Brief research report: Intersecting cultural values predict help-seeking avoidance in college statistics

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Academic help-seeking is an adaptive learning behavior that reflects an ability to regulate one's learning and draw from the expertise of others. Recent research has highlighted how cultural factors—particularly collectivist values emphasizing group harmony—may shape how undergraduate students approach help-seeking, especially in contexts where seeking help may be perceived as a burden to others. However, less is known about how collectivist and individualist cultural values may intersect to shape students' motivation to seek academic help in specific course contexts. To address this gap, this survey study examined whether collectivist values emphasizing group harmony were associated with greater help-seeking avoidance among undergraduate students enrolled in an introductory statistics course (N = 1,040), and whether this association was moderated by students' simultaneous endorsement of individualist cultural values emphasizing competitiveness and personal uniqueness. Results of hierarchical multiple regression indicated that prioritizing group harmony predicted greater help-seeking avoidance, but this effect was weaker among students who also endorsed competitive values. These findings highlight the importance of examining the interaction of cultural values in shaping help-seeking motivation and offer insights for designing interventions that better support students from predominantly collectivist cultural backgrounds.

Keywords: academic help-seeking; culture; collectivism; individualism; higher education

Introduction

In higher education settings, students are expected to be self-motivated learners who can develop strategies for overcoming obstacles to their learning (Seli & Dembo, 2020). This expectation is especially salient in introductory college courses, where students frequently encounter a range of learning-related challenges related to grasping novel concepts, keeping pace with instruction, and self-studying (Meaders et al., 2020). In this context, *academic help-seeking* emerges as an adaptive learning behavior that involves

monitoring one's progress in a course, recognizing the need for assistance, making the decision to ask for help, and actively pursuing help (Newman, 1994). Research consistently shows that undergraduate students who seek academic help when needed tend to outperform their peers (Fong et al., 2023), as this behavior reflects effective self-regulation and the ability to draw on the guidance of others (Karabenick & Knapp, 1991).

As academic help-seeking is often interpersonal—typically involving a help-seeker and help-giver—help-seeking interactions are shaped by the sociocultural contexts in which they occur (Bornschlegl et al., 2020). Specifically, recent work has highlighted the role of course-level interpersonal dynamics in predicting undergraduate' help-seeking behaviors (Oh et al., 2024; Won et al., 2021). In addition, although less frequently examined, students' broader cultural values linked to their nationality, race, ethnicity, upbringing, and more have been shown to also serve as motivators for or barriers to seeking help when needed (Jeng, 2024).

The present study aims to contribute to a more nuanced understanding of how collectivist cultural values—particularly those emphasizing the importance of prioritizing group harmony over one's self-interests—shape students' willingness to seek academic help in an introductory statistics course. Specifically, I investigate a) the unique contribution of values related to prioritizing group harmony in predicting help-seeking behavior beyond immediate course-related factors such as course-level belonging and achievement, and b) how values within collectivism and individualism interact to predict students' willingness to seek academic help.

By considering both students' course contexts and the interaction between multiple cultural values, this study provides a nuanced view of the cultural factors that shape help-seeking decisions in introductory college courses. Although individualism

and collectivism are broad and multifaceted constructs, this study focuses on specific values within these orientations that have been linked to help-seeking in prior research (Jeng, 2024). This approach aligns with previous scholarship suggesting that by examining narrower elements of these cultural orientations, researchers can obtain more precise insights into how these broader worldviews shape individuals' attitudes and behaviors (Wong et al., 2018). Ultimately, this work can inform how educators support students navigating multiple cultural perspectives when deciding whether to ask for help in academic settings.

Culture and help-seeking in higher education

Research demonstrates that students do not always seek help when needed due to a range of factors, including a lack of belonging, fears of appearing incompetent, and concerns about admitting defeat (Karabenick & Dembo, 2011; Sithaldeen et al., 2022). Among these factors, collectivist cultural values that emphasize prioritizing group harmony over one's self-interests have been shown to influence academic help-seeking, both broadly (Jeng, under review) and in specific social and cultural groups (Chang, 2015; Chang et al., 2020).

