Effect of Client and Counselor Ethnicity on Preference for Counselor Disclosure

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Abstract:

Preferences for counselor self-disclosure based on the ethnicity of both the respondent and the counselor were examined for African American and Caucasian students. Results suggested that respondent ethnicity affected preferences for certain types of information about the counselor (personal feelings, sexual issues, professional issues, and success/failure) and that there were interaction (respondent by counselor ethnicity) effects on preference for disclosure in other areas (interpersonal relationships and success/failure). Implications for research and practice are discussed.

Keywords: Counselor disclosure | Ethnicity | Client preference | Effective counseling | Efficacy | Client perception

Article:

Counselor self-disclosure, the verbal sharing by the counselor of personal revelations or information to the client (Knox, Hess, Petersen, & Hill, 1997), has been identified as a key process variable in the counseling process (Wilbur& Wilbur, 1986). Self-disclosing statements by a counselor should be distinguished from self-involving statements. The former refers to personal factual information about the counselor, whereas the latter involves the disclosure of counselor cognitions and emotions related to the client(McCarthy & Betz, 1978). Although empirical research has been reasonably consistent in supporting the efficacy of self-involving statements (McCarthy, 1979, 1982; Reynolds &Fischer, 1983), research on self-disclosing statements has produced varied results, sometimes supporting the efficacy of such disclosure (Dowd & Boroto, 1982; Fong, Borders, & Neimeyer, 1986; Graff, 1970; Knox et al., 1997; Merluzzi, Banikiotes, & Missbach, 1978; Neimeyer & Fong, 1983; Watkins, 1990) and at other

times demonstrating no relationship (Lee, Uhlemann,& Haase, 1985; Perrin & Dowd, 1986; Watkins, Savickas, Brizzi,& Manus, 1990). In the specific case of disclosing sexual attraction to clients, counselor disclosure actually decreased perceived counselor expertness and the therapeutic quality of the session, although disclosing counselors were viewed as more like-able, warm, and accepting (Goodyear & Shumate, 1996).

Conceptually, counselor attractiveness and client preference for disclosure are important considerations related to counselor disclosure. Counselor attractiveness, a component of the social influence model of counseling (Strong, 1968;Strong & Claiborn, 1982), refers to characteristics such as warmth, acceptance, and likeability and is considered an important factor in the social influence aspect of the counseling process. One of the more consistent findings in the self-disclosure research is that self-disclosing counselors are seen as more attractive (Goodyear & Shumate, 1996; Klein& Friedlander, 1987; Peca-Baker & Friedlander, 1987, 1989), particularly when the counselor disclosure statements are positive in nature (Watkins & Schneider, 1989).

Peca-Baker and Friedlander (1989) introduced client preference for self-disclosure as an important consideration, looking at the match between client preference for disclosure and counselor provision of disclosure. They tentatively concluded that client preference is an important factor, in-as much as a counselor who refuses to self-disclose may be viewed as less attractive, whereas the offer of an unsolicited disclosure may add little to the therapeutic process.

Researchers have considered issues of counselor and client differences such as biological sex (De Forest & Stone, 1980; McCarthy, 1979; Perrin & Dowd, 1986; Watkins & Schneider, 1989), gender role orientation (Fong et al., 1986), and age(Simone, McCarthy, & Skay, 1998; Somervill, 1980). Although theoretical literature on cultural diversity and counselor self-disclosure (Helms & Cook, 1999; Sue & Sue, 1999; Tsui & Schultz, 1985) generally shows positive results for increased counselor disclosure when working cross-culturally, there are few empirical studies in which race and ethnicity were considered as independent variables, and those studies that have been conducted have provided mixed results (Ponterotto, Casas, Suzuki,& Alexander, 1995). Cherbosque (1987) found differences in preference for counselor selfdisclosure between Mexican and American participants, with Mexican participants rating nondisclosing counselors as both more attractive and expert, even to the extreme of perceiving counselors who self-dis-closed as behaving unprofessionally. Demographic data on American participants, however, were not provided, so it is unclear if all of the American participants were Caucasian. Using different dependent variables, Borrego, Chavez, and Titley (1982) found no difference between Mexican American and Anglo American students' willingness to selfdisclose when the counselor used self-disclosure.

