



Mental Health Seeking Behaviour of Women University Students: An Intersectional Analysis

Original Research

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ABSTRACT

This research study explored the mental health help seeking behaviour of racialized and non-racialized women students at a large size public university located in Ontario, Canada. A sample consisting of 491 students participated in the cross-sectional survey. The majority (n = 413, 84.1%) were identified as Canadian racialized women students. The remainder (n = 78, 15.9%) were Canadian non-racialized women students. We contend that intersectionality, an emergent theoretical and methodological public health framework, provides a powerful tool for understanding the complex interlocking experiences of gender and racialization in the context of mental health. High levels of depression and anxiety symptoms were reported by both the racialized and non-racialized women students. The proportion of students with CES-D scores > 16 (indicating that may suffer from depression) was higher among the racialized women students (n = 265, 64.2%) than the non-racialized women students (n = 39, 50.0%). Approximately, half of the racialized students (n = 202, 48.9%) had BAS scores > 10 indicating that they may suffer from anxiety. About half (n = 38, 48.7%) of the non-racialized students also had BAS scores > 10 indicating that they may suffer from anxiety.

KEYWORDS

Age, Gender Roles, Racialization, Racism, Stigmas, Student's Mental Health

BACKGROUND

There are multiple social and structural issues that create mental health problems, such as anxiety, depression and stress in a student's life when engaging in the university environment. University life is often filled with excitement and new experiences for students. It is also the time of life when a developmental transition from youth to adulthood occurs, which some students experience as a sense of loss when separating from communities, family and friends. A substantial volume of research has demonstrated that gender constructed disparities contribute meaningfully to the greater prevalence of depression and anxiety among young women when compared to young men, (Canadian Institute of Health Research, 2016; Iwamoto, Lui & McCoy, 2011; American Psychiatric Association, 2009; World Health Organization (WHO), 2018). For instance, the lower self esteem of young women in comparison to young men in similar age groups, and their anxiety over their

body-image has established an elevated prevalence of depression and of eating disorders in young women in comparison to young men, (Canadian Institute of Health Research, 2016; Iwamoto, et al, 2011; American Psychiatric Association, 2009; WHO, 2020). Saliently, the sentiment of a lack of power and control over one's life especially in racialized women correlates towards with depression. Socially determined gender norms, roles and responsibilities places both racialized and non-racialized women, far more frequently than men, in situations where they have little control over important decisions concerning their lives (Iwamoto, Lui, & McCoy, 2011; American Psychiatric Association, 2009; WHO, 2018).

The mental health impact of these inequities may be greater on immigrant and second-generation racialized students due to the discrimination and racism they experience (Arday, 2002). University is an environment in which mental health problems



(Costello, Foley, & Angold, 2006), including depression, suicide, and substance abuse, combined with stress related to academic performance are likely to occur. Some of the factors that contribute to mental health problems in universities intersects with: structural problems of confronting racism against racialized students; structural violence and public stigma; inadequate university counselling staff and limited hours of operation; the social determinants of living conditions; financial issues; food scarcity; personal career decision-making; developing independence; alcohol misuse; and personal academic demands (Costello, Foley, & Angold, 2006; Watson, & Bar 2006; Carpenter-Song, 2010; Corrigan, Watson, & Barr, 2006). Among those who experience mental health problems, research illustrates that students from racialized backgrounds are unlikely to seek help either from university counselling centres or mental health resources (Carpenter-Song, 2010; Corrigan, et al., 2006).

The hindrance of depression, anxiety and stress are further exacerbated by the demands to acculturate to the dominant Canadian society for many racialized women students, particularly for recent immigrants. Both in the dominant non-racialized Canadian society and in many racialized communities, different cultural values and understandings of emotional independence and women's roles may lead these students to experience additional difficulties as they try to navigate the transition to life at university (Harper, & Harris, 2010). Few studies have fully explored the intersections of gender, socio-economic status, racialization and racism, ethnicity, professional behaviour and age as they interconnect to influence the experiences of racialized and non-racialized populations of women. Racialized identities are identified as those groups of people that have been socially and politically created as "racially" distinct. In addition, "they have prominent cultural elements, but they are mostly a manifestation of unequal power between groups" (Baum, 2002, P. 11). Consequently, racialized identities are historically and contextually specific differentiated by malleability, flexibility and situationally (Baum, 2002; Arday, 2002; Galabuzi, 2018). More importantly, racialized identities are shaped by power relations (Crenshaw, 1989a, 1991b, 2017c; Davis, 1981; Khanlou, 2010b). In contrast, European settler societies/immigrants are positioned as non-racialized settler societies.

