Racial Identity, Masculinity, and Academic Help-Seeking Behaviors in African American Male College Students

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RACIAL IDENTITY, MASCULINITY, AND ACADEMIC HELP-SEEKING BEHAVIORS IN AFRICAN AMERICAN MALE COLLEGE STUDENTS

by

Walter T. Malone

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Counselor Education and Counseling Psychology
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RACIAL IDENTITY, MASCULINITY, AND ACADEMIC HELP-SEEKING BEHAVIORS IN AFRICAN AMERICAN MALE COLLEGE STUDENTS

Walter T. Malone, Ph.D.
Western Michigan University, 2021

The purpose of this study was to examine the influence of Black racial identity attitudes, as measured by the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS), and masculine norms, as measured by the Conformity to Masculinity Norms Index -46 (CMNI-46), in relation to men's academic help-seeking behavior. Participants were 120 African American undergraduate males at a historically White university in the Midwest region of the United States. Four hypotheses were designed to help guide the measure's influences on two academic help-seeking variables, avoidance and perceived benefits. The first and second hypotheses both focused on the effects of Black college men's racial attitudes. The third and fourth hypotheses focused on the effects of Black men's conformity on masculine norms. Participants were asked to complete an online survey, which contained a demographic sheet and measures of Black racial identity, traditional masculinity norms, and academic help-seeking behavior. Hierarchical multiple regressions were used to execute the primary analyses.

African American male college students who endorsed higher levels of an Afrocentric racial attitude reported higher levels of perceived benefits for academic help-seeking. The study’s finding of hypothesis 3 suggested that African American men who conform to higher levels of self-reliance and power over women masculine norms endorsed higher levels of help-seeking avoidance behavior. The findings also showed that conforming to a higher level of work
primacy norm negatively impacted academic help-seeking avoidance. Finally, Black college men
with a higher degree of work primacy, and a lower degree of self-reliance predicted higher levels
in perceived benefits academic help-seeking. Limitations of the study and implications for
practice and future research are discussed.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

“Let us not be weary in well-doing, for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not,” (Galatians 6:9). All praise and glory be to God, who has given me the strength to overcome every doubt and insecurity throughout my doctoral program. Because of Him, I can look back on the humble beginnings of my life with gratitude and thankfulness.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

When it comes to asking for help, regardless of the type of help needed, researchers have found that men, compared to women, are less likely to seek help even when all other options have been exhausted (Lee, 1997; Ryan et al., 2009). Numerous studies have sought to identify factors that influence male students' reluctance and willingness to seek help (Butler & Neuman, 1995; Karabenick, 2004; Newman & Schwager, 1992; Ryan & Pintrich, 1997). Broadly, determinants of male students' decisions to seek or not to seek academic assistance have been associated with social perceptions, stigma, self-esteem, and the costs and benefits of seeking help when needed (Karabenick, 1998; Newman & Goldin, 1990). For African American men, a considerable amount of evidence has shown that their experiences at predominantly White institutions (PWIs) are significantly influenced by the intersection of race and gender dynamics, in conjunction with environmental factors (Allen, 1984; Anglin & Wade, 2007; Awad, 2007; Farrell & Jones, 1988), which may further affect their decision to seek help when needed. However, there is a dearth of research that investigates how masculinity and racial identity influence the help-seeking behaviors of Black male undergraduates attending PWIs. Therefore, the aim of this study was to determine whether or not Black college men's racial identity attitudes and masculinity norms are predictive of their academic help-seeking behaviors. The findings of this study may enhance colleges and universities' ability to engage Black college men in academic help-seeking practices.

Propose of the Study

The aim of the current study was to examine the relationship between racial identity attitudes, traditional masculinity norms, and academic help-seeking behaviors. Specifically, the
present study was interested in whether or not Black college men’s racial attitudes and masculine norms influenced their academic help-seeking avoidance and perceptions of the benefit of seeking academic help. Investigating these factors may help to explain the role of Black men's racial attitudes and masculine norms in deciding to avoid or seek academic assistance. Scholars investigating gender identity has shown Black men to have a greater likelihood than other ethnic groups to possess traditional masculine beliefs (Abreu, Goodyear, Campos, & Newcomb, 2000; Courtenay, 2000; Levant & Majors, 1997; Levant, Majors, & Kelly, 1998) and experience encounters of racism at PWIs (Farrell & Jones, 1988; Harper, 2015). Other scholars have also revealed that Black men’s manifestations of traditional masculine beliefs place them at greater risk of mental health complications and academic success (Harris, Palmer, & Struve, 2011). Additionally, Black men may possess suspicions about seeking assistance from members outside of their racial group if they perceive the academic environment as racist or threatening (Terrell & Terrell, 1981). Still, studies have found that aversive behaviors and chronic stress may manifest when men perceive barriers to success as race-related (Cabrera, Nora, Terenzini, Pascarella, & Hagedorn, 1999; Ford & Harris, 1997; Harper, 2015; Noguera, 2002).

The likelihood of African American college men seeking academic help may be compromised if intentional efforts are not incorporated to foster safety and validation during the learning process. Investigating the relationship between racial identity, traditional masculinity, and academic help-seeking behavior may provide helping professionals and educators with a better understanding about the following: (a) incorporating meaningful help-seeking strategies that promote healthy attitudes of racial identity, (b) looking at how African American men’s racial identity attitudes and masculinity norms can be used to cultivate academic achievement and navigate barriers, and (c) creating an environment that encourages and nurtures African
American men’s help-seeking strategies. Finally, this study may offer insight into the socio-cultural aspects that impact Black undergraduate men’s academic help-seeking behavior at PWIs.

**Research Questions**

The current study attempts to answer the following research questions:

1. Do Black college men endorsements of racial identity attitudes, as measured by the six CRIS subscales, predict academic help-seeking Avoidance and Perceived Benefits when controlling for adaptive (Instrumental) and non-adaptive (Executive) help-seeking styles?

2. Do Black college men’s conformity to certain masculinity norms, as measured by the nine CMNI subscales, predict academic help-seeking Avoidance and Perceived Benefits when controlling for adaptive (Instrumental) and non-adaptive (Executive) help-seeking styles?

**Research Question Hypotheses**

The current study tests the following hypotheses based on a review of the relevant literature:

*Hypothesis 1a:* It is expected that Self-Hatred and Anti-White racial attitudes will have a positive effect, and Afrocentric and Multiculturalist racial attitudes will have a negative effect on help-seeking Avoidance behavior, after controlling for the effects of Instrumental and Executive help-seeking styles.

*Hypothesis 1b:* It is expected that Afrocentric and Multiculturalist attitudes will have a positive effect on the prediction of Perceived Benefits for academic help-seeking after controlling for the effects of Instrumental and Executive help-seeking styles.

*Hypothesis 2a:* It is expected that conforming to masculine Self-Reliance and Emotional Control norms will have a positive effect and Winning and Primacy of Work norms will
have a negative effect on the prediction of Avoidance help-seeking behavior after controlling for the effects of adaptive (Instrumental) and non-adaptive (Executive) help-seeking styles.

Hypothesis 2b: It is expected that conforming to masculine Winning and Primacy of Work norms will have a positive effect, and Emotional Control and Self-Reliance will have a negative effect on the prediction of Perceived Benefit of help-seeking after controlling for the effects of adaptive (Instrumental) and non-adaptive (Executive) help-seeking styles.

Definitions of Terms

- **Academic Help-Seeking** is an academic strategy wherein individuals actively search for assistance and then utilize the help found (Ames & Lau, 1982)
- **Academic Success** refers to the achievement of academic and learning goals, the acquisition of desired skills and competencies, satisfaction, and persistence toward and completion of college a degree (York, Gibson, & Rankin, 2015)
- **Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs)** is a term used to situate the roots and historical context of segregated education. According to the Encyclopedia of African American Education (2010), the term is used to describe “institutions of higher learning in which Whites account for 50% or greater of the student enrollment” (p. 523).
- **Masculinity norms** are the common beliefs, values, behaviors, and attitudes that are associated and socially constructed for men as a standard of male identity (Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1993).
- **Black Racial Identity** refers to a set of beliefs and attitudes resulting in a sense of self based on a common heritage that is shared with a particular racial group (Helms, 1995).
• **Traditional Masculinity** is a set of behaviors and characteristics that are based on White, Western, patriarchal values that are established as the standard for performing male roles (Wade, 2009).
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter explores the scholarship on academic help-seeking behavior and the nature of its relationship with Black male undergraduates’ racial identity attitudes and masculinity norms. An in-depth examination of academic help-seeking behavior is reviewed, including theoretical models, influential factors, and relevant research studies. Accordingly, a review of racial identity and traditional masculine norms in relation to academic help-seeking is discussed. This chapter is concluded with a summary of the literature and an introduction to the current research study.

Help-Seeking Self-Regulated Learning

The concept of academic help-seeking behavior (HSB) is based on the theoretical framework of self-regulated learning (Zimmerman, 2000). The process of seeking academic help is associated with self-regulatory functioning and has been found by researchers to be an essential component of the learning process (Ryan, Hicks, & Midgley, 1997; Zimmerman, 1989; Zusho, Karabenick, Bonney, & Sims, 2007). Self-regulated learning (SRL) is defined as "the processes whereby learners personally activate and sustain cognitions, affects, and behaviors that are systematically oriented toward the attainment of personal goals" (Zimmerman & Schunk, 2011, p. 1). Self-regulatory learners monitor, control, and regulate these processes through their use of goal setting, time management, and help-seeking strategies (Prinrich, 2000). Academic help-seeking, however, is unique among these strategies, as it involves social forms of learning (i.e., peer, teacher, parent) in the acquisition of knowledge (Karabenick & Berger, 2013; Karabenick & Dembo, 2011; Zimmerman, 2008). As Karabenick and Dembo (2011) noted, "help-seeking [was] unique among learning strategies as it [could] imply that learners [were]
incapable of task completion or satisfactory performance without assistance, which [could] be threatening to [their] self-worth” (p. 33). In general, the literature on academic help-seeking suggests that the decision to seek or not seek help is linked to one's internal and external functioning, goal orientation (i.e., individuals' actions regarding primary aim), and relationships with those whom help is sought (Eisenberg, Speer, & Hunt, 2012; Karabenick, 2004; Knapp, & Karabenick, 1988; Strayhorn, 2013). The social nature of academic help-seeking consequently exposes the process of seeking help to a host of influences that other SRL strategies are exempt (Karabenick & Berger, 2013).

Karabenick and Berger's (2013) stages of the Help-Seeking Process and Three-Phase Model of SRL are briefly discussed in the subsection below to better conceptualize the academic help-seeking process. Next, the significant components of help-seeking explored in the literature concerning the model are highlighted. Then, the literature on college students' academic help-seeking behaviors is examined. This section concludes with a summary of the discussion and an introduction of Black undergraduate men into the conversation.

**Academic Help-Seeking Process Model**

Researchers have found that self-regulatory learners are more likely to use help-seeking strategies and have better academic outcomes than those who are poor self-regulators. The process of seeking academic help is contingent upon one's perceived competence and ability to identify the resources needed to accomplish a given task (Karabenick & Dembo, 2011). As such, help-seeking has been described as a proactive and complex process used by self-regulatory learners to achieve academic success (Zimmerman, 2000). Karabenick and Berger (2013) sought to describe this proactive and complex process by using Zimmerman's (2000) self-regulatory learning model to conceptualize the help-seeking process. Like most help-seeking models, there
are eight stages, and decision points learners perform to navigate the help-seeking process. Karabenick and Berger (2013) describe these stages and decision points by using the SRL phases of Zimmerman's (2000) model.

Karabenick and Berger's model suggests that academic help-seeking involves the following: (1) determining whether there is a problem, (2) determining whether help is needed or wanted, (3) deciding whether to seek help, (4) deciding on the goal one wishes to accomplish from seeking help (5) deciding on whom to ask, (6) soliciting help, (7) obtaining help, and (8) processing the help received (p. 240). These stages are not assumed to be linear and may best be understood as automatic and controlled cognitive and motivational processes that occur at a given decision point in the help-seeking process (Karabenick & Berger, 2013). The eight-step model described above is then mapped onto the SRL phases of the Zimmerman Model (2000), which provides a microanalytic assessment of the SRL process and motivational beliefs across cyclical and procedural phases that take place before, during, and after learning has occurred. As such, stages 1 through 5 of the help-seeking model take place during the *Forethought Phase*, the process that takes place before initiating contact with others and involves SRL processes such as task analysis (i.e., goal setting and strategic planning). Stages 6 through 7 occur during the *Performance Phase*—where learners engage in the social components of the SRL process. In this manner, self-regulatory learners perform the thoughtful analysis made during the Forethought Phase (i.e., solicit help). Stage 8 occurs during the *Self-Refection Phase*. This phase divide into two parts, *self-judgment*, and *self-reaction*. During this phase, learners evaluate their decisions and performance (i.e., self-judgment) and determine if the outcome was sufficient for continued use (i.e., self-reaction). A detailed summary of Karabenick and Berger's model can be viewed in Figure 1.
<table>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>1 Determine whether there is a problem</td>
<td>Task analysis</td>
<td>Forethought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Determine whether help is needed/wanted</td>
<td>Strategic planning</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3 Decide whether to seek help</td>
<td>Self-control</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 Decide on the type of help (goal)</td>
<td></td>
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<td>5 Decide whom to ask</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6 Solicit help</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Obtain help</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8a Process the help received—judge or evaluate it</td>
<td>Self-judgment: self-evaluation</td>
<td>Self-Reflection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Self-reaction: self-satisfaction and adaptive inference</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 1. Stages of the help-seeking process and the three-phase model of SRL (Karabenick & Berger, 2013, p. 240).*

Karabenick and Berger (2013) provide a simple framework to conceptualize help-seeking and the socio-cognitive nature it employs. However, some researchers argue that the self-regulated learning model described by Karabenick and Berger (2013) places too much emphasis on processes and strategies used to improve an individual's academic skills of HSB, with little attention given to interpersonal influences such as self-efficacy (Herring, 2016). For example, Herring (2016) observed that themes of internal conflict emerged among undergraduate engineering students during the HSB process. In his qualitative study investigating self-efficacy (SE) and self-theory of intelligence (STOL), the researcher observed gender and ethic differences emerge (Herring, 2016). Specifically, African American students' concerns about the disapproval of others regarding requesting help was a determinate influencing their help-seeking process. Herring's (2016) findings provide evidence that group differences and internalized
messages may be contributing factors affecting African American students’ decisions toward help-seeking.

The theoretical framework of SRL outlines the process in which students assess the costs and benefits of seeking help, and analyze their use once help is provided. According to the model, the process of seeking help presents a complexity of obstacles students face when deciding whether to seek help. Furthermore, this model helps situate the process of help-seeking and why social constructs of identity are important factors to examine. While the literature on academic help-seeking covers a range of attitudes, decisions, and behaviors performed by learners, most studies have focused primarily on the goal and the costs and perceived benefits of seeking help (Karabenick, 2003). Specifically, studies have been interested in the influencing factors that promote and inhibit students' decision to seek or not seek help. An overview of academic help-seeking and relevant research studies investigating academic HSB among college students is provided below.

**Academic Help-Seeking Behavior**

Academic help-seeking is a multifaceted process involving cognitive, behavioral, and emotional skills (Karabenick & Knapp, 1991). College students at some point during the learning process will inevitably experience challenges with academic content, which will require assistance from others. However, research suggests many college students do not actively seek help when necessary (Karabenick, 2003; Karabenick & Dembo, 2011; Ryan & Pintrich, 1997; Zusho et al., 2007). Furthermore, college men are least likely to seek help, even when all other options had been exhausted (Nam et al., 2011; Vogel et al., 2011; Wimer & Levant, 2011). Researchers have sought to explain and identify factors that contribute to college students' reluctance to seek help. Early scholars perceived help-seeking as a movement toward
dependency, and argued that seeking-help limited students' ability to become self-sufficient learners. However, Nelson-Le Gall (1981) challenged this perspective by asserting that students may also seek help as a strategy to enhance their competence. She stated that learners' request for help is complex and requires students to identify parts of information they did not understand to formulate a question to solicit the type of help needed to resolve their challenge. She proposed that the learners' goals or intentions be considered in order to assess students' help-seeking tendencies accurately. Her contributions to the help-seeking literature offered the distinction between seeking help to achieve understanding and mastery (i.e., instrumental or adaptive help-seeking) from seeking help to complete a task or secure an answer (i.e., executive, expedient, or maladaptive help-seeking). Her work presented an adaptive alternative to the help-seeking process.