Other researchers have used analogue designs to examine counselor self-disclosure as a multicultural counseling strategy, with mixed results. Berg and Wright-Buckley (1988) found that both African American and Caucasian participants responded with more intimate disclosure to a Caucasian interviewer who self-disclosed than to an African American interviewer who self-disclosed. In a similar study of African American women, however, Wetzel and Wright-Buckley (1988) found that disclosure by an African American counselor resulted in increased disclosure by the participants, whereas disclosures by Caucasian counselors actually occasioned less frequent and less intimate disclosure from participants. Two issues with these analogue studies is that they did not con-sider client preference for disclosure nor did they consider the content of the counselor disclosure (i.e., what type of personal information the counselor was providing). Again, empirical results of these studies are far from conclusive.

It seems, then, that client preference for counselor disclosure and the attractivenessenhancing effects of self-disclosure are central tenets for ongoing research into counselor disclosure. Counseling practitioners report self-disclosure primarily as away to increase similarity between themselves and the client(Edwards & Murdock, 1994). Watkins (1990) highlighted the importance of cultural factors and called for further research on self-disclosure to focus on counselor and client race and ethnic origin. No research was found that considered differences between Caucasian and African American participants, considered the content of the disclosure, and considered the ethnicity of both the client and the counselor. Thus, the purpose of the present study was to consider the influence of counselor and client ethnicity on client preferences for counselor self-disclosure among a sample of Caucasian and African American persons. Because of the exploratory nature of this study and the mixed results of previous research in this area, no main effects were predicted for counselor or client ethnicity. On the basis of theoretical writing of multicultural scholars (Helms & Cook, 1999; Sue & Sue, 1999; Tsui &Schultz, 1985), however, we predicted a significant interaction effect between counselor ethnicity and client ethnicity, with the expectation that African American respondents would indicate a stronger preference for self-disclosure when the counselor was Caucasian. Because previous researchers (Hendrick, 1988, 1990) using the instrumentation in this study found virtually no effects based on biological sex, it was not included as a status variable for this study.

Method

Participants

The study sample consisted of 444 undergraduate students recruited from psychology, educational psychology, and counseling courses at a midsized public university in the southern United States. Of the participants, 118 (26.7%) were African American, 294 (66.2%) were Caucasian, and 32 additional participants either indicated an ethnicity other than African American or Caucasian or failed to respond to this item and were excluded from the study. The sample included 209 (50.7%) freshmen, 80 (19.5%) sophomores, 66 (16.0%) juniors, and 56(13.6%) seniors, with 1 (.2%) participant not responding to this item. The sample included 223 (54.1%) women, and the average respondent was 20 years old (M = 19.92, SD = 2.87).

Instruments

Participants were asked to complete the Counselor Disclosure Scale (CDS; Hendrick, 1988) and a brief demographic questionnaire in which respondents were asked to self-identify their ethnicity. The CDS consists of 32 items that measure client preference for counselor self-disclosure in six areas reflected in the following subscales: Personal Feelings(e.g., the counselor's feelings of anxiety, 8 items), Interpersonal Relationships (e.g., the counselor's relationship with his or her parents, 6 items), Sexual Issues(e.g., the counselor's attitudes toward sex, 5 items), Attitudes(e.g., the counselor's religious beliefs, 4 items), Professional Issues (e.g., the counselor's professional degree,5 items), and Success/Failure (e.g., the counselor's personal successes, 4 items). Responses to the CDS items are format-ted on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = strongly agree to 5 = strongly disagree). Because of this response format, a lower score indicates a stronger preference for self-disclosure. Hendrick (1988) found the six subscales to be relatively in-dependent of one another and internally reliable, with Cronbach's alphas ranging

from .71 (Attitudes) to .86 (Inter-personal Relationships and Personal Feelings). For the current sample, Cronbach's alphas were .86 (Interpersonal Relationships), .80 (Personal Feelings), .78 (Sexual Issues), .70(Professional Issues), .71 (Success/Failure), and .69 (Attitudes).

