in the university setting. The scale consists of 13 items with scores ranging from 13 to 91. Scores are summed across and higher scores represent greater perceived cultural congruity. Eight items are reversed scored. The measure uses a seven point or four point Likert scale ranging from not at all to a great deal (This dissertation will use a four point Likert scale as reported in Gloria, Hird, and Navarro, 2001). Sample items include: "As an ethnic minority, I feel as if I belong on this campus (item 12)", "I try not to show the parts of me that are ethnically based (item 1), and "My family and school values often conflict (item 10)". The CCS has a coefficient alpha of .89 in the validation sample of Chicano/a college students (Gloria & Kurpius, 1996) and a .80 among African American students (Gloria, Kurpius, Hamilton, & Wilson, 1999). A Cronbach's alpha of .93 was obtained in a sample of African American, female college students (Constantine & Watts, 2002). Predictive validity was calculated by including the CCS in a regression equation that demonstrated a negative correlation between academic persistence and cultural congruity. In this study, Cronbach's alpha was .78 for CCS.

Data collection procedures

Prior to the study, the research proposal, informed consent and a draft of the survey was submitted to the Institutional Review Boards (IRB) of the University of Texas at Austin. Participants were recruited from an internet snowball sample, as well as the subject pool for the Departments of Educational Psychology and Psychology. Participants were directed to complete a series of online questionnaires via Qualtrics, a web-hosted survey program. On the webpage, participants viewed a cover letter describing a study of attitudes about help-seeking attitudes and experiences in college. They were given the investigator's contact information in case they had questions regarding consent. Participants' identities remained anonymous to the investigator and other participants. Participants in the Educational Psychology subject pool were told that if they did not agree to the terms of consent they should choose not to participate in the study. All participants were notified that they could stop the online survey at any time and withdraw from the study. A small percentage of the sample (n=16) were recruited from the Association of Black Psychologist Student Circle at the University of Texas at Austin and completed paper surveys administered by the primary investigator. In addition, approximately 17 participants were recruited and administered paper surveys by a research assistant.

The questionnaires included the informed consent, demographic questionnaire, and study instruments including the sections of the MSSS, BAS, CCS, CPS, and ATSPPH-SF described in the Measures section. Participants were able to take the survey at any location of their choosing (i.e. home, library). If participants agreed to the terms of

consent and did not have further questions, they could begin the online survey. After completing the survey, participants received a debriefing, which included information about how to contact counseling services if they felt distress as a result of completing the survey.

Data Analysis

Quantitative data analyses were analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 19 for Windows operating system. Inductive thematic analysis was utilized to examine the open-ended, qualitative response (i.e., What are your general impressions about the university counseling center?).

Preliminary Analyses. First, the demographics of the sample were checked to ensure there was adequate representation across demographic groups, and to examine if group differences on the variables being examined were present. Assumption checks were performed to check for normality, homogeneity of variance among groups, and independent observations. All analyses used a .05 significance level. Descriptive statistics were conducted to gather a profile of the study participants. A T-test was used to examine if students who had prior experience to counseling have different mean scores than students who had no exposure. A T-test was also used to examine potential gender differences in mean scores in the main study variables.

Primary Analyses. Pearson correlation coefficients, linear multiple regression, and mediated regression were used to analyze the main hypotheses.

Research Question 1: Will the psychosociocultural variables be interrelated?

***Hypothesis 1a*:** There will be a significant negative relationship between minority student stress and out-group comfort.

Analysis 1a: Pearson correlations will be used to assess the relationship between these variables. The primary investigator will evaluate the correlations between the respondents' scores on the MSS and BAS.

Rationale 1a: Smedley and colleagues (1993) argue that minority student stressors congregate among five specific domains: (a) Social Climate Stressors (b) Interracial Stressors (c) Intragroup or Within-Group Stressors (d) Racism and Discrimination (e) Achievement Stressors. The domains, with the exception of intragroup and achievement stressors, operate under the assumption that tension between students of color and Whites is the basis for experiencing minority student stressors. Thus, the higher the intergroup tension the more stress will be experienced by minority students. The construct of out-group comfort assesses the lack of anxiety experienced when interacting with Whites (Cole & Arriola, 2007). If African American collegians perceive high conflict with European Americans, it seems likely that they will also report increased discomfort in intergroup interactions.

***Hypothesis 1b*:** There will be a significant negative relationship between minority student stress and cultural congruity.

Analysis 1b: Pearson correlations will be used to assess the relationship between these variables. The primary investigator will evaluate the correlations between the respondents' scores on the MSS and CCS.

***Rationale 1b**:* Wei, Ku, and Liao (2011) found that high levels of minority student stress was positively associated with perceptions of university environment, whereby students who experience stress directly or indirectly related to their phenotype or ethnicity also perceived campus as hostile, unwelcoming, socially isolating, and unresponsive to their needs and interests. Given that the literature supports a moderate positive correlation between the University Environment Scale used in Wei and colleagues (2011) study and the cultural congruity scale used in this dissertation (see Gloria & Kurpius, 1996), a similar relationship is expected.

Hypothesis 1c: There will be a significant positive relationship between cultural congruity and out-group comfort.

***Analysis 1c**:* Pearson correlations will be used to assess the relationship between these variables. The primary investigator will evaluate the correlations between the respondents CCS and OC.

***Rationale 1c**:* The construct of cultural congruity assumes that African American collegians experience feelings of incongruency because their beliefs, behaviors, and/or values differ from those of the White academic institution (Gloria & Pope-Davis, 1997). Students who report a dissatisfactory fit between their culture and that of the university may also have difficulty interacting with the racial group that represents the culture of the university.

Research Question 2: What factors predict help-seeking attitudes?

Hypothesis 2a*:* It is expected that minority student stress will significantly predict help-seeking attitudes.

Analysis 2a*:* The primary investigator will conduct a linear multiple regression to answer this question. A multiple regression involves evaluating the unique contributions of more than one independent variable, or predictor, on the variation of a dependent, or outcome variable (Heppner, Wampold, & Kivlighan, 2008). For this study, respondents' total scores for minority student stress, out-group comfort, and cultural congruity will be entered as independent variables resulting in three predictor variables. Total scores for help-seeking attitudes will be entered as the sole outcome variable. A significance test of the overall regression model will be conducted, using the F value of the model. Standardized regression coefficients, or beta weights, will be used to evaluate which independent variable served as the strongest predictor of help-seeking attitudes because different scales and units were used to measure each of the independent variables. It is expected that minority student stress, will have significant beta weights. R^2 values will be evaluated to determine the amount of variance in the dependent variable that can be contributed to the independent variables. Adjusted R^2 levels will also be reviewed for a more conservative estimate of variance.

Rationale 2a*:* Research has found that African American students at PWUs with high levels of distress are more likely to obtain mental health services compared to students with lower levels of distress (Constantine, Wilton, & Caldwell, 2003), validating the ability for psychological variables to predict help-seeking

attitudes. However, it remains unclear if minority student stressors will predict either more positive or negative help-seeking attitudes. The aforementioned study contends that when distress is high, students will have more positive attitudes, yet additional empirical studies show that when the distress is contextual in nature, and related to the campus environment, help-seeking attitudes become more negative. Gloria, Hird, and Navarro (2001) found that ethnic minority students who felt this culturally disconnected from PWU campuses reported lower help-seeking attitudes.

Hypothesis 2b*:* It is expected that out-group comfort will significantly predict positive help-seeking attitudes.

Analysis 2b*:* The primary investigator will conduct a linear multiple regression to answer this question.

Rationale 2b*:* The literature on racial identity lends support to the hypothesis that out-group comfort will predict more positive help-seeking attitudes. African Americans who identify in the immersion-emersion stage, which is partially characterized by strong anti-white attitudes, have been found to report lower-help-seeking attitudes (Austin, Carter, & Vaux, 1990; Delphin & Rollock, 1995; Parham & Helms, 1981). In contrast, African Americans who have internalized a positive, secure identity and reached intercultural maturity, were found to report positive help-seeking attitudes (Ponterotto, Anderson, & Grieger, 1986). Given that the two identity stages incorporate to some extent the two extremes of

intergroup interactions, it seems likely that out-group comfort will predict help-seeking attitudes.

Hypothesis 2c: It is expected the cultural congruity will significant predict help-seeking attitudes.

Analysis 2c: The primary investigator will conduct a linear multiple regression to answer this question.

Rationale 2c: Gloria, Hird, and Navarro (2001) found that racial and ethnic minority students at a PWU (African American, American Indian, Asian American, Hispanic, biracial, and multiracial) who reported lower cultural congruity also reported lower help-seeking attitudes. Although Gloria and colleagues (2001) utilized an etic approach, the results are expected to remain consistent when examining only African Americans.

Research Question 3: Do counselor racial preferences mediate the relationship between minority student stress, out-group comfort, cultural congruity, and help-seeking attitudes (Figure 2)?

Hypothesis 3a: Counselor racial preferences will mediate the relationship between minority student stress and help-seeking attitudes.

Analysis 3a: The primary investigator will conduct three regression equations to answer this question. The analysis involves examining the covariance relationships among three variables: an independent variable, a potential mediating variable, and a dependent variable (Baron & Kenny, 1986). The analysis will answer the question of whether the mediating variable accounts for

significant amount of the shared variance between the independent variable and dependent variable. In this study, respondents' total scores for minority student stress will be entered as the independent variables, total scores for counselor racial preferences will be entered as the potential mediating variable, and total scores for help-seeking attitudes will be entered as the dependent variable. In the first equation, help-seeking attitudes will be regressed on minority student stress to show that a significant correlation exists and to establish that there is an effect that may be mediated. In the second equation, counselor racial preferences will be regressed on minority student stress to demonstrate significant correlation. In the final equation, counselor racial preferences and help-seeking attitudes will be regressed on minority student stress. If, when controlling for counselor racial preferences, the effect of minority student stress on help-seeking attitudes is reduced to non-significance a complete mediation is indicated. If the effect of minority student stress on help-seeking attitudes is reduced in significance, a partial mediation is assumed. Next, Sobel's method will be used to establish mediation. Sobel's z reflects the size of this drop in the beta weights in the first and second regression equations, and if it yields a significant value, then mediation of some sort has occurred. More specifically, no mediation occurs when the Sobel's z-value is non-significant. Full mediation occurs when the Sobel's z-value is significant, and the beta weight for the basic relationship between minority student stress and help-seeking attitudes becomes non-significant in the second regression. Partial mediation occurs when the Sobel's z-

value is significant, and the beta weight for the basic relationship between minority student stress and help-seeking attitudes remains significant. Although the casual step approach is the most popular analysis for mediation, it is limited by low power (MacKinnon, Lockwood, Hoffman, West, & Sheets, 2002). More specifically, the requirement for there to be a significant X to Y relationship reduces power to detect mediation, especially when assessing for full mediation. Stated differently, if X's effect on Y is partially carried through the mediating variable, the causal step approach may not detect that effect. Therefore, in the event that the relationship in the first equation is not significant, a product of coefficient method will be used as it only requires significance in the second and third equation. The product of coefficients method, involves estimating Equations 2 and 3 and computing the product of $a\hat{}$ and $b\hat{}$, $a\hat{}\ b\hat{}$, to form the mediated or indirect effect.

Rationale 3a: Research suggests minority student stressors cause African American collegians significant distress (Neville, Heppner, Ji, & Thye, 2004) and difficulties with psychologically adjusting to PWUs (Parker & Jones, 1999), yet students who actively sought to resolve issues related to minority student stress felt more overwhelmed by their problems. While the exact mechanisms behind these relationships are unknown, these findings reveal implications for help-seeking attitudes. African American collegians might be hesitant to seek professional psychological services to work through issues around minority student stress for fear of experiencing additional distress, and this may be

especially true if students expect to meet with an European American counselor who may be insensitive to such issues. Therefore, it is likely that African American students combating minority student stressors will prefer to meet with an African American counselor who they perceive as understanding and sensitive to their specific problem. Given that both the student and clinician have a shared experience of navigating predominantly White spaces, the students might perceive less of a risk confronting these issues with an African American counselor, and ultimately the perceived understanding of the provider would contribute to more positive help-seeking attitudes.

Hypothesis 3b*:* Counselor racial preferences will mediate the relationship between out-group comfort and help-seeking attitudes.

Analysis 3b: The primary investigator will conduct three regressions to answer this question. The analysis involves examining the covariance relationships among three

variables: an independent variable, a potential mediating variable, and a dependent variable. Respondents' total scores for out-group comfort will be entered as the independent variables, total scores for counselor racial preferences will be entered as the potential mediating variable, and total scores for help-seeking attitudes will be entered as the dependent variable.

Rationale 3b*:* The construct of out-group comfort accounts for the anxiety and distance that is often associated with intergroup relations, and how those feelings factor into how comfortable African American collegians are when interacting

with European Americans (Cole & Arriola, 2007). Cole and Arriola (2007) suggest the discomfort some Black students feel when interacting with Whites is due to a fear of negative consequences of such interactions. The unease associated with not knowing if embarrassment, exploitation, or negative evaluations is largely based on unpleasant race relations and campus climates at PWUs (Cole & Arriola, 2007; Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Given that intergroup anxiety – a construct similar to out-group comfort – has been found to predict higher levels of prejudice, negative expectancies, increased hostility, and desire to avoid contact with out-groups (Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006), it seems likely that African American students experiencing higher levels of out-group comfort will prefer to meet with an African American counselor. Meeting with a racially similar counselor will yield more positive help-seeking attitudes because the fear of a negative out-group interaction is neutralized.

Hypothesis 3c*:* Counselor racial preferences will mediate the relationship between minority student stress, out-group comfort, cultural congruity, and help-seeking attitudes.

Analysis 3c: The primary investigator will conduct three regression equations to answer this question. The analysis involves examining the covariance relationships among three

variables: an independent variable, a potential mediating variable, and a dependent variable. In this study, respondents' total scores for cultural congruity will be entered as the independent variables, total scores for counselor racial

preferences will be entered as the potential mediating variable, and total scores for help-seeking attitudes will be entered as the dependent variable.

Rationale 3c: The construct of cultural congruity suggests students who identify as racial/ethnic minorities experience feelings of discomfort or incongruence because their beliefs, behaviors, and/or values may differ from those of White academic institutions (Jones, Castellanos, & Cole, 2002; Gloria & Pope-Davis, 1997). Various aspects of the campus structure may not be representative of all ethnic groups, and it is likely that the university counseling center is viewed as an extension of the culturally incongruent campus environment. Evidence for the assertion is demonstrated in research that found students who feel culturally disconnected and incongruent from their university also reported lower help-seeking attitudes. Students who view issues around cultural fit as particularly salient will likely express a preference to meet with a racially or ethnically similar clinician who will not perpetuate the incongruence experienced in other spaces on campus. Given that both the student and clinician are navigating predominantly White spaces, the students might perceive a shared cultural experience which, according to the counselor preference literature that demonstrates the importance of client and counselor match (Tyler, Brome, & Williams,1991), would substantiate more positive help-seeking attitudes.