For example, in a study of first-generation college students' cultural perspectives on help-seeking, Chang et al. (2020) found that many students viewed help-seeking as an act that could unnecessarily escalate a problem or burden others. Similarly, Jeng (under review) found that East Asian students often cited cultural norms emphasizing consideration for others' time and energy as a reason for their reluctance to seek academic help in higher education. These findings suggest that students who internalize values prioritizing group harmony over personal goals may interpret help-seeking as potentially burdening their peers and instructors.

Despite this growing body of research, much of the existing literature has examined cultural influences on help-seeking at a general level, with limited attention to the specific academic contexts in which students make decisions about seeking help. Although research has demonstrated that culture shapes students' overall attitudes towards help-seeking (e.g., Jeng & Perry, 2024), less is known about how these broader cultural values operate within specific course settings. Specifically, it remains unclear whether and to what extent culture predicts students' help-seeking decisions after accounting for more proximal, course-specific factors such as their sense of belonging within the course. Such insight is critical for understanding how educators should attend to students' cultural values when designing interventions to promote help-seeking in specific academic settings.

To address this gap, the present study examines the relationship between culture and help-seeking avoidance in the context of an introductory statistics course, where social dynamics have been shown to influence students' decisions to ask for help (Bergey, 2024). Help-seeking may be especially essential in this context, as statistics is often associated with high levels of difficulty, anxiety, and disengagement for students new to the subject (Bromage et al., 2022). Furthermore, recent research has found that students in introductory statistics tend to experience an increased reluctance to seek help as the semester progresses (Spencer et al., 2023), which highlights the importance of understanding the barriers to help-seeking in this setting.

Integrating multiple cultural frameworks

Although collectivist values related to prioritizing group harmony can discourage students from seeking academic help, cultural influences on learning are rarely straightforward or uniform. Traditionally, educational and psychological research has conceptualized culture as a fixed set of beliefs tied to specific social groups. This

perspective is reflected in many studies of help-seeking, where culture is often conflated with broad demographic categories (e.g., ethnicity, race, nationality) or reduced to a binary classification (e.g., students can be individualist or collectivist, but not both) (e.g., Cerna & Pavliushchenko, 2015; Crystal et al., 2008; Popov et al., 2014). Such approaches overlook the complexity of students' cultural experiences, particularly in an increasingly globalized world where individuals are shaped by multiple, overlapping cultural frameworks (Jeng, 2024).

Indeed, rather than consistently adhering to a single orientation, individuals frequently draw from both individualist and collectivist value systems in everyday situations (Wainryb & Recchia, 2014). In the case of academic help-seeking, this means students may weigh the desire for personal success against the importance of maintaining group harmony as coexisting priorities. To capture this complexity, it is essential to consider how students' cultural values may co-occur and interact in meaningful ways to shape decisions about whether to seek academic help.

This paper investigates how students reconcile collectivist values emphasizing group harmony with other cultural values they may also hold. In particular, given that higher education settings in the United States, especially at predominantly White institutions (PWIs), often promote individualist ideals, such as competition (i.e., striving to outperform peers) and personal uniqueness (i.e., seeing oneself as distinct from others) (Guiffrida et al., 2012), students who internalize these individualist values may find ways to reinterpret help-seeking to align with their broader cultural environment. For instance, a student who values both group harmony and personal uniqueness may see help-seeking as a path to personal growth that indirectly benefits (rather than burdens) others. Likewise, a student who is both competitive and harmony-oriented may view help-seeking as necessary for personal success, thus overriding concerns about

burdening others. These possibilities highlight the importance of examining how intersecting cultural values inform students' help-seeking decisions.

The present study

In sum, multiple gaps remain in the existing literature on cultural influences on academic help-seeking. First, it is unclear whether collectivist cultural values, particularly those emphasizing group harmony, uniquely predict help-seeking avoidance beyond course-specific factors. Second, few studies have examined how students reconcile multiple cultural values when deciding whether to seek academic help. Addressing these gaps requires a methodological approach that accounts for both course context and the interaction of multiple cultural variables.