Original instructions for the CDS ask respondents to rate (on the 5-point scale) to what extent they would like a potential counselor to disclose information within each of the six areas. Instructions were modified for the purpose of this study to indicate the ethnicity of the counselor as either Caucasian or African American. The terms Caucasian and African American were added in bold type and in all capital letters to enhance the likelihood that respondents would respond to this aspect of the instructions.

Procedure

Researchers collected the information in classes during the normal meeting time. No incentives were provided, and participation was voluntary. Within each classroom, participants were randomly assigned to an African American or a Caucasian counselor, resulting in a 2 (ethnicity of respondent) by 2 (ethnicity of counselor) factorial design, with the six subscales of the CDS serving as dependent variables.

Results

Preliminary analyses were conducted to test the assumptions of normality, linearity, multicollinearity, and homogeneity of variance. There were no violations of the assumptions of normality, linearity, and multicollinearity. However, a Box's M test was significant (F = 1.85, p < .05), indicating a violation of the assumption of homogeneity of variance. As a univariate follow-up, Levene's test was significant for the dependent variable Professional Issues (F = 2.86, p < .05), indicating a violation of the assumption of homogeneity of variance for this dependent variable. Thus, any significant results regarding this dependent variable should be viewed with caution. All other dependent variables were found satisfactory on the assumption of homogeneity of variance.

Table 1 presents the results for the multivariate and univariate analyses for the ethnicity and self-disclosure variables (Inter-personal Relationships, Personal Feelings, Sexual Issues, Attitudes, Professional Issues, Success/Failure). As can be seen, the main effect for client ethnicity (F = 11.82, p < .001, η^2 = .15) was significant as was the interaction effect between counselor ethnicity and client ethnicity (F = 2.73, p = .01, η^2 = .04).

Univariate follow-up analyses indicated significant main effects for client ethnicity on Personal Feelings (F = 24.65, p< .001), Sexual Issues (F = 28.46, p< .001), Professional Issues (F = 15.98, p< .001), and Success/Failure (F = 9.90, p = .002). African American respondents reported significantly lower mean scores (indicating a stronger preference for self-disclosure) than did Caucasian respondents in the areas of Personal Feelings (M = 19.31, SD = 6.45 vs. M = 24.23,SD = 6.84), Sexual Issues (M = 15.20, SD = 4.43 vs. M = 18.01, SD = 4.54), Professional Issues (M = 7.44, SD = 2.54vs. M = 8.80, SD = 3.19), and Success/Failure (M = 9.17,SD = 2.79 vs. M = 10.29, SD = 3.46).

Univariate analyses also indicated significant counselor ethnicity by client ethnicity interaction effects for the de-pendent variables of Interpersonal Relationships (F = 6.27,p < .01) and Success/Failure (F = 5.06, p < .05). In the case of each of these significant interaction effects, both African American and Caucasian respondents reported a stronger preference for self-

disclosure (i.e., lower scores) when the counselor was identified as being a different ethnicity than that of the respondent (i.e., Caucasian respondent with an African American counselor, African American respondent with a Caucasian counselor).

In sum, an interaction effect emerged for the dependent variable Interpersonal Relationships, although there were no main effects for either counselor or client ethnicity for this dependent variable. The main effects of client ethnicity on Personal Feelings, Sexual Issues, and Professional Issues were not qualified by an interaction effect, but the main effect on Success/Failure was qualified by an interaction effect.

Table 1. Multivariate Analysis of Variance and Univariate F Tests for Ethnicity and Self-Disclosure Variables

	Multivariate Analysis		Univariate Analysis					
Source	Pillai	F	IR F	PF F	SI F	$\mathbf{A} F$	PI F	S/F <i>F</i>
Counselor ethnicity (CO)	.01	0.37	1.03	0.25	0.09	0.01	0.55	0.19
Client ethnicity (CI)	.15	11.82**	1.56	24.65**	28.46**	1.72	15.98**	9.90**
Co x CI	.04	2.73**	6.27**	0.46	0.14	0.64	1.67	5.06*

Note. IR = Interpersonal Relationships; PF = Personal Feelings; SI = Sexual Issues; A = Attitudes; PI = Professional Issues; S/F = Success/Failure.