**Help-seeking tendencies.** Researchers attempting to understand college students' help-seeking behaviors have traditionally focused on *instrumental* and *executive* help-seekings styles. Specifically, these two constructs help to clarify students' intentions for seeking help, which can be useful for explaining other forms of help-seeking behaviors. Instrumental help-seekers tend to request help to aid their understanding or improve their ability to work independently (Karabenick & Kapp, 1991). Karabenick and Kapp (1991) found that among college students, those who endorsed an instrumental achievement style were more likely to seek help once they recognized an insufficiency of learned material that hindered their ability to obtain a solution. Students approaching learning with these intentions are generally skilled in regulating when, how, and from whom to request help when faced with academic difficulty. Executive help-seekers, in contrast, refers to students who seek help hoping to gain an answer or solution for completing an academic task (Finney et al., 2018). While in some cases it may be necessary for
students to be given an answer or solution to solve an academic challenge, frequent patterns of executive help-seeking would be detrimental to the development of student self-regulatory skills and may even increase dependency (Le-Gall, 1981).

Instrumental and executive help-seeking styles have been directly and indirectly linked to whom students solicit help from (i.e., formal and informal sources), their goals for achieving academic tasks (i.e., mastery, performance), and the perceived threat or benefit of seeking necessary help. Specifically, research studies revealed that students with achievement goals that are instrumental in nature had a greater tendency to seek help for understanding course material (e.g., mastery), were less likely to avoid help when challenges arose, and often sought help from their professors or instructors when faced with academic difficulty (Finney et al., 2018; Karabenick, 2003; Roussel et al., 2011). In contrast, students whose achievement goals were described as executive placed more emphases on completing an academic task (e.g., performance-approach), were more likely to view help-seeking as threatening, endorsed greater avoidance in help-seeking behaviors, and often sought help from their peers (informal help-seeking) when faced with difficulty. Karabenick (2003) investigated the relationship between students' help-seeking tendencies and motivation and learning strategies. His findings revealed that students who sought instrumental help were more likely to seek help from teachers (i.e., formal help), had higher levels of self-efficacy, and were higher in mastery goal orientations. Likewise, Finney et al.’s (2018) empirical study on the common profiles of academic help-seeking in college students found similar patterns, but differences by class level (e.g., freshman vs. senior). In summary, overall, the literature on academic help-seeking suggests that the decision to seek or avoid help is linked to one's internal and external functioning, goal orientation (i.e., individuals' actions regarding primary aim), and relationships with those whom
help is sought (Eisenberg, Speer, & Hunt, 2012; Karabenick, 2004; Knapp & Karabenick, 1988; Strayhorn, 2013).

**Formal and informal help-seeking.** Scholars indicate that informal and formal sources of help-seeking behavior are utilized when students are in need of help (Knapp & Karabenick, 1988; Nelson-Le Gall & Glor-Scheib, 1983). *Informal* help-seeking refers to accessing assistance from friends, classroom peers, and relatives. Teachers/professors, health professionals, and other academic resources available on campus and online are considered *formal* sources.

Karabenick (2004) examined college students' preferences for seeking formal and informal academic help. Although the correlations among help-seeking preferences and help-seeking indicators (i.e., threat and avoidance) were minimal, his findings indicated that students who sought help to understand course material better rather than to obtain answers were more likely to seek help formally (i.e., teacher) than informally. These findings are consistent with other studies that have investigated students' preferences in seeking academic assistance in the classroom (Alexitch, 2002; Kitsantas & Chow, 2007; Neighbors & Jackson, 1984; Newman & Goldin, 1990). Evidence, however, suggests that college students' utilization of formal help is less probable outside of the classroom environment (Karabenick & Knapp, 1988). Zusho et al. (2007) reasoned that seeking formal help outside of the classroom often requires students to schedule appointments and make arrangements, whereas informal sources are viewed to be more accessible.

Other explanations regarding students' preferences for seeking informal or formal help are related to gender norms. Butler (1998) suggested that "males may be more likely than females to underuse [formal and informal] help because of concerns about exposing poor ability" (p. 632), which was associated with men's fear of being perceived of less manly. Furthermore,
the perceived roles (e.g., self-reliance, avoidance of femininity, and restricted emotionality) men believe they must demonstrate might also influence their decisions regarding the most appropriate and non-threatening source for seeking help when needed.

**Help-seeking avoidance.** Research investigating why students do not seek needed help has primarily focused on students’ social achievement goals and their perceptions of benefits and costs (i.e., avoidance and threat) associated with seeking help (e.g., Karabenick, 2003; Roussel et al., 2011; Ryan & Shin, 2011). Studies have shown that men express having an aversion toward asking others for help more frequently than women (Lasane et al., 1999; Martino, 2000, Newman, 1990; Ryan et al., 1998), and have found low-achieving male students to be more threatened by their need for help than high achievers (Karabenick, 2003; Karabenick & Knapp, 1991; Martino, 2000; Ryan & Pintrich, 1997). Studies have primarily focused on avoidant help-seeking behavior as a coping mechanism to protect self-esteem because of the concern with college students who do not seek help on academic tasks (Karabenick, 200; Karabenick & Knapp, 1991;). The perceived threat to self-esteem associated with students’ help-seeking behavior is well documented (Karabenick & Knapp, 1991; Kitsantas & Chow, 2007; Ryan et al., 1998; Ryan & Pintrich, 1997). For instance, Karabenick and Knapp (1991) study examined the relationship between global self-esteem, help-seeking threat, and avoidant behavior. The participants' scores on self-esteem were negatively related to help-seeking threats and avoidance. In other words, participants with lower self-esteem felt a greater level of threat toward seeking academic help and avoided seeking help more frequently. However, this outcome was only observed among more-threatened students who preferred instrumental help-seeking.

Researchers argue that undergraduate males are less willing and able to acknowledge and utilize social support systems, such as their teachers and peers and exhibit negative attitudes and
beliefs toward seeking help when faced with academic difficulty (Butler, 1998; Ryan and Pintrich, 1997; Winograd & Rust, 2014). These attitudes and beliefs have been understood and conceptualized as—an inadequacy of their independence, a violation of masculine norms (Wimer & Levant, 2011), and a perceived deficit of their ability relative to that of others (Pintrich, 2000). For example, Winograd and Rust (2014) sought to better understand the factors contributing to first-generation and underrepresented college students’ academic help-seeking behavior. Their study found male students associated their academic help-seeking behavior with personal feelings of inadequacy and inferiority to a greater degree than female students. The study’s findings also revealed that the self-stigma, deriving from academic help-seeking, was predicted by stereotype threat. That is, students believed that poor academic performance contributed to negative judgments by their professors and peers. Likewise, Ryan and Pintrich (1997) found that students held significant concerns about being negatively judged by their classmates and instructors when they needed help solving math problems. In such cases, the mere thought of asking for help appears to be threatening to these men, causing them feelings of threat and reluctance toward seeking academic help.

Another influential factor that contributes to student’s academic help-seeking avoidance is achievement goal orientation. According to Ames (1992) achievement goal orientation is students behavioral approach related to learning (mastery) and ego (performance). Students with a mastery goal orientation approach learning to develop competence, whereas performance goal-oriented students are focused on their ability related to others, and external measures of their competence (e.g., grades; Ames, 1992; Church et al., 2001; Harackiewicz et al., 2002; Midgley et al., 2001). Studies investigating the student’s achievement goal in relation to their help-seeking behavior have found that having a mastery oriented approach was positively linked to
academic help-seeking from formal sources (i.e., professors, instructors), but not informal (peers), and directly related to instrumental help-seeking (Zusho et al., 2007). In contrast, study findings suggest that performance-oriented students were directly related to help-seeking avoidance and threat, more likely to have an executive help-seeking style (Ryan & Pintrich, 1997). Scholars argue that the academic help-seeking process is complexed (Karabenick, 2003) and contingent upon “the (a) classroom focus, (b) students’ perceptions and beliefs, and (c) a teacher’s instructional approach and openness and flexibility” (Kitsantas & Chow, 2005, p. 384). For instance, classrooms that focused on delivering course instruction to increase a mastery-approach orientation give greater credence to student's practical understanding of content rather than their performance on standardized test measures. Karabenick (2003) examined whether college students’ achievement goal structure (i.e., mastery and performance approach) predicted their academic help-seeking behavior. His study found that students who exhibited a performance goal orientation predicted help-seeking avoidance patterns, whereas mastery goals (a focus on learning and improvement) positively predicted seeking help. Instructors typically assess students’ academic progress based on subjective measures (e.g., participation points, grading rubric, standardized scores), which some scholars argue lowers critical thinking skills and is negatively related to self-esteem and deep learning approaches (Nichols et al., 2006; Raymond & Hanushek, 2003; Rakoczy et al., 2008). When subjective measures become the primary tools for evaluating knowledge within the classroom environment, students often experience a heightened sense of awareness and anxiety (Ryan & Pintrich, 1997) or may endorse a performance approach orientation. Research studies have found this approach a detriment to students’ academic self-efficacy (i.e., one’s perception of their ability to perform a task) and self-esteem. Additionally, studies have shown that performance approach-oriented learners perceive
help-seeking more threatening and was directly related to academic help-seeking avoidant behavior (Karabenick, 1998; Newman & Goldin, 1990). Although male college students particularly have been shown to exhibit greater academic avoidant patterns in general, adaptive help-seeker (e.g., “instrumental” learners) perceived help-seeking positively and sought help more frequently (Cheong et al., 2004; Ryan et al., 1998)

**Perceived benefit of help-seek.** According to Pajares et al. (2004), the perceived benefit of help-seeking represents the “positive ramifications toward seeking help on a task from an individual perspective” (p. 502). Although research studies have shown that most college students do not seek help when need, particularly from formal sources (i.e., professors, instructors), this evidence is subjective to serval factors including student’s motivation, attitudes toward seeking-help, and the perceptions toward the sources of help available (Karabenick & Knapp, 1991; Newman, 1990; Ryan et al., 1997). Academic motivation and achievement are positively associated with a students’ perceived benefit of help-seeking (Karabenick & Knapp, 1991). Students who are motivated to learn often approach learning to acquire knowledge and likely to acknowledge academic help-seeking to be beneficial (Gonida et al., 2014). However, some scholars argue that such students often are in less need of help because they exhibit adaptive learning patterns and endorse positive attitudes toward seeking help in general (Gonida et al., 2014; Karabenick & Knapp, 1991).

Other scholars have shown that students who exhibit a learning-oriented approach (i.e., mastery goal orientation) are most likely to seek help when it is needed (Alexitch, 2002). Regarding the help-seekers perception of the helper, researchers state that students engage in more help-seeking when teachers are approachable, validating, and supportive (Conway et al., 2018; Schwartz et al., 2018; Ryan & Pintrich, 1997). In such a case where positive connections
are established between the student and networks of support (e.g., classmates, professors, university resources), aversions toward seeking help were least likely to manifest and students’ aspiration to learn increased (Conway et al., 2018; Karabenick & Sharma, 1994). Payakachat et al. (2013) study further supports the significance of positive student-instructor dynamics. They examined factors associated with academic help-seeking behavior among student pharmacists. Their findings showed that help-seeking behavior was directly associated with students’ perception of professors’ helpfulness and indirectly associated with the perception of academic competence. Additionally, when students felt a sense of belonging within the classroom environment and student-teacher interactions were encouraged, help was sought more frequently, and academic performance increased. Such interpersonal dynamics have been shown to affirm college students’ self-efficacy beliefs, reduce help-seeking avoidance, and promote adaptive help-seeking behavior (e.g., asking for clarity or hints to guide problem-solving; Ryan et al., 1998); which in turn, strengthens a student’s perceived benefit of help-seeking (Pajares & Cheong, 2004).

The research literature shows that college students’ willingness to seeking or avoid seeking academic help is contingent upon various factors, including gender, motivational goals, classroom setting, and source of help (peer, instructor). Most studies investigating college students’ help-seeking behavior lack racial and ethnic diversity among participants (Karabenick, 2004). Furthermore, most studies investigating the help-seeking behaviors of African American men primarily focused on psychological help-seeking (Duncan, 2003; Hunt & Eisenberg, 2010; Nickerson, Helms, Terrell, 1994; So, Gilbert, & Romero, 2005). Of the studies found few have included samples of African American men (Knapp, Karabenick, & Stuart, 1988; Karabenick & Stuart, 2003; Nelson-Le Gall & Glor-Scheib, 1983). Still, none of the studies (Knapp,
that included African American men reported data that disaggregated unique racial/ethnic factors within their population. Exploring these aggregates may equip educators and academics with a greater understanding of how to help African American men develop self-regulatory learning approaches.

**Traditional Masculinity Ideology**

Traditional masculinity has been characterized by men's restriction of emotion, toughness, aggression, self-reliance, dominance, sexual prowess, power over of women, accumulation of material possession, and homophobic practices (Harper, 2004; Mahalik et al., 2003; O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986). These views, beliefs, and expressions are typically generalized across racial and ethnic groups as the standard for performing male gender roles. However, some scholars argue that it is challenging to characterize masculinity as a generalizable practice across racial and ethnic groups because of the complexed nature of factors such as race and ethnicity, social economics, family structure, and educational background (Courtenay, 2000b; Vogel, Heimerdinger-Edwards, Hammer, & Hubbard, 2011; Wester, 2008).

The ideology of masculinity in America is predominately situated in White patriarchal customs and beliefs, with some arguing that these customs and beliefs lead many men to endorse or ascribe to standards that are psychologically and socially damaging. For example, traditional masculinity, when endorsed by African American men, has been found to result in poor health conditions and mental distress (e.g., Harris, Palmer, & Struve, 2011). Additionally, traditional masculinity fails to account for the unique characteristics that African American men endorse in expressing their masculinity, such as spirituality, connectedness, and responsibility. Moreover, negative stereotypes of Black masculinity often deduce African American men to lazy, violate,
hypersexual, and athlete. These perceptions have damaging effects, which complicates the potential for African American men to be viewed as scholars, positioning them to prove to others, and perhaps themselves, that they are not inferior.

**Black College Men and Traditional Masculinity**

The pervasiveness of racism and oppression in the lives of African American men has forced them to seek alternative modes of masculine expression (Harper, 2004; Harper, 2006; Majors & Billson, 1992; Oliver, 1989; Spraggins, 1999; Stayhorn, 2013). Majors and Billson (1992), for instance, suggested that Black males assume a pseudo persona referred to as "cool pose" in which they endorse calm, easy-going, and fearless attitudes to offset external threats (i.e., racism) that can be psychologically and emotionally damaging. Scholars have even suggested that African American masculine ideologies are complexed because of the disparities found within Black communities and predominately White communities (Connell, 1989; Courtenay, 2000; Harper, 2004; Wester, 2011). Inadequate resources challenge the mobility of all family systems in general, but in Black families specifically. Access to affordable healthcare, adequate paying jobs, and career training are sparse within African American communities (Fiscella & Williams, 2004; Kreisman, Marcos, & Rangel, 2015). For African American men, the denial of access to the resources mentioned above can castrate them from their social position within the community because, in their assessment, they have failed to meet their traditional gender roles (i.e., breadwinner and provider). In turn, these men are likely to internalize their environmental factors as personal deficits, causing them to be negligent in fulfilling and performing their gender roles. Likewise, when African American college men perceive asking for and receiving help as a reflection of their innate deficits, they are more hesitant to engage in
this behavior; the consequence of this decision, however, may potentially result in them diminishing their efforts to achieve.