In this paper, we present data from an online survey of Canadian university students with a focus on the intersections of female gender, racialization and mental health help-seeking behaviour. In the survey we asked students questions related to their help seeking behaviour, experiences of accessing help, stigma and issues related to race and acculturation. We argue that intersectionality, an emergent theoretical and methodological public health framework, provides a powerful tool for understanding these complex interlocking experiences in the context of mental health (Morrow & Halinka-Malcoe, 2017; Rossiter & Morrow, 2011; Gorman, 2013; Tam, 2013; Cole, 2009). Conceivably, one of the largest disparities in the literature are studies that address the intersections between gender, racialization, stigma and student help seeking behaviour for mental health supports.

Intersecting Factors Influencing Women's Mental Health Help Seeking Behaviour of Racialized and Non-Racialized Students

There are numerous factors that act as barriers contributing to the under-utilization of mental health supports among women, especially racialized women students. At the structural level systemic racism is the overarching barrier, which then plays out at the community, institutional and personal level (Morrow, et al., 2017). Further, racism and acculturation, expertise of professionals, stigma, race-related stress, gender roles, age, cultural and religious beliefs also play a role in help-seeking for racialized women students. For non-racialized students' gender and age may act as significant barriers to help-seeking behaviour.

Gender, Race & Culture

Racialized women comprise a large, heterogeneous group, varying by language, geographic location and their post-migration experiences. However, among these groups, family needs and traditions are often considered more important than personal needs; when a woman puts her personal needs ahead of those of her family, her behaviour may be considered selfish and "westernized" (Das, & Kemp, 1997; Chan, 2013). The different, yet valued structure of family and women's roles in racialized cultures, is important to understand; many women strive to maintain these values after migration (Das et al., 1997; Chan, 2013).



As a result, racialized women are at the intersection of multiple stigmas with respect to help-seeking behaviour. Not only are their mental health issues closely connected with the cultural stigma of inadequate womanhood or motherhood, but they also generally decline to seek help from either formal or informal sources (Komiya, Good, & Sherrod, 2000; Chowdhury, Sanyal, Bhattacharya, Dutta, Banerjee, & Weiss, 2001; Ting, & Hwang, 2009; & Paniaguan, 2013). As a result, help-seeking behaviour is mediated by both racialization and gender. This combination can prevent both racialized and non racialized women from seeking help for mental health problems and lead to under-utilization of services. For racialized students, family care and support from religious beliefs are perceived as more important than professional mental help to maintain mental well-being (Chan, & Hayashi, 2010; Chong, Verma, Vaingankar, Chan, Wong, & Heng, 2007; Chowdhury, et al., 2001).

Age

Several scholars (Rickwood, Deane, Wilson, & Ciarrochi, 2005), found in younger women age disparities in help-seeking behaviour for mental health concerns, especially in young people between the ages of (18-25). Women in the age range between (18-25), are at the highest risk of having mental health issues and yet had low help-seeking rates (Rickwood, Deane, & Wilson, 2007). This suggests a negative link between age and help-seeking behaviour for mental health issues informed by different attitudes towards mental health.

Furthermore, for young adults in the age range of (18-25), the fear of breaches of confidentiality and lack of trust may relate to the fear of public stigma (Rickwood, et al, 2007). This may create embarrassment, shame and loss of face in front of peers and friends (Barker et al., 2005). Evidence confirms that positive past experiences, social support and encouragement from family members, and family doctors are often the preferred sources of help over mental health professionals for this age group (Rickwood, et al, 2007; Zachrisson, Rodje, & Mykletun, 2006).