In this survey study, I focus on undergraduate students enrolled in an introductory statistics course and control for their sense of belonging within the course—defined as their feelings of connectedness, inclusion, and support in the course context (Strayhorn, 2018)—and academic performance. While these factors do not capture the full range of sociocultural influences on learning in classroom settings, they were selected because they are well-established predictors of academic help-seeking in higher education (Fong et al., 2023; Kennedy & Hernandez, 2025; Sithaldeen et al., 2022; Won et al., 2021). Furthermore, although sense of belonging in particular is a complex, multifaceted construct (Gray et al., 2018; Strayhorn, 2018), prior scholarship suggests that its outcomes are most salient within the environment in which it is experienced (Strayhorn, 2018). Accordingly, this study emphasizes the course-specific nature of belonging as it relates to students' help-seeking behavior.

After controlling for these course-level characteristics, I then examine whether collectivist values emphasizing group harmony are associated with greater help-seeking avoidance and whether this association depends on students' simultaneous endorsement

of individualist values emphasizing competition and personal uniqueness. My research questions (RQs) are as follows:

- RQ1: To what extent does prioritizing group harmony predict help-seeking avoidance in introductory statistics, after accounting for course-level belonging, performance, and semester of enrollment?
- RQ2: Does the association between prioritizing group harmony and help-seeking avoidance vary based on students' sense of personal uniqueness and competitive orientation?

I hypothesize that students who more strongly endorse collectivist values prioritizing group harmony over personal goals will demonstrate greater help-seeking avoidance, when compared to their peers. Additionally, I hypothesize that this association will be moderated by individualist values emphasizing personal uniqueness and competition, such that the effect of prioritizing group harmony on help-seeking will be attenuated for students who simultaneously hold individualist cultural values.

Method

Participants and procedure

All study procedures were reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign (IRB24-0984). Participants were 1,040 students recruited via convenience sampling from an introductory statistics course at a large public university in the Midwestern United States classified as a PWI. The course enrolls approximately 1,000 students per semester, most of whom do not have a background in statistics.

Data collection spanned two semesters—Fall 2024 (n = 560, 53.85%) and Spring 2025 (n = 480, 46.15%)—to examine whether findings extended across multiple terms. To ensure participants had sufficient experience navigating academic challenges in the course, data collection was limited to the second half of each semester. Participants provided informed consent prior to completing the survey, which was completed online in a single session at a time of their choosing.

Originally, the study survey received 1,279 submissions. Of these, 235 were excluded for failing at least one of two attention checks (e.g., "For this statement, please select 'Slightly true' to demonstrate your attention"), and an additional four were removed for being duplicate submissions from a student who previously submitted a different response.

Measures

Help-seeking avoidance

Help-seeking avoidance was assessed using the nine-item Help-Seeking Avoidance subscale from Pajares et al.'s (2004) Computer Science Help-Seeking Scale (CSHSS; α = .93). The CSHSS was originally developed to measure key dimensions of academic help-seeking (e.g., help-seeking avoidance, instrumental help-seeking) in the computer science context, based on prior work distinguishing between help-seeking constructs (e.g., Karabenick & Knapp, 1991). Previous research has validated the factor structure of the CSHSS (Pajares et al., 2004), as well as successfully adapted the Help-Seeking Avoidance subscale for introductory statistics contexts (e.g., Jeng, under review).

Participants rated their agreement ($1 = Not \ at \ all \ true$, $5 = Completely \ true$) with statements about their help-seeking avoidance behaviors in the course (e.g., "I would

put down any answer rather than ask for help in this class"). Higher mean scores reflected greater avoidance of seeking help, even when needed.

Cultural constructs

Participants' endorsement of collectivist values emphasizing the prioritization of group harmony over personal goals ("prioritization of harmony"), as well as individualist values emphasizing personal uniqueness ("personal uniqueness") and a competitive orientation ("competition"), was assessed using the Harmony (four items; α = .68), Uniqueness (four items; α = .75), and Competition (seven items; α = .84) subscales of Shulruf et al.'s (2011) Auckland Individualism-Collectivism Scale (AICS). The AICS was originally developed to measure the key elements of individualism and collectivism identified in a seminal meta-analysis on these constructs (Oyserman et al., 2002), and its factor structure has been validated among diverse adult populations (Affum-Osei et al., 2019; Shulruf et al., 2007, 2011).

Participants indicated how frequently (1 = Never or almost never, 6 = Always or almost always) they thought or behaved as described in statements describing their cultural perspectives (e.g., "I sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of my group"). Higher mean scores reflected greater endorsement of the relevant element of collectivism or individualism.