**Racial Identity and Traditional Masculinity**

Some scholars have argued that it is essential to examine both racial identity and masculinity in the context of each other as predictors, especially when self-esteem and psychological factors are likely to be present (Carter et al., 2005; Mahalik, Pierre, & Wan, 2006). Carter et al. (2005) found racial identity attitudes mediated the relationship between gender role conflict and psychological symptoms. In general, Black men who endorsed greater Pre Encounter attitudes and subscribed to greater masculine norms of success, power, competition, restrictive emotionality, and restrictive affectionate behavior between men, were likely to report experiences of psychological distress. Similarly, Mahalik, Pierre, and Wan (2006) conducted a study that investigated racial identity and masculinity as correlates of self-esteem and psychological distress in Black men. Their findings revealed that "self-esteem was positively related to participants' Internalized racial identity attitudes and negatively related to the conformity of traditional masculine norms" (Mahalik et al., 2006, p. 1). In addition, the researchers found that lower scores on self-esteem for Black men were related to greater conformity to traditional masculinity norms, as well as elevated psychological distress.

**Masculinity and Academic Help-Seeking**

Research studies have suggested that men are more likely to possess negative attitudes toward asking for help or assistance than their female counterparts (e.g., Vogel, Heimerdinger-Edwards, Hammer, & Hubbard, 2011). Some scholars have reported that boys, as early as third grade, believe that the structure of the school is more accommodating to girls' learning styles and in direct opposition to their sense of masculinity (e.g., Noguera, 2003). Men's fear of being seen
as feminine often leads to stereotypical masculine behaviors (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; O'Neal et al., 1986) and can be counterproductive to positive academic outcomes. According to O'Neil (2008), "The fear of femininity consists of strong, negative emotions that are associated with stereotypic feminine values, attitudes, and behaviors" (p. 376). Similarly, Edwards and Jones (2009), who worked to establish a theory of college men's gender identity development, found that men's expectations of whom they were supposed to be were connected to "who they could not be, such as gay, feminine, or vulnerable and shedding tears" (p. 215).

Vogel and colleagues (2011) examined the relationship between masculinity, self-stigma, and help-seeking attitudes among college-age males. The results indicated that those who possessed stereotypical perceptions of what it meant to be a man were less likely to seek help when needed. Likewise, Wimer and Levant (2011) investigated the relationship between men's endorsement of traditional masculine beliefs and academic help-seeking behaviors. Their results indicated that men who possessed greater self-reliant and dominant attitudes avoided asking for academic help more frequently. In addition, men with greater attitudes of traditional masculine beliefs, as indicated by scores on the conformity to masculinity scale, focused on tangible outcomes such as grades and were less inclined to seek academic help than those men with lower scores (Wimer & Levant, 2011).

The studies mentioned above (i.e., Vogel et al., 2011; Wimer & Levant, 2011) suggest that as men gravitate toward traditional masculine ideologies, their willingness to seek out academic assistance may decrease. Also, the tendency to associate academic strategies with stereotypical views of women seems to be more salient among men who manifest traditional masculine beliefs (Davis, 2003). If men who manifest traditional masculine beliefs also harbor anxieties about being socially ridiculed for utilizing academic strategies such as asking for help,
their endorsement of traditional masculine ideologies may influence them to avoid help-seeking when they face academic difficulties (Karabenick, 2004). These difficulties may be especially true for African American men who are more susceptible to experience negative messages regarding their race while attending PWIs.

**Social Construction of Race**

Historically, scholars have sought to operationalize race. The establishment of racial caste systems in America and the cultural genocide imposed upon native populations and individuals of African descent invokes concerns regarding the residue of generational traumas. The psychological and psychosocial aspects of identity have been widely examined in race literature (Carter & Goodwin, 1994; Chavous et al., 2002; Ford & Harris, 2010). According to Carter and Goodwin (1994), race is "…usually defined by skin color, physical features, and language, [and] is the primary criterion used to classify individuals into one of the five racial groupings" (i.e., White, Black, Hispanic, Indian, or Asian; p. 293). Race is often used interchangeably with the term racial identity, but Carter and Goodwin (1994) argued that the two have different meanings. Ford and Harris (2010) noted that “race affects one’s socio-emotional and psychological health in significant ways because the complexity of identity development increases as a function of color and physical features” (p. 105). Racial identity refers to individuals' psychological orientation toward their racial group, while race is concerned with racial group membership (Carter & Goodwin, 1994). The development of a racial identity is a critical process by which people make meaning of their race and group affiliation. More specifically, people construct their worldview on a collection of shared perceptions within a particular group. While individuals may share these perceptions within a racial group, other factors such as environment, socio-economic status, parental involvement, and primary reference
group orientation are consistently at play during the construction of racial identity. For African Americans, the factors above become multidimensional and complex when considering the interwoven social dynamics of their experiences.

**Racial Identity Development**

Researchers agree that by early adolescence, individuals develop an awareness of attributes that distinguish groups (e.g., skin color, languages, and academic posture), and that awareness informs opinions about behavior and expectations toward their racial group and those outside of their group (Reid, 2013; Rotheram-Borus et al., 1996). Identity development also extends into the emerging adulthood stage, which is a stage of life that is typical of the average-aged college student. The college setting is vital to the development of emerging adults’ racial identity, particularly for African Americans attending PWI. Individuals gain a perspective of their identity as they encounter daily experiences through various direct and indirect forms of communication (e.g., social media, interpersonal interactions, educational instruction). During these experiences, African American males frequently internalize social messages and perceptions that are chosen for them rather than by them:

For Black males, discriminatory behavior and attitudes from the broader society impose an identity that makes his race and gender salient to him… This salience, in turn, prescribes contextually acceptable behaviors: High achievers often encounter difficulty integrating their social, racial, and academic identities.

(Harper, 2010, p. 436)

Research often underscores the importance of racial identity in terms of the magnitude of its contribution to African American men’s cognitive and behavioral functioning. The extent of influence racial identity attitudes has on African American men’s experiences at PWI’s is
contingent upon the meaning that individuals place on race (Rowley et al., 1998). Because Black racial identity is not a monolithic paradigm, individuals' attitudes about race will present with various aesthetics when interacting, expressing, and conceptualizing racial identity.

The following section will introduce two distinguishing models of racial identity to help illustrate the multifaceted aspects of racial identity attitudes. This section will conclude with a comparison of the models and a summary of the section.

**The Nigrescense Theoretical Model**

Racial identity development for Black people has been extensively investigated over the past 40 years (Cross, 1971; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Helms, 1990; Parham, & Helms, 1985; Demo, Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998; Hughes, Kiecolt, & Keith, 2015; Jackson, 2012; Vandiver, Cross, Worrell, & Fhagen-Smith, 2002). Cross is noted as one of the most influential scholars who have added to the racial identity literature base. His Nigrescense Model describes the process by which Blacks construct their racial identity. This model has been revised twice, yet, continues to advance essential fundamental elements. The original and the two revised versions of Cross's model are discussed below.

In Cross's original model, Black racial identity experience is depicted through five stages: (a) Pre-Encounter, (b) Encounter, (c) Immersion-Emersion, (d) Internalization, and (e) Internalization-Commitment. In the first stage, *Pre-encounter*, individuals construct their identity according to dominant cultural values and see their views as inferior to Whites. During the second stage, *Encounter*, individuals become aware of racial inequities due to an experience or a series of events that alter their previous worldview. The third stage, *Immersion-Emersion*, consists of two distinct aspects. During Immersion, individuals are emotionally invested in being Black, endorse pro-Black attitudes, become more involved in Black events, and tend to hold anti-
White attitudes by rejecting everything associated with Whiteness. As individuals move from Immersion to Emersion, they may begin to experience greater control of their emotional involvement in being Black and shift their focus on a more internal sense of self (Cross, 1978). The fourth stage, *Internalization*, is the development of a new worldview wherein anti-White attitudes decrease, and self-confidence in Blackness increases (Cross, 1978). In the final stage, *Internalization-Commitment*, the new identity is internalized, and individuals continue to be social activists. There is a focus on the meaning-making of the self, and the progress of resolving socio-political issues within the group are pursued.

**Revised Nigrescence Model**

In the revised Nigrescence Model, Cross (1991) identified four stages of Black racial identities, (a) Pre-Encounter, (b) Encounter, (c) Immersion-Emersion, and (d) Internalization. These stages are best described as overarching themes rather than identities (Vandiver, Cross, Worrell, & Fhagen-Smith, 2002). *Pre-Encounter* is associated with two identities: Assimilation (pro-American) and Anti-Black (miseducation and self-hatred). Assimilationists are those who have pro-American identities, and "race is not salient to them" (Vandiver et al., 2002). The second stage, *Encounter*, "...retains the same name in the revised model, and it depicts the experience of an event or series of events that motivate individuals to reexamine their reference group orientation (RGO)" (Vandiver et al., 2002, p. 72). According to Cross (1985), RGO is how people orient themselves toward a socially ascribed group. The third stage, *Immersion-Emersion*, is characterized by anti-White attitudes (i.e., hatred toward White people and all that involves being White). The final stage, *Internalization*, is the acceptance of being Black by endorsing high positive race salience and activism. Three attitudes characterize this stage: (a) Multiculturalism with a focus on multiple cultural identities, (b) Nationalism wherein an
individual embodies Africentric ideologies, and (c) Biculturalism wherein an individual gives equal importance to being Black and an American.

**Expanded Nigrescence Model**

The expanded Nigrescence Model (Cross & Vandiver, 2001) also identifies four stages describing the overarching themes of Blacks. These stages are: (a) Pre-Encounter, (b) Encounter, (c) Immersion-Emersion, and (d) Internalization. Unlike the previous version of this model, however, the Pre-encounter stage describes three separate identities: Pre-Encounter Assimilation, Pre-Encounter Miseducation, and Pre-Encounter Self-Hatred. *Pre-Encounter Assimilation* identity reflects those who are pro-American. The *Pre-Encounter Miseducation* identity refers to the "negative stereotypical mindset a Black person has about the Black community" (Vandiver et al., 2003, p. 72). The *Pre-Encounter Self-Hatred* identity refers to hatred of self, due to the shifts of identity from an RGO to personal identity. The experience defines the Encounter stage that individuals encounter that causes them to re-examine their RGO. The Immersion-Emersion stage is still defined as the intense Black involvement and anti-White sentiment. Likewise, the Internalization stage retained the original three identities: Black Nationalist, Biculturalist, and Multiculturist Inclusive.

**Models of Racial Identity**

Sellers and colleagues (1998) defined Black racial identity "qualitative meaning that individuals attribute to their membership within the Black racial group self-concepts" (p. 19). As an amalgamation of existing theories, the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) was introduced to highlight the importance of race and racial group membership (Sellers et al., 1998). Four dimensions make up the MMRI: (a) salience, (b) centrality, (c) regard, and (d) ideology.
Racial salience refers to the degree to which one's race is a relevant factor of one's self-concept at a particular moment or in a particular situation (Sellers et al., 1998). Racial salience, the first dimension in the MMRI, is said to be the mediating process between characteristics of identity and behavior (Sellers et al., 1998). The second dimension is centrality, which is the way one defines the "Self," according to race. The third dimension is regard, which refers to the evaluation of one's positive-negative feelings toward one's race. This dimension consists of a private and public component. Private regard is defined as one's positive or negative feelings toward being African American. Public regard refers to one's feelings about how others assess African Americans positively or negatively. The final dimension is ideology. Ideology is "composed of the individual's beliefs, opinions, and attitudes concerning the way she or he feels that the members of the race should act" (Sellers et al., 1998).

The MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) and Cross Nigrescence model (1991) have been frequently used to explain how Black males form their identity. While these models serve a similar purpose, how individuals develop varies, as does the operationalization of racial identity in each model. The MMRI focuses on the significance and the nature of an individual's racial identity at a given time across one's life span (Sellers et al., 1998), while the Nigrescence Model conceptualizes individuals' attitudes from a psychological perspective (Cross, 1991). Cross's model suggests that racial identity is associated with developmental stages that occur during one's life span. His model also strives to explain individualized racial meanings and acknowledges the environmental factors that can influence how African Americans experience the world. The MMRI suggests that racial identity has multiple dimensions that can occur at any given moment and that these identities may be hierarchal. For this study, however, the
Nigrescence Model is more appropriate because it offers psychological perspectives of African American men's racial identity attitudes.

**Black Racial Identity in Colleges**

For African American men, asking for help can be threatening and perceived as a sign of weakness concerning their racial identity (Wimer & Levent, 2011). African American men attending PWIs may be at a greater risk for avoiding help due to their encounters with oppression and racism within the academic environment and abroad. Allen (1992) argued that Black students attending PWIs, when compared to those attending historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs), reported heightened perceptions of alienation, hostility, racial discrimination, and lack of integration. Consequently, Karabenick (2004) suggested that feelings of threat can impact students' motivation levels and sense of self-esteem, which ultimately results in help-seeking avoidance. As African American men maneuver within the academic environment, how they manifest their racial and masculine ideologies will likely play a critical role in the social perceptions others may have of them in general and in the academic environment specifically, which may also impact their sense of belonging at a given institution.

**Black Racial Identity and Academic Success**

Researchers continue to find that many African American male college students who attend PWIs are more likely to be held to lower academic standards, placed in more remedial courses or programs, and experience greater racial isolation (Gummadam, Pittman, & Loffe, 2016; Harper, 2015; Noguera, 2003). As noted in the research, these experiences negatively impact students' socioemotional wellbeing and increase their likelihood of dropping out of college (Allen, 1994; Carbrera, Nora, Terenzini, Pascarella, & Hagedorn, 1999; Gerdes & Mallinckrodt, 1994; Gray, Vitak, Easton, Ellison, 2013). However, individual attitudes such as
those described in Cross's Expanded Nigrescence Model (with the exclusion of Pre-encounter self-hatred) held by African Americans regarding their racial identity can serve as a buffer within racially hostile environments (Allen, 1992; Anglin & Wade, 2007; Sellers et. al., 2006). Racial identity attitudes within Cross's Model are described as more salient; thus, individuals may be less vulnerable to racially motivated occurrences.

As an example of the above, Wilson and Constantine (1999) examined the relationship among Black students' racial identity attitudes, self-concept, and perceived family cohesion at PWIs. Their findings suggested that individuals who possessed a strong Pre-Encounter attitude held less positive feelings about their self-concept, whereas individuals endorsing strong Internalized racial attitudes held positive regard for themselves. Similarly, Anglin and Wade (2007) examined the impact of racial socialization and racial identity on adjustment in Black college students. Their findings revealed that students who possessed an Internalized Multicultural attitude had a better overall adjustment to college than those who possessed Pre-Encounter Self-Hatred attitudes. Other studies have found racial identity to be significantly correlated with the psychological health of African American students attending PWIs (Pillay, 2005; Wester, Vogel, Wei, & McLain, 2006). More specifically, Pillay (2005) found that Pre-Encounter and Encounter attitudes were more predictive of poor psychological health in African American males than of females. One explanation of this finding was said to be associated with higher risk-taking behaviors and lack of maturity found among men who held Pre-Encounter and Encounter attitudes. These findings suggest that individual attitudes can influence how African American men maneuver at PWIs. It could be argued that some racial identity attitudes such as Pre-Encounter Self Hatred have a significant impact on students' decisions to seek academic assistance. However, despite the circumstance that dwells within the academic environment,
racial identity cannot be overlooked when investigating the attributes that contribute to the academic success of African American men.

