

Questioning Turkish Psychological Counselor Trainees' Prejudices towards Some Clients: Reflections of the Social Context

Serdar Körük*¹  | Alper Karababa² | Ali Ammar Kurt³

¹Yeditepe University, Turkey

²Mugla Sitki Kocman University, Turkey

³Mersin University, Turkey

Correspondence Email

serdar.koruk@yeditepe.edu.tr*

Keywords

multicultural counseling;
prejudices; psychological
counselor trainees; sources of
prejudices

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to reveal the prejudices of psychological counselor trainees towards clients and the sources of these prejudices among a group of Turkish undergraduates in the psychological counseling department. The study group consisted of 39 undergraduates who were continuing their education in the third year. The ages of the students varied between 20 and 23. They were from different parts of Anatolia region in Turkey. The qualitative data obtained from 39 participants underwent content analysis. The themes related to the prejudices were found as crime domain, nationalism domain, LGBT people domain, conservative people domain, and personal domain while the themes related to the sources of prejudices were found as interpersonal domain, personal domain, and media domain. The themes and categories were discussed in relation to the literature on prejudice in psychological counseling and the previous studies that have been conducted.

INTRODUCTION

Multicultural counseling competencies are emphasized as a main component of counseling intervention and an integral part of the professional identity of counselors (Ratts et al., 2016). Psychological counselors' level of having multicultural counseling competence contributes positively to the clients, therapeutic alliance, and counseling process in general (Dillon et al., 2016; Kağnıcı, 2013).

One of the biggest obstacles to multicultural counseling is individuals' prejudices towards a group idea (Hays, 2020). Firstly, multicultural counseling competence is stated as being aware of the prejudices of the psychological counselors (Sue et al., 1992). Professional and qualified psychological counselors should be able to estimate the impact of prejudices on counseling process and clients and they should prevent them (Sue & Sue, 2003).

Prejudices are examined in two groups as implicit vs explicit. While explicit prejudices are those that are clearly expressed and the individual is aware of, implicit prejudices are that the individual does not express openly or even in some cases the individual is not aware of (Greenwald et al., 2009). A counselor who does not want to conduct psychological counseling with people belonging to a particular minority group displays an explicit prejudice, while counselors who do not express such a thing but unintentionally establish an insincere rapport relationship with minority people display implicit prejudice. Boysen and Vogel (2008) found that counselor candidates did not report prejudice in their self-assessment, but prejudices emerged because of implicit measurement. This situation shows that counselor candidates need more information about prejudice and sources of prejudices.

It is seen in the literature that counselor candidates have prejudices against clients with extraordinary sexual experiences (Hillier, 2018), refugees (Kassan et al., 2017), different ethnic groups (Chang & Berk, 2009) and LGBT people (Bidell, 2013). On the other hand, it is stated that rape victims, ex-convicts, albinos, drug addicts, alcoholics, individuals with HIV and survivors of insanity, cannot benefit from mental health due to stigmatization and prejudices (Effiom et al., 2020). Studies conducted in Turkey show that, there are cultural obstacles to help seeking (Kağnıcı, 2013).

Turkish counselor candidates live with people who have different cultural aspects of life in Turkey (Kağnıcı, 2013). Due to these social and political features of Turkey, multicultural perspective is even more important (Akcaoğlu & Arsal, 2018). The fact that Turkey has both a rich cultural structure and refugee crisis inevitably brings multicultural psychological counseling to center of counselor education (Kağnıcı, 2013). Sometimes cultural diversity can lead to prejudices, and it is possible that counselor candidates are directly or indirectly affected by possible prejudices against cultural differences (Meydan & Kağnıcı, 2018).

Individuals try to make sense of the outside world by creating cognitive schemas (Allport, 2016). Although it is likely that an erroneous and dysfunctional schema will occur in the mind of the individual during this categorization process, its transformation into a prejudice is mostly related to the social environment in which the individual lives, providing experiences

to support this schema to become stronger (Crandall & Warner, 2005). Direct or indirect messages acquired from family, friends and media throughout the life and stored in the mind shape these dysfunctional schemas (Almond, 2010; Abreu, 2001). On the other hand, curriculum for Turkish undergraduates has really important role to train culturally sensitive psychological counselors (Buyruk-Genç & Yüksel-Şahin, 2018). Therefore, preventive studies to be carried out during the bachelor's degree are considered important in reducing or eliminating prejudices.

