

Asian Foreign Students' Evaluations of Individualistic and Collectivistic Counseling Styles

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This study attempted to identify effective counseling styles for Asian female students studying in the United States. Operating under the assumption that a collectivistic ethic would be predominant among Asian foreign students, this study predicted that a) Asian female participants would assign more positive evaluations to a counseling style that focused primarily on a collectivism ethic as compared to an individualism ethic and that b) ratings by Asian female participants would be less positive when the counseling dyad involved an Asian client than when the dyad involved a Caucasian client.

Fifty-six Asian-born female students enrolled at Indiana University participated in this study. Each participant watched a randomly assigned videotape in which a Caucasian counselor used either an individualistic counseling style or a collectivistic counseling style, while interacting with either an Asian client or a Caucasian client. After observing their assigned videotapes, participant rated the counselor's effectiveness and their expectations regarding counseling outcomes.

The failure to meet the assumption that the cultural value orientations of the Asian participants would be predominantly collectivistic suggested warrant for a three-way analysis with the participant cultural values introduced as a third independent variable. Results of the two-way ANOVA, using only participants ($n=32$) who espoused relatively collectivistic values, indicated that Predicted Counselor Helpfulness and Estimated Counselor Effectiveness ratings were significantly higher for participants who observed a collectivistic counseling style as compared to participants who observed an individualistic counseling style. With this subsample, the study's first hypothesis was supported. The results of three-way (CS X CE X PCV) ANOVA revealed a significant main effect for client ethnicity on Predicted Counselor Helpfulness, and a significant main effect for participant cultural values on Estimated Counselor Effectiveness. A significant three-way interaction effect on Counseling Outcome Expectancies and Predicted Counselor Helpfulness was also found.

A major implication to be drawn from the three-way interaction is that Asian international students with relatively individualistic cultural values are likely to prefer an individualistic counseling style while Asian students with relatively collectivistic values will tend to prefer a collectivistic counseling style. In addition, results of the study suggest that participant cultural values do have a significant impact upon female Asian students' evaluations of counseling effectiveness and estimations of counseling outcomes.

International students who come from non-Western cultures such as Asia are likely to experience more problems than domestic students (Alexander, Workneh, Klein, & Miller, 1981). Because international students are reluctant to seek out counseling services, however, their needs are often underestimated by counseling professionals. Several attempts have been made to explain underuse of counseling services by international students. A major explanation discussed is that traditional counseling treatments do not meet international students' expectations of counseling and generally fail to take into consideration the cultural value orientation that international students bring to the counseling context. Sue (1981) have been asserted that Western cultural values are often highly reflected in the traditional counseling styles. Thomas and Althen (1989) have suggested that, in order for counseling to be effective with international students, the counselor must adopt modified counseling styles to accommodate cultural value orientations of their clients. Sue (1981) and Tseng and McDermott (1975) have also argued that counseling styles have to be compatible with cultural values of clients for effective counseling with culturally different clients. Attempts have been made to identify counseling styles that are more appropriate for international students. Consistent findings have been observed with respect to preferences of international students regarding counseling style. Most of these students prefer a directive counseling style to non-directive counseling approaches (Exum &

Lau, 1988).

Although cross-cultural researchers have contributed to an understanding of international students' preferred counseling styles, their efforts have focused primarily on surface differences (e.g., directive versus non-directive). Only a few researchers have examined more fundamental cultural differences that are reflected in counseling styles. In his examination of culturally related preferences of international students in counseling, Thomas (1985) studied the effects of two counseling styles reflecting different cultural values (i.e., individualistic perspective and ecological perspective) on perceptions of the counselor by international students from five non-Western countries (cited in Thomas and Althen, 1989). Thomas found that the participants rated the counselor who used an ecological counseling style, which focused on the needs and wants of family and community, as more skillful and helpful than the counselor who used individualistic counseling style, which focused on individual needs and wants. These findings suggest that clients from non-Western cultures may not perceive the counselor as helpful when the counselor focuses on the clients' own needs and wants apart from their relationships with others and the needs and wants of the client's family.

Based on the proposition that a counseling style reflecting Asian cultural values would be perceived to be more helpful and effective by Asian international students, this study employs the construct of individualism and collectivism (identified by Hofstede, 1984) as

a way of conceptualizing Western perspective and Asian perspective. Hofstede proposed individualism/collectivism as one of four basic cultural dimensions: individualism/collectivism, uncertainty avoidance, power-distance, and masculinity/femininity. Of the four dimensions, the individualism/collectivism appears most useful as a construct for conceptualizing the cultural difference between individual-centered Western cultural values and in-group-centered Eastern cultural values. Among the countries that he studied, most Western countries were heavily loaded on the individualistic pole, whereas most Eastern countries, along with a few South American countries, were loaded on the collectivistic pole.

Triandis (1986) conceptualized collectivism as an emphasis on the views, beliefs, needs, and goals of the in-group members rather than of oneself. Hui and Triandis (1986) defined collectivism as "the subordination of individual goals to the goals of a collective, and a sense of harmony, interdependence, and concern for others" (pp. 244-245). At the opposite pole, individualism was "the subordination of the goals of the collectivities to individual goals, and a sense of independence and lack of concern for others" (p. 245).

Both individualistic and collectivistic ethics are observed in existing psychotherapies. Mainstream American psychotherapy has been strongly aligned to the ethic of individualism. Waterman (1981) viewed self-actualization (Maslow), sense of identity (Erikson), autonomy (Erikson), internal locus of control (Rotter), and "principled

moral reasoning" (Kohlberg) as relevant psychological concepts of ethical individualism. These psychological values representing mainstream American psychology are all associated with individualism in that their immediate emphasis is on self-interest and inner-directedness.