Course-level sense of belonging

Sense of belonging within the introductory statistics course ("course-level belonging") was assessed using a four-item measure (α = .84) originally developed by Cwik and Singh (2022) to assess sense of belonging in an introductory physics course, based on prior research showing that belonging to STEM fields influences students' learning and development in these areas (Hazari et al., 2020). Participants rated their agreement (1 =

Not at all true, 5 = Completely true) with statements about their sense of belonging in the introductory statistics course (e.g., "I feel like I belong in this class"). Two negatively worded items ("I feel like an outsider in this class" and "Sometimes I worry that I do not belong in this class") were reverse-scored. Higher mean scores reflected a stronger sense of belonging within the introductory statistics course.

Course performance

Participants self-reported their current course grade (out of 100) via open-ended response. Responses that reported letter grades were converted using a standardized scale (e.g., A = 93, A = 90, B + 87, etc.). Responses that included implausible values (e.g., "3.36," "13"), irrelevant information (e.g., year in school), or "Prefer not to say" were treated as missing. For one participant who reported a grade range ("84–95"), the average value (89.5) was used.

Semester

Semester of enrollment in introductory statistics was coded as a binary variable (0 = "fall," 1 = "spring").

Missing data

Course performance data were missing for 104 participants (10.00%). A nonparametric test of missing completely at random (MCAR) failed to reject the MCAR assumption (*p* = .134; Jamshidian & Jalal, 2010). Accordingly, missing values were estimated using multiple imputation with a total of 20 imputed datasets. All analyses (unless otherwise noted) were performed on each dataset, and results were pooled for reporting.

Analysis

Data were analyzed using hierarchical multiple regression with ordinary least squares estimation in R version 4.5.0 (R Core Team, 2021).

Model 1 included help-seeking avoidance as the dependent variable and course-level belonging, course performance, and semester as predictors. Model 1 established a baseline by examining the degree to which help-seeking avoidance was explained by these course-specific factors.

Model 2 added cultural constructs—prioritization of harmony, personal uniqueness, and competition—as predictors to test their predictive value beyond course-specific variables, thus addressing RQ1.

Model 3 added two-way interaction terms—personal uniqueness × prioritization of harmony and competition × prioritization of harmony—as predictors to test whether combinations of cultural values jointly predicted help-seeking avoidance, thus addressing RQ2.

Results

Table 1 presents the means, standard deviations, and correlations for all study variables. Table 2 presents the full results of multiple regression for Models 1, 2, and 3. Within each model, I report standardized parameter estimates as measures of effect size for slopes (Cohen, 1988).

[Insert Table 1 here]
[Insert Table 2 here]

In Model 1, course-level belonging (p < .001), course performance (p < .001), and semester (p = .004) negatively predicted help-seeking avoidance with small-to-medium effect sizes. In other words, students who reported higher course-level

belonging within the introductory statistics course, exhibited stronger course performance, and were enrolled in the Spring semester were less likely to avoid seeking help, when compared to their peers.

A multivariate Wald test comparing Models 1 and 2 indicated that including cultural constructs as predictors significantly improved model fit, $\chi^2(3, 1030.72) = 6.23$, p < .001. Prioritization of harmony positively predicted help-seeking avoidance (p < .001) with a small effect size, while the main effects of personal uniqueness (p = .137) and competition (p = .788) were non-significant. In other words, students who prioritized maintaining group harmony over personal goals were more likely to avoid seeking help when compared to their peers, holding other predictors constant.

A multivariate Wald test comparing Models 2 and 3 indicated that including the two-way interaction terms significantly improved model fit, $\chi^2(3, 1028.88) = 6.06$, p = .002. The interaction between prioritization of harmony and competition was significant (p < .001), while the interaction between prioritization of harmony and personal uniqueness was non-significant (p = .142). Specifically, the positive association between prioritization of harmony and help-seeking avoidance weakened as endorsement of competitive values increased.

As a follow-up to Model 3, a simple slopes analysis was conducted with the first imputed data set to examine the association between prioritization of harmony and help-seeking avoidance at low (1 SD below the mean), medium (mean), and high (1 SD above the mean) levels of competition. Results indicated that prioritizing group harmony was significantly associated with help-seeking avoidance for students with low (B = 0.23, $\beta = 0.21$, SE = 0.04, t = 5.37, p < .001) and medium (B = 0.13, $\beta = 0.12$, SE = 0.03, t = 4.16, p < .001), but not high (B = 0.04, B = 0.04,

Figure 1 visualizes the two-way interaction between prioritization of harmony and competition.