Although different studies have been conducted, most of the studies conducted in Turkey have been conducted with individuals who are currently working as psychological counselors and have made a certain progress in their professional career. While the findings of these studies emphasize the points that counselors should pay attention to in counseling processes, this study, unlike the others, was conducted with counselor candidates, and the findings are expected to contribute directly to counselor education. Although the study differs from previous studies in this respect, it is thought that it will also provide information about the content shaping of multicultural counseling education.

Accordingly, the aim of this research is to discover the prejudices related to psychological counseling process and clients and possible sources of these prejudices of psychological counseling and guidance undergraduate students from their perspectives that may prevent them from performing a professional psychological counseling process in the coming years. In line with aim of this study, research questions are; 1) What are the prejudices that psychological counseling and guidance undergraduate students have? 2) What are the sources of prejudices of undergraduate psychological counseling and guidance students?

METHODS

Qualitative research method was chosen for this study. Qualitative research has an important place in psychological counseling, which is associated with multiculturalism, because it allows revealing previously unidentified multicultural dynamics (Morrow et al., 2001) and its social validity (Morrow, 2005). In addition, the data were analyzed by using the content analysis method within the framework of the inductive approach. General inductive approach allows the emergence of frequent, dominant, or important themes inherent in raw data (Thomas, 2006). According to Creswell (1995) while the phenomenological approach tries to reveal the meaning of an experience, the inductive approach tries to reveal the main meanings, themes or categories that stand out in the text in relation to the determined assessment or research objectives.

Participants

The participants of this study consisted of 39 Turkish psychological counseling and guidance undergraduate students. 27 of the participants were female and 12 were male students, all of whom were continuing their education in the third year. The ages of the students varied between 20 and 23. They are from different parts of Anatolia region in Turkey. Participants were chosen to the criterion sampling method, one of purposeful sampling methods. Participants consist of psychological counselor undergraduate students who are in the third year of education and who have not previously practiced counseling with individuals or groups.

Procedure

As part of the counseling course students took in the sixth semester spring term, they were told about the aim of the current research while they were dealing with the topic of multicultural counseling, and it was explained that students who were volunteers could participate in the research. Data were collected in written format and a structured form was created for this. The form consisting of 2 open-ended questions was sent online to 150 students' e-mail addresses and 60 students participated in the study. Participants returned within 1 week. At the first glance, 21 forms were excluded from the study because they were not filled, and 39 students' answers were found to be suitable for the study. Also, only gender-related demographic information was requested to maximize participation and open sharing of prejudices. The following question was directed to the volunteer students in writing;

“Do you have any prejudices that disturb and force you, you want to get rid of and that will prevent you from professionally conducting a psychological counseling process? If so, which areas are these prejudices related to? Where might these prejudices come from?”

Below the question, a blank section was left for the students to express their reflections and the students wrote in this part. Students were encouraged to express their reflections and were given time to do so. Students were given an informed consent form to fill out.

Analysis

In the analysis of the qualitative data, the content analysis method was used. Content analysis aims to reach concepts to explain the qualitative data. During analysis, four stages were followed (Şimşek & Yıldırım, 2011). These stages may be listed as follows; firstly, data coding procedures were performed, coded data were classified according to common characteristics to

Table 1. Categories Related to the Prejudices of Undergraduate Psychological Counseling and Guidance Students