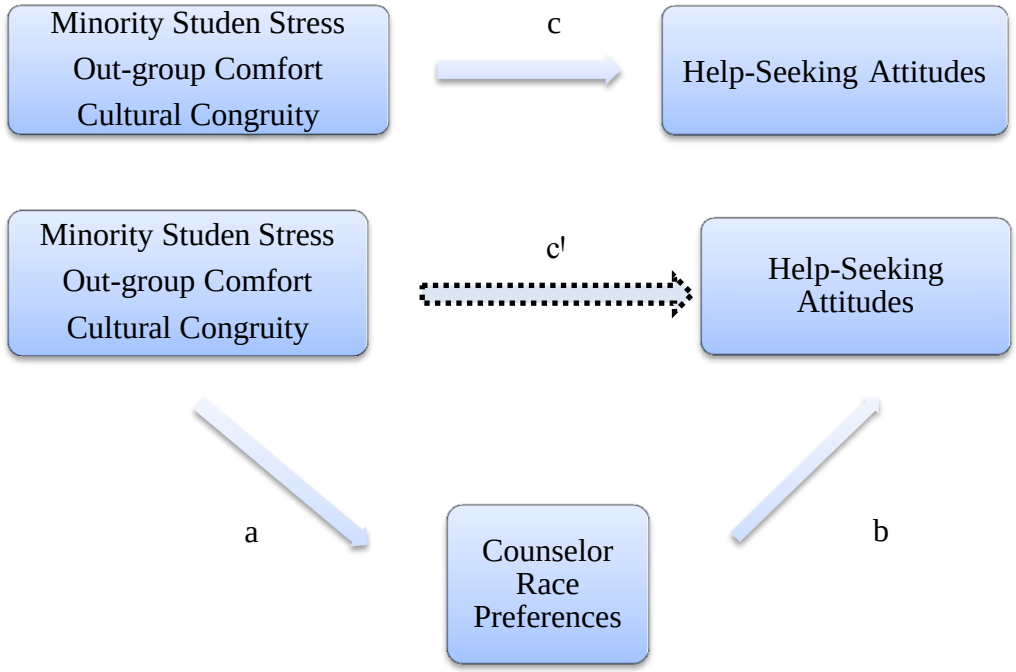

Fig. 2. Mediation model tested. The first panel shows the direct effect (path *c*) from the first step in the mediation analysis. The second panel shows the second step (path *a*) and third step (paths *b* and *c'*) in the mediation analysis.

Chapter Four: Results

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationships between minority student stress, out-group comfort, cultural congruity, counselor racial preferences, and attitudes towards seeking professional psychological help in African American undergraduate collegians. Specifically, the following research questions were proposed: (1) Will minority student stress, out-group comfort, and cultural congruity be interrelated?; (2) What variables predict help-seeking attitudes?; and (3) Do counselor racial preferences mediate the relationship between minority student stress, out-group comfort, cultural congruity, and help-seeking attitudes?

Preliminary Data Analyses

Examination of the distribution of each variable indicated that the criterion variable and the four predictors were reasonably distributed. The presence of outliers was detected from scatterplots. The skewness and kurtosis for each variable were examined and there were no values greater than an absolute value of one, suggesting reasonably normal distribution. The histograms and the stem-and-leaf display (not included) showed that the distribution for all variables is unimodal but slightly positively skewed for the variables out-group comfort (M=3.81, SD=.70) and cultural congruity (M=3.23, SD=.45), and negatively skewed for counselor racial preferences (M=.33, SD=.32). Cronbach's alpha tests of reliability were conducted on each scale and is reported in the measurement section. Overall, the scales exhibited marginally-adequate-to adequate internal reliability.

The assumptions of linear regression (linearity and homoscedasticity) were assessed by examining all scatter plots. Linearity assumes a straight-line relationship between the predictor variables and the criterion variable and homoscedasticity assumes that scores are normally distributed about the regression line. Both assumptions were met for the study variables. No issues were noted for multicollinearity as the predictor variables did not display strong bivariate correlations.

Descriptive Analyses. The first part of the analysis was descriptive for all variables. Descriptive statistics included frequency, percentages, means and standard deviations. Regarding prior counseling experience, the vast majority (87.9%) indicated that they had never received counseling from a mental health provider in the community. Of those that had experience with community counseling (n=20; 10.1%), three reported meeting with an African American provider. The remaining participants reported meeting with White (n=11) and Asian (n=1) providers. Five participants did not report the race of their providers. The majority of participants reported meeting with psychologists or professional counselors. Regarding sessions attended, the most frequently reported amount of sessions was between four to six (35%), followed by one session (20%) and two to three session (20%). Approximately 5% of the sample reported attending seven to twenty sessions. Ten percent of the sample reported attending 20 or more sessions. Most participants (73.7%) denied being prescribed psychotropic medications. Of those that reported prescription use, three received prescriptions from a psychiatrist and one from a physician. More than half of participants (54.1%) reported

that they would seek counseling from a community mental health provider if needed, whereas 31.4% endorsed "maybe" and 14.4% endorsed "no."

As with community counseling, a large percentage of participants (81.2%) reported that they had never been counseled by providers at their university counseling center. Within the participants who endorsed experience with university counseling (n=37; 18.8%), nine reported meeting with an African American counselor, 16 reported meeting with a White counselor, three reported meeting with a Hispanic counselor, and one reported an Indian provider. The remaining participants did not report the race of their providers. The majority of participants (n=18) reported receiving psychological services from a professional counselor, while eight reported seeing a psychologist, three reported seeing a social worker, four reported meeting with a psychiatrist, and four participants reported meeting with graduate level clinicians. Regarding sessions attended, 27% of participants reported attending one session, 22.2% of students attended between two to six sessions, 11% reported attending between 7 to 13, and 5% attended 14 or more sessions. Most participants (77.8%) denied being prescribed psychotropic medications. Less than half of participants (49.2%) of participants reported that they would seek counseling from a university mental health provider if needed, whereas 34.9% endorsed "maybe" and 15.9% endorsed "no."

Results revealed that when compared to community and university counseling, more students have attended career counseling. Approximately 47% of participants reported attending at least one career counseling session. Similarly, a higher percentage

of students reported that they would visit the counseling center if needed (73.3%). Approximately 23.5% of students endorsed "maybe" and 3.1% endorsed "no."

The open-ended question "What are your general thoughts about your university counseling center" provided additional information about participants' perceptions that may not be captured in traditional self-report measures. Of the 173 responses to the aforementioned question, 88 statements were positive, 67 were mixed or neutral, and 19 were negative. Table 2 provides additional information.

Table 2
Inductively Developed Thematic Categories

Category	Thematic Category	Key Terms	Characteristics Responses
Positive (n=88)			
P1 (n=76)	Helpful Resource	Good, helpful	I think it is very accessible and beneficial for those students who seek help.
P2 (n=12)	Satisfaction with Staff and Services	Friendly, trustworthy, open, skilled, understanding	It is extremely well managed and has caring, friendly and highly qualified staff
Negative (n=19)			
N1 (n=9)	Dissatisfaction with treatment	Don't genuinely care, improper treatment	They give the same advice to everyone and they never really help.
M2 (n=10)	Stigma	Responses too varied to select key terms	It's for crazy people or people who are stressed… to the point of breaking.

Table 2 continued

Mixed/Neutral (n=67)			
MN1 (n=63)	No opinion	Don’t know	I've never been, so I can't have an opinion.
MN2 (n=4)	Mixed	Good resource, but there are things I don’t like	It seems great, though I'm not sure if it is big enough to accommodate all of the students here. It should also be more private, so students do not feel embarrassed about being there.

Preliminary analysis was conducted by gender and counseling experiences and minimal significant differences were found for students with and without prior counseling. Results have been summarized in Table 3. Results of the independent samples t-test shows that mean levels of minority student stress differs between participants who have received prior community counseling. On average, participants with prior community counseling tend to have lower minority student stress (M=1.57, SD=.72) than students without counseling experiences (M=1.91, SD=.71). Also, results indicate that regarding university counseling experience, students with prior counseling experience tend to have higher help-seeking attitudes (M= 3.01, SD=.62) than those without (M=2.52, SD=.52). Regarding sex, females endorsed higher levels of minority student stress (M=1.97, SD=.69) and out-group comfort (M=3.89, SD=.68 than males (M=1.71, SD=.72; M=3.64, SD=.71).

Table 3
Means and Standard Deviations for Study Variable

	Prior Counseling		No Prior Counseling	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Community Counseling				
MSS	1.57 *	.72	1.91*	.71
OGC	3.97	.71	3.79	.70
CCS	3.28	.32	3.22	.46
CPS	0.33	.30	0.39	.33
ATSPPH-SF	2.77	.80	2.60	.55
University Counseling				
MSS	1.97	.77	1.86	.69
OGC	3.82	.61	3.81	.71
CCS	3.29	.41	3.22	.45
CPS	0.44	.35	0.37	.32
ATSPPH-SF	3.01*	.62	2.52*	.52
Sex	Female		Male	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
MSS	1.97*	.69	1.71*	.72
OGC	3.89*	.68	3.64*	.71
CCS	3.26	.43	3.16	.47
CPS	0.37	.30	0.41	.37
ATSPPH-SF	2.65	.59	2.55	.54

Note * Denotes significant mean differences at the p<.05 level. MSS=Minority Student Stress, OGC= Out-Group Comfort, CCS=Cultural Congruity Scale, CRP=Counselor Racial Preferences, ATSPPH-SF=Help-Seeking Attitudes

Primary Data Analyses

Research Question 1: Will the psychosociocultural variables be interrelated?

Pearson correlation coefficients were computed between the primary predictor variables in the study. Intercorrelations between minority student stress, out-

group comfort, and cultural congruity scales are outlined in Table 4. Results reveal a significant relationship was found between minority student stress and cultural congruity. Participants with higher scores on minority student stress also had lower scores in cultural congruity ($r = -.404$, $p < .01$). A significant positive relationship was found between out-group comfort and cultural congruity ($r = .452$, $p < 05$), thus indicating that students who endorse higher levels of out-group comfort also reported higher levels of cultural congruity.

Table 4
Correlations, Mean, and Standard Deviation Among Key Study Variables

	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5
1. MSS	1.88	.70	_				
2. OGC	3.81	.70	-.105	_			
3. CCS	3.23	.44	-.404**	.452**	_		
4. CRP	0.38	.32	.150*	-.325**	-.111	_	
5. ATSPPH-SF	2.61	.57	0.14	.112	.163*	.058	_

Note. *p<.05. **p<.01.MSS=Minority Student Stress, OGC= Out-Group Comfort, CCS=Cultural Congruity Scale, CRP=Counselor Racial Preferences, ATSPPH-SF=Help-Seeking Attitudes

Research Question 2: What factors predict help-seeking attitudes?

Linear multiple regression analyses were conducted to examine the independent contributions of the study variables on help-seeking attitudes, while controlling for age and prior university counseling. Results are presented in Table 5.

Research Question 2a: Will minority student stress significantly predict help-seeking attitude?

The linear multiple regression analysis revealed that minority student stress did not significantly predict help-seeking attitudes scores in this sample (β= .04, p= .54).

Research Question 2b: Will out-group comfort significantly predict help-seeking attitudes?

The linear multiple regression analysis revealed that out-group comfort did not significantly predict help-seeking attitudes scores in this sample (β= .03, p= .70).

Research Question 2c: Will cultural congruity significantly predict help-seeking attitudes?

The linear multiple regression analysis revealed that cultural congruity is a marginally significant positive predictor of help-seeking attitudes scores (β= .15, p= .056).

Research Question 3: Do counselor racial preferences mediate the relationship between minority student stress, out-group comfort, cultural congruity, and help-seeking attitudes?

For mediation to be assessed, it was necessary to carry out Baron and Kenny's (1986) four step procedure. The first step required the independent variable to be statistically associated with help-seeking attitudes. As indicated above, cultural congruity was the only predictor significantly related to help-seeking attitudes. Although the casual step approach is the most popular analysis for mediation, it

Table 5

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Help-Seeking Attitudes

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	2.301	.598		3.849	.000
	Age	.056	.026	.144	2.101	.037
	Counseling	-.444	.100	-.303	-4.426	.000
2	(Constant)	1.422	.706		2.013	.045
	Age	.057	.027	.147	2.131	.034
	Counseling	-.425	.100	-.290	-4.240	.000
	MSS	.037	.060	.045	.615	.540
	OGC	.024	.062	.029	.380	.704
	CCS	.204	.106	.157	1.926	.056

Note p < .05. MSS=Minority Student Stress, OGC= Out-Group Comfort, CCS=Cultural Congruity Scale

is limited by low power (MacKinnon, Lockwood, Hoffman, West, & Sheets, 2002). More specifically, the requirement for there to be a significant X to Y relationship reduces power to detect mediation, especially when assessing for full mediation. Stated differently, if X's effect on Y is partially carried through the mediating variable, the causal step approach may not detect that effect. Therefore, a product of coefficient method will be used to examine minority student stress and out-group comfort as it only requires significance in the second and third equation.

Research Question 3a: Will counselor racial preferences mediate the relationship between minority student stress and help-seeking attitudes?

The first step of Baron and Kenny's (1986) four step procedure was not satisfied as the linear multiple regression analysis revealed that minority student stress was not a significant positive predictor of help-seeking attitudes scores (β= .04, p= .54). Thus, the second step was examined per the product of coefficient method for mediation. The second step required that the independent variable, minority student stress, be statistically significantly associated with the mediator variable, counselor racial preferences. Results indicated that minority student stress was a significant negative predictor of counselor racial preferences (β=.16, p < .05) (See Table 6). The third step required the mediator variable to statistically significantly predict the dependent variable (help-seeking attitudes). In this regression, counselor racial preferences did not significantly predict help-seeking attitudes (β= .03, p= .69). The mediation analysis was discontinued at this point.

Research Question 3b: Will counselor racial preferences mediate the relationship between out-group comfort and help-seeking attitudes?

The first step of Baron and Kenny's four step procedure was not satisfied as the linear multiple regression analysis revealed that out-group comfort was not a significant predictor of help-seeking attitudes scores (β= .03, p= .70). Thus, the second step was examined per the product of coefficient method for mediation. The second step required that the independent variable, out-group comfort, be statistically significantly associated with the mediator variable, counselor racial preferences. Results indicated that out-group comfort was a significant negative predictor of counselor racial preferences (β= -.37, p < .001) (See Table 6). The

third step required the mediator variable to statistically significantly predict the dependent variable (help-seeking attitudes). In this regression, counselor racial preferences did not significantly predict help-seeking attitudes (β= .03, p= .69). The mediation analysis was discontinued at this point.

Research Question 3c Will counselor racial preferences mediate the relationship between cultural congruity and help-seeking attitudes?

The first step of Baron and Kenny's four step procedure was satisfied as the linear multiple regression analysis revealed that cultural congruity is a significant positive predictor of help-seeking attitudes scores (β= .15, p= .056). The second step required that the independent variable, culturally congruity, be statistically significantly associated with the mediator variable, counselor racial preferences. Results indicated that culturally congruity did not significantly predict counselor racial preferences scores (β= .12, p= .16 (See Table 6). The mediation analysis was discontinued at this point.