Systemic Racism

Institutionalized racism is defined as, “differential access to the goods, services, and opportunities of society by race” (Jones, 2000, p. 1212). Institutionalized racism becomes structural when it is normalized and codified into institutions. Jones (2000), developed a framework for understanding racism at three levels: institutionalized, personally mediated, and internalized. The barriers related to systemic racism explored below are the most relevant to the current study and also those most often discussed in the literature (Gary, Yarandi & Scruggs, 2003; Gary, 2005; Paradies et al., 2015; Sam & Barry, 2010; Hwang, & Ting, 2008; Mikolajczyk, Bredehorst, Kheilalfat, Maler, & Maxwell, 2007; Potochnick & Perreira, 2010).

i) Racism and Acculturation

Acculturation encompasses how people adjust to a new culture, language and environment and has been linked to health and mental health problems due to structural racism (Berry, 2008a; Khanlou, Koh, & Mill, 2008). Balls Organista, Marin, & Chun, (2010, p. 105), define acculturation stress as, “a dynamic and multidimensional process of adaptation that occurs when distinct cultures come into sustained contact.” People experience different degrees and instances of integration with the mainstream culture and maintenance with the heritage culture contingent upon individual, group, and environmental factors.

For university-aged, racialized students, researchers have noted additional difficulties (Sam, et al., 2010; Hwang, et al., 2008; Mikolajczyk, et al., 2007). These difficulties vary depending on whether the racialized student is Canadian-born or a recent immigrant. For Canadian-born racialized students, the issues include intergenerational family conflict and handling discrimination associated with racialized status (Khanlou, 2003a). Whereas racialized immigrants often experience and face: identity confusion; struggle adapting to a different educational and political system; and adjusting to new social norms and coping with feelings of isolation and disconnection (Potochnick & Perreira, 2010; Javier, Lahlff, Ferrer, & Huffman, 2010).

ii) Stigma and Racism-related Stress

Mental health stigma intersects with experiences of racialization and culture. A distinction exists between stigma by virtue of being for a racialized



group and stigma from having mental health issues; both create a barrier to racialized students from seeking help. Once women, especially racialized women have been stigmatized through mental illness labels, the foundation has been established for them to feel devalued and excluded from mainstream society. The stigma of receiving a psychiatric “label” may act as a stressor, impairing psychiatric symptoms or impeding recovery (Ting & Hwang, 2010). Evidence suggests that high levels of stigma associated with negative attitudes predict low use of mental health services for racialized groups. Several surveys have revealed that people with significantly high levels of self-stigma are less likely to seek professional services than those with significantly low levels of self-stigma (Vogel et al., 2006).

iii) Expertise of Professionals

Racist beliefs and stereotyping in the mental health professions (i.e., counsellors, psychology, psychiatry) are regularly assumed to be persuasive determining factors in intake, assessment and diagnosis and misdiagnosis of mental health concerns. (Bui, & Takeuchi, 1992). Unfortunately, because of these problematic biases racialized groups are frequently misdiagnosed with mental health problems (Bui, et al., 1992).

In summary the construct of health and mental health is not merely the result of biological factors but is also influenced by social and structural factors. Unlike biomedical and socio-psychological models/theories, intersectionality advocates racialized groups confront (structural) barriers within the broader political, economic, historical, and social systems due to existing intersecting structural inequalities in Canadian society. Further (Javier, et., 2010; Iwamoto, et al., 2011) emphasize that the internal variations within communities based on female gender, class, age, ability, and sexuality are salient determinants of healthcare and could deter racialized groups in help-seeking. These researchers’ correlate the healthcare behaviour of people especially racialized groups as a power relation comprised of multifaceted intersectional power relations and inequitable social relationships.

METHODS

The concept of intersectionality was formulated by Kimberlé Crenshaw in the context of legal studies and

the development of critical race theory (Crenshaw, 1989a; 1991b; 2017c). However, the concepts underlying intersectionality have a long activist and intellectual history. Intersectionality has its roots in the activism and scholarship of Afro-American and Indigenous feminists in the US and the global South (Davis, 1981; Mohanty, Russo & Torries, 1991; Donadey, 2002; Morrow, Halinka-Malcoe, 2017). Intersectionality is increasingly being adopted as analytic tool for research and activism. Hill, & Bilge, (2016) describe intersectionality as:

When it comes to social inequality, people’s lives and the organization of power in a given society are better understood as being shaped not by a single axis of social division, be it race or gender or class, but by many axes that work together and influence each other. Intersectionality as an analytic tool gives people better access to the complexity of the world and of themselves (pg. 2).