**Summary**

This chapter reviewed the literature related to academic help-seeking behavior, racial identity attitudes, and masculinity norms, with a particular focus on African American undergraduates attending historically White colleges and universities. The framework of academic help-seeking, racial identity, and traditional masculinity norms was presented to establish a better conceptual view of the research topic. Although there exists a plethora of literature examining the factors that impact academic help-seeking, the influence of masculinity and racial identity has been overlooked within the academic help-seeking literature (Davis, 2003). Exploring how individual’s racial attitudes and masculine norms impact academic help-seeking behaviors may provide a better understanding of: (a) the role of racial identity attitudes and masculinity norms among African American undergraduates, and (b) strategies professionals and academic administrators can implement to cultivate supportive and inclusive educational environments. For example, suppose higher levels of self-hating racial attitudes and comform to higher degree of self-reliant masculine norms predict academic help-seeking avoidance. In that case, educators may look to create programming to address individuals' misconceptions about their race or implement help-seeking practices that support men’s independence and autonomy. to be more proactive in their solicitation of help for African American college men who hold these beliefs. With this understanding as a foundation, the present study was designed to expand and advance the academic help-seeking literature by examining racial identity and traditional masculine norms' effect on African American college male academic success.
CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGY

Participants

The original sample size for the current study consisted of 238 college students attending a large historically White university in the Midwest. However, 118 individuals were removed from the sample for the following reasons: (a) identified as female \((n = 9)\), (b) were current graduate students \((n = 3)\), (c) did not meet registered student status criteria \((n = 5)\), (d) completed survey under ten minutes \((n = 27)\), and (e) failed to complete one or more of the survey scales \((n = 71)\). The final sample size was 120 participants.

Participants were asked to respond to a variety of demographic questions regarding age, grade point average, academic status, major, parent's education level, and annual family income. Participants ages ranged from 17 to 36 years old, with a mean age of 21.5 \((SD = 3.8)\). Of the 120 participants, there were 23 freshmen \((19.2\%)\), 31 sophomores \((25.8\%)\), 26 juniors \((21.7\%)\), and 40 seniors \((33.3\%)\). Participants reported completing 4 or more years of college at the time of the survey. Twenty-seven percent reported pursuing a major in the College of Business \((n = 32)\) followed by, the College of Arts and Sciences \((n = 27; 22.5\%)\), Engineering College \((n = 15; 12.5\%)\), the College of Education and Human Development \((10.8\%; n = 13)\), the College of Fine Arts \((n = 10; 8.3\%)\), the College of Health and Human Services \((n = 11; 9.1\%)\), Exploratory Studies \((n = 6; 5.0\%)\), the College of Flight Science \((n = 4; 3.3\%)\), and University Studies Program \((n = 3; 2.5\%)\). Most participants reported their family socioeconomic status (SES) as working-class \((n = 45; 37.5\%)\), whereas 30 \((25.0\%)\) were from lower-income families, 22 \((18.3\%)\) from middle-income families, 17 \((14.1\%)\) upper-middle-income families, and 6 \((5.0\%)\) from wealthy families. Finally, 37.5\% \((n = 45)\) of participants reported that their maternal parent
held a bachelor's degree or higher compared to their paternal parent (20.8%; \( n = 25 \)). For two (1.7%) participants, their maternal parents’ education level was marked unknown, and 15 (12.5%) participants marked unknown for their paternal parent education level. A summary of participants' demographics is shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Summary of Participant Demographics

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Note. \( N = 120 \).
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Note. N = 120.

Measures

Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS)

The CRIS (Vandiver et al., 2000) is designed to measure Black racial identity attitudes according to the expanded Nigrescence Model (Cross & Vandiver, 2002). The CRIS consists of 40 items across six subscales: Assimilation (pro-American attitude), Miseducation (negative & stereotypical views about other Black individuals), Self-Hatred (self-hating attitude), Anti-White (rejection of White people & White culture), Afrocentric (Black empowerment), and Multiculturalist (Black self-acceptance, as well as the acceptance of other social attitudes). An additional 10 items are fillers "to minimize response bias and to diminish the obviousness of the
CRIS items" (Cross & Vandiver, 2001, p. 387). Each subscale is comprised of five items, resulting in 30 equally distributed items (Cross & Vandiver, 2001). Respondents are asked to rate each statement on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree) to (7 = strongly agree). Scores on the subscales are obtained by summing the subscale item scores and dividing the summed score by five, resulting in an average subscale score ranging from 1 to 7. Higher scores indicate greater endorsements of a specific racial attitude. The CRIS is not designed to compute a total overall score or mean to be analyzed and interpreted separately (Worrell, Vandiver, & Cross, 2004).

Reliability estimates of the subscale scores have ranged from .65 to .90 (Gardner-Kitt, & Worrell, 2007; Vandiver et al., 2002; Worrell et al., 2004). The six-factor structure has been supported through EFA and confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) with college-age samples (Vandiver et al., 2002; Worrell, Vandiver, & Cross, 2004). The fit indices for the CFA have been above .90, and measures of misfit have been between .03 and .06, which are in keeping with the good model fit (Kline, 2005).

The convergent validity of the CRIS subscales scores has been tested against the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997). Correlations between the CRIS and MIBI subscales have ranged from |.30| to |.59|. Findings indicated that Assimilation, Self-Hatred, Anti-White, Afrocentric, and Multiculturalist all had meaningful and interpretable patterns of relationships with similar subscales from the MIBI, whereas Miseducation correlations did not meet a priori criteria of |.30| or greater. Correlations between the CRIS subscale and two social desirability indices were below |.23| and no correlations above |.20| between CRIS and BFI subscales were found. Only the Self-Hatred
scale was correlated to global self-esteem ($r = -0.34$), which supported the theoretical underpinnings of the expanded Nigresscence model (Cross & Vandiver, 2001).

**Conformity to Masculinity Norms Inventory 46 (CMNI-46)**

The Conformity to Masculinity Norms Inventory 46 (CMNI 46; Parent & Moradi, 2009) is a short form deriving from the original 94-item CMNI (Mahalik et al., 2003). The measure assesses the extent to which an individual male “conforms or does not conform to the actions, thoughts, and feelings that reflect masculinity norms in the dominant culture in U.S. society” (Mahalik et al., 2003, p. 5). The original model contained 11 masculine norms and had a total of 94-items (Mahalik et al., 2003), whereas the CMNI-46 contains nine masculine norms. Parent and Moradi (2009) abbreviated Mahalik et al.'s (2003) original CMNI scale to improve its psychometric properties and practical utility (CMNI-46; Parent & Moradi, 2009). These norms are considered to possess beneficial and non-beneficial outcomes for individuals who adhere to these norms and fall along a conformity continuum, comprised of four statuses: extreme conformity, moderate conformity, moderate nonconformity, and extreme nonconformity.

The CMNI-46 consists of 46 items across nine subscales: Emotional Control (6 items) assesses emotional restriction and suppression. A sample item is "I tend to keep my feelings to myself." Winning (6 items) assesses the drive to win. A sample item is "In general, I will do anything to win." Playboy (4 items) assesses the desire for multiple or non-committed sexual relationships and emotional distance from sex partners. A sample item is "If I could, I would frequently change sexual partners." Violence (6 items) assesses the proclivity for physical confrontations. A sample item is "Sometimes violent action is necessary." Self-reliance (5 items) assesses the aversion to asking for assistance. A sample item is "I hate asking for help." Risk-taking (5 items) assesses participants for high-risk behaviors. A sample item is "I frequently put
myself in risky situations." Power Over Women (4 items) assesses perceived control over women at both personal and social levels. A sample is "In general, I control the women in my life." Primacy of Work (4 items) assesses the viewing of work as a major focus of life. A sample is "My work is the most important part of my life." Heterosexual Self-Presentation (6 items) assesses aversion to the prospect of being gay or being thought of as gay. A sample item is "I would be furious if someone thought I was gay." Respondents are asked to rate each statement on a 4-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree). The subscale scores are calculated by averaging the item scores of each norm. A total scale score can be calculated by adding all subscale scores. High scores on the total CMNI-46 indicate conformity toward a global ideology of masculinity, whereas subscales indicate conformity toward a specified masculine attitude. However, Parent and Moradi (2009) caution the interpretation of total CMNI scores given the multidimensionality of masculine norms.

The CMNI-46 (Parent & Moradi, 2009) was developed using CFA on the original 94-item scale. The nine-factor structure has been supported through EFA and CFA with college-age samples. The CMNI-46 was found to be highly correlated with Mahalik et al. (2003) original form ($r = .94$), with equally high intercorrelations between the subscales on the two measures ($rs = .89$ to $.98$), supporting convergent validity. Reliability estimates of the subscale scores were found to be in good and excellent ranges of $.77$ (Primacy of Work) to $.91$ (Heterosexual Self-Preservation). The total reliability estimate for the scores was $.88$. The fit indices for the CFA was above $.90$, with root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) = $.046$, and a standardized root-mean-square residual (SRMR) = $.059$. 
**General Academic Help-Seeking Scale**

The General Academic Help-Seeking Scale (GAHSS) was adapted from the Computer Science Help-Seeking Scales (CSHSS; Pajares, Cheong, & Oberman, 2004), which was designed to assess the academic help-seeking behaviors of students enroll in a computer science course. Noting that Pajares et al. (2004) stated that the Computer Science Help-Seeking Scales (CSHSS) could be adapted for uses in other academic areas, the researcher adapted the wording of the CSHSS to fit a general sample of college students, naming the revised instrument "General Academic Help-Seeking Scale," (Pajares et al., 2004; Wimer & Levant, 2011). For example, the item "When I ask my computer science teacher for help, I prefer to be given hints or clues rather than the answer" was changed to "When I ask my teacher for help, I prefer to be given hints or clues rather than the answer."

The GAHSS consists of 36 items across four individual scales (Instrumental help-seeking; Executive help-seeking; Avoidance of help-seeking; and Perceived Benefits of help-seeking). Instrumental help-seeking (10 items) are "those instances in which the help requested is limited to only the amount and type that is needed to allow the [student] to solve the problem or attain the goal in question for himself" (Nelson–Le Gall, 1981, p. 224). Items in the subscale refer to seeking academic help from a teacher or a classmate. Executive help-seeking (10 items) "refers to those instances when a student intends to have someone solve a problem or goal for him" (Nelson–Le Gall, 1981, p. 225). Items in the subscale refer to seeking academic help from a teacher or a classmate. Avoidance to help-seeking (10 items), "refers to instances when a student needs help but does not seek it" (Ryan & Pintrich, 1997, p. 329). The Perceived Benefits of help-seeking (6 items), "are the positive ramifications of seeking help on a task from an individual perspective (Pajares et al., 2004). Respondents are asked to rate each statement on an 8-point
Likert scale (1 = *most definitely false* to 8 = *most definitely true*). Scores on the subscales are obtained by summing the subscale item scores and dividing the summed score by the number of items on the subscale. Higher scores indicated greater endorsements of the specified help-seeking behavior.

According to Pajares et al. (2004), the four help-seeking scales of the CSHSS were found to have "strong psychometric properties and proved more reliable than did measures previously used in studies of academic help-seeking," (p. 506). "An exploratory factor analysis was conducted to identity-latent structures underlying the help-seeking items" (Pajares et al., 2004, p. 502). The scores on the CSHSS revealed a Cronbach alpha coefficient of .89 (Instrumental help-seeking), .92 (Executive help-seeking), .86 (Avoidance of help-seeking), and 91 (Benefits of help-seeking).

**Procedures**

**Rationale for Targeted Sample**

The achievement gap for African American male undergraduate students in education and academic success has been a long-standing concern. Thus, the current study focused solely on the Black male undergraduates to better understand their uniqueness, because neither a global nor a comparative approach would allow for a better understanding of the functionality and utilization of their endorsed identities when investigating their academic help-seeking behavior.

**Recruitment**

At the time of this study, Black/African American male college students represented less than 5% (847/17,760) of the undergraduate student body on campus. Several methods were employed to recruit the targeted population, which included: (a) soliciting through social media (Facebook, Twitter, Snapchat); (b) distributing flyers and handbills; (c) soliciting Black student
attending organized group meetings on campus (e.g., fraternities, Black Student Union); and (d) sending emails to academic units, student support departments, and professors (i.e., Black/African American Studies, academic advising, Multicultural Affairs, and Black/African American students) and asking them to forward it to Black/African American undergraduates (snowball effect).

Recruitment procedures were conducted in several steps. First, the principal investigator met with the directors of Academic Support Services and Academic Advising to invite their participation. The directors agreed to the study and offered input regarding the recruitment procedures (e.g., collection of the data, issuing compensation, emailing procedures, and verification of student status). The directors were informed of the purpose of the study, inclusion criteria, and incentives for student participation. To be included in the study, students were required to meet the following criteria: (a) identify as Black/African American and male, (b) be classified by the university as an undergraduate student, and (c) have lived in the United States for a minimum of 5 years. Students who did not meet the above criteria were excluded from the study. Next, the study was submitted to the Human Subject Institutional Review Board (HSIRB) for approval to conduct research with human participants at the associated university (Appendix A). Once approval was granted, the directors of Academic Support Services and Academic Advising generated a listserv of students who met the inclusion criteria. The principal investigator emailed an invitation of participation and marketing items to the directors, of whom forwarded the material to students on the listserv (a copy of the email and marketing items are supplied in Appendix B). The directors also asked staff members in their respective areas to inform qualified students and forward the marketing material to Black/African American male undergraduates (snowball effect). Next, the principal investigator recruited student leaders of
Black student organizations (i.e., National Panhellenic Council, Black Student Union) to help with numerous recruitment methods, which included: (a) soliciting study through social media (Facebook, Twitter, Snapchat); (b) distributing flyers and handbills; and (c) soliciting Black student attending organized group meetings on campus (e.g., fraternities, Black Student Union) to promote the study (a copy of the marketing material is supplied in Appendix C).

Data Collection and Consent

Data were collected across multiple weeks between June 22, 2017 and April 14, 2018, by the principal investigator. Students who were interested in participating in the study were required to complete an online survey. Students were provided multiple options for taking the online survey, which included the following: (a) taking the survey on a designed computer located in the Academic Support Service lounge, (b) scanning a QR coded on their mobile phones or electronic devices, (c) typing or click the link to the study on their PC. A link to the study and QR codes were included in all promotional methods (e.g., email, flyers, handbills).

At the start of the survey, participants were prompted to read a summary of the research study. The summary included: (a) a reminder that participation was voluntary, and (b) a statement informing them that by choosing to click the link to the survey, they were consenting to participate in the study (a copy of the standardized instructions and consent process is provided in Appendix D). Once students clicked on the link to continue to the survey, they were prompted to complete several questionnaires, which included the following: (a) demographics, (b) the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS), (c) the Conformity to Masculinity Norms Inventory (CMNI-46), and (d) the General Academic Help-Seeking Scale (GAHSS). The questionnaires were administered in randomized order to minimize sequence effect (Foddy, 1993). On average, the total survey time was 32 minutes. As an incentive, students were compensated with a $10
Meijer's gift card. Upon completing the survey, participants were prompted to click on a link that took them to the compensation form, to maintain confidentiality. The form provided participants with the option to pick up their gift card at the Center of Academic Support Programs (CASP) reception desk or have their gift card mailed. All participants were required to provide their name and email to verify enrollment and survey completion. The CASP advising office conducted verification of the students' enrollment and completion of their survey.
CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

This chapter summarizes the findings and the statistical analyses used to evaluate the research hypotheses presented in chapter II. Preliminary analyses, data management and assumptions, are first presented, followed by descriptive statistics, means, standard deviation, reliability estimates, and correlations of the primary variables. This chapter concludes with a summary of the primary analyses.

Preliminary Analyses

An inspection of the data was conducted to assess whether the cases had any missing values. A frequency distribution of all relevant variables revealed that no values were missing from the dataset. Thus, the total sample size used for the subsequent analysis was 120. The Mahalanobis’ distances test was used to identify multivariate outliers using SPSS 25. Based on the standard criteria ($\chi^2 (17) = 40.79 \ p < .001$; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001), the Mahalanobis distance values did not reveal cases exceeding the established critical value. Therefore, no cases were removed from the dataset. A total of 120 participants remained for the proceeding analyses.