Sexual Criminals	Violent Criminals	Non-patriotic People	LGBT People	Different Ethnic Groups	Discriminatory People	Religious People	Personal Issues
Rapists (11)	Murderers (8)	Terrorists (5)	LGBT people (7)	Kurdish people (3)	People defending gender discrimination	Overly religious people	Grieving people
People with pedophilia (9)	Criminal people (3)	Traitors (3)		Foreign people	People who do not value human rights	People who are members of the strict religious organizations	People whose appearance is remarkable
Sexual abusers (8)	People who use violence against women (2)	People engaged in separatist propaganda		Gypsies	Racist people	Women wearing burqas.	Rich people
Sexual harassers (3)		People with destructive activities towards society		People of Arab origin			Talking about sexuality
People who have incestuous relationships (2)				People with different races, religions, origins, lifestyles, beliefs			
				Syrian refugees			

determine categories then the categories were re-organized to main themes and finally definition and interpretation of findings was completed. Open coding was chosen to name and categorize the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Open coding includes the analysis of defining, naming, categorizing, and explaining the structure in raw data (Saldana, 2015).

Data were collected by first author. Then each author analyzed data independently, after that, analysis was shaped by making joint decisions. In this way, it was aimed to prevent individual prejudices or prejudices towards the study. To ensure internal reliability, it was ensured that the data were presented directly without adding comments, inter-coder reliability study was carried out in data analysis (LeCompte & Goetz, 1982) and the data was mechanically recorded. Agreement percentage of the reliability between coders during the open coding phase was determined as 87% and it has been found to be reliable according to Miles and Huberman (1994). By discussing the different encodings, the coding process was finalized. On the other hand, the findings of the study were sent to two experts in the field of psychological counseling, and feedback was received after expert examination.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

The findings were presented in two titles. The first title is the findings related to the prejudices and the second title is the findings related to the sources of the prejudices.

Findings Related to the Prejudices

Findings related to prejudices were presented in two tables. In Table 1, the coded written expressions of the students were placed under categories according to their common features. In Table 2, these categories were combined in higher structures and main themes were reached. The numerical values in the brackets in Table 1 show the number of times the code was repeated.

The prejudices of psychological counseling and guidance undergraduate students regarding the psychological counseling process and clients were classified under eight categories after being coded. These categories were determined as, sexual

Table 2. Themes Related to the Prejudices of Undergraduate Psychological Counseling and Guidance Students

Crime Domain (46 items)	Nationalism Domain (18 items)	LGBT People Domain (7 items)	Conservative People Domain (6 items)	Personal Domain (4 items)
Sexual criminals (33 items)	Non-patriotic people (10 items)	LGBT people (7 items)	Discriminatory people (3 items)	Personal issues (4 items)
Violent criminals (13 items)	Different ethnic groups (8 items)		Religious people (3 items)	

criminals, violent criminals, non-patriotic people, different ethnic groups, discriminatory people, religious people, and personal issues. Some of the statements about the prejudices of the participants are as follows:

Prejudices about Violent Crime

The first thing that comes to my mind when I think of my own bias is the people who use violence against women. I do not want to work with terrorists, sexual abusers, murderers, and rapists. I don't think I can act objectively towards them during the psychological counseling process (Female).

Prejudices about Different Ethnic Groups

As I grew up, I learned that there were other identities besides Turkish identity. I realized that the parents, whose children went to the compulsory military service in the eastern Turkey, were not happy at all. I often heard that our soldiers died in the east region. While conducting the psychological counseling process with the group and individually, I can assume that these experiences will create a problem against our Kurdish clients (Male).

The environment I grew up in does not like the culture of Eastern Anatolia and Southeast Anatolia at all. Many people look at the Kurds with a different grudge and anger. There are reasons for this, too (Male).

Prejudices about Non-Patriotic People

The most difficult and unwanted situation is conducting counseling with a terrorist. I do not think I can work with a traitor, a terrorist person. Apart from that, thinking about a situation in which I will have to work with a rapist individual makes me nervous. I do not think that I can dominate myself when I encounter such a situation (Female).

Prejudices about LGBT People

I think that the biggest situation that will prevent me in the psychological counseling process is the people who sympathize with those who betray this homeland. I have become a very flexible person since my childhood. While I could not even respect LGBT people, I matured and started to respect. But I'm very sensitive about patriotism (Male).

Although I grew up in a tolerant environment against differences, some of the experiences I have experienced have led me to prejudice in a way that will negatively affect the counseling process with LGBT people. It created fear in me rather than bias and I had the feeling of not knowing what to do (Female).