Increasingly, intersectionality is being attentive in the context of mental health research (Morrow, et al., 2017; Gorman, 2013; Tam; 2013; Cole, 2009; Rossiter, et al., 2011) and is being acclaimed for its contributions to understanding the complex interactions between social positioning (race, class, ethnicity, gender) and what these interactions tell us about power relations in mental health (Morrow, et al., 2017). While intersectionality is customarily assumed to be principally used in qualitative research (Cole, 2009); it is also increasingly used in quantitative studies (Parent, Hammer, Bradstreet, Schwartz & Jobe, 2018). Indeed, sizeable group figures are distinctively suited to quantitative intersectional surveys which allows for analysis of identities and individual diversities features (Parent, et al., 2018; Scott, & Siltanen, 2017). In this quantitative study, intersections were captured in the data through relationships amid groups (Cole, 2009).

Sample of the Student Population

The target population for this study was specifically racialized women, and non-racialized women students enrolled at a large size public university located in Ontario, Canada. While the focus in this study was on racialized women students, all students were invited to participate to compare and contrast for deeper understanding. Participations were not restricted by any other demographic variable, such as age, gender-sex, marital status, socio-economic



status, education level, ethnic background, disability or history of mental illness.

Participants were recruited through presentations at university classes in various faculties and departments. To increase the response rate, the researcher attended several classes where, with the collaboration of the professor, the students completed the surveys in class. Participants who clicked the link were led externally to Survey Monkey, an electronic survey website, to complete their responses to the instruments. Ethics approval was granted by the University Ethics Board.

Socio-Demographic Survey

The Socio-Demographic survey elicited information about the socio-demographic characteristics of the students, including gender-sex, age, relationship status, citizenship, racial/ethnic identity, student status, living situation, use of University counselling services, use of online mental health/app information system, and previous diagnosis.

The data analysis was conducted utilizing SPSS vs. 24.0 and the methods described by Field (2013). [Table 1](#) lists the definitions of the variables used to test the research questions. It also lists the continuous (interval level) variables measured with Likert-Scales, coded in SPSS using variable names with four letters. The socio-demographic and contextual characteristics of the respondents were summarized by frequency distributions (counts and percentages of each category). The continuous (interval level) variables were summarized using descriptive statistics (minimum, maximum, mean, median, and standard deviation). The mean scores \pm 95% confidence intervals (CI) of the ten variables were computed to compare the mean scores between different groups of students. A statistically significant difference ($p < .05$) between two mean scores was inferred if their 95% CI did not overlap (Fidler & Loftus, 2009; Knezevic, 2008).

RESULTS

Descriptive Analysis: The Intersectionality of Racialized and Non-Racialized Women Student's Mental Health Seeking Behaviour

The socio-demographic characteristics of 491 respondents (counts and percentages in each category) classified by racial/ethnic group ($n = 78$, 15.9% non-Racialized; $n = 413$, 84.1% Racialized). The division between non-racialized and racialized women students used in this study encompassed a very wide range of ethnic/racial diversity. This wide diversity is represented in [Figure 1](#) by a pie diagram which illustrates the racial/ethnic diversity of the sample ($N = 491$). A total of 570 students participated in the research, 79 male student's data were deleted from the research.

The women students ranged widely in age from 18 to 65 years. The predominant age groups were 18 to 20 years, and 21 to 30 years, collectively representing 82.9% of the non-racialized women students, and 92.3% of the racialized women students. The proportion of Canadian citizens by birth was higher in the non-racialized students (82.1%) compared to the racialized students (59.3%).

The multiple regression analysis

From the multiple regression analysis ([Table 2](#)) high levels of depression and anxiety symptoms were reported by both the racialized and non-racialized women students. The proportion of students with CES-D scores > 16 (indicating that they may suffer from depression) was higher among the racialized students ($n = 265$, 64.2%) than the non-racialized students ($n = 39$, 50.0%). About half of the racialized students ($n = 202$, 48.9%) had BAS scores > 10 indicating that they may suffer from anxiety. About half ($n = 38$, 48.7%) of the non-racialized students also had BAS scores > 10 indicating that they may suffer from anxiety.