The skewness and kurtosis values were assessed to ensure that the normal distribution of scores across all variables fell within the appropriate range (i.e., $|2|$; George & Mallery, 2010). A visual inspection of the P-P plots showed the residuals normally distributed along the diagonal line. All of the variables’ scores (CRIS, CMNI-46, GAHSS) fell within the appropriate range. A summary of the scores is shown in Table 2. The assumption of linearity was observed through visual observation of the relationship between the predictor and outcome variables. The predictors and outcome variables were plotted onto a scatterplot and visually inspected to verify that the relationship formed a straight line. The scatterplot revealed that the predictors formed a
linear relationship with the outcome variables, which satisfied the assumption of linearity (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001).

Table 2

Skewness and Kurtosis for the Subscales of the CRIS, CMNI, and GAHSS

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Note. N = 120. CRIS = Cross Racial Identity Scale; PA = Pre-Encounter Assimilation; PM = Pre-Encounter Miseducation; PSH = Pre-Encounter Self-Hatred; IA = Internalization Afrocentric; IEAW = Immersion-Emerison Anti-White; IMCI = Internalization Multiculturalist Inclusive; CMNI = Conformity to Masculinity Norms Index; HS = Help Seeking.

The assumption of homoscedasticity was observed through visual observation between residuals and the variance of the residuals on the residual plot. The residuals were examined to verify that the data's variance was evenly distanced around the x-axis of the graph. The residual plot revealed equally distributed patterns of data points around the regression line, which satisfied the assumptions of homoscedasticity (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001).

Multicollinearity was assessed by checking the collinearity statistics of tolerance and variance inflation factor (VIF; Fields, 2013) and observing the magnitude of the correlations between variables. Multicollinearity is considered a concern when the tolerance scores are above
0.2 and the VIF scores are 10 or higher (Fields, 2013). The tolerance scores ranged from 0.537 to 0.744, and VIF scores were below 10 (i.e., < 1.86). The variables are also problematic if correlations are observed above 0.8. The highest correlation among the variables was observed between help-seeking avoidance and perceived benefit ($r = -.61$). The results indicated that the assumption of multicollinearity was met.

**Descriptive Statistics**

Descriptive statistics, including reliability estimates (Cronbach's $\alpha$), means, standard deviations, and Pearson correlation matrix, were computed for all major variables. A summary of these statistics for the primary variables is presented in Tables 3 and 4.

**Reliability Estimates**

The six CRIS subscale scores' reliability estimates ranged from .77 (Multiculturalist) to .89 (Assimilation; $Mdn = .81$). The scores of the four academic help-seeking subscales were all above .70, the prevailing guideline for an adequate internal consistency of the scores (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001): (a) Instrumental = .88, (b) Perceived Benefit = .91, (c) Executive = .93, and (d) Avoidance = .94 ($Mdn = .91$). Estimates of the scores on the nine CMNI subscales ranged from .69 (Risk-Taking) to .89 (Heterosexual SP; $Mdn = .81$). Previous research studies have reported alpha coefficients falling within the range of .77 to .91 for the CMNI-46 subscale scores (Parent & Moradi, 2009; 2011; Parent et al., 2011). Because the Risk-Taking reliability estimate of the scores was only slightly less than .70 (Morgan et al., 2011), this subscale remained in the final analysis.

The interpretation of the six CRIS (Vandiver et al., 2000) subscales is based on the 7-point Likert scale ($1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree$), with higher scores reflecting greater endorsements of a specified racial attitude. Participants averaged higher scores on
Multiculturalist ($M = 5.55$), but averaged lower scores on Self-Hatred ($M = 1.97$). The scores of
the nine CMNI-46 (Parent & Moradi, 2011) were interpreted based on a 4-point Likert scale ($1 = strongly disagree, 4 = strongly agree$), with higher scores reflecting greater conformity toward a
specified masculine norm. Participants averaged higher scores on Violence ($M = 2.76$) but
averaged lower scores on Power Over Women ($M = 1.77$). The scores of the four General
Academic Help-Seeking Scale (GAHSS), adapted from the Computer Science Help-Seeking
Scale (CSHSS; Pajares et al., 2004) were interpreted based on an 8-point semantic differential
scale ($1 = definitely false, 8 = definitely true$), with higher scores reflecting a preference toward
a specified help-seeking attitude. Participants averaged higher scores on HS Instrumental ($M = 6.37$), but averaged lower scores on HS Executive ($M = 2.25$). A summary of alpha, mean score,
and standard deviation is shown in Table 3.

**Correlation Matrix**

One hundred and seventy-one correlations were generated between the 6 CRIS subscales,
9 CMNI subscales, and the 4 academic help-seeking scales. The level of statistical significance
was set at .05 and the effect size summarizing the strength of the bivariate relationship was set at
$.10 (r^2; Cohen, 1988)$. Based on these criteria, 6 correlations were considered meaningful to
interpret. Meaningful correlations were observed between racial identity and CMNI-subscles.
Racial identity Anti-White subscale was positively correlated with CMNI-Playboy (Playboy; $r = .31, p < .001$) and CMNI-Power over women (POW; $r = .34, p < .001$)—indicating that
individuals who rated themselves higher on anti-White attitude reported a higher score on
Playboy and power over women masculine norms. Racial identity Assimilation subscale was
negatively correlated with CMNI-Playboy subscale ($r = -.32, p < .001$)—indicating that
Table 3

Reliability Estimates (Cronbach's α), Means, and Standard Deviations for the Subscales of the CRIS, CMNI, and GAHSS

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Note. N = 120. α = alpha; M = mean; SD = standard deviation; CRIS = Cross Racial Identity Scale; PA = Pre-Encounter Assimilation; PM = Pre-Encounter Miseducation; PSH = Pre-Encounter Self-Hatred; IA = Internalization Afrocentric; IEAW = Immersion-Emersion Anti-White; IMCI = Internalization Multiculturalist Inclusive; CMNI = Conformity to Masculinity Norms Index; HSP = Heterosexual Self-Preservation; HS = Help-Seeking

individuals who rated themselves higher on assimilationist attitude rated having a lower level on the Playboy masculine norm. Two of the nine CMNI subscales were positively correlated with HS-Avoidance: Self-Reliance (r = .58, p < .001) and Playboy (r = .32, p < .001)—indicating that individuals who rated themselves having a higher conformity toward Self-Reliance and Playboy norms rated having a higher level of academic help-seeking avoidance. Self-Reliance was negatively correlated with HS-Perceived Benefit (r = -.52, p < .002)—indicating that individuals who rated themselves having a higher conformity toward Self-Reliance norm rated perceived benefit for academic help-seeking lower. A full description of Pearson's correlation matrix is shown in Table 4.
Table 4

*Pearson's Correlation Matrix for CRIS, CMNI, and GAHSS*

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*Note: N = 120. CRIS = Cross Racial Identity Scale; PA = Pre-Encounter Assimilation; PM = Pre-Encounter Miseducation; PSH = Pre-Encounter Self-Hatred; IA = Internalization Afrocentric; IEAW = Immersion-Emersion Anti-White; IMCI = Internalization Multiculturalist Inclusive; CMNI = Conformity to Masculinity Norms Index; Win = Winning; Play = Playboy; SR = Self-Reliance; Vio = Violence; HS SP = Heterosexual Self-Preservation; RT = Risk-Taking; EC = Emotional Control; PWrk = Primacy of Work; POW = Power Over Women; HS = Help-Seeking.
*p < .05. **p < .01.
Primary Analyses

Racial Identity and Academic Help-Seeking Behavior

Two hierarchical multiple regressions were conducted to determine whether as hypothesized the set of CRIS variables were predictors of the two outcome variables of academic help-seeking Avoidance and Perceived Benefit, respectively, above and beyond that accounted for by help-seeking styles (Instrumental and Executive). In both analyses, the entry of the predictors was the same. Previous research studies on academic help-seeking behavior have found Instrumental and Executive help-seeking styles to be significant predictors of Avoidance and Perceived Benefit (Alexitch, 2006; Karabenick, 2004; Nelson-Le Gall, 1991). Thus, the Instrumental and Executive help-seeking predictors were entered in the first step of the model, and the six CRIS scores were entered in the second step.

**Academic help-seeking avoidance.** It was expected that Self-Hatred and Anti-White racial attitudes would have a positive effect, and Afrocentric and Multiculturalist racial attitudes would have a negative effect on help-seeking Avoidance behavior, after controlling for the effects of Instrumental and Executive help-seeking styles. A summary of the hierarchical multiple regression findings is provided in Table 5, including unstandardized coefficients, beta weights ($\beta$), squared semi-partialss ($sr^2$), the variance accounted for by the model ($R^2$), and change in variance ($\Delta R^2$).

At the first step with the entry of Executive and Instrumental help-seeking, the overall model was statistically significant, $F(2, 117) = 4.66, p = .011, R^2 = .074$, for Help-Seeking Avoidance. At the individual level, Executive help-seeking ($\beta = .22, p = .024, sr^2 = .04$) had a statistically significant effect in predicting Avoidance; whereas, Instrumental help-seeking did
not ($\beta = -0.09, p = .36, sr^2 = .03$). In essence, those who reported a higher level in executive help-seeking also reported a higher level of avoiding academic help-seeking. At step 2, the overall model with the entry of the six CRIS variables was not a statistically significant predictor of Avoidance, $F(6, 111) = 0.67, p = .67; \Delta R^2 = .032$.

Table 5

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting Help-Seeking Avoidance from HS-Executive, HS-Instrumental and CRIS Subscales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>$B$</th>
<th>SE $B$</th>
<th>$\beta$</th>
<th>$sr^2$</th>
<th>$R^2$</th>
<th>$\Delta R^2$</th>
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<td>.01</td>
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<td>.03</td>
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<td>HS-Executive</td>
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<td>-.07</td>
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<td>0.16</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>&lt;.01</td>
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</table>

Note: $N = 120$. HS = Help-Seeking; CRIS = Cross Racial Identity Scale; $B$ = unstandardized regression coefficient; SE $B$ = standard error; $\beta$ = beta or standardized regression coefficient; $sr^2$ = semi squared partial or part correlation; and $R^2$ = coefficient of determination; $\Delta R^2$ = R-square change.

Help-seeking perceived benefit. It was expected that two of the six CRIS variables, Afrocentric and Multiculturalist attitudes, would have a positive effect on the help-seeking variable of Perceived Benefit, after controlling for the effects of Instrumental and Executive help-seeking styles. A summary of the hierarchical multiple regression findings is provided in Table 6, including unstandardized coefficients, beta weights ($\beta$), squared semi-partials ($sr^2$), the variance accounted for by the model ($R^2$), and change in variance ($\Delta R^2$).
At the first step with Executive and Instrumental help-seeking variables entered, the overall model was statistically significant, \( F(2,117) = 6.65, p = .002, R^2 = .102 \), for perceived benefit. At the individual level, only Instrumental help-seeking was statistically significant, \( (\beta = .32, p < .001, sr^2 = .08) \), whereas Executive help-seeking was not, \( (\beta = -.006, p = .94, sr^2 = .001) \). The results showed that an increase in Instrumental help-seeking contributed to an increase in individuals’ feeling that seeking help was a benefit.

Table 6

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting Help-Seeking Perceived Benefit from HS-Executive, HS-Instrumental and CRIS subscales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>( B )</th>
<th>( SE \ B )</th>
<th>( B )</th>
<th>( sr^2 )</th>
<th>( R^2 )</th>
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<td><strong>Step 1</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS-Executive</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>&lt;.01</td>
<td>&lt;.01</td>
<td>(.10^{**})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS-Instrumental</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.32**</td>
<td>0.08**</td>
<td>(.82^{**})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Step 2</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS-Executive</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>&lt;.01</td>
<td>&lt;.01</td>
<td>(.20^{*})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS-Instrumental</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.33**</td>
<td>0.08***</td>
<td>0.08***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRIS-Assimilation</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>&lt;.01</td>
<td>&lt;.01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRIS-Miseducation</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRIS-Self-Hatred</td>
<td>-0.19</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>-0.13</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRIS-Anti-White</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>&lt;.01</td>
<td>&lt;.01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRIS-Afrocentric</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.29**</td>
<td>0.07**</td>
<td>0.07**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRIS-Multiculturalist</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. N = 120. HS = Help-Seeking; CRIS = Cross Racial Identity Scale; \( B \) = unstandardized regression coefficient; \( SE \ B \) = standard error; \( \beta \) = beta or standardized regression coefficient; \( sr^2 \) = semi squared partial or part correlation; and \( R^2 \) = coefficient of determination; \( \Delta R^2 \) = R-square change. \( *p < .05. \; **p < .01. \; ***p < .001 \)

At step 2, the overall model with the entry of the six CRIS variables was significant \( F(6,111) = 2.35, p = .036, \Delta R^2 = .101 \). At the individual level, the only significant predictor of academic help-seeking Perceived Benefit was Afrocentric racial attitudes \( (\beta = .29, p = .003, sr^2 = .07) \). Black men undergraduates who had a higher endorsement of Afrocentric racial attitudes were more likely to perceive benefits for seeking academic help.
Masculinity and Academic Help-Seeking Behavior

Two hierarchical multiple regressions were conducted to determine whether as hypothesized the set of CMNI subscales were predictors of the two outcome variables of academic help-seeking Avoidance and Perceived Benefit, respectively, above and beyond that accounted for by help-seeking styles (Instrumental and Executive). In both analyses, the predictor variables were entered in the same order. Instrumental and Executive help-seeking styles were entered in the first step of the model, and the set of CMNI scores were entered in the second step.

Help-seeking avoidance. It was expected that four of the nine CMNI variables would predict help-seeking Avoidance: Self-Reliance and Emotional Control of CMNI were expected to have a positive effect, and Winning and Primacy of Work subscales would to have a negative effect, after controlling for the effects of Instrumental and Executive help-seeking styles. Provided in Table 7 is a summary of the hierarchical multiple regression findings, including unstandardized coefficients, beta weights, squared semi-partial, the variance accounted for by the model ($R^2$), and change in variance ($\Delta R^2$).

At the first step with the entry of Executive and Instrumental help-seeking, the overall model was statistically significant, $F(2, 117) = 4.66, p = .011, R^2 = .074$, for avoidance. The findings for the individual help-seeking predictors revealed that only Executive help-seeking had a statistically significant effect of the model’s prediction of Avoidance, ($\beta = .22, p = .011, sr^2 = .04$), but not Instrumental help-seeking ($\beta = -.09, p = .36, sr^2 = .006$). The same pattern reported above for the racial identity was unchanged given that the same variables—predictors and criterion—were involved in the analyses: Those who rated themselves higher on executive help-seeking also rated themselves higher on avoiding academic help-seeking (Avoidance).
Including the nine CMNI subscales at step 2 resulted in the overall model to be significant, \( F(9,108) = 8.08, p = .001, \Delta R^2 = .373 \), for Avoidance. At the individual level, three of the nine CMNI predictors were statistically significant for Avoidance. Self-reliance—\( \beta = .50, p = .001, sr^2 = .17 \); Power Over Women—\( \beta = .22, p = .016, sr^2 = .03 \); Primacy of Work—\( \beta = -.19, p = .026, sr^2 = .02 \). These results suggested that Black men who rated themselves higher on Self-Reliance norm reported higher levels of avoiding academic help-seeking (Avoidance). Likewise, Black men who rated themselves higher on Power Over Women norm reported higher levels of avoiding academic help-seeking. Black men who rated themselves lower on the Primacy of Work norm reported a higher level of avoiding academic help-seeking (Avoidance).
Help-seeking perceived benefit. It was expected that four CMNI subscales would have an effect on help-seeking Perceived Benefit: Winning attitudes and Primacy of Work would have a positive effect, and Emotional Control and Self-reliance would have a negative effect, after controlling for the effects of Instrumental and Executive help-seeking styles. In Table 8, a summary of the hierarchical multiple regression findings is presented, including unstandardized coefficients, beta weights, squared semi-partialis, the variance accounted for by the model ($R^2$), and change in variance ($\Delta R^2$).