Prejudices about Conservative People

The situation where I can experience bias is to work with a client who is overly dependent on any religion (Female). In addition, I can say that I have developed bias against members of strict religious organizations (Male).

Prejudices about Personal Issues

In counseling with couples or the opposite sex, I cannot predict what to do or how to react if the subject comes to a point about sexual life. I think I will have trouble when I speak to them openly. Besides, I do not know how to behave towards people who have different sexual orientation or who think so. I cannot predict how I can truly understand how they feel (Female).

The eight categories reached were deeply examined and placed under five themes in line with the messages they expressed. These themes were determined as, crime domain, nationalism domain, LGBT people domain, conservative people domain, and personal domain. The trainees of psychological counselor included in this study stated that they will experience difficulties in the psychological counseling process when working with people who have committed crime, people they see as a threat to the nation, LGBT people and conservative people. In addition, they stated that various individual prejudices could force them in the psychological counseling process. While the most expressed prejudice theme was crime domain (46 items), nationalism domain (18 items) and LGBT people domain (7 items) followed, respectively.

Table 3. Categories Related to the Sources of Prejudices of Undergraduate Psychological Counseling and Guidance Students

Individual Experiences	Aspects of Social Circle	Origin Family Interactions	Frequent Visual Exposure	Cultural Aspects	Individual Aspects
Having worrying and negative experiences related to the prejudice in the past (8)	The effect of the social environment in which the individual grows (10)	Related messages from the origin family (9)	Disturbing and bad news witnessed in the social environment, cinema industry, social media, and media (6)	Related messages from the culture (7)	Having an emotional personality structure (3)
	Growing by witnessing LGBT people being labeled "different and weird" in the social and cultural environment (2)	The way the individual been cultivated (3)	The situation of been exposure to many stimuli about violence against women in the culture in which being lived (2)	The effect of values, beliefs and moral norms (3)	Seeing sexual crime as a legal problem (3)
	The effect of social values on patriotism	Inadequate and misleading information about sexuality from origin family members			The effect of gender identity (3)
	The idea that Syrian refugees and gypsies are dangerous people	The situation of poverty in origin family and economic difficulties experienced			The situation of being unable to explain the behavior of these people in an intellectual and conscientious manner

Table 4. Themes Related to the Sources of Prejudices of Undergraduate Psychological Counseling and Guidance Students

Interpersonal Domain (38 items)	Personal Domain (18 items)	Media Domain (8 items)
Aspects of social circle (14 items)	Individual aspects (10 items)	Frequent visual exposure (8 items)
Origin family Interactions (14 items)	Individual experiences (8 items)	
Cultural Aspects (10 items)		

Findings Related to the Sources of Prejudices

The codes obtained from the statements regarding the sources of prejudices were presented in Table 3 under the categories. The numerical values in the brackets show the number of times the code was repeated. The main themes related to the sources of prejudices formed by the categories were presented in Table 4.

When examining how the prejudices related to the psychological counseling process and clients might have been occurred, it was seen that there were various sources classified in six categories. These categories were determined as, individual experiences, aspects of social circle, origin family interactions, frequent visual exposure, cultural aspects, and individual aspects.

Six categories that express the sources of prejudices about the psychological counseling process and clients were classified under three themes after their in-depth examination, according to their common features and messages. These themes were determined as, interpersonal domain, personal domain, and media domain.

Interpersonal domain (38 items) was found the most often mentioned theme as the source of prejudices. This domain includes social environment and origin family transferences on the individual and effect of culture. In the second-place personal domain (18 items) includes the subjective life of the individual. Lastly, Media domain (8 items) includes related frequents stimuli in mainstream media and social media.

Discussion

The results of this study reveal the prejudices of Turkish counselor candidates towards individuals from different cultures in terms of being aware of their own attitudes, beliefs, and prejudices, which is one of the multicultural counselor competencies.

On the other hand, it is seen that the cultural elements and experiences of the counselor candidates are effective in the sources of prejudices. These findings are discussed below within the framework of the literature.