Distinct from the position of mainstream American psychology, Wallach and Wallach (1983) proposed Adler, Frankl, and Japanese Morita as an alternative trend in psychology. According to Wallach and Wallach (1983), Adler's social interest, Frankl's logotherapy, and Morita psychotherapy are similar in that each therapy directs clients to detach themselves from inner-states, feelings, symptoms, and other self-oriented experiences and encourages clients to engage in activities contributory to others. These assumptions correspond to the fundamental philosophy of collectivism: Collectivism encourages people to show concern for others over and above pursuing self-interest.

Based on the literature review, the two counseling styles that reflect an individualism and a collectivism ethic are operationally defined as follows: Individualistic Counseling Style is a counseling interviewing style that encourages clients to promote the best interest of the self, to examine their inner selves (i.e., own feelings, needs, goals, or values), and to pursue values typical of individualistic cultures such as independence, self-responsibility, self-identity, and internal locus of control. Collectivistic Counseling Style is a counseling interviewing style that

encourages clients to promote the best interest of the in-group members (e.g., family, peers), to examine factors that exists outside of themselves (i.e., role, others' feelings, or other environmental factors), and to pursue values typical of collectivistic cultures such as interdependence, group-identity, concerns about the effects of decisions on the in-group, group harmony, and family integrity.

Given these two pure styles of counseling, reflecting individualistic and collectivistic values, this study examines the general research questions. "Do counseling style (individualistic or collectivistic) and ethnicity of client (Asian or Caucasian) mediate Asian students' evaluations of counseling effectiveness and prognostic outcome expectancies?" The literature reviewed lead to the general expectation that both male and female Asian students would more positively evaluate counseling sessions in which the counseling style was discernably collectivistic as compared to individualistic. This study's prediction that Asian students will more favorably perceive a collectivistic counseling style, as compared to an individualistic counseling style, assumes further that a collectivistic ethic will be predominant among this study's Asian participants. This research was also designed to determine whether or not Asian observers' evaluations of counseling are less favorable when the counseling dyad involves an Asian client as compared to a Caucasian client.

Although there was interest in addressing these questions using both male and female Asian students, due to materials

development costs and restricted access to male actors and male study participants, only female Asian students participated in this evaluation. Accordingly, whatever results derive from this study, generalization of findings must be limited to female Asian international students.

Method

Manipulation of the Independent Variables

Manipulation of the independent variables was achieved through the random assignment of stimulus materials in the evaluation context. The design required four videotapes in which ethnicity of the client and style of counseling were manipulated while holding constant, as much as possible, all other variables. Four videotaped counselor-client interviews are outlined as follows: (a) Individualistic Counseling Style/Asian Client tape, (b) Individualistic Counseling Style/Caucasian Client tape, (c) Collectivistic Counseling Style/Asian Client tape, (d) Collectivistic Counseling Style/Caucasian Client tape.

The person who role played the counselor, a female Caucasian doctoral student in counseling psychology, was the same for all four taped counseling sessions. The same female Asian student was cast in the role of client in two tapes (Individualistic Counseling Style/Asian Client; Collectivistic Counseling Style/Asian Client). Similarly, the same female Caucasian student was cast in the role of client in the other two taped

counseling sessions (Individualistic Counseling Style/Caucasian Client; Collectivistic Counseling Style/Caucasian Client). Both Asian and Caucasian client actors were Master's students in counseling.

No script was given to either the counselor or the client actors to make the tapes appear as real as possible. Only descriptions of the Asian client's and the Caucasian client's problems were given to both counselor and client actors. In each of the four taped sessions the counselor interacted with the client in consideration of the same problem area: conflict with parents regarding a dating issue. The problems presented by both the Asian client and the Caucasian client were almost identical except for the fact that the Asian client "had to stay here in the United States if she marries her boyfriend," whereas the Caucasian client "had to move to another country if she marries her boyfriend."

The actor playing the counselor role interacted with both Asian and Caucasian client actors, depicting both the individualistic counseling style and the collectivistic counseling style. Across the four video tapes the counselor's appearance was held constant. Under each counseling style condition, the counselor was coached to intervene identically when interacting with the Asian client and the Caucasian client, using the same tone of voice and facial expression. Similarly, within the same counseling style, both Asian and Caucasian client actors were coached to respond identically to the counselor's utterances.

Under the individualistic counseling style

condition, the counselor was coached to encourage the client to examine aspects of her inner self, such as her own needs, goals, and feelings. On the other hand, under the collectivistic counseling style condition, the counselor was coached to encourage her client to examine factors outside of the self, such as her parents' needs and feelings, environmental factors, and external reality.

Each interviewing tape lasted about 15 minutes and contained four sequential segments: introduction, definition of the problem, explanation of the problem, and goal setting. Across the four tapes, the counselor was coached to exactly follow the four sequential stages. The counselor was coached to clearly reflect in every stage (except introduction) the distinct counseling style being portrayed.

Once the videotaping was completed, two advanced doctoral students in counseling psychology, one an Asian student and the other a Caucasian student, carefully studied the descriptions of the two counseling styles and then blindly rated 24 randomly presented two-minute segments with regard to observable characteristics of individualistic and collectivistic counseling styles. A 6-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (very much individualistic) to 6 (very much collectivistic) was employed for each rating. For purposes of calculating indices of interrater agreement, ratings between one and three were treated as individualistic while ratings between 4 and 6 were treated as collectivistic. Initially, the overall interrater agreement was 92 percent; after discussion, the raters reached 100 percent agreement.