[Insert Figure 1 here]

Discussion

This study investigated how undergraduate students' cultural values intertwine to shape their decisions to seek or avoid academic help in introductory statistics. Consistent with prior research, students who prioritized group harmony over personal goals were more likely than their peers to avoid seeking academic help when needed. This result aligns with existing work showing that collectivist cultural concerns about burdening others can influence help-seeking decisions in higher education (Chang, 2015).

In addition, this finding extends prior work in two key ways. First, by examining academic help-seeking in a specific course, this study shows that students' broad cultural perspectives can have downstream effects on their help-seeking decisions within particular academic contexts. Second, by controlling for students' academic performance and course-level belonging within the course, this work suggests that students' cultural perspectives contribute to their engagement in help-seeking beyond what can be predicted by course-specific factors alone.

Importantly, the association between prioritizing group harmony and help-seeking avoidance was moderated by students' endorsement of competitive individualist values. Specifically, the effect of prioritizing harmony on help-seeking avoidance was strongest among students low in competitiveness and weakest among students high in competitiveness. This finding suggests that a competitive individualist orientation may buffer the perceived interpersonal costs of seeking help by allowing students to view help-seeking as a strategy for personal success rather than a burden to others.

This interpretation may reflect how learning is culturally framed within Western higher education institutions, which often emphasize individualist values, such as competition and personal achievement, while neglecting more collectivist perspectives (Guiffrida et al., 2012). That is, when help-seeking is portrayed through an individualist lens (i.e., as a behavior necessary for personal achievement), students who endorse competitive values may find it easier to reinterpret help-seeking as a tool for competitive success, thus overriding concerns about burdening others.

Practically, these findings suggest that instructors should consider reframing academic help-seeking to better resonate with predominantly collectivist cultural perspectives. For instance, rather than presenting help-seeking solely as a strategy for individual success, it can also be described as a practice rooted in relationship-oriented values; e.g., one that fosters interpersonal bonds and benefits all students by creating opportunities for them to listen to, respond to, and engage with their peers' requests for support.

Moreover, educators should consider reducing barriers to academic help-seeking, particularly for students who may hold concerns about burdening others.

Strategies might include raising awareness of academic support services (e.g., those offered through campus cultural centers), offering multiple avenues for seeking help (e.g., office hours, email, exit surveys), and proactively reaching out to students (e.g., through mid-semester check-ins). These practices may be especially important for racially minoritized and first-generation college students, who have been shown to hold collectivist concerns about burdening others that influence their help-seeking decisions (Chang, 2015; Chang et al., 2020).

However, these insights should be interpreted with the limitations of the present study in mind. First, individualism and collectivism are complex, multifaceted

constructs that extend beyond the values examined in the present study. For instance, researchers have distinguished between horizontal and vertical dimensions of individualism and collectivism (Singelis et al., 1995), as well as explored differences in self-concepts, beliefs, and values underlying these orientations (Brewer & Chen, 2007). Although the present research offered insights into how emphases on group harmony, personal uniqueness, and competition may intersect to predict students' help-seeking intentions, future research should explore how other facets of these orientations (e.g., distinctions between ingroups and outgroups) may shape perspectives on help-seeking in academic contexts.

Furthermore, sense of belonging has been identified as a similarly multifaceted construct, with scholarship indicating that school belonging encompasses interpersonal, instructional, and institutional dimensions alike (Gray et al., 2018). Although the present study attended to nuances in belonging by accounting for the fact that belonging develops within specific contexts (Strayhorn, 2018), further work is needed to understand how different aspects of belonging within the course context (e.g., instructor support, peer relationships, identity-based belogning) may interact with cultural variables to shape students' help-seeking behaviors.