Even though there is progress in multicultural counseling, social justice, and advocacy for psychological counseling area in Turkey (Çelik-Örücü, 2015; Keklik, 2010) it's thought that counselor candidate will avoid working with clients who are not similar to their culture. On the other hand, it's possible that these results were reached because counselor candidates are in the beginning of their degree. For example, Crook (2010) suggests that experienced psychological counselors tend to have more competence in multicultural counseling.

When crime domain, which is one of the most common prejudices among participants, was examined similar findings were reached with in previous studies. According to Shields and Moya (1997), counseling with individuals in the criminal category is difficult. Detainees and convicts in Turkey are frequently exposed to prejudicial attitudes and behaviors (Toper, 2016). In this case, the display on the increase of sexual offenses against children and women in Turkey is thought to be effective. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that psychological counselor's experience, education, and the status of the victim positively affect the attitude towards people with this characteristic (Nelson et al., 2002).

It is possible to explain the theme of nationalism domain with the Modern-Symbolic Prejudice Theory. This theory states that the dominant groups in a society behave group-oriented rather than individual-oriented when evaluating minority groups (Henry & Sears, 2002). According to this theory, practices and opinions that improve the social welfare of minority groups and ensure social equality in society harm the traditional values of dominant groups and this creates anti-minority feelings (Whitley & Kite, 2010). Ekici (2019) examined 25 articles investigating the negative attitudes and prejudices of Turkish society towards Syrians and reported that Syrians are seen as a threat to cultural structure, social and moral order, economic functioning, security, and access to basic service areas.

When LGBT people domain theme is examined, most of the trainees who expressed their prejudices to these people stated that they could experience uneasiness during counseling process because they do not know how to communicate and work with them. Considering the studies on attitudes towards LGBT people in Turkey, mostly university students participated, and it was observed that the attitudes of university students towards these people were mostly negative (Gelbal & Duyan, 2006; Sakallı-Uğurlu, 2006). It is seen that psychological counselor candidates lack knowledge on LGBT (Bekiroğulları, 2012). Çabuk (2010) interviewed lesbian and gay people who received mental health service in Turkey, and the participants' statements included that mental health professionals are not empathic to them as much as they want, and participants are reluctant to share their sexual orientation with the professionals because they don't feel comfortable enough with them.

The conservative people domain theme includes the categories of religious people and discriminatory people. It is stated that psychological counselors can try to force clients by ignoring the religious and moral views that clients have, and counselors can attempt to work on good and bad thing in a moral way with the client (Christopher, 1996). Religious and spiritual values in Turkish culture, as in many traditional cultures, shape social and individual life significantly (Akdogan & Ceyhan, 2011). It is stated that many psychological counselors are empathetic towards a religious perspective but feel inadequate in expressing religious issues to the client (Holden et al., 1991).

In the second part of the study, the sources of these prejudices have been investigated. It was seen that the biggest share is in the interpersonal domain. The dominance of this theme can be explained by the fact that Turkish culture has collective features (Imamoğlu, 1998) and therefore, high rate of being affected by the social environment. In Turkish culture, the level of differentiation of people from the origin family is low, especially in young adulthood, and therefore it takes time to create their own emotional and behavioral patterns (Kurt, 2019).

Another source of prejudice of psychological counselor trainees was found as the aspects of social circle. It was seen that the perspective of the social environment has an impact on the prejudices of the psychological counselor trainees, especially on minority groups. In recent years, emerging refugee crisis in Turkey caused many people to think negatively towards refugees. Negative attitudes of people towards refugees increase as they get older (Üner Yılmaz, 2019). It can be argued that the trainees of psychological counselor in the young adulthood period are influenced by the older people in their social environment and origin families and they develop prejudices about the refugee issue.

When personal domain is examined as the source of prejudices, it is seen that the negative experiences of the individual about prejudice patterns are effective. This situation can be explained by the negative cognitive structures that the individual has. The negative experiences of individuals cause them to form stereotypes about the people and situations who are the subjects of these experiences (Beck, 1993). Another explanation may be when individuals are not able to provide an explanation in intellectual and moral dimensions to the behavior of those with whom they are prejudiced. This can be explained by the lack of information, one of the main causes of prejudice (Kelman & Pettigrew, 1959).