The multiple regression analysis utilized to predict Stigma had strong practical significance ($R^2 = .070$). Identification with Heritage Culture, Gender and/or sex, and Race Related Stress were significant predictors of Stigma among the racialized women students. When Identification with Heritage Culture increased by 1, the Stigma score increased ($\beta = .216$).

Further, the regression statistics supported the question that Identification with Mainstream Culture, Ethnic Identity, and Race Related Stress were not significant predictors of depression, anxiety, stigmatization, attitudes toward seeking help, or intention to seek help among the non-racialized



women students. Thus, the mean score for Attitudes Toward Seeking Help was significantly higher among the non-racialized women students ($M = 28.56$) than the racialized women students ($M = 26.63$). Saliiently, the mean score for Race Related Stress was significantly higher among the racialized women students ($M = 5.95$) than among the non-racialized women students ($M = 2.61$).

DISCUSSION

This research examined the factors associated with the attitudes and beliefs concerning racialized and non-racialized women students' mental health help-seeking behaviour. The study focused on racialized women university students because insufficient research has been undertaken in a large size public university in the province of Ontario Canada, to highlight the concerns of racialized students who do not seek mental health services.

Help-seeking behaviours are very complex for racialized women students who experience multiple forms of discrimination based on gender/sex, income, immigration status, stigma, race, ethnicity, class, living situation and age. The results of the descriptive data analysis revealed that the proportions of students with CES-D scores > 16 (indicating that they suffered from clinical depression), was higher racialized women compared to the non-racialized women. The regression analysis indicated that identification with heritage culture and race related stress were statistically significant predictors of depression symptoms among the racialized women students. However, for the non-racialized women students, mainstream acculturation, ethnic identity, and race-related stressors were not statistically significant predictors of depression due to their social and cultural privileges belonging to the dominant non-racialized Canadian society.

These findings are consistent with other surveys concluding that racialized women students are significantly more likely to report depressive symptoms than non-racialized students (Morgan et al, 2006; Walsemann, et al., 2011). The empirical evidence indicates that depression is correlated with many other variables of interest to this study, including stigmatization related to mental health (Link et al., 2001; Corrigan, 2007). The reasons for the high incidence of depression among racialized women students may include racism process stigmatization

associated with acculturation (Link et al., 2001; Walsemann, et al., 2011); experience of racial discrimination (Borges et al., 2011; Joseph, 2015); and gender role conflict (Good & Wood, 1995).

The descriptive analysis revealed that the mean scores for "Attitudes Toward Seeking Help," "Intention to Seek Help," "Identification with Mainstream Culture," and "Race Related Stress" were meaningfully lower in the racialized women students than in the non-racialized women students. Furthermore, the mean score for "Stigma" was significantly higher in the racialized women students than in the non-racialized women students. Regression analysis indicated that a high level of stigma was a significant predictor of lower attitudes towards help seeking and lower intentions towards seeking mental health counseling amongst racialized women students. Similarly, Rao, Feinglass, and Corrigan (2007), found that racialized students at a community college in USA exhibited greater stigma than non-racialized students. These findings are consistent with several previous studies concluding that stigmatization related to mental health is an important predisposing characteristic acting as a barrier to the use of mental health services by racialized students (Gary, 2005; Gary et al., 2003; Ting & Hwang, 2010; Walsemann, et al., 2011).

Further, this study correlated the intersection between gender and race plays an important role in help seeking behaviour. Mental health actions are socially structured behaviours, practiced in the same way as other social and cultural activities (Courtenay, 2000a). As a result, the "doing of health" is the doing of femininity gender/sex role stereotype fulfilment (Courtenay, 2000a). The "doing" of help-seeking is consistent with the norms of traditional femininity and thus reflect the gender/sex role stereotypes of a given time and place (Courtenay, 2000a). While racialized women also seek help less frequently than non-racialized women, they seek mental help more frequently than racialized men (American Psychiatric Association, 2009; Courtenay, 2000a). However, racialized women's students mental help-seeking involved informal supports from friends and family members. These connections are often vital for racialized women because it provides much needed non-professional support and creates bonding among them. This could be emphasized as being a very supportive behaviour from cultural safety perspective.