Participants

Fifty-six female Asian students enrolled at Indiana University participated in this study: Hong Kong (4), Indonesia (4), Japan (2), Korea (10), Malaysia (11), People's Republic of China (4), Singapore(8), Taiwan (9), and Thailand (4). Each participant received \$5.00 for their time and effort. Exactly half of the study participants were graduate students, with the other half being undergraduates. The mean age for the total sample was 24 years.

Design

Using presentations of videotaped counseling interviews, this study investigated the effects that counseling style (individualistic vs. collectivistic) and client ethnicity (Asian vs. Caucasian) have on Asian participants' ratings of Counseling Outcome Expectancies, Predicted Counselor Helpfulness, and Estimated Counseling Effectiveness.

The study employed a completely crossed factorial design with two levels of counseling style (individualistic and collectivistic) and two levels of client ethnicity (Asian and Caucasian). The research design is presented in Figure 1 below:

Instruments

Individualism-Collectivism (INDCOL). To measure participants' level of collectivism, the Parent subscale of the INDCOL was employed. The INDCOL scale was developed by Hui (1988) to measure collectivism. The scale contains a total of 63 items. The INDCOL scale includes six subscales (i.e., Spouse, Parent, Kin, Neighbor, Friend, Co-worker) with each subscale scored independently. Because the problem presented by the videotaped clients involved conflicts with parents, only the Parent subscale of the INDCOL was employed. The Parent subscale contains sixteen items. Each item is presented on a 6-point scale ranging from 0 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The author reports a test-retest reliability coefficient of .78 for the Parent subscale and Cronbach reliability coefficient of .76.

Counseling Outcome Expectancies (COE). To measure the general expectancies regarding counseling outcomes after watching the videotaped counseling interview, the Client Expectancy Questionnaire (Friedlander, 1982) was employed. The Scale contains 14 items presented in a 6-point

	Individualistic Counseling Style	Collectivistic Counseling Style
Asian Client	n=14	n=14
Caucasian Client	n=14	n=14

Figure 1. Counseling Style by Client Ethnicity Design.

Likert format (1=very unlikely, 6=very likely). The author reports a Cronbach alpha coefficient of .88 for the Client Expectancy Questionnaire.

Predicted Counselor Helpfulness (PCH). PCH was measured by four items adapted from scales used in previous studies. The first two items were originally created and subsequently used to measure expectancies for counseling continuation (Cash & Kerh, 1978; Cash, Kehr, & Salzbach, 1978; and Cash & Salzbach, 1978). The first item assessed the person's degree of optimism about the helpfulness of continuation in counseling (very pessimistic=1, very optimistic=6); the second item questioned the person's opinion regarding the likelihood that the client would return for a second interview (definite chance not to return=1; definite chance to return=6). Chambers (1979) reported a .80 alpha reliability coefficient for this two-item scale.

The last two items were previously used by Foon (1986) to measure clients' expectations of counseling efficacy. One item assessed observer estimates of client comfort with the counselor (very uncomfortable=1, very comfortable=6); the second item measured observer estimates of counselor helpfulness (very unhelpful=1, very helpful=6). The internal consistency of the two-item scale reported by Foon was .87. In the present study the two scales (four items) were combined into a composite score referred to as Predicted Counselor Helpfulness.

Estimated Counseling Effectiveness

(ECE). A subscale from the Counseling Outcome Expectancy Scale (Cash, Begley, McCown, and Weise, 1975) was employed to measure ECE. The scale was originally created to determine participants' degree of confidence regarding a counselor's effectiveness across 15-types of personal problems: general anxiety, alcohol problem, shyness, sexual functioning, depression, conflicts with parents, speech anxiety in class, dating difficulties, career choice, insomnia, drug addiction, inferiority feelings, test anxiety, difficulties making friends, and trouble studying. The items use a 6-point Likert format ranging from 1 (very doubtful) to 6 (very confident). This scale has been employed in several studies (Cash & Kehr, 1978; Cash, Kehr, & Salzbach, 1979). To make the scale more relevant for Asian participants, two types of personal problems (i.e., alcohol problem, drug addiction) were excluded and three additional problem areas (i.e., homesickness, conflicts about cultural values, and financial difficulties) were added. Procedures

After participants were divided into four treatment groups, one of the four stimulus videotapes was randomly assigned for presentation to each group. A small room with eight chairs was used for viewing the videotapes. Participants assigned to both Individualistic Counseling Style/Asian Client and Collectivistic Counseling Style/Asian Client treatment conditions were asked to read the description of the Asian client's problem. Participants assigned to both Individualistic Counseling Style/Caucasian Client and Collectivistic Counseling

Style/Caucasian Client treatment conditions were asked to read descriptions of the Caucasian client problem. After reading the assigned descriptions, the study participants watched their assigned 15 minute tape. As soon as they reviewed the videotape, participants completed the COE, PCH, ECE, demographic information, and the INDCOL in order.

Data Analysis

In the original 2 X 2 factorial design the data analysis plan called for multivariate tests of the research hypotheses with separate univariate analyses, where warranted, for each of the three dependent variables (COE, PCH, ECE). Because the procedural check on participant cultural values revealed greater than expected heterogeneity, hypotheses were tested using a three-way design (two levels of counseling style, two levels of client ethnicity, and two levels of participant cultural values). Initially, both MANOVA and ANOVA analyses were performed. However, because the MANOVA results did not necessarily offer any additional insight into "real" information that could be disclosed by the ANOVA results, only the ANOVA results were used for hypotheses testing. The .05 alpha was established as a criterion of significance for the test of each hypothesis.