When looking at the media domain, it is seen that the information and visuals that people are frequently exposed to play an important role in the formation of prejudices, especially on social media. This finding, which is in parallel with the results of the study conducted by Druckman et al. (2012), points out that the impressions of people on social media shape their prejudices. In addition, another study has revealed that people expect and want media organizations to broadcast news including various prejudice features to support their own prejudices (Wallace et al., 2020).

As a result, having prejudices is a natural and frequent phenomenon in people (Duckitt, 1994). When prejudices and sources of prejudices of psychological counselor trainees who will work with many different people and groups are examined, it is seen that this situation is not very different. It is thought that new trends such as multicultural psychological counseling and culture sensitive psychological counseling, which have recently increased their popularity both in Turkey and in the world, may be effective in changing this emerging picture. Beside those preventive studies are important for counselor candidates to have the competence of multicultural counseling.

Limitations and Future Directions

Since the research was conducted based on self-reports of the participants, it was limited to the answers given by the counselor candidates, so implicit bias could not be measured. It can be thought that the psychological counselor candidates gave their answers within this framework due to social acceptance errors. Experimental research is needed to explore how students' perceptions of multicultural competence develop throughout their programs, as suggested by Gonzalez-Voller et al. (2020). This study will shed light on the preventive work to be carried out to make candidates aware of their prejudices. In this respect, it is recommended to include courses on this subject in the curriculum to increase the competence of psychological counselor candidate on multicultural counseling. At the same time, psycho-educational programs can be prepared. On the other hand, working micro under the supervision of a multicultural competent supervisor will strengthen the multicultural counseling competence of the candidates. Considering it can be said that counselor and counselor candidates working in the field should reconsider their multicultural counseling competencies, and they can also receive supervision on issues they feel lacking.

CONCLUSION

Psychological counseling is an important mental health service, and it is of great importance that the individuals providing this service have good psychological health and are well-educated. It is thought that in a sociologically multi-layered country like Turkey, cultural elements should be included more in the education process in order to provide a more professional psychological counseling undergraduate education.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The authors would like to sincere their gratitude to the participants and everyone who involved in the research.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTION STATEMENT

All authors agree to the final version of this article.

REFERENCES

- Abreu, J. M. (2001). Theory and research on stereotypes and perceptual bias: A didactic resource for multicultural counseling trainers. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 29(4), 487-512. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000001294002>
- Akçaoğlu, M. Ö., & Arsal, Z. (2018). Adaptation of multicultural efficacy scale to Turkish: A study of validity and reliability. *Kastamonu Educational Journal*, 26(1), 261-270. <https://doi.org/10.24106/kefdergi.378585>
- Akdoğan, R., & Ceyhan, E. (2011). Human factor in therapeutic relationship. *Current Approaches in Psychiatry*, 3(1), 117-141.
- Allport, G. (1979). *The nature of prejudice* (25th Anniv). Perseus Books.
- Almond, B. (2010). Education for tolerance. Cultural difference and family values. *Journal of Moral Education*, 39(2), 131-143. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057241003754849>
- Beck, A. T. (1993). Cognitive therapy: Past, present, and future. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 61(2), 194-198. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-006X.61.2.194>
- Bekiroğulları, Z. (2012). Perceptions of nonheterosexuality among future Muslim counseling psychologists. *Social Behavior and Personality*, 40(9), 1569-1584. <https://doi.org/10.2224/sbp.2012.40.9.1569>
- Bidell, M. P. (2013). Addressing disparities: The impact of a lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender graduate counselling course. *Counselling and Psychotherapy Research*, 13(4), 300-307. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14733145.2012.741139>
- Boysen, G. A., & Vogel, D. L. (2008). The relationship between level of training, implicit bias, and multicultural competency among counselor trainees. *Training and Education in Professional Psychology*, 2(2), 103-110. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1931-3918.2.2.103>
- Buyruk Genç, A., & Yüksel Şahin, F. (2018). Investigation of multicultural counseling competencies according to certain variables. *Journal of Academic Social Sciences*, 6(85), 593-618. <https://doi.org/10.16992/ASOS.14522>
- Chang, D. F., & Berk, A. (2009). Making cross-racial therapy work: A phenomenological study of clients' experiences of cross-racial therapy. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 56(4), 521-536. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0016905>
- Christopher, J. C. (1996). Counseling's inescapable moral visions. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 75(1), 17-25. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1556-6676.1996.tb02310.x>
- Crandall, C. S., & Warner, R. H. (2005). How a prejudice is recognized. *Psychological Inquiry*, 16(2/3), 137-141. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20447276>

- Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Sage
- Crook, T. (2010). *Relationship between counseling self-efficacy and multicultural counseling self-efficacy among school counselors* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Auburn University.
- Çabuk, D. (2010). *Attitudes of medical students and physicians about homosexuality and health care experiences of gays and lesbians* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Gazi University.
- Çelik-Örücü, M. (2015). The role and importance of the training of a psychological counselor and higher education in sustainable education. *EKEV Journal of Academia*, 19(63), 231- 242. <https://doi.org/10.17753/Ekev482>
- Dillon, F. R., Odera, L., Fons-Scheyd, A., Sheu, H. B., Ebersole, R. C., & Spanierman, L. B. (2016). A dyadic study of multicultural counseling competence. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 63(1), 57-66. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000118>
- Druckman, J. N., Fein, J., & Leeper, T. J. (2012). A source of bias in public opinion stability. *American Political Science Review*, 106(2), 430-454. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055412000123>
- Duckitt, J. (1994). *The social psychology of prejudice*. Praeger.
- Effiom, B. E., Abuo, C. B., & Akpan, B. (2020). Counselling the stigmatized for social integration in Calabar South, Cross River State, Nigeria. *International Journal of Innovative Psychology & Social Development*, 8(3), 118-127.
- Ekici, H. (2019). Threat perceptions of Turkish society towards Syrians and policy recommendations. *Journal of Social Policy Studies*, 19(44), 695-730. <https://doi.org/10.21560/spcd.v19i49119.487325>
- Gelbal, S., & Duyan, V. (2006). Attitudes of university students toward lesbians and gay men in Turkey. *Sex Roles*, 55(7-8), 573-579. <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11199-006-9112-1>
- Gonzalez-Voller, J., Crunk, A. E., Barden, S. M., Harris, S., & Belser, C. T. (2020). A preliminary longitudinal study of multicultural competence in counselor education. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 98(3), 308-318. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcad.12325>
- Greenwald, A. G., Poehlman, T. A., Uhlmann, E. L., & Banaji, M. R. (2009). Understanding and using the Implicit Association Test: III. Meta-analysis of predictive validity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 97(1), 17-41. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0015575>
- Hays, D. G. (2020). Multicultural and social justice counseling competency research: Opportunities for innovation. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 98(3), 331-344. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcad.12327>
- Henry, P. J., & Sears, D. O. (2002). The symbolic racism 2000 scale. *Political Psychology*, 23(2), 253-283. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0162-895X.00281>
- Hillier, K. M. (2018). Counselling diverse groups: Addressing counsellor bias toward the BDSM and D/S Subculture. *Canadian Journal of Counselling and Psychotherapy*, 52(1), 65-77. <https://cjc-rcc.ucalgary.ca/article/view/61095>
- Holden, J. M., Watts, R. E., & Brookshire, W. (1991). Beliefs of professional counselors and clergy about depressive religious ideation. *Counseling and Values*, 35(2), 93-103. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-007X.1991.tb00368.x>
- İmamoğlu, E. O. (1998). Individualism and collectivism in a model and scale of balanced differentiation and integration. *Journal of Psychology*, 132(1), 95-105. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00223989809599268>
- Kağnıcı, D. Y. (2013). Accommodating multicultural counseling training in the guidance and counseling undergraduate programs. *Turkish Psychological Counseling and Guidance Journal*, 5(40), 222-231. <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/tpdrd/issue/21460/230043>
- Kassan, A., Green, A. R., & Nathoo, J. (2017). Kompetencje wielokulturowego doradcy pracującego z młodzieżą. Fenomenologiczne badania doświadczeń klientów. *Studia Poradownicze*, 6, 75-96. <https://doi.org/10.34862/sp.2017.4>
- Keklik, İ. (2010). Advocacy: Responsibilities of the field of counseling beyond the individual client. *Turkish Psychological Counseling and Guidance Journal*, 4 (33), 89-99. <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/tpdrd/issue/21453/229835>
- Kelman, H., & Pettigrew, T. (1959). How to understand prejudice. *Commentary*, 28, 436-441.
- Kurt, A. A. (2019). *The investigation of relationship between irrational relationship beliefs, cognitive flexibility, and differentiation of self in young adults* (Unpublished master's thesis). Mersin University.
- LeCompte, M. D., & Goetz, J. P. (1982). Problems of reliability and validity in ethnographic research. *Review of Educational Research*, 52(1), 31-60. <https://doi.org/10.3102/00346543052001031>
- Meydan, B., & Kağnıcı, D. Y. (2018). Establishing multicultural supervisory relationship. *Turkish Psychological Counseling and Guidance Journal*, 8(51), 2-28. <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/tpdrd/issue/42772/516469>
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis*. Sage Publications.
- Morrow, S. L. (2005). Quality and trustworthiness in qualitative research in counseling psychology. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 52(2), 250-260. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.52.2.250>
- Morrow, S. L., Rakhsha, G., & Castañeda, C. L. (2001). *Qualitative research methods for multicultural counseling*. In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (p. 575-603). Sage Publications.
- Nelson, M., Herlihy, B., & Oescher, J. (2002). A survey of counselor attitudes towards sex offenders. *Journal of Mental Health Counseling*, 24(1), 51-67.