Table 6
Linear Regression Analysis for Predictors of Counselor Racial Preferences

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	.611	.211		2.892	.004
	MSS	.073	.034	.158	2.151	.033
	OGC	-.167	.035	-.361	-4.783	.000
	CCS	.084	.060	.116	1.411	.160

Note p < .05. MSS=Minority Student Stress, OGC= Out-Group Comfort, CCS=Cultural Congruity Scale

Exploratory Analyses.

Given that the study sample is predominantly female, it may be inappropriate to assume that the aforementioned results can be generalized to male participants. Studies have documented gender differences in help-seeking attitudes (Chaing, Hunter, & Yeh, 2004; Wallace & Constantine, 2005), college experiences (Allen, 1992; Brown, 2000), and psychosocial development (Cokley, 2001) To examine possible gender differences, the investigator split the data file by sex and re-analyzed the mediation regressions.

Research Question 4: Do counselor racial preferences mediate the relationship between minority student stress, out-group comfort, cultural congruity, and help-seeking attitudes in a female sample?

For mediation to be assessed, it was necessary to carry out Baron and Kenny's (1986) four step procedure. The first step required the independent variable to be statistically associated with help-seeking attitudes. Results revealed that in the female sample, after controlling for age and prior counseling, none of the study

variables significantly predicted help-seeking attitudes. The results of this model are displayed in Table 7.

Although the casual step approach is the most popular analysis for mediation, it is limited by low power (MacKinnon, Lockwood, Hoffman, West, & Sheets, 2002). More specifically, the requirement for there to be a significant X to Y relationship reduces power to detect mediation, especially when assessing for full mediation. Stated differently, if X's effect on Y is partially carried through the mediating variable, the causal step approach may not detect that effect. Therefore, a product of coefficient method will be used to further examine research questions as this approach only requires significance in the second and third equation.

Research Question 4a: In a female sample, will counselor racial preferences mediate the relationship between minority student stress and help-seeking attitude?

The first step of Baron and Kenny's (1986) four step procedure was not satisfied as the linear multiple regression analysis revealed that minority student stress was not a significant predictor of help-seeking attitudes scores (β=.08, $p = .37$). Thus, the second step was examined per the product of coefficient method for mediation. The second step required that the independent variable, minority student stress, be statistically significantly associated with the mediator variable, counselor racial preferences. Results indicated that minority student stress was a significant positive predictor of counselor racial preferences (β=.18, $p < .05$) (See Table 8). The third step required the mediator variable to statistically significantly

predict the dependent variable (help-seeking attitudes). In this regression, counselor racial preferences did not significantly predict help-seeking attitudes (β=.06, p = .52). . The mediation analysis was discontinued at this point.

Table 7

Linear Regression Analysis for Predictors of Help-Seeking Attitudes

		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
Model		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	1.701	.753		2.258	.026
	Counseling	-.508	.131	-.316	-3.890	.000
	Age	.094	.034	.226	2.784	.006
2	(Constant)	.658	.948		.694	.489
	Counseling	-.495	.132	-.308	-3.739	.000
	Age	.099	.034	.240	2.911	.004
	MSS	.068	.076	.079	.897	.371
	OGC	.034	.080	.038	.419	.676
	CCS	.195	.137	.140	1.421	.158

Note p < .05. MSS=Minority Student Stress, OGC= Out-Group Comfort, CCS=Cultural Congruity Scale

Research Question 4b: In a female sample, will counselor racial preferences mediate the relationship between out-group comfort and help-seeking attitudes?

The first step of Baron and Kenny's (1986) four step procedure was not satisfied as the linear multiple regression analysis revealed that out-group comfort was not a significant predictor of help-seeking attitudes scores (β=.04, p = .68). Thus, the second step was examined per the product of coefficient method for mediation. The second step required that the independent variable, out-group comfort, be statistically significantly associated with the mediator variable, counselor racial

preferences. Results indicated that out-group comfort was a negative predictor of counselor racial preferences (β=-.41, p < .05) (See Table 8). The third step required the mediator variable to statistically significantly predict the dependent variable (help-seeking attitudes). In this regression, counselor racial preferences did not significantly predict help-seeking attitudes (β=.06, p = .52). The mediation analysis was discontinued at this point.

Research Question 4c: In a female sample, will counselor racial preferences mediate the relationship between cultural congruity and help-seeking attitudes?

The first step of Baron and Kenny's (1986) four step procedure was not satisfied as the linear multiple regression analysis revealed that cultural congruity was not a significant predictor of help-seeking attitudes scores (β=.14, p = .16). Thus, the second step was examined per the product of coefficient method for mediation. The second step required that the independent variable, cultural congruity, be statistically significantly associated with the mediator variable, counselor racial preferences. Results indicated cultural congruity was a marginally significant positive predictor of counselor racial preferences (β=.19, p = .06) (See Table 8). The third step required the mediator variable to statistically significantly predict the dependent variable (help-seeking attitudes). In this regression, counselor racial preferences did not significantly predict help-seeking attitudes (β=.06, p = .52). The mediation analysis was discontinued at this point.

Research Question 5: Do counselor racial preferences mediate the relationship between minority student stress, out-group comfort, cultural congruity, and help-seeking attitudes in a male sample?

For mediation to be assessed, it was necessary to carry out Baron and Kenny's (1986) four step procedure.

Table 8
Linear Regression Analysis for Predictors of Counselor Racial Preferences

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	.498	.253		1.968	.051
	MSS	.079	.039	.182	2.054	.042
	OGC	-.181	.040	-.414	-4.533	.000
	CCS	.130	.069	.186	1.800	.060

Note p < .05. MSS=Minority Student Stress, OGC= Out-Group Comfort, CCS=Cultural Congruity Scale

The first step required the independent variable to be statistically associated with help-seeking attitudes. Results revealed that in the male sample, after controlling for age and prior counseling, none of the study variables significantly predicted help-seeking attitudes. The results of this model are displayed in Table 9.

Although the casual step approach is the most popular analysis for mediation, it is limited by low power (MacKinnon, Lockwood, Hoffman, West, & Sheets, 2002). More specifically, the requirement for there to be a significant X to Y relationship reduces power to detect mediation, especially when assessing for full mediation. Stated differently, if X's effect on Y is partially carried through the mediating variable, the causal step approach may not detect that effect. Therefore, a product of coefficient method will be used to further examine research question as this approach only requires significance in the second and third equation.

Table 9

Linear Regression Analysis for Predictors of Help-Seeking Attitudes

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	3.400	.948		3.588	.001
	Counseling	-.421	.153	-.339	-2.747	.008
	Age	-.006	.041	-.016	-.134	.894
2	(Constant)	2.894	1.073		2.697	.009
	Counseling	-.423	.158	-.340	-2.670	.010
	Age	-.012	.043	-.037	-.287	.775
	MSS	-.054	.108	-.072	-.497	.621
	OGC	.053	.103	.070	.512	.611
	CCS	.173	.171	.153	1.015	.314

Note p < .05. MSS=Minority Student Stress, OGC= Out-Group Comfort, CCS=Cultural Congruity Scale

Research Question 5a: In a male sample, will counselor racial preferences mediate the relationship between minority student stress and help-seeking attitudes?

The first step of Baron and Kenny's (1986) four step procedure was not satisfied as the linear multiple regression analysis revealed that minority student stress was not a significant predictor of help-seeking attitudes scores (β=-.07, p = .62). Thus, the second step was examined per the product of coefficient method for mediation. The second step required that the independent variable, minority student stress, be statistically significantly associated with the mediator variable, counselor racial preferences. Results indicated that minority student stress was not a significant predictor of counselor racial preferences (β=.12, p = .39) (See Table 10). The mediation analysis was discontinued at this point.

Research Question 5b: In a male sample, will counselor racial preferences mediate the relationship between out-group comfort and help-seeking attitudes?

The first step of Baron and Kenny's (1986) four step procedure was not satisfied as the linear multiple regression analysis revealed that out-group comfort was not a significant predictor of help-seeking attitudes scores (β=.07, p = .61). Thus, the second step was examined per the product of coefficient method for mediation. The second step required that the independent variable, out-group comfort, be statistically significantly associated with the mediator variable, counselor racial preferences. Results indicated that out-group comfort was a marginally significant negative predictor of counselor racial preferences (β=-.27, p = .06) (See Table 10). The third step required the mediator variable to statistically significantly predict the dependent variable (help-seeking attitudes). In this regression, counselor racial preferences did not significantly predict help-seeking attitudes (β=.10, p = .43). The mediation analysis was discontinued at this point.

Research Question 5c: In a male sample, will counselor racial preferences mediate the relationship between cultural congruity and help-seeking attitude?

The first step of Baron and Kenny's (1986) four step procedure was not satisfied as the linear multiple regression analysis revealed that cultural congruity was not a significant predictor of help-seeking attitudes scores (β=15, p = .34). Thus, the second step was examined per the product of coefficient method for mediation. The second step required that the independent variable, cultural congruity, be statistically significantly associated with the mediator variable, counselor racial

preferences. Results indicated that cultural congruity was not a significant predictor of counselor racial preferences (β=.02, p = .89) (See Table 10). The mediation analysis was discontinued at this point.

Table 10

Linear Regression Analysis for Predictors of Counselor Racial Preferences

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	.750	.416		1.801	.077
	MSS	.063	.073	.122	.867	.389
	OGC	-.138	.071	-.265	-1.947	.056
	CCS	.017	.120	.021	.138	.890

Note p < .05. MSS=Minority Student Stress, OGC= Out-Group Comfort, CCS=Cultural Congruity Scale

Chapter Five: Discussion

First, this section introduces the purpose of the study and provides a synopsis of the study's objectives and design. Following the summary, the chapter imparts (a) Discussion of Important Descriptive Findings (b) Discussion of the Primary Results, (c) Discussion of the Exploratory Results, (d) Limitations, (e) Implications, and (f) Conclusion.

Summary

The purpose of this study was to gain a multidimensional understanding of how African American students' experiences in the university environment impact help-seeking attitudes. Using a psychosociocultural framework (Gloria & Rodriguez, 2000), the study first explored the relationship between minority student stress (psychological), out-group comfort (social), and cultural congruity (cultural). Secondly, the study determined the extent to which the variables predicted help-seeking attitudes. Finally, the study investigated if counselor race preferences served as a mediator between minority stress, out-group comfort, cultural congruity, and help-seeking attitudes. Research questions were based upon the hypothesis that African American students' perceptions of their experience in the college environment would impact their opinions about the usefulness of university counseling centers, and that this relationship would vary based on counselor race preferences.

The research questions and hypotheses were based upon previous studies that suggest psychological, cultural, and social factors influence help-seeking attitudes. For

example, Obasi and Leong's (2009) empirical research suggests that increased psychological distress predicts more negative help-seeking attitudes. Another line of research shows African American students attitudes towards European Americans have been found to predict help-seeking attitudes (Nickerson, Helms, Terrell, 1994; Parham & Helms, 1981). Further, additional research consistently demonstrates that racial and ethnic minority students' perceptions of their fit within the university have been found to predict help-seeking attitudes (Gloria, Hird, & Navarro, 2001). However, there was not a study that simultaneously compared such interdependent constructs nor was there a substantial body of literature that incorporated the influence of context specifically for African American college students. Accordingly, this study sought to extend our understanding of how African American students' experiences at predominantly white universities can impact their attitudes towards mental health services. Secondarily, this study addressed inconsistencies in the literature by investigating a potential mediating variable.

Results of this study confirm that a relationship existed between some of the predictor variables. The best predictor of help-seeking attitudes in this study was cultural congruity. This study also disconfirms the hypothesis that counselor racial preferences would have a mediating effect between the psychosociocultural predictor variables and help-seeking attitudes. The following section discusses the findings of this study.

Descriptive Results

Consistent with other reports of African American collegians help-seeking behaviors, the majority of participants had not received counseling in the community nor university counseling center. However, relative to national and Canadian averages of 9% (Gallagher, 2006), African American college counseling utilization in this sample usage is higher. The rates of students using counseling services may vary based on college type and setting. For example, examining students in a Midwestern university, Davidson, Yakushka, and Sanford-Martens (2004) found that only 2.9% of African Americans had used counseling services over a five year time period. Conversely, Ayalon and Young (2005) found that 34.3% of African American students in a Midwestern community college sample had utilized psychological services. In a sample of Black undergraduate students attending universities associated with the Big XII Conference (The Big XII schools include the University of Texas, Oklahoma University, the University of Missouri, Texas Tech University, Oklahoma State University, Texas A & M University, Colorado University, the University of Kansas, Baylor University, Kansas State University, Iowa State University, and the University of Nebraska) only 4% of students had used mental health services as a source of support (Cokley et al., 2012). Save large nationwide studies, surprisingly, most empirical studies examining psychological help-seeking in African American collegians do not report the percentage of their sample with prior counseling experience. Therefore, it is difficult to draw conclusions about what differences in rates of counseling utilization might mean. One possible explanation is the

differences in the types of services offered by individual counseling centers. For example, some university counseling centers offer vocational and academic counseling, whereas other universities provide those services in separate campus divisions. Further, certain counseling centers provide psychological evaluations while others refer students to community providers. Overall, more information is needed to understand how and why utilization rates vary across settings.

A higher percentage of students had attended university counseling compared to community counseling; however, more students were willing to seek psychological services in the community. This appears to contradict expectations as university counseling centers are typically cheaper and more convenient than community counseling (Nickerson, Helms, & Terrell, 1994). This trend may be a reaction to the changing dynamics of university counseling centers as they have had to adjust to growing demands. The mental health center at the university from which this sample was collected is only able to provide brief counseling to students, often meeting with students once or twice a month for no more than one semester. Participants in this sample may feel that their mental health needs might be better met in the community where fewer restrictions are placed on services. Alternatively, students may be attracted to the privacy of receiving counseling in the community and may prefer to have more control in selecting a mental health provider. Mental health community counseling appears to be a protective factor as students in this sample, who had received counseling, reported significantly lower levels of minority student stress than student who had not received counseling.

Consistent with the counseling utilization literature, relative to general mental health counseling, a higher percentage of participants in this study had attended career counseling (Hargrove & Sedlacek, 1997; Mau & Fernandez, 2001; Stabb & Cogdal, 1990). Almost half of students reported attending at least one career counseling session compared to 10% and 18% of students who reported attending community and university counseling respectively. These findings support the notion that vocational counselors play a prominent role in supporting Black college students, and career counseling appears to be participants' primary interaction with professional counseling services. Because career concerns do not exist in isolation and are often compounded by broader life concerns (Zunker, 2011), career counselors should be prepared to provide culturally-sensitive services in a manner that prepares students for mental health counseling. Vocational counselors are vital to reducing mental health stigma in African American collegians, and have the opportunity to model a positive counseling experience.

Overall, the quantitative descriptive data suggest that relative to community and vocational counseling, university counseling appears to be less desirable to students in this study. The qualitative responses regarding students' impressions of their university counseling center offers one possible explanation for these results. Approximately half of the students in the sample reported neutral impressions indicating that they did not have opinions about their university counseling center, because they had never used it or had never heard of it. These results seem to suggest that for a considerable amount of students in this sample, the university counseling center is an unfamiliar entity. Students may not know what to expect from the university counseling center and may feel more

comfortable using less ambiguous services such as vocational or community mental health counseling. The other half of respondents noted positive, but general perspectives such as "the counseling center is helpful." Responses in this category did not reflect specific knowledge about the counseling center, but rather viewed it as one of many helpful resources on campus. These results collectively indicate a lack of information about the counseling center which may contribute to low utilization.