Results

Implicit in this study's general research hypothesis is the assumption that the

cultural value orientation of Asian foreign female students will be characterized by a strong appreciation for and allegiance to the collectivism ethic. As a check upon this assumption, an analysis of the INDCOL scores was performed. This analysis revealed that INDCOL scores ranged from 1.81 (highly individualistic) to 4.58 (highly collectivistic). This clearly indicates that the participant group was unexpectedly heterogenous in terms of the level of their cultural values.

The procedural check on participant cultural values suggested two data analysis strategies. The first option was to purge from the study sample those individuals whose adherence to the Asian ethic of collectivism did not permit their being differentiated from their Western counterparts who as a group traditionally report stronger inclinations toward the ethic of individualism. The second option was to keep the study sample intact and to systematically study the effects of these within group differences. Both options were exercised and are separately described in the section that follows.

Results of the Two-Way Analysis of Variance Using the Predominately Collectivistic Sub-Sample

Only participants who held relatively collectivistic cultural values were included in these analyses. Participants who held relatively individualistic cultural values (i.e., participants who scored lower than the group mean on the INDCOL) were excluded from this analysis. The 32 participants with INDCOL scores above the pooled sample

Table 1
Summary Two-Way ANOVA on Collectivistic Sub-Sample

Source	M	SD	F
Counseling outcome expectancies (COE)			
Counseling style (CS)			1.92
Individualistic	58.10	12.91	
Collectivistic	64.30	11.60	
Client ethnicity (CE)			0.00
Asian	60.00	13.94	
Caucasian	61.25	11.49	
CS X CE			1.81
Predicted counselor helpfulness (PCH)			
Counseling style (CS)			4.39*
Individualistic	16.10	4.92	
Collectivistic	19.23	2.31	
Client ethnicity (CE)			0.04
Asian	16.93	5.09	
Caucasian	17.81	3.46	
CS X CE			1.05
Estimated counselor effectiveness (ECE)			
Counseling style (CS)			6.02**
Individualistic	62.10	4.92	
Collectivistic	72.76	12.39	
Client ethnicity (CE)			0.51
Asian	63.93	13.20	
Caucasian	68.93	12.35	
CS X CE			0.47

Note. n=32. * $P < .05$ ** $P < .01$

mean of 3.25 were distributed across the cells of the experimental design as follows: Individualistic Counseling Style/Asian Client (n=11); Individualistic Counseling Style/Caucasian Client (n=8); Collectivistic Counseling Style/Asian Client (n=5); and Collectivistic Counseling Style/Caucasian Client (n=8).

The results of the two-way ANOVA with

relatively collectivistic participants are reported on Table 1. Inspection of Table 1 reveals that significant counseling style main effect for Predicted Counselor Helpfulness, $F(1,28) = 4.39$, $p < .05$ and for Estimated Counselor Effectiveness, $F(1,28) = 6.02$, $p < .01$. Specifically, the counselor style main effects indicated that participants who observed a collectivistic counseling style more

	Individualistic Counseling Style		Collectivistic Counseling Style	
	Asian Client	Caucasian Client	Asian Client	Caucasian Client
Individualistic Participant	n=7	n=7	n=9	n=7
Collectivistic Participant	n=7	n=7	n=5	n=7

Figure 2. Counseling Style X Client Ethnicity X Participant Cultural Values Design.

Table 2
Means and Standard Deviations for Counseling Style, Client Ethnicity and Participant Cultural Values

Variable	Individualistic counseling style				Collectivistic counseling style			
	Asian client		Caucasian client		Asian client		Caucasian client	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Counseling outcome expectancies								
Individualistic participants	56.85	12.95	54.85	6.98	45.11	14.29	56.85	12.37
Collectivistic participants	54.57	15.34	63.71	8.78	68.80	9.28	61.28	13.56
Predicted counselor helpfulness								
Individualistic participants	15.28	6.15	15.42	3.64	12.88	4.72	19.42	2.07
Collectivistic participants	14.28	5.46	17.42	4.89	20.20	3.19	18.71	1.60
Estimated counseling effectiveness								
Individualistic participants	60.28	9.94	58.42	9.64	52.77	13.39	61.42	10.95
Collectivistic participants	61.85	12.58	64.85	11.37	68.60	17.05	76.42	8.90

Note. Range of scores for judged counselor effectiveness = 7 - 70; counseling outcome expectancies = 14 - 84; predicted counselor helpfulness = 4 - 24; estimated counseling effectiveness = 16 - 96.

positively evaluated Predicted Counselor Helpfulness and Estimated Counseling Effectiveness than did participants who observed an individualistic counseling style.

The findings from these preliminary analyses supported the expectation that evaluations of counseling style would be influenced by the cultural values that Asian foreign students brought to the evaluation context. To more carefully investigate this possibility, a series of analyses was performed in which participant cultural values (i.e., individualism vs. collectivism, as measured by the INDCOL) was included as a third factor. In this analysis a mean score of 3.25 on the INDCOL served as a cut-off score for establishing the two levels of participant cultural values. The design used for this three-way analysis of variance is presented in Figure 2.