- Ratts, M. J., Singh, A. A., Nassar-McMillan, S., Butler, S. K., & McCullough, J. R. (2016). Multicultural and social justice counseling competencies: Guidelines for the counseling profession. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 44*(1), 28–48. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jmcd.12035>
- Sakallı Uğurlu, N. (2006). Attitudes towards homosexuals: Empirical studies in Turkey. *Turkish Psychological Articles, 9*(17), 53-69. <https://psycnet.apa.org/record/2006-10597-004>
- Saldaña, J. (2015). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Sage Publications
- Shields, K., & Moya, D. D. (1997). Correctional health care nurses' attitudes toward inmates. *Journal of Correctional Health Care, 4*(1): 37-59. <https://doi.org/10.1177/107834589700400104>
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Sage Publications
- Sue, D. W., Arredondo, P., & McDavis, R. J. (1992). Multicultural counseling competencies and standards: A call to the profession. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 70*(4), 477-486. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1556-6676.1992.tb01642.x>
- Sue, D. W., & Sue, D. (2003). *Counseling the culturally diverse: Theory and practice* (4th ed.). Wiley.
- Şimşek, H., & Yıldırım, A. (2011). *Sosyal bilimlerde nitel araştırma yöntemleri [Qualitative research methods in social sciences]*. Seçkin.
- Thomas, D. R. (2006). A general inductive approach for analyzing qualitative evaluation data. *American Journal of Evaluation, 27*(2), 237-246. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1098214005283748>
- Toper, M. (2016). *Personal determinants of prejudice against ex-offenders in working life: A field study in Ankara municipalities* (Unpublished master's thesis). Eskişehir Anadolu University.
- Uner Yılmaz, S. (2019). *Prejudice against Syrians in Turkey: The role of age, moral perception, group identification, and contact* (Unpublished master's thesis). Boğaziçi University.
- Wallace, L. E., Wegener, D. T., & Petty, R. E. (2020). Influences of source bias that differ from source untrustworthiness: When flip-flopping is more and less surprising. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology: Attitudes and Social Cognition, 118*(4), 603-616. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspa0000181>
- Whitley, B., & Kite, M. (2010). *The psychology of prejudice and discrimination*. Wadsworth.