Primary Results

Results demonstrated that significant relationships exist among some of the psychosociocultural predictor variables. As hypothesized a negative relationship was found between minority student stress and cultural congruity, indicating that students who experienced low levels of stress directly or indirectly related to their phenotype or ethnicity perceived a higher cultural connectedness to their university. These finding support related research that found levels of minority student stress was positively associated with perceptions of university environment (Wei, Ku, & Liao, 2011). Similarly, students who endorsed a satisfactory fit between their culture and that of the university also reported feeling comfortable interacting with their White peers. It appears that this study is the first to examine this association using the constructs of cultural congruity and out-group comfort specifically; however, related literature implies that informal interactional diversity appears to contribute to positive perceptions of the campus environment (Chang, 1999; Gurin, 1999; Umbach & Kuh, 2006).

Surprisingly, minority student stress did not relate to out-group comfort. This finding is notable, because many of the items that underlie the Minority Student Stress Scale operate under the assumption that tension between students of color and their White peers is the basis for experiencing minority student stressors. To help understand these results, it may be helpful to consider the subscales that comprise the Minority Student Stress Scale. The scale assesses stressors within the domains of social climate, interracial stressors, within-group stressors, racism and discrimination, and achievement stressors. Though this study did not explore mean scores on the subscales, it is possible that students in this study experienced stressors in domains that do *not* directly relate to intergroup tension, such as within-group stressors and achievement stressors. The within group subscales reflects pressure from, and conflict with individuals in a similar racial or ethnic group as the respondent. Achievement stressors involve participants' academic self-concept and family expectations for academic success. If students endorsed these subscales more highly than the other domains, it may imply that intergroup tension was not a salient component of their experience. Therefore, minority stress would not necessarily relate to out-group comfort.

Of the three main predictor variables, only one significantly predicted help-seeking attitudes. Specifically, higher scores in cultural congruity predicted more positive help-seeking attitudes. These results are mirrored in existing literature (Gloria, Hird, & Navarro, 2001); however, the findings of this study add to the body of work by examining an African American sample. To the knowledge of the primary investigator,

no studies have sought to examine the predictive abilities of minority student stress and out-group comfort on help-seeking attitudes. A non-significant relationship between minority student stress and help-seeking attitudes is surprising, given that related constructs, general stress and psychological distress, have been found to predict attitudes. However, as described in Chapter 1, minority student stress differs from these constructs with the inclusion of direct and indirect stress experiences related to one's phenotype. Students in this sample may not perceive mental health services as helpful in finding solace from pervasive minority stressors. For example, Swim et al. (2003) found that in a sample of Black collegians, the majority of participants used talking to family and friends as a coping strategy to address everyday racism. Very few students spoke with university officials or faculty. In a similar vein, Cokley et al. (2012) found that the most commonly used sources of support for Black collegians were family, friends, and church/prayer. Taken together, these results may indicate that students simply do not view university entities as useful in tackling minority student stressors. Also, when students feel sufficiently supported by family and friends, they are less likely to view professional psychological counseling as necessary (Constantine, Wilton, & Caldwell, 2003).

It is equally interesting that out-group comfort, a component of acculturation, did not significantly predict help-seeking attitudes as expected. Thus, students' comfort in interacting with their European American peers had no bearing in how they perceived help-seeking attitudes. This finding contradicts a previous, related study. Using a community sample of African descendants, Obasi and Leong (2009) found that some

components of acculturation, namely cultural maintenance of traditional beliefs, engaging other ethnocultural groups, and participating in the society of a different ethnocultural group significantly predicted help-seeking attitudes. Obasi and Leong's (2009) approach differed from this study in that they utilized the MASPAD (the reader is referred to Chapter 2) to capture acculturation, and they examined help-seeking attitudes per subscales.

In contrast to the Black Acculturation Scale used in this study, the MASPAD does not conceptualize intergroup contact as only occurring between African American and European Americans. Instead, the MASPAD considers intergroup contact with any ethnocultural group that differs from African descendants as an aspect of acculturation. Collectively, these findings bring up the possibility that students in this sample may not view mental health professionals as predominantly White, as alluded to in the literature. If students do not harbor the perception that mental health professionals are mostly White, then their comfort in interacting with European Americans would not have a significant relation to help-seeking attitudes. It would be advantageous to continue exploring the association between out-group comfort and help-seeking attitudes in Black collegians to further elucidate this finding.

The third and final research question sought to examine if counselor racial preferences mediated the relationship between minority student stress, out-group comfort, cultural congruity, and help-seeking attitudes. This analysis required that counselor racial preferences significantly predict help-seeking attitudes, and that condition was not met. Thus, counselor racial preferences did not mediate the relationship between the

psychosociocultural predictors and help-seeking. The non-significant relationship between counselor racial preference and help-seeking attitudes is consistent with findings by Townes (2009) using a community and college sample. It is possible that for students in this sample, other counselor characteristics, such as educational level and expertise, may be more important than race or ethnicity.

More broadly, when considering the results of the primary analyses, it is important to consider sample characteristics that may have influenced the results. Overall, mean scores on the main predictor variables indicated that Black collegians in this sample were relatively well-adjusted. Participants endorsed below-average levels of minority student stress, and above-average levels of out-group comfort and cultural congruity. Results are counter to what would be anticipated given the widely documented difficulty in adjusting to PWUs environments that was discussed in Chapter 1. Given that approximately 65% of participants reported a middle, upper-middle, or upper-class socioeconomic status, it is possible that socioeconomic status is a factor in participants' levels of adjustment as student demographic factors such as parents' level of education and income have been found to predict difficulties in Black students' college adjustment (Flemings, 1984; Nettles, 1991). Chavous, Rivas, Green and Helaire (2002) found, for example, that students from less affluent backgrounds experienced less perceived ethnic fit than their more affluent peers. Smedley, Myers and Harrell (1993) found that African American students from higher SES levels reported significantly lower levels of minority student stress than their peers who reported low SES. Scholars have also found a relationship between economic status and racial composition of the

neighborhoods and school environments from which African Americans come, indicating that students in higher SES brackets tend to have more exposure to majority white environments (Braddock, Dawkins and Wilson, 1995; Chavous, Rivas, Green & Helaire, 2002). It is possible that students in this sample had higher intergroup contact prior to attending college, and were able to easily adapt to this PWU. If adjustment issues were not particularly salient for students, it may be more difficult to detect a relationship between the predictors and help-seeking attitudes.

Exploratory Results

Gender has been consistently cited as a pertinent factor in understanding African American mental health, help-seeking attitudes and help-seeking behaviors (Rosenfield, & Mouzon, 2013).Regarding help-seeking, generally results indicate that males tend to use services less frequently than females and have less positive attitudes (Chaing, Hunter, & Yeh, 2004; Cheatham, Shelton, & Ray, 1987; Wallace & Constantine, 2005; Webster & Fretz, 1978). Although the results of this study did not indicate a significant difference in help-seeking attitudes in males and females, the mediation analyses were examined by gender to explore possible differences. Splitting the analyses by gender was important considering the disproportionate ratio of female respondents which may have minimized the male perspective.

Exploratory analyses revealed that the psychosociocultural variables did not predict help-seeking attitudes for neither males nor females. Splitting the sample by gender likely reduced statistical power which would explain why cultural congruity did

not predict help-seeking attitudes like in the combined sample. Similarly, counselor racial preferences did not predict help-seeking attitudes in either gender. Thus, counselor racial preferences did not serve as a mediator in the split file. Notable findings were present in the relationship between the psychosociocultural predictor variables and counselor racial preferences, however. For females, minority student stress and out-group comfort significantly predicted counselor racial preferences, whereas cultural congruity approached significance. Women who endorsed increased levels of minority student stress and lower levels of out-group comfort preferred a Black counselor. For males, out-group comfort was the only significant predictor, indicating that men who reported lower levels of out-group comfort preferred Black counselors. The differences in the regression models suggest that gender may serve as a moderator between the psychosociocultural predictors and counselor racial preferences.

The descriptive results of this study provide context that helps to understand why gender differences occurred in this relationship. In this sample, Black women endorsed higher levels of minority student stress than men. This comes at a surprise as it would be assumed that given their representation, Black women would have an easier time adjusting to the PWU environment. Despite women's higher levels of minority student stress, women reported higher levels of out-group comfort than men. This is consistent with existing research by Cole and Arriola (2007) who contend that because Black males continue to be unaccepted in society and viewed as aggressive, they may be especially sensitive to predominantly White spaces. Minority student stress may be a more salient construct for Black women due a double minority status. This double minority status,

coined “double jeopardy” by Beale (1970), causes Black women to be at a disadvantage when compared to White women and Black men because they are subjected to both racism and sexism. The additive effects from both racism and sexism or the interaction between the two creates a unique experience for African American women (Sidanius & Veniegas, 2000) that women in this sample may have found stressful. It would seem likely that women grappling with a double minority status would prefer to meet with a counselor who is likely to understand their concerns. Duncan and Johnson (2007) reported findings that indicate that for Black college students, sex and race are significant predictors of counselor preference. Although this study did not assess for counselor gender preferences, it would not be surprising if Black female collegians in this sample expressed a preference to meet with a Black *female* counselor, especially since research has found that most women tend to prefer female mental health providers (Pikus & Heavey, 1996).

The exploratory results should be interpreted with caution as this method of analyzing interaction effects does not control for possible interdependence among predictor and moderator, and does not test for difference in regression weights. A moderated hierarchical regression model as outlined by Aiken and West (1991) should be used to formally test this association. It may also be useful to assess African American collegians‘ preferences for additional counselor characteristics such as gender, degree type, and years of experience.

Limitations

Results of the current study support the connection between certain aspects of the psychosociocultural variables and help-seeking attitudes. Nonetheless, findings must be viewed in the context of certain limitations of the study. First, the study is based on self-reported responses to a web survey, which may introduce sources of bias. Reliance on the self-report of sensitive, personal opinions and attitudes may lead to under-reporting. Another potential bias is that the majority of participants was recruited using subject pool and hence self-selected themselves to participate in the Educational Psychology and Psychology subject pools. It is possible students who may have chosen not to participate in the subject pools were in some way different from those who chose to participate and complete the survey. For example, students enrolling in the subject pool may be more connected to university resources and opportunities and consequently exhibit healthier adjustment than their non-connected peers.

Also, there is a possibility that participants recruited from the subject pools may have experienced respondent fatigue. Subject pool participants are typically required to complete surveys of multiple studies to receive course credit, and may have gradually grown disinterested in the tasks. Some participants may have been more concerned with quickly completing the tasks then taking the time to carefully read and respond to the items. Further, the measures of this dissertation were administered to Educational Psychology subject pool participants along with the measures of another student's dissertation which extended the survey time to approximately 45 minutes. Although the

administration order of the two dissertation surveys were randomized, the time length may have deterred motivation and attention.

It is also important to note that there were an unequal number of male and female participants in this study resulting in African American women outnumbering men. The disproportionate amount of females in this sample is representative of the well-documented finding that among African Americans, females tend to outnumber males in institutions of higher education (Snyder & Dillow, 2011). Cokley, Agwosogba, and Taylor (2013) suggest that the unequal number of male and female college enrollment influences the nature of the demographics in samples that are collected from these populations, which ultimately contribute to an overemphasis on females in the Black psychology literature. Given this disproportion, the generalizability of the primary findings may be more appropriately applied to females than males. Moving forward, researchers should consider replicating and expanding this study in an all-African American male sample.

The study is also limited in generalizability due to collecting data from a single institution. Thus, results should only be generalized to African American undergraduate college students in the Southwest, or other campuses with comparable characteristics such as institutional size and quality, proportion of racial/ethnic minority students and faculty and staff. Although this study focused specifically on African American collegians, underutilization of mental health services has also been documented in other racial and ethnic minority groups. Hence, a cross-cultural study would make a significant contribution to the literature. It would also be beneficial to examine different 'types' of

Black collegians such as graduate students and non-traditional students (beyond 25 years of age) in comparison to undergraduates.

Implications

In spite of these limitations, there are several benefits from this study that could be used to inform practice and research in the field of counseling psychology. First, findings suggest that a central task of university counseling center outreach efforts should be developing proactive methods of addressing the lack of information about mental health services on campus. The most obvious way to disseminate information to the Black campus community is through outreach. Brinson and Kottler (1995) suggest that university counseling center personnel should consult and collaborate with Black student organizations to present mental health programs, and engage in outreach that emphasizes topics affecting Black students. In addition to meeting with students directly, counseling center staff should also work in partnership with Black campus leaders, such as professors and advisors, as their response to mental health professionals may help shape the views of the students with whom they interact.

Timely and culturally-responsive outreach can introduce the counseling center to students and help to normalize psychological help-seeking thus reducing the stigma that notoriously surrounds mental health treatment. Straight forward and "jargon-free" discussions about what students can expect regarding the role of the counseling center and the counseling process can help to communicate that the counseling center is a safe space for Black collegians to discuss mental health concerns. Students should also be

informed that exploring topics germane to this age group such as identity, career selection, and relationships are welcomed. Overall, personnel should help students recognize that counseling is not reserved for those with severe mental health conditions, and students facing everyday issues can also benefit from professional help. Moreover, the counseling center should make clear that discussions around discrimination, power, and privilege are encouraged at the counseling center. The goal of counseling centers should be to distinguish themselves from the plethora of helpful resources on campus, and present themselves as a component of the Black student network that is central in supporting students. Presentations that acknowledge possible negative aspects of help-seeking, directly address the concerns of students, and that emphasize the personal benefits of help-seeking may then be used to improve attitudes.

As university personnel work to increase the utilization rates of Black collegians they should simultaneously improve efforts to enhance the multicultural competency of providers and staff. Counseling center directors should require on-going training and seminars regarding cultural sensitivity and counseling students of diverse ethnic backgrounds. As trainings are developed, they should align with the guidelines proposed by the American Psychological Association (2003) : "Guidelines on Multicultural, Education, Training, Research, Practice and Organizational Change for Psychologists". In addition to providing culturally-responsive services, clinicians and staff should serve as advocates for marginalized students (Resnick, 2006; Vera & Speight, 2003). In doing so, Resnick (2006) suggest that counseling center personnel might educate others on the

campus community at large about issues pertaining to students of color through workshops and consultations.

It cannot be ignored that despite a small percentage of this sample using professional mental health services, on average, the respondents were relatively well-adjusted. This speaks to the usefulness of self-help skills and informal care that students employ to work through personal concerns. In fact, the social support that can be garnered from Black support networks has been found to aide in academic persistence (Gloria, Kurpius, Hamilton, & Wilson, 1999) and mitigate depression, suicidal ideation (Kimbrough, Molock, & Walton, 1996), and stress (Negga, Applewhite, & Livingston, 2007). Not only does social support play a role in students' adjustments to PWUs, but it has also been found to impact help-seeking attitudes. When students feel sufficiently supported by family and friends, they are less likely to view professional psychological counseling as necessary (Constantine, Wilton, & Caldwell, 2003). According to Grier-Reed (2013), Black student networks, or counterspaces, can function as informal group therapy where African American collegians can connect with other students and experience a safe space to be emotionally expressive. Students are able to have their experiences on campus validated which allows for a corrective emotional experience, similar to therapeutic counseling. Therefore, individuals in positions to advise and mentor Black collegians should promote and support self and lay care for minor mental health problems. However, influential college personnel should also improve African American collegians' knowledge of both when and how to seek professional help.