*p < .05. **p < .01

Discussion

Previous research on multicultural issues in counselor dis-closure has typically been analogue in nature, focusing on the level of intimacy of disclosure (Berg & Wright-Buckley, 1988) or the effectiveness of self-disclosing versus self-involving statements (McCarthy & Betz, 1978). Researchers, however, have not examined the types of information that clients prefer to receive, that is, the content of counselor self-disclosure. Consistent with theoretical literature on multicultural counseling (Helms & Cook, 1999; Sue & Sue, 1999; Tsui & Schultz, 1985), partial support was obtained for the hypothesis that African American respondents would indicate a stronger preference for counselor disclosure when asked to imagine seeing a Caucasian counselor than they would if they were asked to imagine seeing an African Ameri-can counselor. However, this was true for only two of the six dependent variables (Interpersonal Relationships and Success/Failure). It should be noted that results also revealed that Caucasian respondents indicated a stronger preference for self-disclosure when asked to imagine seeing an African Ameri-can counselor. Previous researchers have examined the attractiveness-enhancing effects of self-disclosure (Peca-Baker& Friedlander, 1989). The current findings add additional in-formation to this research by suggesting that both African American and Caucasian clients indicate a stronger preference for self-disclosure regarding the counselor's personal relationships and personal and professional successes and failures when the counselor is from a different ethnic group. It is possible that a counselor who meets these preferences for counselor disclosure when working cross-culturally enhances her or his attractiveness (i.e., perceived warmth, acceptance, and likability) with the client. Particularly noteworthy was the strong preference for counselor disclosure about interpersonal relationships indicated by African American

respondents asked to imagine seeing a Caucasian counselor. Given the two dependent variables (i.e., Interpersonal Relationships and Success/Failure) for which there were significant interaction effects, it is interesting to note that respondents were asked to imagine entering a relationship within which they were likely to be disclosing their personal shortcomings. Given the nature of the therapeutic relationship (i.e., psychologically intimate and involving client disclosures related to personal struggles), it may be that clients prefer to know more about the counselor's other personal relationships, successes, and failures when they perceive the counselor as being from a different ethnic group. Although there is no evidence from the current study that such disclosure would improve the therapeutic process, there is preliminary evidence that such disclosures would be likely to meet the preferences of the client.

Given the exploratory nature of the examination of counselor and client ethnicity for main effects on preference for disclosure, there are several interesting results. The lack of a main effect for counselor ethnicity is somewhat at odds with the findings of previous researchers (Berg & Wright-Buckley, 1988; Wetzel & Wright-Buckley, 1988), who found main effects for interviewer ethnicity on different dependent variables than those used in the current study. Significant main effects for respondent ethnicity on four of the six dependent variables (Personal Feelings, Sexual Issues, Professional Issues, and Success/Failure) suggest that African American respondents indicated a stronger preference for self-disclosure in each of these four areas than did Caucasian respondents, regardless of the ethnicity of the counselor. It is possible that sociopolitical dimensions of mistrust in the counseling relationship, well documented in the counseling literature (e.g., Sue & Sue, 1999), provide a partial explanation for this finding. Although normative data do not provide specific information about an individual client and the findings of this study indicate statistical significance and not necessarily clinical significance (cf. Goodyear & Shumate, 1996), counselors should consider this preference when working with African American clients. One possibility would be to provide a "trial disclosure" in the early stages of the counseling process when working with an African American client. Such a disclosure should be brief; client-focused; and (based on the findings of this study) oriented around the counselor's personal feelings, sexual issues, professional issues, and successes/failures. It is important to consider, however, that disclosure of professional issues may be dictated more by mandated informed consent practices than by client preferences. Also, given that this "trial disclosure" would occur early in the counseling process, it should preferably not in-volve information that is too intimate in nature, because this might disconfirm the client's expectations about the process (Goodyear & Shumate, 1996). Moreover, there is empirical evidence that a second disclosure in an initial session is often viewed negatively (Ellingson & Galassi, 1995). What is most important, however, is to consider the client's verbal and nonverbal reaction to the disclosure (Hill, Helms, Spiegel, & Tichenor, 1988). A client who seems interested in the information through nonverbal (e.g., leaning forward, interested facial expression) or verbal (e.g., asking questions) communication may be indicating a preference for further counselor disclosure. On the other hand, a client who seems disinterested may be providing feedback that further dis-closures may not be effective.