Thus, non-racialized women students, the situation is somewhat healthier, since dominant femininity in Canadian society encourages mental help-seeking, but racialized women experience: multiple stigmas, racism, and discomfort with lack of cultural safety with the health care system often prevents help-seeking from professionals. The concept of cultural safety is particularly relevant to mental health professionals as it seeks to promote cultural integrity and the promotion of social justice, equity and respect. It dictates that mental health professionals should be aware of a person's cultural background and the impact of colonialism and racism on mental health and strive to create an environment that is safe and supportive (McGough et al, 2018).

Age evolves to an important variable in mental help-seeking behaviour. The predominant age group of the students at who participated in the survey was 18 to 30 years, collectively representing 82.9% of the non-racialized women students, and 92.3% of the racialized women students. The older students (age 26 to 65 years) in the racialized women students tended to have higher scores for "Attitudes Toward Seeking Help" than both racialized and non-racialized women students (age 18 to 25 years). Previous studies have concluded that students in the ages of 18-25 years represent at-risk for all groups due to high risk of mental health issues with associated with low help-seeking rates (Rickwood, et al, 2000a). There may be links between age and help-seeking behavior for mental health issues informed by variants in attitudes towards mental health issues between different cultures and generations.

Research on racialized groups (Paniagua & Yamada, 2013; Wang, et al, 2007; Rao, et al, 2007) has indicated that family and friends strongly influence help-seeking. As a result, family and friends were also important and influenced participants to engage in mental help-seeking behaviour. In the survey, the mean scores for Attitudes Toward Seeking Help were significantly higher among the students who lived with their family, compared with the students who lived off or on campus. This finding was surprising as we assumed that women students living on campus might be more likely to seek mental help, because of lack of family influence and availability of services.

Partners and friends were the associates from whom both racialized and non-racialized women

students were most likely to seek mental help or advice if they were experiencing mental health issues. Mental health professionals, relatives/family members, and doctors/GPs were less likely to be consulted. Professors/academic advisors, phone helplines, ministers or religious leaders, and chat rooms were the least likely sources of help or advice. The University Counselling Centre did not have a significant impact on either non-racialized or racialized women students.

These findings support the suggestion that social support from friends and family members may be important to lay the foundation for mental help seeking behaviour. Several researchers (Vogel et al., 2007; 2001; Gulliver et al., 2010; Gulliver et al., 2012) postulated that most people including racialized and non-racialized women students who engaged in therapy for mental health care are more acceptable when a designate (e.g., parent or partner) advocates for help seeking. Therefore, social support and positive reinforcement appears to be a facilitator of mental help seeking behaviour for women students.

Further, this survey revealed that previous diagnosis was a statistically significant predictor of "Attitudes Toward Seeking Help". This finding is consistent with other studies concluding that previous experiences may increase the potency to influence both non-racialized and racialized students' decision to seek help for mental health issues (Surgenor, 1985; Jorm et al., 1997). Unfortunately, racialized women students seek less help from mental health professionals. This could also be a positive behaviour, given the nature of the deplorable history of how racialized people generally have been mentally misdiagnosed by mental health professionals and mistreated within the mental health system (Jorm et al., 1997). Therefore, it was assumed in this study that social and electronic mediums would be utilized by both groups of students especially racialized students. Regrettably, there was no significant association between the use of the online information system and racialized and non-racialized women students

IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESULTS

Significant positive correlations were found between Attitudes Toward Seeking Help, Informal Help Seeking, and Intention to Seek Help. These three variables were all negatively correlated with Stigma.



Moreover, the results of the correlation analysis conducted using the data collected in this survey suggested that what the women students believed other people might think about seeking professional help for mental health issues, associated with stereotypical societal norms and values. (i.e., their level of stigmatization) may reduce the levels of the students' intentions to seek help as well as the levels of their help seeking behaviour. These findings were consistent with several previous studies concluding that stigmatization is an important predisposing characteristic acting as a barrier to the use of health/mental services by racialized university students (Gary, 2005; Gary et al., 2003; Rao et al., 2007; Ting & Hwang, 2010).