The results of this study revealed that the factors underlying help-seeking attitude are complex and require further examination. Of the three proposed predictors, only one was significantly related to help-seeking attitudes. The help-seeking attitudes variable likely has other major influences not specified in the hypothesized model. Thus, researchers interested in this topic should consider utilizing qualitative methods, such as interviews and focus groups, to better understand the factors that influence Black collegians' attitudes. Focus groups and interviews can be used to help identify the specifics of the negative evaluations and perceptions that Black students may have about seeking help. The investigator of this study could not find any peer-reviewed qualitative studies conducted with African American collegians on help-seeking attitudes, though research was available for adolescent (Molock et al., 2007) and community samples (Matthews, Corrigan, Smith & Aranda, 2008; Townes et al., 2009).

In a related vein, the items on the ATSPPH-SF may not fully capture Black collegians perceptions about seeking professional psychological help. While this measure is widely used and has been found to be psychometrically sound (Elhai, Schweinle, & Anderson, 2008), the item content does not capture attitudes related to the characteristics of the clinicians providing psychological services. One qualitative study suggested that African Americans' skepticism of professional counseling may be related to characteristics of the mental health providers as opposed to the profession as a whole (Thompson, Brazile, & Akbar, 2004). In addition, a quantitative scholarship on Black collegians help-seeking attitudes reveals that race-related dynamics in the counseling dyads, such as cultural mistrust of White people, are relevant to attitudes (Whaley, 2001)

as well as expectations of counseling (Nickerson, Helms, and Terrell, 1994). Thus, the exclusion of items that assess thoughts about mental health providers may be missing an important piece of the puzzle for understanding African American collegians help-seeking attitudes.

An additional avenue to further explore help-seeking attitudes in African American collegians is by comparing student's perceptions of various types of counseling entities, particularly vocational and personal counseling. Scholars have called on the end of the distinction between career and personal counseling (e.g. Betz & Corning, 1993; Krumboltz, 1993; Lenz, Peterson, Reardon, & Saunders, 2010); however utilization rates in this study indicated that students may perceive a difference between the two types of services. This is similar to results found in previous studies. Galassi et al. (1992) reported, for example, that individuals viewed career counseling as short term, directive, informative and content focused, and these characteristics contrast to how mental health counseling is commonly perceived. This is germane to African American collegians because multiple scholars have suggested that this population tends to prefer counseling that is brief and directive (Sue, 2012). Heppner and Heppner (2003) reported that career counseling studies are limited, particularly those that compare and contrast personal and vocational counseling perceptions. Considering the results of this study, researchers interested in help-seeking attitudes may find this avenue of research helpful in explaining why utilization differences occur.

The failure to find support for minority student stress, out-group comfort, and counselor racial preferences as direct predictors of help-seeking attitudes might be

specific to the current sample, or might be explained by additional variables or relationships that were not considered in the hypothesized model. Additional cultural variables known to influence African American attitudes in general such as racial or ethnic identity (Cokley, 2005; Cokley, 2007; Cokley & Chapman, 2008;), religiosity and spirituality (Mattis, 2005), racial socialization (Bentley, Adams, & Stevenson, 2009) and cultural mistrust (Terrell & Terrell, 1981) should be incorporated in future models to control for their effects. Scholars should also continue to identify and analyze variables specific to the African American experience. Also, as indicated above, gender should be examined as a potential moderator in future studies.

Conclusion

The current study sought to improve understanding of the factors responsible for African American treatment underutilization problems observed at many college campuses across the country by examining help-seeking attitudes. The findings indicated that cultural congruity was the only psychosociocultural variable that significantly predicted help-seeking attitudes. This variable has previously been found to affect help seeking. Further, counselor racial preferences did not significantly predict help-seeking attitudes, thus it did not serve as a mediator between the psychosociocultural variables and attitudes.

Implications of the study are that regardless of accessibility to treatment, there are psychological, social and cultural factors that exert important influences on Black college students' willingness to use mental health care. In some cases cultural factors

may be the strongest determinants. Addressing the problem of treatment underutilization involves psychologists and other mental health workers engaging in outreach developed specifically for Black collegians, and working in a culturally responsive manner. Mental health professionals must also applaud students' use of self-care and social networks, while also educating students about when it is necessary to seek professional care. Scholars investigating African American collegians' help-seeking attitudes should incorporate qualitative methods into research designs and continue seeking novel ways to understand students' perceptions about mental health services.

Appendix A

DEMOGRAPHIC FORM

Instructions: Read the items below and (a) circle the letter that best describes you, or (b) write in the information that reflects you.

1. Which of the following best describes your race/ethnicity?
    a. African American/Black
    b. Multiracial or Biracial
    c. Other _____

2. Your class standing can be best described as:
    a. Freshman
    b. Sophomore
    c. Junior
    d. Senior
    e. Graduate Student
    f. Other _____

3. What is your cumulative college GPA? _____

4. Sex
    a. Male
    b. Female

5. Age_____

6. What do you consider your socioeconomic status to be?
    a. Working class
    b. Middle class
    c. Upper middle class
    d. Upper class
    e. Other _____

7. Think of a ladder with 10 steps representing where people stand in the United States. At step 10 are people who are the best off – those who have the most money, the most education, and the most respected jobs. At step 1 are the people who are worst off – those who have the least money, least education, and the least respected jobs or no job. Where would you place yourself on this ladder?
   _____

8. What school do you attend?_____

9. Have you ever received counseling from a mental health professional at an off-campus setting (e.g., community counseling center, private practice, health clinic)? **If no, skip to number 15.**
   a. Yes
   b. No

10. Are you currently receiving services from a mental health professional at an off-campus setting?
   a. Yes
   b. No

11. If you have met with or are currently meeting with an off-campus mental health professional, please describe the race/ethnicity of your provider(s)?
   _____

12. Please circle the type(s) of mental health professional(s) you met with off-campus?
   a. Psychologist
   b. Professional counselor
   c. Social worker
   d. Marriage and family therapist
   e. Psychiatrist
   f. Physician
   g. Other_____

13. Approximately how many sessions did you attend with an off-campus mental health professional?
   a. 1

b. 2-3
c. 4-6
d. 7-10
e. 11-13
f. 14-20
g. More than 20

14. While receiving mental health services off-campus where you prescribed medication to help manage your symptoms by a:
    a. I was not prescribed medication
    b. Psychiatrist
    c. Psychologist
    d. Physician
    e. Nurse practitioner
    f. Other_____

15. If needed, would you seek mental health counseling from a mental health professional off-campus?
    a. Yes
    b. Maybe
    c. No

16. Have you ever received counseling from your school's university counseling center **(If no, skip to number 22**).
    a. Yes
    b. No

17. Are you currently receiving services from your university's counseling center?
    a. Yes
    b. No

18. If you have met with or are currently meeting with a mental health professional at your university counseling center, please describe the race/ethnicity of your provider? _____

19. Please circle the type(s) of mental health professional(s) you met with at your university counseling center?
    a. Psychologist
    b. Professional counselor
    c. Social worker
    d. Marriage and family therapist
    e. Psychiatrist

20. Approximately how many sessions did you attend with your university counseling center mental health professional?
    a. 1
    b. 2-3
    c. 4-6
    d. 7-10
    e. 11-13
    f. 14-20
    g. More than 20

21. While receiving mental health services at your university counseling center, where you prescribed medication to help manage your symptoms by a:
    a. I was not prescribed medication
    b. Psychiatrist
    c. Psychologist
    d. Physician
    e. Nurse practitioner
    f. Other

22. If needed, would you seek mental health counseling from the university counseling center?
    a. Yes
    b. Maybe
    c. No

23. What are your general impressions about your university's mental health counseling center?

24. How many sessions of career counseling have you attended at your university?

a. I have not received career counseling.
b. 1
c. 2-3
d. 4-6
e. 7-10
f. More than 10

25. If needed, would you seek career counseling from your university?
a. Yes
b. Maybe
c. No

Appendix B

Attitudes Towards Seeking Professional Psychological Help-Short Form

Read each statement carefully and give your honest feelings regarding the statement. Please indicate the statement which most closely describes your feelings using the scale below.

1	2	3	4
Disagree	**Partly Disagree**	**Partly Agree**	**Strongly Agree**

1.) If I believed I was having a mental breakdown, my first inclination would be to get professional help.	1 2 3 4
2.) The idea of talking about problems to a psychologist strikes me as a poor way to get rid of emotional conflicts.	1 2 3 4
3.) If I were experiencing a serious emotional crisis at this point in my life, I would be confident that I could find relief in psychotherapy.	1 2 3 4
4.) There is something admirable in the attitude of a person who is willing to cope with his or her conflicts and fears *without* resorting to professional help.	1 2 3 4
5.) I would want to get psychological help if I was worried or upset for a long period of time.	1 2 3 4
6.) I might want to have psychological counseling in the future.	1 2 3 4
7.) A person with an emotional problem is not likely to solve it alone; he or she is likely to solve it with professional help.	1 2 3 4
8.) Considering the time and expense involved in psychotherapy, it would have doubtful value for a person like me.	1 2 3 4
9.) A person should work out his or her own problems; getting psychological counseling would be a last resort.	1 2 3 4
10.) Personal and emotional problems, like many things, tend to work out by themselves.	1 2 3 4

Appendix C

Counselor Preference Scale

This section is designed to survey your preferences for counselors. Here is list of problems that college students typically experience. If you were to experience these problems, what kind of counselor would you want to talk to? For each problem encountered, please darken the appropriate circle corresponding to your preferences.

If I have a problem choosing a major:	I would prefer to meet with a counselor of the same race or ethnicity as me. I would have no preference in this situation.	O O
If I have a problem with my girlfriend/boyfriend:	I would prefer to meet with a counselor of the same race or ethnicity as me. I would have no preference in this situation.	O O
If I have a problem with my roommate:	I would prefer to meet with a counselor of the same race or ethnicity as me. I would have no preference in this situation	O O
If I have a problem relating to people:	I would prefer to meet with a counselor of the same race or ethnicity as me. I would have no preference in this situation	O O
If I had a problem with study habit and skills:	I would prefer to meet with a counselor of the same race or ethnicity as me. I would have no preference in this situation	O O
If I have a problem in meeting new people:	I would prefer to meet with a counselor of the same race or ethnicity as me. I would have no preference in this situation	O O
If I have a problem concerning sexual issues:	I would prefer to meet with a counselor of the same race or ethnicity as me. I would have no preference in this situation	O O
If I have a problem concerning racial issues:	I would prefer to meet with a counselor of the same race or ethnicity as me. I would have no preference in this situation	O O
If I have a problem overcoming loneliness:	I would prefer to meet with a counselor of the same race or ethnicity as me. I would have no preference in this situation	O O
If I have a problem relating to my parents:	I would prefer to meet with a counselor of the same race or ethnicity as me. I would have no preference in this situation	O O

Appendix D

Minority Student Stress Scale

Below is a list of statements that describe situations that may be stressful to some students. Stressful situations are those that bother you or cause you problems in any way. Read each statement carefully and give your honest feelings regarding the statement. Please indicate the statement which most closely describes your feelings using the scale below.

0	2	3	4	5	6
Does not apply	**Not at all stressful for me**	**A little stressful for me**	**Somewhat stressful for me**	**Very stressful for me**	**Extremely stressful for me**

1.) My family does not understand pressures from college (i.e., amount of time or quiet time needed to study).	0 1 2 3 4 5
2.) My family discourages me from spending time going to college.	0 1 2 3 4 5
3.) Being the first in my family to attend a major university.	0 1 2 3 4 5
4.) Doubting my ability to succeed in college.	0 1 2 3 4 5
5.) My academic background preparation for college being inadequate.	0 1 2 3 4 5
6.) White people expecting me to be a certain way because of my race (i.e., stereotyping).	0 1 2 3 4 5
7.) Language-related problems (i.e., having an "accent" or speaking non-standard English).	0 1 2 3 4 5
8.) Maintaining my ethnic identity while at the university.	0 1 2 3 4 5
9.) The lack of unity/supportiveness among members of my race at the university.	0 1 2 3 4 5
10.) Being discriminated against.	0 1 2 3 4 5
11.) Being treated rudely or unfairly because of my race.	0 1 2 3 4 5
12.) Others lacking respect for people of my race.	0 1 2 3 4 5

13.) Attitudes/treatment of faculty towards students of my race.	0 1 2 3 4 5
14.) Having to "prove" my abilities to others (i.e., work twice as hard).	0 1 2 3 4 5
15.) Pressure to show loyalty to my race (i.e., giving back to my ethnic group community.	0 1 2 3 4 5
16.) White students and faculty expecting poor academic performance from students of my race.	0 1 2 3 4 5
17.) Pressures from people of my same race (i.e., how to act, what to believe).	0 1 2 3 4 5
18.) People close to me thinking I am acting "White".	0 1 2 3 4 5
19.) Feeling others do not respect my intelligence.	0 1 2 3 4 5
20.) Having White friends.	0 1 2 3 4 5
21.) Relationships between different ethnic groups at the university.	0 1 2 3 4 5
22.) Having to always be aware of what White people might do.	0 1 2 3 4 5
23.) White oriented campus culture at the university.	0 1 2 3 4 5
24.) Wealthy campus culture at the university.	0 1 2 3 4 5
25.) The university being an unfriendly place.	0 1 2 3 4 5
26.) Having to live around mostly White people.	0 1 2 3 4 5
27.) Tense relationships between Whites and minorities at the university.	0 1 2 3 4 5
28.) Few courses involving issues relevant to my ethnic group.	0 1 2 3 4 5
29.) Racist policies and practices of the university.	0 1 2 3 4 5
30.) The university lacking concern and support for the needs of students of my race.	0 1 2 3 4 5
31.) The university not having enough professors of my race.	0 1 2 3 4 5
32.) Few students of my race being in my classes.	0 1 2 3 4 5

33.) Seeing members of my race doing low status jobs and Whites in high status jobs at the university.	0 1 2 3 4 5
34.) My family having very high expectations for my college success.	0 1 2 3 4 5
35.) Pressure that what "I" do is representative of my ethnic groups' abilities.	0 1 2 3 4 5
36.) Feeling less intelligent or less capable than others.	0 1 2 3 4 5
37.) Relationships between males and females of my race (i.e., lack of available dating partners).	0 1 2 3 4 5

Appendix E

Black Acculturation Scale

Instructions: Below is a list of statements that describes experiences or feelings you may have. Please respond to each statement as honest and accurate as you can. There are not "correct" or "incorrect" answers. Answer according to your own feelings, rather than how you think "most people" would answer. Using the scale below indicate the extent to which you agree/ disagree with each statement

1 **Strongly Agree**	**2** **Agree**	**3** **Neutral**	**4** **Disagree**	**5** **Strongly Disagree**