Results of the Three-Way Analyses of Variance

Means and standard deviations for the three-way analysis are reported in Table 2. A cursory inspection of Table 2 indicates that on all three dependent variables, when the counseling dyad involved an Asian client, participants with relatively collectivistic values consistently assigned higher scores to a collectivistic counseling style than to an individualistic counseling style. However, this pattern was just reversed for participants with relatively individualistic values, i.e., they consistently assigned higher scores to an individualistic counseling style than to a collectivistic counseling style on all dependent variables.

Table 2 also reveals that when the counseling dyad involved a Caucasian client, both participant groups who held relatively individualistic values and relatively collectivistic values consistently rated collectivistic counseling more highly than individualistic counseling on all dependent variables except Counseling Outcome Expectancies.

Counseling Outcome Expectancies. The Three-Way ANOVA results for Counseling Outcome Expectancies reveal that there was a significant main effect for participant cultural values ($F=6.48, p<.01$) and a three-way interaction effect ($F=5.29, p<.05$). The interpretation of the main effect for participant cultural values in the presence of the three-way interaction effect is complicated. Testing for simple effects by comparing the two levels of participant cultural values (individualistic vs. collectivistic) at each separate level of the other two factors revealed that a significant difference was obtained for comparisons between 54.85 and 63.71 and between 45.11 and 68.80 at the .05 level (see Table 2). Based on the post hoc testing for the simple effects, participants with relatively collectivistic values predicted a more favorable counseling outcome than did participants with relatively individualistic values only under two treatment conditions: (a) Collectivistic Counseling Style with an Asian Client and (b) Individualistic Counseling Style with a Caucasian Client. No significant difference across participant cultural values was noted for Counseling

Outcome Expectancies under the other two conditions.

The dissimilar patterns between the simple interaction under the Asian client condition and the simple interaction under the Caucasian client condition, shown in Figure 3, clearly indicates the significance of the three-way interaction. The three-way interaction effect shown in Figure 3 indicates that when the counseling dyad involved an Asian client, participants with relatively individualistic values reported more favorable expectancies for counseling outcomes under the individualistic counseling style, while participants with relatively collectivistic values reported more favorable expectancies for counseling outcomes under the

collectivistic counseling style. However, when the counseling dyad involved a Caucasian client, the reverse was true: Participants with relatively individualistic values demonstrated more positive expectancies for counseling outcomes under the collectivistic counseling style, while participants with relatively collectivistic values demonstrated more positive expectancies for counseling outcomes under the individualistic counseling style.

Figure 3 also reveals that the contrast between counseling style and participant cultural values was much more pronounced when the counseling dyad involved an Asian client than when the counseling dyad involved a Caucasian client. As demonstrated

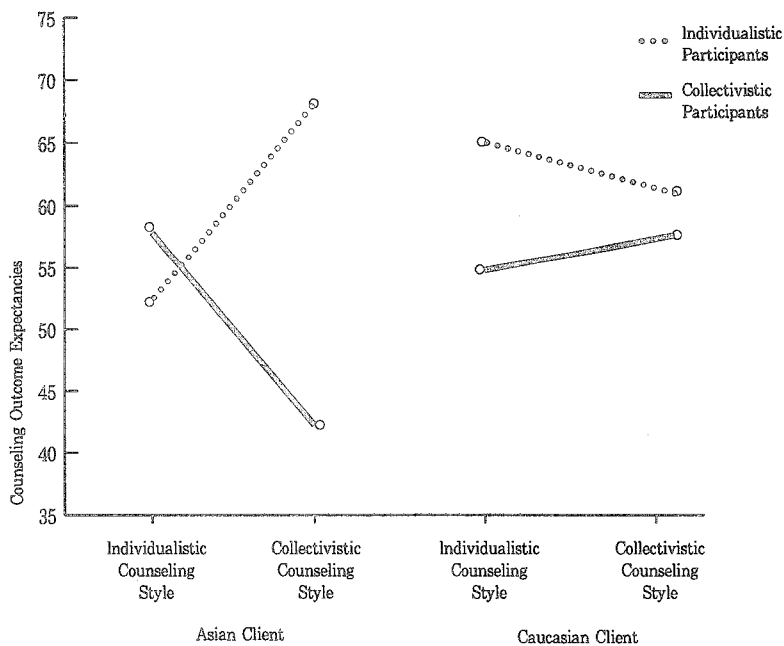


Figure 3. Counseling Style by Client Ethnicity by Participant Cultural Values Interaction for Counseling Outcome Expectancies

in Figure 3, post hoc testing for simple-effects contrast for the three-way interaction revealed that the contrast between counseling style and participant cultural values was statistically significant at the .05 level only when the counseling dyad involved an Asian client. The contrast was not statistically significant when the counseling dyad involved a Caucasian client.

Predicted Counselor Helpfulness. The three-way ANOVA summary results for Predicted Counselor Helpfulness reveal that there was a significant main effect for client ethnicity ($F=5.13$, $p<.05$) and a significant three-way interaction effect ($F=5.60$, $p<.05$). The main effect for client ethnicity indicates that the participants rated counselor helpfulness more favorably when the counseling dyad involved a Caucasian client ($M=17.75$) than when the counseling dyad involved an Asian client ($M=15.14$). A counseling style main effect was not observed for any of the three dependent variables.

Testing for simple effects by separately comparing the two levels of client ethnicity (Asian and Caucasian) at each level of the other two factors revealed a significant difference only for a comparison between 12.88 and 19.42 at the .05 level (see Table 2). Based on the results of the simple effects, the difference between the Asian client condition and the Caucasian client condition was statistically significant only when a collectivistic counseling style was presented to participants with relatively individualistic values.