Policy architects in the health and mental health environments have sought to develop explanatory models and theories to understand help-seeking behaviour. This knowledge is meant to assist health professionals, policy makers, researchers, and lay persons in understanding how and when a racialized woman student utilizes health care for physical and mental health needs. A significant amount of research has highlighted the prevalence rates of mental health problems in non-racialized and racialized students. However, utilization of mental health services varies according to power relations based on positionality related to race and ethnicity with research suggesting that racialized women students and racialized population under-utilize mental health services (Abe-Kim et al., 2002). Further, most of these help seeking theories and models reflect power relationships, western values, the experiences of the dominant non-racialized population, and are based on the principles of individuality. These help-seeking theories lack a structural analysis that considers the intersectionality of mental health.

University administrations, student organizations, faculty, and counselling faculty can develop in-class cultural safety educational programs concerning mental health issues for students. This action can cultivate an environment that may reduce the intersections of stigma, stress, anxiety, and depression, and increase help-seeking behaviour. These courses would use an intersectionality lens and demonstrate a commitment to gender equity to engage students to become ambassadors regarding mental health problems to the wider communities, including their families. Additionally, working in concert in the classroom setting may reduce

discrimination and racism between the non-racialized and racialized student groups. Operationalizing these recommendations requires a combination of coherent policy, multi-sectoral solutions with strong leadership by the counselling faculty, and community level action. Action on the social determinants can advance student's physical and mental health resources and provide a culturally safe university environment. The combination of improvements in structural factors, financial resources, daily living conditions, and social determinants can effect emancipation, freedom, and ultimately, mental health and equity.

LIMITATIONS

There is the possibility of cultural response bias, referring to the peculiar cultural communication styles of many respondents, particularly of racialized women, to provide consistently biased answer patterns to questionnaires concerning health and social issues (Minkov, 2010; Smith, 2004). Some respondents both racialized and non-racialized women students may consistently agree with all of the items (acquiescence response bias), or alternatively, they may consistently answer at the extreme end of each item scale (extremity response bias) irrespective of what they believe is the true answer. Missing values and response bias may, therefore, limit the validity and reliability of the results of this study. Some of the instruments utilized in this research may not be in-link with the values and characteristics of the diverse racialized groups in this study. As a result, it is essential to create an open environment in order to redirect university policies based on equity mental health policies toward designing strategies that will help to improve psychological counseling and other social/religious and healthcare services for racialized and non-racialized women students.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this study uncovered that a high proportion of the racialized and to a lesser extent non-racialized women students in a large size public university in the province of Ontario Canada reported, that they suffered from mental problems including depression, anxiety, and race related stress. The intersectionality of depression, anxiety, stigma, race related stress and stigmatization does hinder mental help-seeking behaviour. A higher level of stigma was



also a predictor of negative attitudes and lower intentions towards seeking mental health counseling amongst the racialized women students.

Unfortunately, due to structural problems of racism and acculturation, stigma is characteristic among racialized women students. Fortunately, family and friends heightened the foundation for good mental health and help-seeking behaviour for racialized and non-racialized women students. Mental help-seeking behaviour is an important issue to address, in view of the enormous growth of immigrant students and minority groups who become racialized in Canada.

Future quantitative and qualitative research should expand on how the intersections of stigma are significant mediators of the relationship between acculturation and the attitudes of the students towards seeking mental health treatment, and how this relationship is translated into practice. The integration of quantitative and qualitative data across several studies may also help to reveal the complex nature of how gender and race impact mental health help seeking behaviour.

Notwithstanding the limitations of this exploratory research, this is one of the few studies known to address the mental health problems and needs of racialized and non-racialized women student populations in Ontario, Canada. As a result, the practical implications of this study may serve to inform University governance to develop new policies on developing in class programs on mental health and equity. In addition, the administration and faculty need to design cultural/gender safety counselling programs and educate mental healthcare professionals / counsellors to improve their services and address the intersectional needs of racialized students in universities across Canada, and post-secondary institutions worldwide.