1.) I take a lot of pride in Black historical accomplishments.	1 2 3 4 5
2.) I spend time working in organizations that address Black people's concerns.	1 2 3 4 5
3.) Black children don't necessarily need to have Black role models.	1 2 3 4 5
4.) My race is not that important to who I am; we're all human.	1 2 3 4 5
5.) I don't really feel any connection with Black culture.	1 2 3 4 5
6.) I think it's important for Black people to look out for each other's best interests.	1 2 3 4 5
7.) It is (or would be) important to me to teach my children about the history of Black people in America.	1 2 3 4 5
8.) Being Black is an important part of my self-image.	1 2 3 4 5
9.) I often read Black publications such as newspapers or magazines.	1 2 3 4 5
10.) I try to see movies made my Black directors.	1 2 3 4 5
11.) My friends and I often discuss that racism we encounter.	1 2 3 4 5

12.) Generally, things that happen to other Blacks in this country will have a big impact on my own life.	1 2 3 4 5
13.) I feel a commitment to help improve the status of Black people generally.	1 2 3 4 5
14.) When I see a Black person achieve something significant, I feel a sense of pride myself.	1 2 3 4 5
15.) When possible, I prefer to buy items such as greeting cards that depict Black people.	1 2 3 4 5
16.) I like to patronize Black-owned businesses, even if it means spending a little more money.	1 2 3 4 5
17.) I believe that on a day-to-day basis, Black people often encounter subtle forms of racism.	1 2 3 4 5
18.) Because I feel close to Blacks as a group, I relate to them as my "brothers" and "sisters."	1 2 3 4 5
19.) Basically, I think most White people have overcome their racist attitudes towards Blacks.	1 2 3 4 5
20.) I don't think that successful Blacks have an obligation to make donations to organizations that advance Black causes; it's their money.	1 2 3 4 5
21.) I think it's OK for Black people to have plastic surgery to narrow their lips or noses; it's a personal choice.	1 2 3 4 5
22.) When voting, one of my most important considerations is whether the candidate will help Black communities.	1 2 3 4 5
23.) The music of some of the great jazz musicians deserves as much respect as that of the great classical composers.	1 2 3 4 5
24.) When I see a Black person being treated unfairly, I feel as though I am being discriminated against, too.	1 2 3 4 5
25.) I don't think about being Black.	1 2 3 4 5
26.) A lot of Black people don't live up to their potential because of racism.	1 2 3 4 5

27.) Socializing with White people is especially difficult for me.	1 2 3 4 5
28.) I feel uncomfortable around White people because they're so different from me.	1 2 3 4 5
29.) In general, being around White people make me nervous.	1 2 3 4 5
30.) I feel it's stressful to spend a lot of time in mostly White settings.	1 2 3 4 5
31.) If none of the main characters in a movie are Black, it's hard for me to be interested.	1 2 3 4 5
32.) I feel uneasy in work-related situations where there aren't many other Blacks.	1 2 3 4 5
33.) I would rather not work in a setting with predominantly White people, even if it meant passing up a more prestigious career opportunity.	1 2 3 4 5
34.) I avoid social situations if I think there will not be many other black people there.	1 2 3 4 5
35.) I wouldn't be interested in pursuing a friendship with a White person.	1 2 3 4 5
36.) I would prefer segregated schooling if Blacks had equal resources.	1 2 3 4 5
37.) I have close friends who are White.	1 2 3 4 5
38.) I feel equally comfortable in settings that have predominantly White or Black people.	1 2 3 4 5
39.) I don't feel I can really be myself around most White people.	1 2 3 4 5
40.) Settings with predominantly White people do not threaten me.	1 2 3 4 5
41.) I can enjoy myself at a party even if there aren't many other Black people there.	1 2 3 4 5

42.)	**If I were to go away to college, I would be uncomfortable with a White roommate.**	1 2 3 4 5

Appendix F

Cultural Congruity Scale

Read each statement carefully and give your honest feelings regarding the statement. Please indicate the statement which most closely describes your feelings using the scale below.

1 Disagree	2 Partly Disagree	3 Partly Agree	4 Agree

1.) I feel that I have to change myself to fit in at school.	1 2 3 4
2.) I try not to show the parts of me that are "ethnically" based.	1 2 3 4
3.) I often feel like a chameleon, having to change myself depending on the ethnicity of the person I am with at school.	1 2 3 4
4.) I feel that my ethnicity is incompatible with other students.	1 2 3 4
5.) I can talk to my friends at school about my family and culture.	1 2 3 4
6.) I feel I am leaving my family values behind by going to college.	1 2 3 4
7.) My ethnic values are in conflict with what is expected at school.	1 2 3 4
8.) I can talk to my family about my friends from school.	1 2 3 4
9.) I feel that my language and/or appearance make it hard for me to fit in with other students.	1 2 3 4
10.) My family and school values often conflict.	1 2 3 4
11.) I feel accepted at school as an ethnic minority.	1 2 3 4
12.) As an ethnic minority, I feel as if I belong on this campus.	1 2 3 4
13.) I can talk to my family about my struggles and concerns at school.	1 2 3 4

References

Aiken, L. S., & West, S. G. (1991). *Multiple regression: Testing and interpreting interactions*. Sage Publications, Incorporated.

Alamilla, S. G., Kim, B. S. K., & Lam, N. A. (2010). Acculturation, enculturation, perceived racism, minority status stressors, and psychological symptomatology among Latino/as. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *32*(1), 55.

Allen, W. R. (1992). The color of success: African-American college student outcomes at predominantly White and historically Black public colleges and universities. *Harvard Educational Review*, *62*(1), 26-45.

Ancis, J. R., Sedlacek, W. E., & Mohr, J. J. (2000). Student perceptions of campus cultural climate by race. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, *78*(2), 180-185.

Anderson, J. D. (1988). The education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935. University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill, NC.

American Psychological Association (2003). Guidelines on multicultural education, training, research, practice, and organizational change for psychologists. *American Psychologist*, *58*, 377– 402.

Atkinson, D. R. (1983). Ethnic similarity in counseling psychology: A review of research. *The Counseling Psychologist, 11*(3), 79-92. doi: 10.1177/0011000083113009

Atkinson, D. R., Furlong, M. J., & Poston, W. C. (1986). Afro-American preferences for counselor characteristics. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 33*(3), 326 – 330.

Austin, N. L., Carter, R. T., & Vaux, A. (1990). The role of racial identity in Black

students' attitudes toward counseling and counseling centers. *Journal of College Student Development*, 31(3), 237-244.

Ayalon, L., & Young, M. A. (2005). Racial group differences in help-seeking behaviors. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, *145*(4), 391-403. doi: 10.3200/socp.145.4.391-404

Banks, K. H. (2009). A qualitative investigation of white students' perceptions of diversity. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, *2*(3), 149-155, doi: 10.1037/a0016292

Baron, R. M., & Kenny, D. A. (1986). The moderator–mediator variable distinction in social psychological research: Conceptual, strategic, and statistical considerations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *51*(6), 1173-1182.

Beale, F. (1970). Double jeopardy: To be black and female. In T. Cade (Ed.), *The black woman* (pp. 90–100). New York: New American Library.

Belgrave, F. Z., & Allison, K. W. (2009). *African American psychology: From Africa to America*. Sage Publications, Inc.

Bentley, K., Adams, V., Stevenson , H., (2009). Racial socialization: Roots, processes and outcomes. In H. Neville B. Tynes S. Utsey . (Eds.), Handbook of African American

Psychology. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications

Berry, J. W., & Sam, D. L. (1997). Acculturation and adaptation. In J.W. Berry, M.H. Segall, & C. Kagitcibasi (Eds.), *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology* (Vol. 3, pp. 291–326). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Berry, J.W. (1980). Acculturation as varieties of adaptation. In AM Padilla (Ed.), Acculturation: theory, models and some new findings (pp. 9-25). Boulder, CO: Westview.

Betz, N. E., & Corning, A. F. (1993). The inseparability of "career" and "personal" counseling. *The Career Development Quarterly*, *42*(2), 137-142.

Boesch, R., & Cimbolic, P. (1994). Black students' use of college and university counseling centers. *Journal of College Student Development*, Vol 35(3), 212-216.

Bonner, W. W. (1997). Black male perspectives of counseling on a predominantly White university campus. *Journal of Black Studies, 27*(3), 395-408.

Bourke, B. (2010). Experiences of Black students in multiple cultural spaces at a predominantly White institution. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education, 3*(2), 126-135. doi: 10.1037/a0019025

Bowman, N. A., Hurtado, S., Locks, A. M., & Oseguera, L. (2008). Extending notions of campus climate and diversity to students' transition to college. *The Review of Higher Education, 31*(3), 257-285.

Braddock, I. I., & JH, D. MP, & Wilson, G.(1995). Intercultural contact and race relations among African youth. *Toward a common destiny: Improving race relations in American society*, 237-256.

Brinson, J. A., & Kottler, J. A. (1995). Minorities' Underutilization of Counseling Centers' Mental Health Services: A Case for Outreach and Consultation. Journal

of Mental Health Counseling, 17(4), 371-85

Brown v. Board of Educ., 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

Buboltz Jr, W., Deemer, E., & Hoffmann, R. (2010). Content analysis of the Journal of Counseling Psychology: Buboltz, Miller, and Williams (1999) 11 years later. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 57*(3), 368.

Cashwell, C. S., Shcherbakova, J., & Cashwell, T. H. (2003). Effect of client and counselor ethnicity on preference for counselor disclosure. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 81*(2), 196-201.

Castillo, L. G., Conoley, C. W., & Brossart, D. F. (2004). Acculturation, White marginalization, and family support as predictors of perceived distress in Mexican American female college students. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 51*(2), 151-157.

Castillo, L. G., Conoley, C. W., Choi-Pearson, C., Archuleta, D. J., Phoummarath, M. J., & Van Landingham, A. (2006). University environment as a mediator of Latino ethnic identity and persistence attitudes. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 53*(2), 267-271.

Castonguay , L. G., Hayes , J. A., Locke , B. D., McAleavey , A. A., Nordburg, S., & Youn, S. J. (2011). Rates and predictors of counseling center use among college students of color. *Journal of College Counseling, 14*(2), 105.

Cauce, A. M., Domenech-Rodríguez, M., Paradise, M., Cochran, B. N., Shea, J. M.,

Srebnik, D., & Baydar, N. (2002). Cultural and contextual influences in mental health help seeking: A focus on ethnic minority youth. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *70*(1), 44-55.

Cepeda-Benito, A., & Gleaves, D. H. (2000). Cross-ethnic equivalence of the Hopkins Symptom Checklist-21 in European American, African American, and Latino College Students. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 6*(3), 297-308.

Chaney, B., Muraskin, L., Cahalan, M., & Rak, R. (1997). *National study of student support services. Third-year longitudinal study results and program implementation study update*. Westat, Inc., Rockville, MD: Westat, Inc; Washington, DC: SMB Economic Research. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 370 512-513)

Chavous, T., Rivas, D., Green, L., & Helaire, L. (2002). Role of student background, perceptions of ethnic fit, and racial identification in the academic adjustment of African American students at a predominantly White university. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *28*(3), 234-260.

Cheatham, H. E., Shelton, T. O., & Ray, W. J. (1987). Race, sex, causal attribution, and help-seeking behavior. *Journal of College Student Personnel*, *28*(6), 559-568.

Chiang, L., Hunter, C. D., & Yeh, C. J. (2004). Coping attitudes, sources, and practices among Black and Latino college students. *Adolescence, 39*(156), 793–815.

Chrousos, G. P. (1998). Stressors, stress, and neuroendocrine integration of the adaptive response: The 1997 Hans Selye Memorial Lecture. *Annals of the New York*

Academy of Sciences, *851*(1), 311-335.

Cokley, K. (2001). Gender Differences among African American Students in the Impact of Racial Identity on Academic Psychosocial Development. Journal of College Student Development, 42(5), 480-87.

Cokley, K. (2005). Racial (ized) Identity, Ethnic Identity, and Afrocentric Values: Conceptual and Methodological Challenges in Understanding African American Identity. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *52*(4), 517-526.

Cokley, K., Awosogba, O. R., & Taylor, D. (2013). A 12-year content analysis of the Journal of Black Psychology (2000 – 2011): Implications for the field of Black psychology. *Journal of Black Psychology*, in press, 1-24.

Cokley, K., Beasley, S., Holman, A., Chapman-Hilliard, C., Cody, B., Jones, B., ... & Taylor, D. (2012). The moderating role of gender in the relationship between religiosity and mental health in a sample of black American college students. *Mental Health, Religion & Culture*, (ahead-of-print), 1-18.

Cokley, K., & Chapman, C. (2008). Racial identity theory. *Handbook of African American psychology*, 283-299.

Cokley, K., & Helm, K. (2007a). The relationship between African American enculturation and racial identity. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, *35*(3), 142-153.

Cokley, K., & Helm, K. (2007b). The relationship between African American enculturation and racial identity. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, *35*(3), 142-153.

Cokley, K., Komaraju, M., Patel, N., Castillon, J., Rosales, R., Pickett, R., . . . Pang, L. (2004). Construction and initial validation of the student-professor interaction scale. *College Student Affairs Journal, 24*(1), 32-50.

Cokley, K., McClain, S., Enciso, A., & Martinez, M. (2013). An Examination of the Impact of Minority Status Stress and Impostor Feelings on the Mental Health of Diverse Ethnic Minority College Students. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, *41*(2), 82-95.

Cole, E. R., & Jacob Arriola, K. R. (2007). Black students on White campuses: Toward a two-dimensional model of Black acculturation. *Journal of Black Psychology, 33*(4), 379-403.

Cole, E. R., & Yip, T. (2008). Using outgroup comfort to predict Black students' college experiences. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *14*(1), 57-66.

Coleman, H. L. K., Wampold, B. E., & Casali, S. L. (1995). Ethnic minorities' ratings of ethnically similar and European American counselors: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *42*(1), 55.

Constantine, M. G., Robinson, J. S., Wilton, L., & Caldwell, L. D. (2002). Collective self-esteem and perceived social support as predictors of cultural congruity among Black and Latino college students. *Journal of College Student Development*, 43(3), 307-316.

Constantine, M. G., & Watt, S. K. (2002). Cultural congruity, womanist identity attitudes, and life satisfaction among African American college women attending

historically Black and predominantly White institutions. *Journal of College Student Development, 43*(2), 184-194.

Constantine, M. G., Wilton, L., & Caldwell, L. D. (2003). The role of social support in moderating the relationship between psychological distress and willingness to seek psychological help among Black and Latino college students. *Journal of College Counseling, 6*(2), 155-165.

Constantine, M. G., Wilton, L., Gainor, K. A., & Lewis, E. L. (2002). Religious participation, spirituality, and coping among African American college students. *Journal of College Student Development*, *43*(5), 605–613.

Cross Jr, W. E. (1971). The Negro-to-Black Conversion Experience. *Black World*, *20*(9), 13-27.

Cross Jr, W. E., & Vandiver, B. J. (2001). Nigrescence theory and measurement: Introducing the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS). In J.G. Ponterotto,J .M. Casas, L.A. Suzuki, C.M. Alexander (Eds), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (2nd ed., p. 926). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Cross, T., & Slater, R. B. (2001). The troublesome decline in African-American college student graduation rates. *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education,* (33), 102–109.