Results of the study should be viewed within the context of both methodological and statistical limitations. First, al-though some statistically significant differences were obtained, the percentage of the variation in preferences (i.e.,eta-squared) that could be attributed to differences in the status variables of counselor and client ethnicity was mod-est. Clearly, further research is needed to support or refute the findings of this study. Also, the sample for this study was a nonclinical sample, and it is not known how persons presenting for counseling services may

differ in their preference for counselor disclosure. Another limitation related to generalizability is that the sample largely comprised students in lower division (i.e., freshman and sophomore) classes. It is possible, although not empirically examined to date, that developmental differences exist and that results would have been different if the sample included more juniors and seniors. Another limitation is that although there was a main effect for client ethnicity on Professional Issues, the assumption of homogeneity of variance between groups was violated for this dependent variable, and this finding should be viewed with caution. In addition, it should be emphasized that this study is an examination of preferences and that no statements can be made about counseling outcome. Finally, the intent of this study was to examine cultural factors and the content of the counselor disclosure; no effort was made to examine other issues related to counselor disclosure such as timing, frequency, and intimacy of disclosure that also are important considerations for counselors in choosing to self-disclose.

Furthermore, there are limitations related to the subscales of the CDS that bear mentioning. First, although client preference for counselor disclosure regarding Professional Issues was examined in this study, for some counselors these results may be irrelevant. Counselor licensure laws, agency or school policies, or other guidelines may dictate that the counselor disclose information about Professional Issues (e.g., theoretical orientation, professional degree) as part of obtaining informed consent for counseling services. In fact, counselor licensure laws in some states mandate that this information be provided to clients in writing in the form of a professional disclosure statement.

A final limitation of the CDS may be regarding the Success/Failure subscale. This subscale includes four items, one each regarding personal and professional success and failure. Although the subscale has been subjected to factor analysis and acceptable measures of internal consistency have previously been obtained (Hendrick, 1988) and were also obtained in the current study, in counseling practice it seems that counselor disclosures regarding successes and failures might be viewed differently by different clients. For example, a client who is masking feelings of inferiority with a superiority complex may respond well to counselor disclosure of failure, whereas disclosure of success might further encourage the mask of superiority and might not be helpful. On the other hand, a client who is feeling helpless might benefit more from disclosures about professional success with similar client issues. Although Success/Failure may be viewed unidimensionally in terms of client preference, it seems logical that counselors should decide not only whether to disclose in this area, but more specifically whether the disclosure should be about a success or a failure.

Ethnic differences in preference for self-disclosure have received limited empirical attention, and further work is clearly needed. Research on populations other than college students (e.g., clinical samples, high school students, older adults) will contribute to this knowledge base. Furthermore, future research should include multiple aspects of disclosure including content, level of intimacy, positive versus negative disclosure, reassuring versus challenging self-disclosure, disclosure that indicates the counselor is similar or dissimilar to the client, and frequency. Relatedly, researchers who have examined counseling outcomes (e.g., level of client disclosure, evaluation of counselor) have typically examined only limited aspects of the counselor disclosure (e.g., disclosure versus nondisclosure, self-disclosing statements versus self-involving statements). Further research is needed that examines the process of disclosure more comprehensively and that also con-siders various counseling outcomes. In addition, self-disclosure is typically examined using analogue designs with focus on the initial counseling

session. However, additional research is needed that considers how counselor disclosure evolves over the course of a counseling relationship.

Although Watkins's (1990) premise that self-disclosure is a complex intervention remains apparent, the current study does provide some empirical support for increased use of self-disclosure when working with African American clients. Regardless of the ethnicity of the counselor, African American respondents indicated stronger preferences for counselor disclosure regarding Personal Issues, Sexual Issues, Professional Issues, and Success/Failure than did Caucasian respondents. Furthermore, both African American and Caucasian respondents indicated a stronger preference for counselor disclosure about Interpersonal Relationships and Success/Failure when asked to imagine working with a counselor who was from a different ethnic group than when the counselor was from the same ethnic group. Although additional research is needed to consider issues related to timing and frequency of counselor disclosure, results from this study can help counselors make intentional and systematic decisions about the content of disclosure and the importance of counselor disclosure when working cross-culturally.

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