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Table 1: List of Survey Instruments

Variables	Instrument	Items
Socio-demographic Factors	Questionnaire designed by the researcher.	25
Attitudes	Attitudes Toward Seeking Professional Help Scale (Fischer & Farina, 1995).	10
Intention Stigma Expertness of Professionals	Beliefs About Psychological Services Scale (Aegisdottir, & Gerstein, 2009).	18
Identification with Mainstream Culture Identification with Heritage Culture	Vancouver Index of Acculturation (Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000).	20
Race-related Stress	Race-Related Events Scale (Waelde, Pennington, Mahan, Kabour, and Marquett, 2010).	22
Depression Symptoms	Centre for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (Radloff, 1977).	20
Personal Help-Seeking Behaviour	General Help-Seeking Questionnaire (Wilson, Deane, Ciarrochi & Rickwood, 2005).	12
Anxiety	Beck Anxiety Inventory (Beck, Epstein, Brown, & Steer, 1988)	21



Figure 1. Sample racial/ethnic diversity (n = 491)

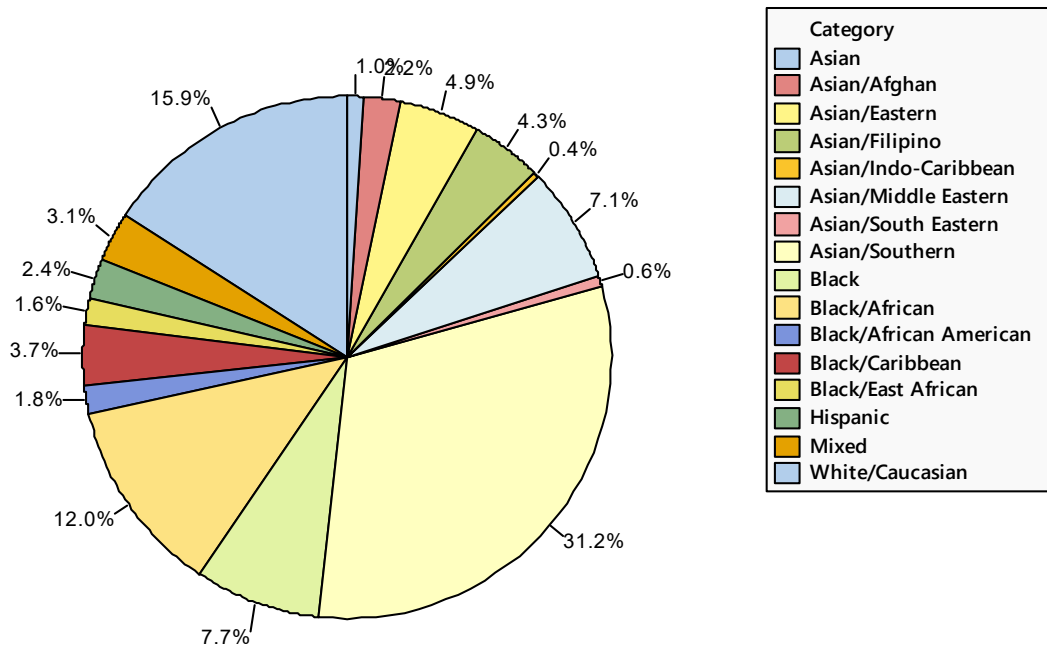




Table 2: Comparison of the Mean Scores of Non-Racialized vs Racialized Students

Variable	Racial/Ethnic Group					
	Non-Racialized (N = 78)			Racialized (N = 413)		
	M	Lower 95% CI	Upper 95% CI	M	Lower 95% CI	Upper 95% CI
Attitudes Toward Seeking Help	28.56*	27.29	29.84	26.63*	26.16	27.10
Informal Help Seeking	34.60	32.30	36.90	35.85	34.87	36.82
Intention to Seek Help	4.09	3.84	4.35	3.70	3.60	3.81
Stigma	2.56	2.40	2.73	2.80	2.71	2.87
Expertness of Professionals	4.44	4.23	4.66	4.32	4.22	4.42
Identification with Heritage Culture	6.18	5.85	6.50	6.60	6.43	6.76
Identification with Mainstream Culture	6.69	6.42	6.97	6.36	6.23	6.49
Race Related Stress	2.61*	1.83	3.40	5.95*	5.53	6.38
Anxiety Symptoms	13.39	10.87	15.91	14.47	13.26	15.68
Depression Symptoms	19.07	16.22	21.93	21.42	20.32	22.52

Note: * 95% CI do not overlap, reflecting significant differences between the mean scores