D'Augelli, A. R. & Hershberger, S. L. (1993). African American undergraduates on predominantly white campus: Academic factors, social networks, and campus climate. *Journal of Negro Education, 62*(1), 67-81.

David, E., Okazaki, S., & Saw, A. (2009). Bicultural self-efficacy among college students: Initial scale development and mental health correlates. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 56*(2), 211-226.

Davidson, M. M., Yakushka, O. F., & Sanford-Martens, T. C. (2004). Racial and Ethnic Minority Clients' Utilization of a University Counseling Center: An Archival Study. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 32, 259-271.

Delphin, M. E., & Rollock, D. (1995). University alienation and African American ethnic identity as predictors of attitudes toward, knowledge about, and likely use of psychological services. *Journal of College Student Development, 36*(4), 337-346.

Denson, N., & Chang, M. J. (2009). Racial diversity matters: The impact of diversity-related student engagement and institutional context. *American Educational Research Journal*, *46*(2), 322–353.

Dépret, E., & Fiske, S. T. (1993). Social cognition and power: Some cognitive consequences of social structure as a source of control deprivation. In G. Weary, F. Gleicher, & K.L. Marsh (Eds.) *Control Motivation and Social Cognition Editors*, New York: Springer Verlag.

Diala, C. C., Muntaner, C., Walrath, C., Nickerson, K., LaVeist, T., & Leaf, P. (2001). Racial/ethnic differences in attitudes toward seeking professional mental health services. *American Journal of Public Health, 91*(5), 805-807.

Diemer, M. A. (2007). Two Worlds: African American men's negotiation of predominantly White educational and occupational worlds. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 35*(1), 2-14.

Duncan, L. E. (2003). Black male college students' attitudes toward seeking psychological help. *Journal of Black Psychology, 29*(1), 68-86. doi: 10.1177/0095798402239229

Duncan, L. E. (2005). Overcoming biases to effectively serve: A call to the profession. *College Student Journal, 39*(4), 702-710.

Duncan, L. E., & Johnson, D. (2007). Black undergraduate students attitude toward counseling and counselor preference. *College Student Journal*, *41*(3), 696-719.

Edman, J. L., & Brazil, B. (2008). Perceptions of campus climate, academic efficacy and academic success among community college students: an ethnic comparison. *Social Psychology of Education, 12*(3), 371-383. doi: 10.1007/s11218-008-9082-y

Edmunds, G. J. (1984). Needs assessment strategy for Black students: An examination of stressors and program implications. *Journal of Non-White Concerns in Personnel & Guidance, 12*, 48-56.

Ferguson, T. M., Leach, M. M., Levy, J. J., Nicholson, B. C., & Johnson, J. D. (2008). Influences on counselor race preferences: Distinguishing Black racial attitudes from Black racial identity. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 36*(2), 66-76.

Fischer, E. H., & Farina, A. (1995). Attitudes toward seeking professional psychological help: A shortened form and considerations for research. *Journal of College Student Development*, 36(4), 368-373.

Fischer, E. H., & Turner, J. I. (1970). Orientations to seeking professional help: Development and research utility of an attitude scale. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 35*(1p1), 79-90.

Fleming, J. E. (1976). *The Lengthening Shadow of Slavery*. *A Historical Justification for Affirmative Action for Blacks in Higher Education*. Washington, DC: Howard University Press.

Fleming, J. (1984). *Blacks in college: A comparative study of students' success in Black and in White institutions*: Jossey-Bass Publishers

Galassi, J. P., Crace, R. K., Martin, G. A., James, R. M., Jr., & Wallace, R. L. (1992). Client preferences and anticipations in career counseling: A preliminary investigation. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 39*, 46– 55.

Gallagher, R. P. (2006).National Survey of Counseling Center Directors.Arlington, VA: International Association of Counseling Services.

Glasker, Wayne. Black Students in the Ivory Tower: African American Student Activism at the University of Pennsylvania, 1967–1990. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts, 2002.

Gloria, A. M., Castellanos, J., Lopez, A. G., & Rosales, R. (2005). An examination of academic nonpersistence decisions of Latino undergraduates. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 27*(2), 202-223.

Gloria, A. M., Castellanos, J., & Orozco, V. (2005). Perceived educational barriers, cultural fit, coping responses, and psychological well-being of Latina undergraduates. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 27*(2), 161-183.

Gloria, A. M., Hird, J. S., & Navarro, R. L. (2001). Relationships of cultural congruity and perceptions of the university environment to help-seeking attitudes by sociorace and gender. *Journal of College Student Development, 42*(6), 545-562.

Gloria, A. M., & Ho, T. A. (2003). Environmental, social, and psychological experiences of Asian American undergraduates: Examining issues of academic persistence. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 81*(1), 93-105.

Gloria, A. M., & Kurpius, S. E. . (1996). The validation of the Cultural Congruity Scale and the University Environment Scale with Chicano/a students. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 18*(4), 533–549.

Gloria, A. M., & Kurpius, S. E. R. (2001). Influences of self-beliefs, social support, and comfort in the university environment on the academic nonpersistence decisions of American Indian undergraduates. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 7*(1), 88-102. doi: 10.1037//1099-9809.7.1.88

Gloria, A. M., Kurpius, S. E. R., Hamilton, K. D., & Willson, M. S. (1999). African American students' persistence at a predominantly white university: Influence of social support, university comfort, and self-beliefs. *Journal of College Student Development*, 40(3), 257-268.

Gloria, A. M., & Pope-Davis, D. B. (1997). Cultural Ambience. *Multicultural counseling competencies: Assessment, education and training, and supervision*, *7*, 242.

Gloria, A. M., & Robinson Kurpius, S. E. (2001). Influences of self-beliefs, social support, and comfort in the university environment on the academic nonpersistence decisions of American Indian undergraduates. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 7*(1), 88-102.

Gloria, A. M., & Rodriguez, E. R. (2000). Counseling Latino university students: Psychosociocultural issues for consideration. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 28*, 145-154.

Gonzalez, J. M., Alegria, M., & Prihoda, T. J. (2005). How do attitudes toward mental health treatment vary by age, gender, and ethnicity/race in young adults?. *Journal of Community Psychology, 33*(5), 611-629.

Greenberg, J. (2001). Affirmative action in higher education: Confronting the condition and theory. *BCL Rev., 43*, 521.

Greer, T. M., & Brown, P. (2011). Minority status stress and coping processes among African American college students. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education, 4*(1), 26-38. doi: 10.1037/a0021267

Greer, T. M., & Chwalisz, K. (2007). Minority-related stressors and coping processes among African American college students. *Journal of College Student Development, 48*(4), 388-404. doi: 10.1353/csd.2007.0037.

Grier-Reed, T. (2013). The African American Student Network An Informal Networking Group as a Therapeutic Intervention for Black College Students on a Predominantly White Campus. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *39*(2), 169-184.

Gurin, P., Dey, E. L., Hurtado, S., & Gurin, G. (2002). Diversity and higher education: Theory and impact on educational outcomes. *Harvard Educational Review*, *72*(3), 330–367.

Hargrove, B. K., & Sedlacek, W. E. (1997). Counseling interests among entering Black freshmen over a ten-year period. *Journal of The First-Year Experience & Students in Transition*, *9*(2), 83-98.

Harvey, W. B., & Williams, L. E. (1996). Historically Black colleges and universities: Models for increasing minority representation. *Racial and ethnic diversity in higher education, ASHE Reader Series*, 233-240.

Hayes, J.A., Youn, S.J., Castonguay, L.G., Locke, B.D., McAleavey, A.A., & Nordberg, S. (2011). Rates and predictors of counseling center use among college student of color. *Journal of College Counseling*, 14, 105-116.

Helms, J. E. (1995). An update of Helms' white and people of color racial identity models. *Handbook of multicultural counseling*, *2*, 181–198.

Helms, J. E., & Carter, R. T. (1991). Relationships of White and Black racial identity attitudes and demographic similarity to counselor preferences. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 38*(4), 446-457.

Helms, J. E., & Cook, D. A. (1999). *Using race and culture in counseling and psychotherapy: Theory and process.* Needham, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Heppner, P. P., Wampold, B. E., & Kivlighan, D. M. (2008). *Research design in counseling*. Brooks/Cole Pub Co.

Heppner, M. J., & Heppner, P. P. (2003). Identifying process variables in career counseling: A research agenda. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *62*(3), 429-452.

Hoffman, K., Llagas, C., & Snyder, T. D. (2003). *Status and Trends in the Education of Blacks* (NCES 2003-034). U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Humphreys, J. (2005). *Economic Impact of the Nation's Historically Black Colleges and Universities* (NCES 2007–178). U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Hunt, J., & Eisenberg, D. (2010). Mental health problems and help-seeking behavior among college students. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *46*(1), 3-10.

Hurtado, S. (2005). The next generation of diversity and intergroup relations research. *Journal of Social Issues, 61*(3), 595-610.

Hurtado, S., Milem, J., Clayton-Pedersen, A., & Allen, W. (1999). Enacting Diverses Learning Environments: Improving the Climate for Racial/Ethnic Diversity in Higher Education. *ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report, 26*, 8.

Hyun, J. K., Quinn, B. C., Madon, T., & Lustig, S. (2006). Graduate Student Mental Health: Needs Assessment and Utilization of Counseling Services. *Journal of College Student Development, 47*(3), 247–266.

Jackson, C. L., & Nunn, E. F. (2003). *Historically black colleges and universities: A reference handbook*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, Inc.

Jaffe, A. J., Adams, W., & Meyers, S. G. (1968). *Negro Higher Education in the 1960's*. New York, NY: Praeger.

Johnson, D. R., Alvarez, P., Longerbeam, S., Soldner, M., Inkelas, K., Leonard, J., & Rowan-Kenyon, H. (2007). Examining sense of belonging among first-year undergraduates from different racial. *Ethnic Groups, Journal of College Student Development, 48*(5), 525-542.

Johnson, S. C., & Arbona, C. (2006). The relation of ethnic identity, racial identity, and race-related stress among African American college students. *Journal of College Student Development, 47*(5), 495-507.

Jones, R. L. (1991). *Black psychology* . Berkley, CA: Cobb & Henry Publishers.

Jones, L., Castellanos, J., & Cole, D. (2002). Examining the ethnic minority student experience at predominantly White institutions: A case study. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education, 1*(1), 19-39.

Vital Statistics by Journal of Blacks in Higher Education. (Spring, 2010). Retrieved April 12, 2012, from http://www.jbhe.com/vital/index.html.

June, L. N., Curry, B. P., & Gear, C. L. (1990). An 11-year analysis of Black students' experience of problems and use of services: Implications for counseling professionals. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 37*(2), 178-184.

Juster, R. P., McEwen, B. S., & Lupien, S. J. (2010). Allostatic load biomarkers of chronic stress and impact on health and cognition. *Neuroscience and biobehavioral reviews*, *35*(1), 2.

Kearney, L. K., Draper, M., & Barón, A. (2005a). Counseling utilization by ethnic minority college students. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 11*(3), 272-285. doi: 10.1037/1099-9809.11.3.272

Kearney, L. K., Draper, M., & Barón, A. (2005b). Counseling utilization by ethnic minority college students. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology, 11*(3), 272-285. doi: 10.1037/1099-9809.11.3.272

Klonoff, E. A., & Landrine, H. (2000a). Revising and improving the African American Acculturation Scale. *Journal of Black Psychology, 26*(2), 235-261.

Krumboltz, J. D. (1993). Integrating career and personal counseling. *The Career Development Quarterly*, *42*(2), 143-148.

LaFromboise, T., Coleman, H. L., & Gerton, J. (1993). Psychological impact of biculturalism: Evidence and theory. *Psychological Bulletin, 114*(3), 395-412. doi: 10.1037/0033-2909.114.3.395

Landers, A. J., Rollock, D., Rolfes, C. B., & Moore, D. L. (2011). Police contacts and stress among African American college students. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 81*(1), 72-81.

Landrine, H., & Klonoff, E. A. (1994). The African American acculturation scale: Development, reliability, and validity. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *20*(2), 104-127. doi: 10.1177/00957984940202002

Lazarus, R. S., & Cohen, J. B. (1977). Environmental stress. In *Human behavior and environment* (pp. 89-127). Springer US.

Lenz, J. G., Peterson, G. W., Reardon, R. C., & Saunders, D. (2010). Connecting career and mental health counseling: Integrating theory and practice. *VISTAS 2010*.

Mack, D. E., Tucker, T. W., Archuleta, R., DeGroot, G., Hernandez, A. A., & Cha, S. O. (1997). Interethnic relations on campus: Can't we all get along? *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, *25*(4), 256–268.

MacKinnon, D. P., Lockwood, C. M., Hoffman, J. M., West, S. G., & Sheets, V. (2002). A comparison of methods to test mediation and other intervening variable effects. *Psychological methods*, *7*(1), 83-104.

Masuda, A., Anderson, P. L., Twohig, M. P., Feinstein, A. B., Chou, Y.-Y., Wendell, J. W., & Stormo, A. R. (2009). Help-seeking experiences and attitudes among African American, Asian American, and European American college students. *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling, 31*(3), 168-180. doi: 10.1007/s10447-009-9076-2

Matthews, A., Corrigan P., Smith B., Aranda F. A qualitative exploration of African-Americans' attitudes toward mental illness and mental illness treatment seeking. *Rehabilitation Education*. 2006;20(4):253–268.

Mattis, J. S. (2005). Religion in African American life. *African American family life: Ecological and cultural diversity*, 189-210.

Mattison, E., & Aber, M. S. (2007). Closing the achievement gap: The association of racial climate with achievement and behavioral outcomes. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *40*(1-2), 1-12.

Mau, W. C., & Fernandes, A. (2001). Characteristics and Satisfaction of Students Who Used Career Counseling Services. *Journal of College Student Development*, *42*(6), 581-88.

McDonald, S. D., & Vrana, S. R. (2007). Interracial social comfort and its relationship to adjustment to college. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 130-140.

McEwen, B. S., & Stellar, E. (1993). Stress and the individual: mechanisms leading to disease. *Archives of internal medicine*, *153*(18), 2093.

Misa, K., Denson, N., Sáenz, V., & Chang, M. J. (2006). The educational benefits of sustaining cross-racial interaction among undergraduates. *The Journal of Higher Education, 77*(3), 430-455.

Morrison, G. Z. (2010). Two separate worlds: Students of color at a predominantly White university. *Journal of Black Studies, 40*(5), 987-1015.

Museus, S. D., Lambert, A. D., & Nichols, A. H. (2008). Racial differences in the effects of campus racial climate on degree completion: A structural equation model. *The Review of Higher Education*, *32*(1), 107-134.

Neblett Jr, E. W., Hammond, W. P., Seaton, E. K., & Townsend, T. G. (2010). Underlying mechanisms in the relationship between Africentric worldview and depressive symptoms. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 57*(1), 105-113.

Negga, F., Applewhite, S., & Livingston, I. (2007). African American College Students and Stress: School Racial Composition, Self-Esteem and Social Support. *College Student Journal, 41*(4), 823-830.