Table 8

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting Help-Seeking Perceived Benefit from HS-Executive, HS-Instrumental and CMNI subscales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>$B$</th>
<th>$SE B$</th>
<th>$\beta$</th>
<th>$sr^2$</th>
<th>$R^2$</th>
<th>$\Delta R^2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Step 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS-Executive</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>&lt;.01</td>
<td>.10**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS-Instrumental</td>
<td>0.36*</td>
<td>0.11**</td>
<td>.32**</td>
<td>.08**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.31***</td>
<td>.27****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS-Executive</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>&lt;.01</td>
<td>.31***</td>
<td>.27****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS-Instrumental</td>
<td>0.28**</td>
<td>0.10**</td>
<td>.24**</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMNI-Winning</td>
<td>-0.19</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>&lt;.01</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMNI-Playboy</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>&lt;.01</td>
<td>&lt;.01</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMNI-Self-Reliance</td>
<td>-1.27</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>-.47***</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMNI-Violence</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>&lt;.01</td>
<td>&lt;.01</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMNI-HSSP</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>&lt;.01</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMNI-Risk-Taking</td>
<td>-0.59</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>-.14</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMNI-EC</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>&lt;.01</td>
<td>&lt;.01</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMNI-Pwrk</td>
<td>0.53*</td>
<td>0.26*</td>
<td>.18*</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMNI-POW</td>
<td>-0.12</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>&lt;.01</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. $N = 120$. HS = Help-Seeking; CMNI = Conformity to Masculinity Norms Index; HSSP = Heterosexula Self-Preservation; EC = Emotional Control; Pwrk = Primacy of Work; POW = Power Over Women; $B =$ unstandardized regression coefficient; $SE B =$ standard error; $\beta =$ beta or standardized regression coefficient; $sr =$ semipartial or part correlation; and $R^2 =$ coefficient of determination; $\Delta R^2 =$ R-square change

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. ***$p < .001$

At the first step with the entry of Executive and Instrumental help-seeking, the overall model was statistically significant, $F(2, 117) = 6.65$, $p = .002$ $R^2 = .102$, for Perceived Benefit.
At the individual level, HS-Instrumental had a statistically significant effect ($\beta = .32$, $p = .001$, $sr^2 = .082$), but not HS-Executive ($\beta = -.01$, $p = .95$, $sr^2 = .001$). The same pattern observed above with the racial identity analyses was found here, as the predictors and criterion were the same prior to step 2: Those who rated themselves higher on being instrumental in help-seeking also reported a perceived benefit to academic help-seeking.

At step 2 with entry of the nine CMNI subscales, the overall model was statistically significant, $F(9,108) = 5.14$, $p < .001$, $\Delta R^2 = .269$. Two of the nine CMNI predictors were statistically significant for Perceived Benefit: Self-reliance—$\beta = -.47$, $p < .001$, $sr^2 = .15$; Primacy of Work—$\beta = .18$, $p = .026$; $sr^2 = .02$. The results indicated that Black men who rated themselves higher on Self-Reliance norm rated academic help-seeking lower as a Perceived Benefit. However, Black men who rated themselves higher on the Primacy of Work norm reported a higher Perceived Benefit to academic help-seeking.
CHAPTER V
DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine if African American undergraduate men’s racial identity attitudes and masculine norms influenced their academic help-seeking behaviors. This correlational study involved 17 predictor variables and two criteria. The criteria were the academic help-seeking variables of avoidance and perceived benefit. Three sets of predictors were used: (a) six racial identity variables measured by the CRIS, (b) nine masculinity norms variables measured by CMNI-46, and (c) two forms of help-seeking measured by Executive and Instrumental. Based on the variables used, four hypotheses were tested. For the first hypothesis it was expected that Self-Hatred and Anti-White racial attitudes would positively predict academic help-seeking avoidance, whereas Afrocentric and Multiculturalist attitudes would inversely predict academic help-seeking Avoidance. The second hypothesis was that Afrocentric and Multiculturalist attitudes would predict academic help-seeking perceived benefit. The third hypothesis was that conforming to self-reliance and emotional control would positively predict academic perceived benefit, whereas winning and primacy of work norms would have an inverse effect on the predictability of academic help-seeking avoidance. Finally, the fourth hypothesis was that a conforming to winning, and primacy of work masculine norms would positively predict academic help-seeking, whereas emotional control and self-reliance would have an inverse effect on the predictability of academic help-seeking perceived benefit. The findings provided mixed support for the hypotheses. One hypothesis was not supported, and three hypotheses were partially supported. A discussion of the study's findings by hypothesis is provided below. Also discussed are the limitations, implications for practice, and future directions in research.
Hypothesis 1: Black Racial Identity and Academic Help-Seeking Avoidance

For hypothesis 1, it was expected that self-hatred and anti-White racial identity attitudes would be positive predictors of help-seeking avoidance, whereas Afrocentric and Multiculturalist would have been inverse predictors of help-seeking avoidance. The findings did not support this hypothesis. None of the racial identity attitudes were found to be predictors of academic help-seeking avoidance.

An explanation for the null findings could be that the questions on the help-seeking measure were non-race-relevant. Non-race-relevant situations are characterized by low variability in the interpretation that an event or experience is related to one’s race (Hoggard et al., 2017). When a hypothetical scenario on a survey item does not prompt a racialized characteristic (e.g., racial background, ethnicity, racism, racial stereotypes), African Americans might not have a reason to attach their racial attitude to that situation or event (White, 2007). For example, a question on the academic help-seeking avoidance scale stated, “I don’t ask for help in class even when the work is too hard to solve on my own.” The aspect of need (i.e., when the work is too hard to solve on my own) was tapped, but the items on the help-seeking scale did not refer to the helper's race. Including the helper's race (i.e., I do not ask White professors/instructors/peers for help in class even when the work is too hard to solve on my own) could present a more explicit scenario that accounts for how Blacks’ racial attitudes influence their help-seeking process.

Furthermore, Zusho and Barnett (2011) hypothesized that Latina students would report higher levels of help-seeking avoidance compared to Caucasian, Latin American, Asian American, and African American groups. Their hypothesis was not supported. Like the current study’s finding, the authors speculated that their results may have been linked to failing to
identify from whom the students preferred to seek help. It is possible that in the absence of a racialized context (i.e., the race of the helper) African American individuals may not interpret situations to be race related.

**Hypothesis 2: Black Racial Identity and Academic Help-Seeking Perceived Benefit**

For hypothesis 2, it was expected that Afrocentric and Multiculturalist attitudes would be positive predictors of academic help-seeking perceived benefit after controlling for instrumental and executive academic help-seeking. The results partially supported the hypothesis. Black men who endorsed a higher level of Afrocentric attitude also reported a higher level of perceived benefit for seeking help. Endorsing a Multiculturalist attitude did not predict Perceived Benefits.

No prior research has examined the relationship between Black racial identity attitudes and academic help-seeking. Thus, these findings are new to the literature. Research studies have shown individuals who endorsed higher levels of Afrocentric and Multicultural attitudes were linked to higher levels of academic engagement (Awad, 2007; Chavous et al., 2008; Leath et al., 2019). However, the current findings revealed that only Afrocentric attitudes predicted a higher level of perceived benefit to academic help-seeking, and not Multicultural attitudes. As previously noted, the perceived benefit of help-seeking represents the “positive ramifications toward seeking help on a task from an individual perspective” (Pajares et al., 2004, p. 502), whereas a focus on Black empowerment characterizes an Afrocentric attitude. The positive aspects of both constructs may help explain the emergence of this relationship. Thus, men with a strong Afrocentric attitude may be more prone to perceive benefit from seeking academic help and interpret their receiving help to be a form of empowerment. Possibly, Black men may seek the support needed to achieve academic success because doing so may assist them with empowering other Black people and Black communities.
In contrast, multiculturalist attitudes are characterized by their inclusiveness to various forms of identity (i.e., gender, race, sexual orientation) in addition to their Blackness and are assessed based on these cultural experiences (Vandiver et al., 2001). A salient cultural focus may not be sufficient to predict the perceived benefits of help-seeking. Given the paucity in this area, it may be helpful to examine if other identities connect racial identity to the reasons for seeking academic help.

**Hypothesis 3: Masculinity and Academic Help-Seeking Avoidance**

For hypothesis 3, it was expected that a higher level of conformity to the masculine norms of Self-Reliance and Emotion Control would positively predict academic help-seeking avoidance, whereas conforming to lower levels of Winning and Primacy of Work norms would positively predict avoidance. The results were partially supported. Higher endorsements of Self-Reliance and lower endorsements of Primacy of Work norms did predict higher avoidance of academic help-seeking. However, Emotional Control and Winning norms did not predict avoidance of academic help-seeking. An unexpected finding emerged where Power Over Women norm positively predicted help-seeking avoidance. An interpretation and explanation of the findings are discussed.

In general, the findings were that Black undergraduate men who reported higher levels of self-reliance and higher levels of power over women were linked to higher levels of avoiding academic help-seeking. Furthermore, Black men who reported lower levels of work primacy positively predicted higher levels of academic avoidance. Consideration of perceived threat to masculinity (Pleck, 1981, 1995) provides a possible explanation for the current study findings. Researchers have shown a direct link between students perceived threat to masculine norms and academic help-seeking avoidance (Karabenick, 1998; 2003; Newman & Goldin, 1990; Wimer &
Levant, 2011). For example, Kessels and Steinmayr (2013) have shown that boys held a higher level of negative attitudes toward seeking help than their female counterparts, largely due to boys’ fear of violating social standards of masculinity (i.e., weak). Also, Wimer and Levant (2011) found that student’s endorsement of certain masculine norms (i.e., self-reliance, dominance) increased their reluctance to seek help because “it could be perceived as a sign of weakness or a loss of power” (p. 268). A common theme emerging from their study naming self-reliance as a primary factor influencing men’s avoidance behavior. Furthermore, researchers have found African American men, compared to Asia, Latino, and White men, were more likely to conform to dominant traditional masculine norms (Kessels & Steinmayr, 2013), particularly on Self-Reliance and Emotional Control (Hunter & Davis, 1992; Franklin, 1994; Levant & Major, 1998). Thus, men who endorsed higher conformity toward a self-reliant norm were more likely believe that seeking help to resolve a problem might threaten their autonomy or ability to function independently. Conversely, Primacy of Work norm has been related to favorable aspects of help-seeking behaviors (e.g., admitting challenges, expressing emotional difficulty, seeking counseling; Berger et al., 2013); associated with greater health benefits (Levant & Wimer, 2014); shown to result in greater vocational success, resilience, and grit (Duckworth, Pearson, Matthews, & Kelly, 2007); and associated with intrinsic motivation and a greater desire toward learning (Kahn, Brett, & Holmes, 2011; Marris, 2016). Perhaps students who endorse higher levels of work primacy in might view that increased avoidance of academic help threatens their ability to achieve academic success. Thus, African American men who endorse work as an essential part of their life might perceive that seeking help is a benefit rather than a behavior to avoid.
Contrary to the current study’s expected outcomes, men who endorsed higher levels of emotional control did not predict higher levels of help-seeking avoidance. Past researcher investigating men’s help-seeking behavior consistently identify masculine norms of emotional control and self-reliance as key predictors of help avoidance (Health et al., 2017; Vogel & Wester). However, African American men tend to be more expressive than other men (D.Sue & Sue, 2008) and suppress their feelings of threat to appear confident (Vogel et al., 2011). A related idea which might explain Black college men’s emotional control is Major and Billings (1993) “cool pose” concept. Cool Pose is a coping strategy used by Black men to navigate racist stereotypes that threaten their masculinity. Majors and Billings assert that Black men project complete control of their emotions by displaying to others competence, “high self-esteem, control, and inner strength” (p. 4). As such, men’s restricted emotionality may act as a mask to allow them to hide potential “self-doubt, insecurity, and inner turmoil” (p. 4). Thus, Black college men who endorse higher norms of emotional control may show an increased tendency to mask their internal emotional state to present a calm and cool disposition.

A further complication of the current hypothesis is that norms of winning did not predict academic help seeking avoidance. There is no consensus as to why this pattern did not emerge. Individuals who endorse higher levels of winning norms are more likely to consent to stereotypical beliefs that “real men” must project a “win at any cost” attitude (Hammer & Good, 2010) and more likely fear the stigma that is associated with losing (Malalik et al. 2003). Past studies seem to suggest that men who endorsed higher levels of winning norms may perceive that increased avoiding helped diminish their competitive edge for achieving academic success (Remaeker & Petrie, 2019). However, more research is needed to further our understanding
about the lack of relationship between men’s norms of winning and academic help-seeking behaviors.

Finally, an unexpected finding emerged in that higher endorsements of a Power Over Women norm predicted a higher level of avoiding academic help-seeking. Consistent with findings by Wimer and Levant (2013), conformity to masculine norm via Power Over Women inversely predicted avoidance. They speculated that the relationship between power over women and help-seeking avoidance was possibly due to relational power. In other words, the perception of being less powerful than women may threaten men’s internalized sense of masculinity. They speculated that men who has the need to assert power over women (and other men) are likely to avoid seeking academic help because in doing so gives away power to the one who is helping them (Levant & Wimer, 2011). It is plausible that men who desire to feel superior to women (and perhaps other men, too) might avoid seeking help to alleviate the feeling of losing power and confidence in their academic ability.

**Hypothesis 4: Masculinity and Academic Help-Seeking Perceived Benefit**

For hypothesis 4, it was expected that conforming to traditional masculinity norms, Winning and Primacy of Work would positively predict the perceived benefit of academic help-seeking, whereas conformity to lower levels of Emotional Control and Self-Reliance norms would predict higher levels of perceived benefit. The hypothesis was partially supported. As expected, higher endorsements of the Primacy of Work norm and lower endorsements of the Self-Reliance norm predicted higher academic help-seeking perceived benefit. Winning and Emotional Control norms did not predict perceived benefit.

Based on the findings, African American male college students who conform to a higher level of primacy of work and a lower level of self-reliance had a higher level of academic
help-seeking perceived benefit. Individuals' achievement goal orientation might provide one explanation for these results. Achievement goal theory is “concerned with the perception and pursuit of goals” (Kaplan, 1999, p. 24). One type of achievement orientation is task goals. Individuals who possess a task goal orientation define success in relation to the task and strive to increase their understanding and skill (Kaplan, 1999). Pajares et al. (2004) have shown that task goal orientation positively correlated with the perceived benefits of help-seeking. The primacy of work norm refers to individuals' ideal of success, in which men view work as a primary focus of life (McDermott et al., 2018). Perhaps, men who conform to the primacy of work norm perceive benefits of help-seeking because it increases their understanding and skill to achieve success. The finding that lower self-reliance predicted higher perceived benefits of help-seeking is not surprising. Researchers have consistently linked higher endorsements of self-reliance to increased avoidance of academic help-seeking, describing it as a vital ingredient in understanding why men avoid seeking academic help (Addis & Mahalik, 2003; Butler, 1998; Voge Zusho & Barnett, 2011; Wimer & Levent, 2011). Provided that perceived benefits may be the antithesis to individuals avoiding seeking help, it is logical that a lower endorsement of the self-reliance norm would result in individuals endorsing higher perceived benefits. Perhaps men with lower endorsements of a self-reliance norm are more concerned with developing their ability to achieving success than avoiding unfavorable judgments for requesting help. Some researchers investigating traditional masculine norms in relation to help-seeking behavior suggest self-reliance to be a key factor in understanding why men avoid seeking academic help (Wimer & Levent, 2011). Thus, possessing a lower degree of self-reliance may result in a greater willingness to seeking help.
Finally, Winning and Emotional Control did not predict Perceived Benefits. Some researchers have speculated that Winning conceptually reflects a desire to win (Hammer et al., 2018). It seems counterintuitive that men who adhere to a winning norm would seek help to succeed because admitting needing help might be interpreted as failure (McDemott et al., 2018). Although winning and primacy of work norms involve a desire to succeed (McDemott et al., 2018), their achievement goals might differ. Men who endorse higher winning norms may be driven by achievement ability goals rather than task goals. According to Midgley et al. (1998), ability goals define success in relation to others. These individuals are driven by gaining favorable judgments about their competence and avoiding unfavorable judgments (Midgley et al., 1998).