In other words, when individualistic

participants observed a collectivistic counseling style, the participants perceived the counselor who interacted with a Caucasian client ($M=19.42$) as more likely to be helpful than the counselor who interacted with an Asian client ($M=12.88$). The difference across client ethnicity was not statistically significant when individualistic participants observed an individualistic counseling style, or when collectivistic participants observed either an individualistic counseling style or a collectivistic counseling style.

The counseling style by client ethnicity by participant cultural values interaction is represented graphically in Figure 4. Figure 4 indicates that when the counseling dyad involved an Asian client, participants with relatively individualistic values predicted that the counselor who employed an individualistic counseling style would be more helpful whereas participants with relatively collectivistic cultural values predicted the counselor who employed a collectivistic counseling style would be more helpful. However, when the counseling dyad involved a Caucasian client, the pattern was quite different: Both individualistic and collectivistic participant groups rated the counselor who employed a collectivistic counseling style more likely to be helpful than the counselor who employed an individualistic counseling style.

Figure 4 also reveals that the contrast between counseling style and participant cultural values was much more pronounced when the counseling dyad involved an Asian client than when the counseling dyad

involved a Caucasian client. Post hoc testing for simple-effects contrast for the three-way interaction revealed that the contrast between counseling style and participant cultural values was statistically significant at .05 level only when the counseling dyad involved an Asian client. The contrast was not statistically significant when the counseling dyad involved a Caucasian client.

Estimated Counseling Effectiveness. Results of the three-way analysis of variance on the Estimated Counseling Effectiveness dependent measure reveal that there was a significant main effect for participant cultural values ($F=9.70$ $p<.05$). This finding indicates that regardless of counseling style

and client ethnicity, the mean of 67.88 for participants with relatively collectivistic values was significantly higher than the mean of 57.86 for those with relatively individualistic values.

Discussion

While care was taken in the design of this research, the conditions of the study were not totally under the control of the investigator. One limitation of this investigation lies in the analogue nature of the research design. Respondents in this study were asked to evaluate an analogue videotaped counseling session in which a

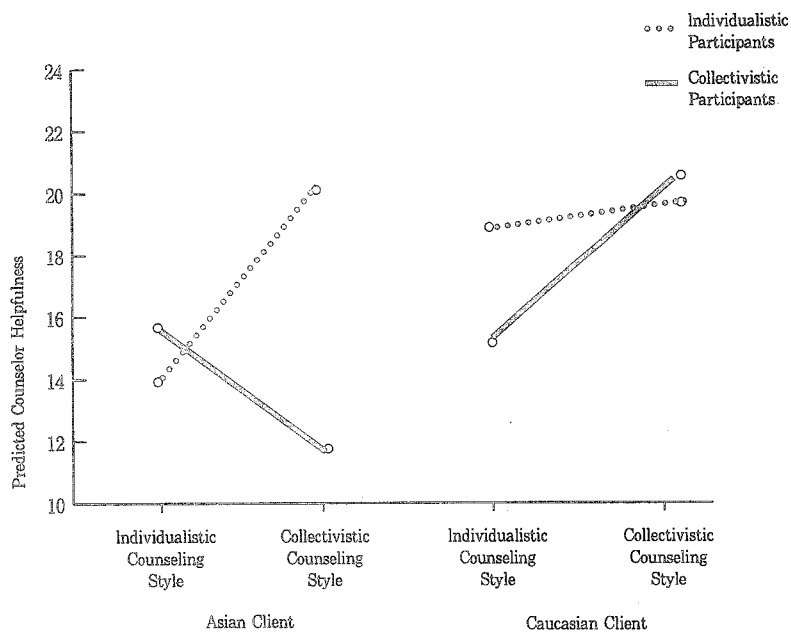


Figure 4. Counseling Style by Client Ethnicity by Participant Cultural Values Interaction for Predicted Counselor Helpfulness

counselor was interacting with a client. Some of the respondents might have responded differently in an actual counseling situation. A second major limitation is related to the experimental design. The study included counseling dyads that involved both Asian and Caucasian clients. A possible limitation inherent in this design is that role-taking demands may not have been as demanding for participants who observed the counseling dyad involving the Asian client as compared to the demands for participants and for those who observed the counseling dyad involving the Caucasian client. Lastly, because the study was originally designed as a two-way completely crossed factorial design with balanced cell size, the decision to include a third factor, participant cultural values, for data analyses reduced each cell size. The smaller cell size for the three-way unbalanced analyses of variance may have reduced the statistical power and produced a Type Two error. Considering the limitations, generalization of the results obtained from this experimental study are limited and should be made with caution.

Counseling Style

Hypothesis 1 predicted that participants will perceive a collectivistic counseling style more favorably than an individualistic counseling style on the three variables. This prediction was based on an assumption that Asian foreign students would have relatively collectivistic cultural values. However, the wide range of the INDCOL scores (from a highly individualistic score of 1.81 to a highly collectivistic score of 4.56) indicates

that the participant group was unexpectedly heterogeneous in terms of the level and direction of their cultural values. When only Asian foreign students who held relatively collectivistic cultural values were selected and included in a series of two-way analyses of variance, the findings were encouraging. As predicted, Asian foreign students who observed a collectivistic counseling style predicted the counselor would be more helpful and estimated the counselor to be more effective with various types of personal problems, as compared with evaluations from participants who observed an individualistic counseling style. Hence, with a more homogeneous sample, limited support for Hypothesis 1 was found. However, Hypothesis 1 was not supported when the third factor (participant cultural values) was included in the analysis.