Neighbors, H. W., Musick, M. A., & Williams, D. R. (1998). The African American minister as a source of help for serious personal crises: Bridge or barrier to mental health care? *Health Education & Behavior, 25*(6), 759-777.

Nettles, M. T. (1988). *Toward Black undergraduate student equality in American higher education*. New York, NY: Greenwood Pub Group.

Neville, H. A., Heppner, P. P., Ji, P., & Thye, R. (2004). The relations among general and race-related stressors and psychoeducational adjustment in Black students attending predominantly White institutions. *Journal of Black Studies, 34*(4), 599-618. doi: 10.1177/0021934703259168

Neville, H. A., Heppner, P. P., & Wang, L.-f. (1997). Relations among racial identity attitudes, perceived stressors, and coping styles in African American college students. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 75*(4), 303-311.

Nguyen, A.-M. D., & Benet-Martínez, V. (2007). Biculturalism unpacked: Components, measurement, individual differences, and outcomes. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass, 1*(1), 101-114. doi: 10.1111/j.1751-9004.2007.00029.x

Nickerson, K. J., Helms, J. E., & Terrell, F. (1994). Cultural mistrust, opinions about mental illness, and Black students' attitudes toward seeking psychological help from White counselors. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 41*(3), 378-385. doi: 10.1037/0022-0167.41.3.378

McEwen, B. S., & Stellar, E. (1993). Stress and the individual: mechanisms leading to disease. *Archives of internal medicine, 153*(18), 2093.

Obasi, E. M., & Leong, F. T. (2009). Psychological distress, acculturation, and mental health-seeking attitudes among people of African descent in the United States: A preliminary investigation. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 56*(2), 227-238.

Obasi, E. M., & Leong, F. T. L. (2010). Construction and validation of the Measurement of Acculturation Strategies for People of African Descent (MASPAD). *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 16*(4), 526-539. doi: 10.1037/a0021374

Oseguera, L. (2005). Four and six-year baccalaureate degree completion by institutional characteristics and racial/ethnic groups. *Journal of College Student Retention: Research, Theory and Practice, 7*(1), 19-59.

Parham, T. A. (2002). *Counseling persons of African descent: Raising the bar of practitioner competence*: Sage Publications, Inc.

Parham, T. A., & Helms, J. E. (1981). The influence of Black students' racial identity attitudes on preferences for counselor's race. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 28*(3), 250-257.

Park, J. J. (2009). Are We Satisfied? A look at student satisfaction with diversity at traditionally White institutions. *The Review of Higher Education, 32*(3), 291-320.

Parker, M. N., & Jones, R. T. (1999). Minority status stress: Effect on the psychological and academic functioning of African-American students. *Journal of gender, culture, and health, 4*(1), 61-82.

Patton Davis, L. (2006). The voice of reason: A qualitative examination of Black student perceptions of their Black culture center. *Journal of College Student Development, 47*(6), 628-646.

Perrone, K. M., Sedlacek, W. E., & Alexander, C. M. (2001). Gender and ethnic differences in career goal attainment. *The Career Development Quarterly*, *50*(2), 168-178.

Pfeifer, C. M., & Schneider, B. (1974). University climate perceptions by black and white students. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 59*(5), 660-662.

Pieterse, A. L., Carter, R. T., Evans, S. A., & Walter, R. A. (2010). An exploratory examination of the associations among racial and ethnic discrimination, racial climate, and trauma-related symptoms in a college student population. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 57*(3), 255-263. doi: 10.1037/a0020040

Pifer, A. (1973). The Higher Education of Blacks in the United States. New York, NY: Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Pike, G. R., & Kuh, G. D. (2006). Relationships among structural diversity, informal peer interactions and perceptions of the campus environment. *The Review of Higher Education, 29*(4), 425-450. doi: 10.1353/rhe.2006.0037

Pikus, C. F., & Heavey, C. L. (1996). Client preferences for therapist gender. *Journal of College Student Psychotherapy, 10*(4), 35-43.

Pliner, J. E., & Brown, D. (1985). Projections of reactions to stress and preference for helpers among students from four ethnic groups. *Journal of College Student Personnel*, Vol 26(2), 147-151.

Ponterotto, J. G., Alexander, C. M., & Hinkston, J. A. (1988). Afro-American preferences for counselor characteristics: A replication and extension. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 35*(2), 175-182.

Ponterotto, J. G., Anderson, W. H., & Grieger, I. Z. (1986). Black students' attitudes toward counseling as a function of racial identity. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*. Vol 14(2), 50-59. doi: 10.1002/j.2161-1912.1986.tb00166.x

Prelow, H. M., Mosher, C. E., & Bowman, M. A. (2006). Perceived racial discrimination, social support, and psychological adjustment among African American college students. *Journal of Black Psychology, 32*(4), 442-454.

Prillerman, S. L., Myers, H. F., & Smedley, B. D. (1989). Stress, well-being, and academic achievement in college. In G.L. Berry, & J.K. Asamen (Eds). Black students: Psychosocial issues and academic achievement. Sage focus editions, Vol. 109., (pp. 198-217). Thousand Oaks, CA, US: Sage Publications, Inc.

Rankin, S., & Reason, R. (n.d.). Differing percpetions: How students of color and white students perceive campus climate for underrepresented groups. *Journal of College*

Student Development, *46*(1), 43–63.

Rastogi, S., Johnson, T., Hoeffel, E., & Drewey, M. U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Adminisstration. (2011). *The black population: 2010*. Retrieved from U.S. Census Bureau website: http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-06.pdf

Rashid, H. M. (1984). Promoting biculturalism in young African-American children. *Young Children*. Young Children, 39(2), 13-23.

Reid, L. D., & Radhakrishnan, P. (2003). Race matters: The relation between race and general campus climate. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *9*(3), 263-275. doi: 10.1037/1099-9809.9.3.263

Resnick, J. L. (2006). Strategies for Implementation of the Multicultural Guidelines in University and College Counseling Centers. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, *37*(1), 14-20.

Riek, B. M., Mania, E. W., & Gaertner, S. L. (2006). Intergroup threat and outgroup attitudes: a meta-analytic review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *10*(4), 336-353. doi: 10.1207/s15327957pspr1004_4

Richman, L. S., Kohn-Wood, L. P., & Williams, D. R. (2007). The role of discrimination and racial identity for mental health service utilization. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, *26*(8), 960-981.

Rogers, I. H. (2012). *The Black Campus Movement: Black Students and the Racial*

Reconstitution of Higher Education, 1965-1972. Palgrave Macmillan.

Rosenfield, S., & Mouzon, D. (2013). Gender and mental health. In *Handbook of the sociology of mental health* (pp. 277-296). Springer Netherlands.

Russell, M. L., & Atwater, M. M. (2005). Traveling the road to success: A discourse on persistence throughout the science pipeline with African American students at a predominantly white institution. *Journal of Research in Science Teaching*, *42*(6), 691–715.

Sax, L. J., & Arredondo, M. (1999). Student attitudes toward affirmative action in college admissions. *Research in Higher Education*, *40*(4), 439-459.

Sears, D. O., & Savalei, V. (2006). The political color line in America: many "peoples of color" or Black Exceptionalism? *Political Psychology*, *27*(6), 895–924.

Sedlacek, W. E., & Brooks Jr, G. C. (1976). Racism in American education: A model for change. Chicago, Il: Nelson-Hall.

Sharkin, B. S. (2004). College counseling and student retention: Research findings and implications for counseling centers. *Journal of College Counseling*, *7*(2), 99–108.

Sheu, H. B., & Sedlacek, W. E. (2004). An exploratory study of help-seeking attitudes and coping strategies among college students by race and gender. *Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development*, *37*(3), 130.

Sidanius, J., & Veniegas, R. C. (2000). Gender and race discrimination: The interactive nature of disadvantage. Reducing prejudice and discrimination, 47-69.

Snyder, T.D., and Dillow, S.A. (2010). *Digest of Education Statistics 2009* (NCES 2010-013). National Center for Education Statistics, Institute of Education Sciences, U.S. Department of Education. Washington, DC.

Smedley, B. D., Myers, H. F., & Harrell, S. P. (1993). Minority-status stresses and the college adjustment of ethnic minority freshmen. *The Journal of Higher Education, 64*(4), 434-452.

Smith, R. L., Southern, S., & Devlin, J. M. (2007). Themes in Counseling Journals: A Decade of Changes Affecting 21st Century Counselor Education. *Online Submission*.

Snowden, L. R., & Hines, A. M. (1999). A scale to assess African American acculturation. *Journal of Black Psychology, 25*(1), 36-47.

So, D. W., Gilbert, S., & Romero, S. (2005). Help-seeking attitudes among African American college students. *College Student Journal, 39*(4), 806-816.

Solorzano, D., Ceja, M., & Yosso, T. (2000). Critical race theory, racial microaggressions, and campus racial climate: The experiences of African American college students. *Journal of Negro Education*, 60-73.

Speight, S. L., & Vera, E. M. (2005). University counseling center clients' expressed preferences for counselors: A four year archival exploration. *Journal of College Student Psychotherapy, 19*(3), 55-68. doi: 10.1300/J035v19n03_06

Stabb, S., & Cogdal, P. (1990). Needs assessment and the perception of help in a

multicultural college population. In *ACPA Convention Presentation, St. Louis*

Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (1985). Intergroup anxiety. *Journal of Social Issues, 41*(3), 157-175.

Sue, D. W. (2012). *Counseling the culturally diverse: Theory and practice*. John Wiley & Sons.

Sullivan, K. T., Ramos-Sánchez, L., & McIver, S. D. (2007). Predicting the Use of Campus Counseling Services for Asian/Pacific Islander, Latino/Hispanic, and White Students: Problem Severity, Gender, and Generational Status. *Journal of College Counseling*, *10*(2), 103-116.

Swail, W. S. (2003). *Retaining Minority Students in Higher Education: A Framework for Success. ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report.* Jossey-Bass Higher and Adult Education Series. Jossey-Bass, 989 Market Street, San Francisco, CA 94103-1741.

Swim, J. K., Hyers, L. L., Cohen, L. L., Fitzgerald, D. C., & Bylsma, W. H. (2003). African American college students' experiences with everyday racism: Characteristics of and responses to these incidents. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *29*(1), 38-67.

Taylor, C. A. (1989). *Effective ways to recruit and retain minority students*. Madison, WI: Praxis Publications, Inc.

Terrell, F., & Terrell, S. L. (1981). An inventory to measure cultural mistrust among Blacks. *The Western Journal of Black Studies*. Vol 5(3), 180-184.

Thompson, R. A., & Cimbolic, P. (1978). Black students' counselor preference and attitudes toward counseling center use. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 25*(6), 570-575. doi: 10.1037/0022-0167.25.6.570

Thompson, V. L. S., Bazile, A., & Akbar, M. (2004). African Americans' perceptions of psychotherapy and psychotherapists. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 35*(1), 19-26.

Tomlinson, S. M., & Cope, N. R. (1988). Characteristics of Black students seeking help at a university counseling center. *Journal of College Student Development, 29*(1), 65-69.

Townes, D. L., Chavez-Korell, S., & Cunningham, N. J. (2009). Reexamining the relationships between racial identity, cultural mistrust, help-seeking attitudes, and preference for a Black counselor. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 56*(2), 330-336.

Tracey, T. J., & Sedlacek, W. E. (1985). The relationship of noncognitive variables to academic success: A longitudinal comparison by race. *Journal of College Student Personnel*. Vol 26(5), 405-410.

Trippi, J., & Cheatham, H. E. (1989). Effects of special counseling programs for Black freshmen on a predominantly White campus. *Journal of College Student Development, 30*(1), 35-40.

Turner, A. L., & Berry, T. R. (2000). Counseling center contributions to student retention and graduation: A longitudinal assessment. *Journal of College Student Development*, 41(6), 627-636.

Tyler, F. B., Brome, D. R., & Williams, J. E. (1991). *Ethnic validity, ecology, and psychotherapy: A psychological competence model*. New York, NY: Plenum Press.

Umbach, P. D., & Kuh, G. D. (2006). Student experiences with diversity at liberal arts colleges: Another claim for distinctiveness. *Journal of Higher Education*, 169–192.

Utsey, S. O., Giesbrecht, N., Hook, J., & Stanard, P. M. (2008). Cultural, sociofamilial, and psychological resources that inhibit psychological distress in African Americans exposed to stressful life events and race-related stress. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 55*(1), 49-62. doi: 10.1037/0022-0167.55.1.49

Utsey, S. O., & Ponterotto, J. G. (1996). Development and validation of the Index of Race-Related Stress (IRRS). *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 43*(4), 490-501.

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (2001). Executive Summary to Mental Health: Culture, race, and ethnicity . a supplement to Mental Health: A report of the Surgeon General. Rockville, MD: Author. Retrieved June 26, 2010 from http://mentalhealth.samhsa.gov/cre/toc.asp

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (n.d.). Fact sheets: African Americans. Retrieved June 26, 2010, from http://mentalhealth.samhsa.gov/cre/fact1.asp.

Vogel, D. L., Wester, S. R., & Larson, L. M. (2007). Avoidance of counseling:

Psychological factors that inhibit seeking help. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, *85*(4), 410–422.

Wallace, B. C., & Constantine, M. G. (2005). Africentric Cultural Values, Psychological Help-Seeking Attitudes, and Self-Concealment in African American College Students. *Journal of Black Psychology, 31*(4), 369-385.

Watkins, C. E., & Terrell, F. (1988). Mistrust level and its effects on counseling expectations in Black client-White counselor relationships: An analogue study. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 35*(2), 194-197.

Watkins, C. E., Terrell, F., Miller, F. S., & Terrell, S. L. (1989). Cultural mistrust and its effects on expectational variables in Black client-White counselor relationships. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 36*(4), 447.-450.

Webster, S. W. (1974). The Education of Black Americans. New York, NY: Intext Educational Publisher.

Webster, D. W., Sedlacek. W. E., & Miyares, J. (1979). A comparison of problems perceived by minority and White students. *Journal of College Student Personnel*, 20,165-170

Wei, M., Ku, T.-Y., & Liao, K. Y.-H. (2011). Minority stress and college persistence attitudes among African American, Asian American, and Latino students: Perception of university environment as a mediator. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 17*(2), 195-203. doi: 10.1037/a0023359

Whaley, A. L. (2001). Cultural mistrust and mental health services for African Americans: A review and meta-analysis. *The Counseling Psychologist, 29*(4), 513-531.

Worrell, F. C., Vandiver, B. J., Schaefer, B. A., Cross, W. E., Jr., & Fhagen-Smith, P. E. (2006). Generalizing nigrescence profiles: cluster analyses of Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS) scores in three independent samples. *The Counseling Psychologist, 34*(4), 519-547. doi: 10.1177/001100000527828

Wright, D. J. (1987). Minority students: Developmental beginnings. *New Directions for Student Services, 1987*(38), 5-21.

Yazedjian, A., & Toews, M. L. (2006). Predictors of college adjustment among Hispanic students. *Journal of The First-Year Experience & Students in Transition, 18*(2), 9–29.

Zitzow, D. (1984). The College Adjustment Rating Scale. *Journal of College Student Personnel, 25*(2), 160-164.

Zunker, V. G. (2011). *Career counseling: A holistic approach*. Brooks/Cole.