The current study finding that Emotional Control was not linked to perceived benefits is not surprising. Prior research has found that higher levels of emotional control were linked to higher levels of help seeking avoidance (Wimer & Levant, 2011). Although this finding was also not one that emerged in the current study, it is possible that Black men expression of emotion may not reflect traditional masculine beliefs found among other groups of men. Men’s endorsement of emotional control has been associated their reluctance to be vulnerable and to discuss emotional concerns (Mahalik et al., 2003). Perhaps the perceived benefits of help-seeking reflect individuals' cognitive functions rather than controlling the expression of their emotions.

**Limitations of the Study**

There are limitations of the study to be considered in light of the current study's findings. One limitation is the characteristics of the sample used. Findings were based on a convenience sample of African American, male, undergraduate students attending a predominantly White
university in the Midwest region of the United States. Another characteristic of the sample that may be a limitation is the type of academic institution used. African American experiences have been found to differ in predominantly White institutional (PWI) settings versus historically Black university (HBCU) settings (Allen, 1992; Cokley, 2000; Reeder & Schmitt, 2013; Sellers et al., 1998; Spurgeon & Myers, 2010). For example, Reeder and Schmitt (2013) found that the academic performance of African American students attending a PWI differed from those attending an HBCU in regard to situational constraints (e.g., academic support, encouragement, environment) influence on individual characteristics such as motivation and engagement. Furthermore, the current sample was generally lower to middle-class, with the majority of the sample ranging from first-year to junior status. As a result, the findings of the current study may not be generalizable to Black men as a whole, including those in other regions of the United States and those attending Historically Black Universities (Vandiver et al., 2002).

Another limitation of the study was the sample size. The initial sample consisted of 238 participants and was reduced by about 50% (n = 120). Cases were removed from the dataset for failing to meet the eligibility (see p. 34). With a small sample size, caution must be applied, as the findings might not be replicable with similar populations of Black college men.

Using solely self-report measures was another limitation. With most studies that utilized self-reported measures, researchers could not determine how truthfully respondents answer questions. Participants' responses to survey items may reflect anticipated behavior rather than actual attitudes and behaviors they display in real-life (Fisher & Katz, 2000). Most of the self-report scales measured individuals' attitudes of racial identity and masculinity. Attitude measures are highly context-dependent (Schwarz, 1999), changing as situations, events, and conditions change. The exposure to racial and gender issues within the United States may have persuaded
participants to respond to survey items in a socially desirable or politically correct manner, which may have misrepresented their genuine opinions.

Another methodological limitation of the current study was the administration of the survey. Participants completed the survey online, at their leisure. Unproctored surveys may have increased participants' susceptibility to distractions and rater error. Additionally, assistance was not available for participants who might have had questions or needed help understanding terms and concepts on the survey (i.e., Afrocentric perception).

Finally, the current study only examined heteronormative notions to identify men’s masculine beliefs. The study did not specify sexual orientation (e.g., gay, bisexual) or sexual identity, which may further explain men's endorsement of certain masculine norms concerning help-seeking behaviors (Simonsen & Watkins, 2000). Thus, exclusively using African American college men's male identity in a unidimensional manner may have not accounted for the different ways individuals choose to identify as men.

**Implications for Practice**

The current study has implications for practice for Black racial identity and masculinity in the context of academic help-seeking at predominantly White universities. Afrocentric racial identity was positively linked to perceived benefits in seeking academic help. While this finding may seem paradoxical, it suggests that educators and academic advisors need to appeal to Black male students with a strong Black identity the importance of education and the benefit of culture and academic support to be successful. Tauheed (2008) notes Black scholars and abolitionists such as W.E.B Du Bois, Carter G. Woodson, and Dr. Cornel West of whom views necessitated “Black empowerment, economic independence, and a heightened awareness of Black history and culture” (Vandiver et. al., 2001, p. 181) were essential to Black consciences for eradicating the
dehumanization of Black people and the inferior messaging constituted in American institutions. As such, the messaging of Black racial pride and a strong Black identity has served as a mantra to socialize and affirm Black people’s self-worth (Neblett et al., 2009; Zirkel & Johnson, 2016). Furthermore, scholars have indicated that having a strong, positive Black racial identity may enhance Black life and educational outcomes, including increased classroom engagement (Cooper & Smalls, 1997), increased educational aspirations (Sanders, 1997), and higher GPA’s (Lockett & Harrell, 2003). Thus, educators and academic advisors should guide, support, and engage Black college men in activities that promotes strong Black identity and encourages their social and political commitment to Black communities. For example, advisors might encourage Black men to enroll in courses aimed at expanding their knowledge about racial identity, and Black political and social movements in American history. Service-learning educators might provide Black men opportunities to participate in educational service-learning projects that expose them to sociopolitical issues and afford them opportunities to empower Black communities. Exposure to these practices may further benefit the intellectual fortitude of Black men and promote and support a strong Black identity (Broom, 2014; Zirkel & Johnson, 2016).

Regarding masculinity, the current study’s findings indicated that Black men with higher levels of work primacy and lower levels of self-reliance perceived more benefit from seeking academic help. Black college men’s strong work value appears to be linked to their desire to achieve success. As such, Black men's endorsement of a strong work value may be their way of establishing a sense of dignity within a society that hinders their ability to achieve masculine cultural roles as provider, father, and partner (Hunter & Davis, 1991, 1994). Such hindrances have been shown to impact Back men’s ability to perform traditional masculine norms (Griffith et al., 2011; Levant, 2011; Silverstein et al., 2002). Other scholars have found Black men to
endorse traditional masculine norms to a greater degree than other racial groups, including White men (Levant et al., 1998). However, how Black males utilize and practice these norms often differed from White “patriarchal, cisgender, middle class, men” (Arbreu et al., 2000, p. 83). As such, Black men have constructed their masculine beliefs through their relationships and sense of responsibility to others (Hammond & Mattis, 2005). This responsibility to others may drive Black men’s strong work values, which act as a measurement of their ability to successfully achieve the role of provider, partner, and father (Hunter & Davis, 1992, 1994). According to Griffith et al. (2015), Black men have grown accustomed to “working twice as hard” to advance and gain social mobility. Thus, educators, advisors, and counseling psychologists need to support Black college men with a strong work primacy by guiding and communicating to them the importance of occupational education and self-awareness to achieve success. For example, career centers and counselors may facilitate mentoring and internship opportunities to connect Black college men with Black male professionals within the student’s occupation of interest. Counseling psychologists are skilled in facilitating vocational assessments. Thus, staff psychologists at college counseling centers may use Holland’s Occupational Themes (RIASEC; see Holland, 1997) as an intervention tool to help crystallize students' career interests, preferences, strengths, and to help students identify their fit within specific career industries (Dickinson et al., 2017). Staff psychologists may also assist Black men with processing their family history regarding vocational interests, values, and barriers to achieving successful careers.

Additional findings regarding Black college men indicated that an avoidance of seeking academic help was related to men’s conformity of masculinity in independence and power. This finding is not surprising and can help educators, advisors, and psychologists support and empower men's autonomy. It needs to be emphasized that academic help-seeking is a vital
component of the self-regulated learning process (Karabenick, 2003; Nelson-Le Gall, 1981; Newman, 2008; Ryan & Pintrich, 1997); thus, it is impractical for students to engage in the learning process without requesting help at some point. As such, educators, academic advisors, and other student affairs officials working with Black college males need to communicate the importance of help-seeking and offer examples of how and when to seek help depicting this information in course syllabi, educational pamphlets, and in other communication materials that aim to promote awareness. Moreover, those working with Black men need to be familiar with the implications that high levels of self-reliance and power norms may have on academic help-seeking avoidance. For example, researchers have found that men who endorsed more dominant masculinity characteristics (e.g., self-regulation, power over women) viewed seeking help more as a threat to their manhood (Wimer & Levant, 2011). Thus, helping men detach behaviors from gender, and encouraging autonomy, and validating Black males' importance as academic scholars should be emphasized campus-wide.

**Future Research**

The findings provide implications for future research. One obvious implication would be the replication of the current study using a larger sample (> 500) of Black men attending colleges and universities in different regions of the United States. The current study was conducted at a predominantly White university in the US midwestern region. Thus, replicating the current study with samples of Black male college students across various regions of the US and at HBCUs may broaden the field’s understanding the impact of men’s racial attitudes and masculinity norms on academic help-seeking avoidance and perceived benefits.

A question that remains unanswered is if environmental and cultural factors such as the exposure to subtle and explicit forms of racism impact African American male college students’
academic help-seeking behavior. For example, future research could conduct a parallel study with a larger sample at HBCU’s to determine if the same variables including mens perceptions of helping professionals (i.e., academic advisors, professors/instructors, student affairs personnel) and environmental factors (e.g., underlying values and philosophies associated with the institution) dictate their academic help-seeking behavior. It could be that HBCU’s might provide intangibles that increase the likelihood that they will seek help when needed. Often at PWIs, when African American males seek help, helper bias toward African American men (i.e., unmotivated, underprepared, and unsophisticated thinker, congnitively limited) preclude or diminish the quality of help sought. Scholars have found that African American male college students experience “cultural stock” at predominantly White institutions, noting their general feelings of isolation, lack of belonging, and negative feelings regarding White faculty a primary concern (Harper, 2009; Sinanan, 2012). Exploring these factors may offer further insight into how African American males’ racial and masculine identities operate when choosing to seek or not seek help.

It is recommended that future research account for the various sociodemographic characteristics (i.e., age, SES) that may contribute to men’s endorsement of racial attitudes, masculine norms, and academic help-seeking behavior. For example, prior research examining the relationship between masculinity and academic help-seeking found that younger participants endorsed higher levels of masculine conformity than older participants (Wimer & Levent, 2011). Similarly, Ryan et al., (2009) found that students who qualified for free lunch (i.e., low SES) and students whose parents had lower education levels predicted higher help-seeking avoidance levels.
Future research is needed to examine how racial attitudes operate in tandem with masculinity norms to impact African American men’s academic help-seeking behavior. The current study investigated Black college men’s racial attitudes and masculinity norms impact on academic help-seeking behavior separately. However, scholars described racial attitudes and masculine norms as interrelated constructs that should be examined simultaneously to fully understand Black men’s experiences and behavior (Mahalik et al., 2006). Exploring the interaction of Black racial attitudes and masculine norms may provide further insight into Black college men’s academic help-seeking behavior.

For future research that uses the CRIS to measure Black racial identity, it is recommended to take a multivariate approach. The current study used multiple hierarchical regressions to identify the predictive nature of racial identity attitudes on academic help-seeking avoidance and perceived benefits. However, Worrell et al. (2006) noted that “individuals can manifest differing levels of the various [racial] attitudes at the same time, although one attitude or a particular theme (e.g., Afrocentric) may be more salient,” (p. 522). The authors urged the use of profiles when interpreting CRIS subscale scores. Thus, future research using cluster analysis is recommended to examine individuals' racial identity attitudes via profiles. The utilization of cluster analysis may provide a more nuanced understanding of the relation between Black college men's racial identity attitudes and academic help-seeking avoidance and perceived benefits.

**Conclusion**

The purpose of this study was to examine whether Black undergraduate men's racial identity attitudes and their conformity to masculine norms would influence their academic help-seeking behavior. The theoretical framework of this study was based on Zimmerman’s idea of
self-regulated learning. The findings of this study support the fact that racial identity and masculinity can be important determinants in African American men’s ability to self-regulate their learning process. Specifically, men with higher Afrocentric racial attitudes predicted a higher level of perceived benefit for seeking academic help. Other Black racial identity attitudes were not linked to men’s academic help-seeking avoidance. However, Black college men with higher levels of masculine norms, self-reliance, and power over women, and a lower level of work primacy norm predicted a higher level of academic help-seeking avoidance. Lastly, Black men with a higher level of work primacy norm and lower self-reliance norm predicted a higher level of academic help-seeking perceived benefit.

These findings have implications for practice. For example, educators, advisers, and counselors could assess Black male students’ level of racial identity as well as conformity to masculinity in relation to academic help-seeking. Such an approach may assist educators in nurturing Black college men with strong Black identity, such as Afrocentricity. Furthermore, providing opportunities for Black college men to connect with Black male professionals and role models may assist men in their developing masculinity norms that promote help-seeking behavior, such as a strong work value. In regard to masculinity, educators need to emphasize and encourage the importance of autonomy while assisting students with their academics. Such practices may help identify and proactively address Black men’s help-seeking avoidance.

Finally, the study, in general, and the findings, specifically, have implications for future research. Black racial identity attitudes and masculine norms present additional pathways to understanding and unpacking the facilitation of Black college men’s academic help-seeking behavior. The current study findings add to the academic help-seeking literature and establish precedence to extend further understanding of Black men's avoidance and help-seeking behavior.
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https://doi.org/10.1037/men0000107


https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9020.2010.00351.x


Appendix A

Human Subjects Institutional Review Board Letter of Approval
Date: April 4, 2017

To: Joseph Morris, Principal Investigator
    Walter Malone, Student Investigator for dissertation

From: Amy Naugle, Ph.D., Chair

Re: HSIRB Project Number 17-03-28

This letter will serve as confirmation that your research project titled “The Impact of Racial Identity and Masculinity on African American Male College Students' Academic Help Seeking Behaviors at Predominantly White Institutions” has been approved under the exempt category of review by the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board. The conditions and duration of this approval are specified in the Policies of Western Michigan University. You may now begin to implement the research as described in the application.

Please note: This research may only be conducted exactly in the form it was approved. You must seek specific board approval for any changes in this project (e.g., you must request a post approval change to enroll subjects beyond the number stated in your application under “Number of subjects you want to complete the study”). Failure to obtain approval for changes will result in a protocol deviation. In addition, if there are any unanticipated adverse reactions or unanticipated events associated with the conduct of this research, you should immediately suspend the project and contact the Chair of the HSIRB for consultation.

Reapproval of the project is required if it extends beyond the termination date stated below.

The Board wishes you success in the pursuit of your research goals.

Approval Termination:  
April 3, 2018
Appendix B

Email Invitation to the Study
Hello,

My name is Walter Malone and I am a doctoral candidate in counseling psychology at Western Michigan University. I would like to invite you to participate in a research project about social attitudes and their influence on African American male college students and their academic life.

You will be asked to complete a few questions in a survey format. There is no right or wrong answers. The survey will take no more than 25 minutes to complete. Upon completion, you will receive instructions to receive a $10 Meijer gift card as compensation for participating in the research study.

It is our hope that the results of this study will provide universities with a better understanding of the needs of African American male students. There are no identified risks from participating in this research. The surveys are confidential and participants information will be kept anonymous. Participation in this research is completely voluntary and you may refuse to participate without consequence.

If you are interested in participating please click on the following link

Thank you for your consideration,

_____________________
Walter T. Malone, MA
Doctoral Candidate in Counseling Psychology
Appendix C

Marketing Materials
African American College Men Needed

- Are you enrolled at Western Michigan University?
- Do you identify as an African American male?
- If so, we would like for you to participate in a study: Read below

**Purpose:** We are conducting research on the impact of the social attitudes of African American male college students and their experience of academic life.

**Who:** To be a participant in this study you must:
- Identify as African-American male or Black male
- Be enrolled as an undergraduate student at WMU

**Where:** If you are interested please email Walter.Malone@wmich.edu or go to the following link to access the survey.

Scan Here to take survey on your mobile device

Or use the following link [https://wmichcas.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_aaxhwZXgPTSMxy5](https://wmichcas.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_aaxhwZXgPTSMxy5).

**What:** Participants will be asked to take a survey online approximately 25 minutes to complete.

**Benefits:** Participants will be compensated with a $10 Meijer gift card on completion of the survey.

*For more information:
Please contact the Student Investigator: Walter.Malone@wmich.edu

Please share this flyer with other Black Male WMU students. Thank you!*
Facebook Script

African American College Students Needed

Are you enrolled at Western Michigan University?
Do you identify as an African American male?
If so, we would like for you to participate in a study: Read below

Purpose: We are conducting research a study on various social attitudes and academic life of African American, male, college students.