This finding raises the question: Why was the counseling-style main effect not observed in the three-way analysis of variance while it was observed in the analyses of variance conducted only on participants with relatively collectivistic values?

Statistically, this finding may be explained from an inspection of cell means across the three factors and the three-way interaction effects. The cell means across the three factors suggested a possible interaction of observed counseling style by participant cultural values on all dependent variables: Participants with relatively individualistic values consistently assigned higher scores to an individualistic counseling style, while participants with relatively collectivistic values consistently assigned higher scores to

a collectivistic counseling style. However, when client ethnicity factor was added, the possible two-way interaction effect was not observed. Instead of a two-way interaction effect, a significant three-way interaction effect was observed for Counseling Outcome Expectancies and Predicted Counselor Helpfulness. Especially when the counseling dyad involved an Asian client, there was a distinct contrast in ratings of counseling style as a function of participant cultural values: participants with relatively individualistic values rated an individualistic counseling style more positively, while participants with relatively collectivistic values rated a collectivistic counseling style more positively. A different pattern of two-way interaction was observed when the counseling dyad involved a Caucasian client, although the contrasting differences were not as large. The observed counseling style by participant cultural values interactions under each condition of the counseling dyad (Asian client and Caucasian client) explain why the counseling-style main effect was not observed in the three-way analysis.

This limited support for Hypothesis 1 suggests that when working with Asian clients, selection of a focus of counseling (i. e., individualistic counseling style or collectivistic counseling style) may need to be based on a particular client's acculturation level. An implication of this finding is that Asian foreign students with relatively individualistic values may prefer that their first counseling interview focus more on individualistic issues (i. e., client feelings, client needs, self-identity), whereas those

with relatively collectivistic values may prefer that their first counseling interview focus more on collectivistic issues (i. e., concerns for family members, harmony with family members).

This implication may not be limited to counseling with Asian foreign female students. White clients whose life decisions are guided by collectivistic values may prefer a counseling approach that emphasizes collectivistic issues as opposed to individualistic issues. A recent study by Kelly and Shilo (1991) examined the hypothesis that study participants (80% of the study participants were White students) would not necessarily prefer a counseling style that focuses issues related social commitment. The findings of the study supported their prediction. The authors concluded that incorporation of a social commitment orientation in counseling will not be negatively perceived by clients.

A second implication of the finding is that, when the counseling dyad involves an Asian client, a counseling style reflecting the participant's cultural values positively affects the participants' predictions of counselor helpfulness and expectations for counseling outcome, is that Asian foreign students perceive counselor-client values similarity as a determining factor for positively evaluating counseling effectiveness. The importance of values similarity is consistent with research findings reported by Lewis and Wash (1980) and Foon (1986). Using an analogue study, Lewis and Wash, hypothesized that observers would rate counselors who show values similar to their own on the specific issue of

premarital sex differently from counselors who show dissimilar values about the same problem. The authors found support for this hypothesis. The results indicated that the observers showed greater willingness to see the counselor when they held similar values to the counselor than when they held values that were different from the counselor's. They also found that only in the case that counselor values were explicitly stated did the counselor-client values similarity foster the observers' perception of counselor credibility (attractiveness and trustworthiness) and helpfulness for a sexual problem.

Foon's (1986) research findings with an Australian sample also showed that counselor-client values similarity with respect to locus of control is an important determinant of client expectations for therapeutic outcomes. The investigator developed role plays manipulating counselor locus of control (either external or internal) and social class (either middle or lower class). The role plays featured "internal counselors" who focused on the client's responsibility for his or her own problems, while "external counselors" emphasized the external nature of presenting problems. The results indicated that clients with an internal locus of control anticipated greater success with internal therapists, while clients with an external locus of control expected greater success with external therapists.

Client Ethnicity

Switching attention to the client ethnicity factor, Hypothesis 2 predicted that ratings by Asian participants will be less positive when

the observed counseling dyad involved an Asian client than when the counseling dyad involved with a Caucasian client on the dependent variables. The difference of client ethnicity was observed only for Predicted Counselor Helpfulness.

Moreover, the three-way interactions for Counseling Outcome Expectancies and Predicted Counselor Helpfulness indicated that the counseling-style by participant-cultural-values interaction patterns were consistent across the two dependent variables only when the counseling dyad involved an Asian client. When the counseling dyad involved a Caucasian client, the two-way interaction patterns were no longer consistent across the dependent variables.

The lack of support for client ethnicity effect and a somewhat inconsistent pattern observed under a Caucasian client condition may have been caused by a possibility of different level of role-taking demands across the Asian client and the Caucasian client conditions, as discussed earlier.

Participant Cultural Values

An additional finding of this study is that cultural values of Asian foreign students significantly affect their evaluations of counselor effectiveness and predictions for counseling outcome. In this study, Asian foreign students with relatively collectivistic values rated counseling more positively than did participants with relatively individualistic values on Counseling Outcome Expectancies and Estimated Counseling Effectiveness. From this finding we may expect that Asian students who are less Westernized (have

relatively collectivistic cultural values) have more confidence in the ability of the counselor than do those who are more Westernized (have relatively individualistic cultural values). This interpretation supports the results of Atkinson, Whiteley, and Gim (1990), who found that, within Asian American students, Asian-identified students, as compared to Western-identified students, perceived counselors and/or psychologists as more helpful source of help than other sources of assistance. However, there is evidence that this confidence can be undermined by traditional Western counseling approaches. Regarding Asian Americans' attitudes toward mental health services, Atkinson and Gim (1989) found that Asian-identified students had less positive attitudes toward mental health services (recognition of need for professional help, tolerance of stigma associated with psychological help, and interpersonal openness), as compared with Western-identified students. These varying results concerning Asian Americans' perception of psychological help seem to suggest that the findings should not be overgeneralized: The fact that less acculturated Asian students have more confidence in the ability of the counselor does not necessarily imply that they have more positive attitudes toward mental health services in general.