Who: To be a participant in this study you must:
- Identify as African-American or Black
- Identify as male
- Be enrolled as an undergraduate student at WMU

What: Participants will take a survey that could take up to approximately 25 minutes to complete.

Benefits: Participants will be compensated with a $10 Meijer gift card.

How: If you are interested please go to this link to get started: https://wmichcas.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_aaxhwZXgPTSMxy5.

For more information
Please contact the Research Assistants: Walter Malone at (269) 387-4426 or Walter.Malone@wmich.edu

Principal Investigator: Dr. Joseph R. Morris
Department of Counselor Education and Counseling Psychology
3521 Sangren Hall

Please share this with other Black Men at WMU students. Thank you!
SnapChat Script
African American College men Needed

Are you enrolled at Western Michigan University?
Do you identify as an African American male?
If so, we would like for you to participate in a study on various social attitudes and academic life.
You will be compensated with a **$10 Meijer gift card** once survey is completed. For more information please click this link:
Twitter Solicitation
African American College men Needed

Are you enrolled at Western Michigan University?
Do you identify as an African American male?
If so, we would like for you to participate in a study on various social attitudes and academic life.
You will be compensated with a $10 Meijer gift card once survey is completed. For more information please click this link:
Appendix D

Informed Consent Document
Please read this consent information before you begin the survey.

You are invited to participate in a research study of students’ social attitudes and academic life.

The study is being conducted by Dr. Joseph R. Morris and Walter T. Malone from Western Michigan University, Department of Counseling Education and Counseling Psychology. This research is being conducted as part of the dissertation requirements for Walter T. Malone. This survey is comprised of total of 142 questions (20 demographic and 122 Likert scales) and will take approximately 25 minutes to complete. Once you have completed the entire survey you will have an opportunity to receive a $10 Meijer gift card.

Your replies will be completely anonymous. When you begin the survey, you are consenting to participate in the study. If you do not agree to participate in this research project simply exit now. If, after beginning the survey, you decide that you do not wish to continue, you may stop at any time just close your browser. You may choose to not answer any question for any reason. However, you will not be eligible to receive the gift card.

If you have any questions prior to or during the study, you may contact Dr. Joseph R. Morris at (269-387-5112) or Walter T. Malone at (269-387-4426) Western Michigan University Department of Counseling Education and Counseling Psychology, the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board (269-387-8293) or the vice president for research (269-387-8298).

This study was approved by the Western Michigan University Human Subjects Institutional review Board (HSIRB) on (date). Please do not participate in this study after (one year after approval).

Participating in this survey online indicates your consent for use of the answers you supply.

Please press one of the following buttons:

1. I agree to participate
2. I decided not to participate
Appendix E

Demographic Questionnaire
Demographics

1. Gender (specify)__________________
2. How old are you? Fill in the bubbles, using the first column as the first digit of your age and the second column for the second digit of your age. The age 19 would be bubbling in 1 in the first column and bubbling in 9 in the second column.
   0   ○   ○
   1   ○   ○
   2   ○   ○
   3   ○   ○
   4   ○   ○
   5   ○   ○
   6   ○   ○
   7   ○   ○
   8   ○   ○
   9   ○   ○
3. Indicate your ethnic background by choosing the option that best applies to you. Choose only one category.
   African  Hispanic Black
   African-American  Multi-Racial
   Black  Other (specify):
   West Indian/Caribbean Black
4. Citizenship:  United States citizen  Permanent Resident of the US  Other
5. What was the racial composition of your high school?
   Mostly Black  Mixed  Mostly White  Other
6. What is your current classification?  Freshman  Sophomore  Junior  Senior  5th Year +  Other___________
7. What is your current grade point average?  _______________
8. What is your major?  ___________________________________
9. If you are employed, what is your current occupation?  ____________________________
10. If you do work, how many hours do you work per week?  __________
11. What is your religious affiliation?  __________________________________________
12. How often do you attend religious services?  Seldom  Sometimes  Often
13. How important is your religion to you?  Not Important  Somewhat Important  Very Important
14. What is the best estimate of your annual income and your family’s annual income before taxes?
15. How would you describe the primary community in which you were raised?
   Rural    Suburban    Urban    Other ____________________

16. What is the racial composition of the community listed above?
   Mostly Black    Mixed    Mostly White    Other ____________________

17. What is the highest education level obtained by your mother (or female guardian) and father (or male guardian)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Father</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elementary school</td>
<td>Associate or two-year degree</td>
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<tr>
<td>Some high school</td>
<td>Bachelor’s or four-year degree</td>
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<tr>
<td>High school diploma/equivalent</td>
<td>Some graduate/professional school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business or trade school</td>
<td>Graduate or professional degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some college</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18. How would you describe your family’s socioeconomic status?
   Poor    Working Class    Middle Class    Upper Middle    Wealthy

19. From whom are you most likely to seek academic help when needed?
   a. Academic Advisor
   b. Tutor
   c. Friend
   d. Professor
   e. Family member
   f. Other: ____________________

20. Are you more likely to seek help from a particular gender? Yes    No
21. If you responded Yes to question 33 what gender would you most likely seek for academic help? Male    Female
Appendix F

Cross Racial Identity Scale
Instructions: Read each item and indicate to what degree it reflects your own thoughts and feelings, using the 7-point scale below. There are no right or wrong answers. Base your responses on your opinion at the present time. To ensure that your answers can be used, please respond to the statements as written, and place your numerical response on the line provided to the left of each question.

1 strongly disagree 2 disagree 3 neither agree nor disagree 4 agree 5 somewhat agree 6 strongly agree

1. As an African American, life in America is good for me.

2. I think of myself primarily as an American, and seldom as a member of a racial group.

3. Too many Blacks “glorify” the drug trade and fail to see opportunities that don’t involve crime.

4. I go through periods when I am down on myself because I am Black.

5. As a multiculturalist, I am connected to many groups (Hispanics, Asian-Americans, Whites, Jews, gays & lesbians, etc.).

6. I have a strong feeling of hatred and disdain for all White people.

7. I see and think about things from an Afrocentric perspective.

8. When I walk into a room, I always take note of the racial make-up of the people around me.

9. I am not so much a member of a racial group, as I am an American.

10. I sometimes struggle with negative feelings about being Black.

11. My relationship with God plays an important role in my life.

12. Blacks place more emphasis on having a good time than on hard work.

13. I believe that only those Black people who accept an Afrocentric perspective can truly solve the race problem in America.

14. I hate the White community and all that it represents.
15. When I have a chance to make a new friend, issues of race and ethnicity seldom play a role in who that person might be.

16. I believe it is important to have both a Black identity and a multicultural perspective, which is inclusive of everyone (e.g., Asians, Latinos, gays & lesbians, Jews, Whites, etc.).

17. When I look in the mirror at my Black image, sometimes I do not feel good about what I see.

18. If I had to put a label on my identity, it would be “American,” and not African American.

19. When I read the newspaper or a magazine, I always look for articles and stories that deal with race and ethnic issues.

20. Many African Americans are too lazy to see opportunities that are right in front of them.

21. As far as I am concerned, affirmative action will be needed for a long time.

22. Black people cannot truly be free until our daily lives are guided by Afrocentric values and principles.

23. White people should be destroyed.

24. I embrace my own Black identity, but I also respect and celebrate the cultural identities of other groups (e.g., Native Americans, Whites, Latinos, Jews, Asian Americans, gays & lesbians, etc.).

25. Privately, I sometimes have negative feelings about being Black.

26. If I had to put myself into categories, first I would say I am an American, and second I am a member of a racial group.

27. My feelings and thoughts about God are very important to me.

28. African Americans are too quick to turn to crime to solve their problems.

29. When I have a chance to decorate a room, I tend to select pictures, posters, or works of art that express strong racial-cultural themes.

30. I hate White people.

31. I respect the ideas that other Black people hold, but I believe that the best way to solve our problems is to think Afrocentrically.
32. When I vote in an election, the first thing I think about is the candidate’s record on racial and cultural issues.

33. I believe it is important to have both a Black identity and a multicultural perspective, because this connects me to other groups (Hispanics, Asian-Americans, Whites, Jews, gays & lesbians, etc.).

34. I have developed an identity that stresses my experiences as an American more than my experiences as a member of a racial group.

35. During a typical week in my life, I think about racial and cultural issues many, many times.

36. Blacks place too much importance on racial protest and not enough on hard work and education.

37. Black people will never be free until we embrace an Afrocentric perspective.

38. My negative feelings toward White people are very intense.

39. I sometimes have negative feelings about being Black.

40. As a multiculturalist, it is important for me to be connected with individuals from all cultural backgrounds (Latinos, gays & lesbians, Jews, Native Americans, Asian-Americans, etc.).
The following pages contain a series of statements about how men might think, feel or behave. The statements are designed to measure attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors associated with both traditional and non-traditional masculine gender roles. Thinking about your own actions, feelings, and beliefs, please indicate how much you personally agree or disagree with each statement by circling:

SD for "Strongly Disagree",
D for "Disagree",
A for "Agree,"
SA for "Strongly agree"

There are no right or wrong responses to the statements. You should circle the responses that most accurately describe your personal actions, feelings and beliefs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>SA</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. In general, I will do anything to win</td>
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<td>2. If I could, I would frequently change sexual partners</td>
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<td>3. I hate asking for help</td>
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<td>4. I believe that violence is never justified</td>
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<td>5. Being thought of as gay is not a bad thing</td>
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<td>6. In general, I do not like risky situations</td>
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<td>7. Winning is not my first priority</td>
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<td>8. I enjoy taking risks</td>
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<td>9. I am disgusted by any kind of violence</td>
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<td>10. I ask for help when I need it</td>
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<td>11. My work is the most important part of my life</td>
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<td>12. I would only have sex if I was in a committed relationship</td>
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<td>13. I bring up my feelings when talking to others</td>
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<tr>
<td>14. I would be furious if someone thought I was gay</td>
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<td>15. I don't mind losing</td>
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<td>16. I take risks</td>
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<td>17. It would not bother me at all if someone thought I was gay</td>
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<td>18. I never share my feelings</td>
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<tr>
<td>19. Sometimes violent action is necessary</td>
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<td>20. In general, I control the women in my life</td>
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<tr>
<td>21. I would feel good if I had many sexual partners</td>
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<td>22. It is important for me to win</td>
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<td>23. I don't like giving all my attention to work</td>
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<td>24. It would be awful if people thought I was gay</td>
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<td>25. I like to talk about my feelings</td>
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<tr>
<td>26. I never ask for help</td>
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<td>27. More often than not, losing does not bother me</td>
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<td>28. I frequently put myself in risky situations</td>
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<td>29. Women should be subservient to men</td>
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<td>30. I am willing to get into a physical fight if necessary</td>
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<td>31. I feel good when work is my first priority</td>
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<td>32. I tend to keep my feelings to myself</td>
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<td>33. Winning is not important to me</td>
<td>SD</td>
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<tr>
<td>34. Violence is almost never justified</td>
<td>SD</td>
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<tr>
<td>35. I am happiest when I'm risking danger</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>D</td>
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<tr>
<td>36. It would be enjoyable to date more than one person at a time</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>D</td>
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<tr>
<td>37. I would feel uncomfortable if someone thought I was gay</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>D</td>
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<td>SA</td>
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<tr>
<td>38. I am not ashamed to ask for help</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>D</td>
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<tr>
<td>39. Work comes first</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>D</td>
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<td>40. I tend to share my feelings</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>D</td>
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<tr>
<td>41. No matter what the situation I would never act violently</td>
<td>SD</td>
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<td>42. Things tend to be better when men are in charge</td>
<td>SD</td>
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<tr>
<td>43. It bothers me when I have to ask for help</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>D</td>
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<td>SA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. I love it when men are in charge of women</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>SA</td>
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<tr>
<td>45. I hate it when people ask me to talk about my feelings</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>D</td>
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<tr>
<td>46. I try to avoid being perceived as gay</td>
<td>SD</td>
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Appendix H

General Academic Help-Seeking Scale
Please use the following scale to answer the statements below. Circle the number that best describes how true or false each statement is for you

**Instrumental help seeking**
1. When I ask my teacher for help, I prefer to be given hints or clues rather than the answer.

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2. When I ask my teacher for help with my work, I don’t want my teacher to give away the whole answer.

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3. When I ask the teacher for help with something I don’t understand, I ask the teacher to explain it to me rather than just give me the answer.

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4. When I ask my teacher for help in class, I only want as much help as necessary to complete the work myself.

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5. When I ask my teacher for help understanding the material in class, I prefer that the teacher help me understand the general ideas rather than simply tell me the answer.

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6. When I ask a student for help with my work, I don’t want that student to give away the whole answer.

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7. When I ask a student for help understanding the material in class, I prefer that the student help me understand the general ideas rather than simply tell me the answer.

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8. When I ask a student for help in class, I want to be helped to complete the work myself rather than have the work done for me.

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9. When I ask a student for help in class, I prefer to be given hints or clues rather than the answer.

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
(definitely false) (definitely true)

10. When I ask a student for help with something I don’t understand, I ask the student to explain it to me rather than just give me the answer.

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
(definitely false) (definitely true)

**Executive help seeking**

11. When I ask the teacher for help in this class, I prefer that the teacher do the work for me rather than explain to me how to do it.

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
(definitely false) (definitely true)

12. When I ask my teacher for help on something I don’t understand, I prefer that the teacher do it for me.

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
(definitely false) (definitely true)

13. When I ask my teacher for help on something I don’t understand, I prefer the teacher to just give me the answer rather than to explain it.

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
(definitely false) (definitely true)

14. When I ask the teacher for help with my work, I prefer to be given the answer rather than an explanation of how to do the work myself.

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
(definitely false) (definitely true)

15. When I ask my teacher for help, I want the teacher to do the work for me rather than help me be able to complete the work myself.

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
(definitely false) (definitely true)

16. When I ask a student for help on something I don’t understand, I prefer that student to just give me the answer rather than to explain it.

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
(definitely false) (definitely true)

17. When I ask a student for help with my work, I prefer that the student do the work for me rather than explain to me how to do it.

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
(definitely false) (definitely true)

...
18. When I ask another student for help on something I don’t understand, I ask that student to do it for me.
   
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19. When I ask a student for help in this class, I want the work done for me rather than be helped to complete the work myself.

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20. When I ask a student for help with my work, I prefer to be given the answer rather than an explanation of how to do the work myself.

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**Avoidance of help seeking**

21. I don’t ask for help in this class even when the work is too hard to solve on my own.

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22. If I need help to do a computer science problem, I prefer to skip it rather than to ask for help.

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23. I don’t ask for help in this class even if I don’t understand the lesson.

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24. If I didn’t understand something in this class, I would guess rather than ask someone for help.

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25. I would rather do worse on an assignment I couldn’t finish than ask for help in this class.

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26. Even if the work was too hard to do on my own, I wouldn’t ask for help in this class.

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27. I would put down any answer rather than ask for help in this class.
28. I don’t ask questions in this class even if I don’t understand the lesson.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
(definitely false) (definitely true)

29. If work in this class is too hard, I don’t do it rather than ask for help.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
(definitely false) (definitely true)

Perceived benefits of help seeking
1. I like to ask questions in class.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
(definitely false) (definitely true)

2. I feel smart when I ask a question in class.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
(definitely false) (definitely true)

3. Asking questions makes class more interesting for me.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
(definitely false) (definitely true)

4. I like to ask for help in class because it helps me understand the subject better.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
(definitely false) (definitely true)

5. I think asking questions in class helps me learn.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
(definitely false) (definitely true)

6. I enjoy class more when I ask questions.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
(definitely false) (definitely true)

7. I like to ask for help in class because it helps me understand the topic more completely.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
(definitely false) (definitely true)