In conclusion, the empirical findings of this study suggests that counselor working with Asian foreign students may need to select counseling style (i.e., individualistic or collectivistic counseling styles) consistent with the direction of the clients' value

orientation (i.e., individualistic or collectivistic value orientations), at least during a first counseling interview. This suggestion may also have applicability to counseling other ethnic groups, besides Asians and to counseling Caucasian clients as well. Nonetheless, further studies are needed before any specific effects upon the perceived effectiveness of counseling by Asian foreign students can be definitively established.

This study demonstrated the potential utility and applicability of individualism-collectivism construct in counseling psychology. In the future, researchers in cross-cultural counseling should continue to work to improve the definition, operationalization, and measurement of this construct in relation to counseling practice. Suggestions for future research include replication of this study utilizing a larger sample size, including level of participant cultural values as an independent variable and employing only an Asian client in a counseling dyad, in order to increase chance of observing significant effect. Several cross-cultural researchers (Atkinson, 1983 ; Ponterotto, 1988) have recommended that within-group differences (e.g., level of acculturation) be investigated as independent variables in studies involving minorities. Ideally, future studies should be conducted in a real counseling situation instead of in an analogue setting to make possible a more wide spread generalization of findings. In addition, a replication of this study in the future should be done with other ethnic groups beside Asians, and for Caucasians as well.

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미국내 아시안계 유학생들의 개인주의적 - 집합주의적 상담접근에 대한 상담효율성 평가

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본 연구는 미국내에서 공부하고 있는 아시안계 여자유학생들에게 효과적인 상담접근방식을 살펴보고자 하였다. 대부분의 아시안계 유학생들에게 개인주의 가치성향보다 집합주의 가치성향이 우세할 것이라는 가정하에, 다음의 두가지 가설을 설정하였다. 첫째로, 유학생들은 개인주의 가치관에 초점을 둔 상담접근 방식보다 집합주의 가치관에 초점을 둔 상담접근 방식을 더 긍정적으로 평가할 것이다. 둘째로, 유학생들은 상담자가 백인계 내담자를 상담하는 과정을 평가할때보다 아시안계 내담자를 상담하는 과정을 평가할때 보다 덜 긍정적으로 평가할 것이다.

미국 인디애나 대학교에 등록한 56명의 아시안계 여자 유학생들이 본 연구에 참여하였다. 각 참가자는 4개의 처치 집단 (개인주의적 상담접근/아시안계 내담자, 개인주의적 상담접근/백인계 내담자, 집합주의적 상담접근/아시안계 내담자, 집합주의적 상담접근/백인계 내담자)중의 하나에 무선적으로 배정되었다. 배정된 비디오테이프에 나타난 내담자 입장이 된 것처럼 가상하면서 테이프를 시청한 후, 상담자를 평가하도록 되어 있었다. 상담자를 평가하기 위한 종속변인으로는 예기되는 상담결과, 예측되는 상담자의 도움정도, 그리고 상담자의 효율성이 있었다.

자료처리과정에서, 참가자들의 가치성향 (개인주의/집합주의)을 살펴본 결과, 가치성향면에서 집단내의 차이가 큰 것으로 나타나서 다음의 두가지 방법으로 자료처리를 하였다. 첫번째 방법은, 집합주의 가치성향이 비교적 높은 32명의 참가자만 뽑아서 2요인 변량분석 (상담자접근방식, 내담자 인종)을 하였고, 그 결과 첫번째 가설이 부분적으로 (예측되는 상담자의 도움정도와 상담자의 효율성) 긍정되었다. 즉 집합주의 가치성향이 비교적 높은 참가자들은 상담자가 개인주의 가치관에 초점을 둘때보다 집합주의 가치관에 초점을 둘때 상담자의 도움정도가 크고, 효율적이라고 예측하였다.

자료처리의 두번째 방법은, 참가자의 가치성향을 또 하나의 독립변인으로 인정하여 3요인 변량분석 (상담자접근방식, 내담자 인종, 참가자 가치성향)을 하였다. 그 결과는 첫번째 가설이 부정되고, 두번째 가설이 부분적으로 긍정되었다. 그 외에, 세가지 요인간의 상호작용 효과가 나타났다. 그 상호작용효과가 시사하는 점은, 비교적 개인주의 가치성향이 높은 아시안계 유학생들은 개인주의 가치관에 초점을 둔 상담접근을 더 긍정적으로 평가했으며, 반면에 비교적 집합주의 가치성향이 높은 유학생들은 집합주의 가치관에 초점을 둔 상담접근을 더 긍정적으로 평가했다. 덧붙여서, 본 연구 결과에서는 비교적 집합주의 가치성향이 높은 참가자들이 (개인주의 가치성향이 높은 참가자들에 비해), 상담자의 접근방식이나 내담자의 인종에 관계없이, 상담자를 대체로 긍정적으로 평가하는 경향이 있는 것으로 나타났다.