Additionally, it is important to acknowledge the limitations of the present study's psychosocial approach to examining cultural influences on learning, namely its focus on internal psychological processes (e.g., students' perceptions of their cultural values). Such an approach, while valuable for understanding the factors underlying students' help-seeking decisions, ultimately still grounds help-seeking within individual students' motivation and paints a limited picture of how broader sociocultural forces may shape the learning process (Bae et al., 2025). Thus, the present study would be well complemented by future work that employs diverse methods (e.g., ethnography,

discourse analysis) to examine with greater depth how help-seeking decisions are coconstructed with peers and instructors and embedded within broader cultural contexts.

Nevertheless, this research makes a novel contribution by challenging traditional conceptualizations of individualism and collectivism—and cultural orientations more broadly—as mutually exclusive worldviews. In this study, students not only endorsed cultural perspectives that reflected both individualist and collectivist values, but also demonstrated help-seeking tendencies that were predicted by the interaction of these values. Thus, future work should continue to examine how sociocultural variables (e.g., culture, interpersonal dynamics, social identities) intersect, rather than operate in isolation, to motivate students' decisions to seek or avoid academic help.

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The author reports there are no competing interests to declare.

Data availability statement

These data come from a project examining students' engagement in help-seeking and help-giving from a sociocultural perspective in introductory statistics. The materials and data supporting this study are publicly available on the Open Science Framework and can be accessed at https://osf.io/xwd58/.

Generative AI statement

The author used ChatGPT-4o to support language improvements during the preparation of this manuscript. All content was subsequently reviewed and edited by the author, who takes full responsibility for the final version of the article.

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Table 1. Means, standard deviations, and Pearson correlations of study variables.

	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Help-seeking avoidance	2.05	0.90	_					
2. Course-level belonging	3.78	0.91	34***	_				
3. Course performance	90.38	6.63	25***	.31***				
4. Semester			10**	.01	.10**			
5. Personal uniqueness	4.53	0.80	08*	.16***	07*	.02	_	
6. Competition	3.66	0.89	05	.12***	.04	08*	.25***	
7. Prioritization of harmony	3.59	0.82	.11***	01	.04	.01	.04	.05

Note. Reported values for course performance reflect the pooled mean, standard

deviation, and correlations with other study variables.

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

Table 2. Results of multiple regression.

	Mode			del 1			Model 2					Model 3			
	В	β	SE	t	95% CI	В	β	SE	t	95% CI	В	β	SE	t	95% CI
Intercept	5.18	0.00	0.37	13.84***	[4.44, 5.91]	5.06	0.00	0.43	11.88***	[4.23, 5.90]	4.40	0.00	0.78	5.65***	[2.87, 5.92]
Course-level belonging	-0.29	-0.29	0.03	-9.51***	[-0.35, -0.23]	-0.27	-0.28	0.03	-8.91***	[-0.34, -0.21]	-0.27	-0.27	0.03	-8.81***	[-0.33, -0.21]
Course performance	-0.02	-0.15	0.00	-4.60***	[-0.03, -0.01]	-0.02	-0.16	0.00	-4.91***	[-0.03, -0.01]	-0.02	-0.16	0.00	-4.88***	[-0.03, -0.01]
Semester	-0.15	-0.08	0.05	-2.87**	[-0.25, -0.05]	-0.15	-0.08	0.05	-2.85**	[-0.25, -0.05]	-0.15	-0.08	0.05	-2.89**	[-0.25, -0.05]
Personal uniqueness	_		_	_	_	-0.05	-0.04	0.03	-1.49	[-0.12, 0.02]	-0.22	-0.03	0.13	-1.70	[-0.48, 0.03]
Competition	_		_	_	_	-0.01	-0.01	0.03	-0.27	[-0.07, 0.05]	0.38	-0.01	0.12	3.24*	[0.15, 0.61]
Prioritization of harmony	_	_	_	_	_	0.13	0.12	0.03	4.10***	[0.07, 0.19]	0.29	0.12	0.17	1.65	[-0.05, 0.63]
Personal uniqueness × Prioritization of harmony				_	_			_	_		0.05	0.04	0.04	1.47	[-0.02, 0.12]
Competition × Prioritization of harmony	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	-0.11	-0.09	0.03	-3.45***	[-0.17, -0.05]

Dependent variable: Help-seeking avoidance.

Model 1: $R^2 = .14$; Model 2: $R^2 = .16$; Model 3: $R^2 = .17$.

p* < .05, *p* < .01, ****p* < .001.

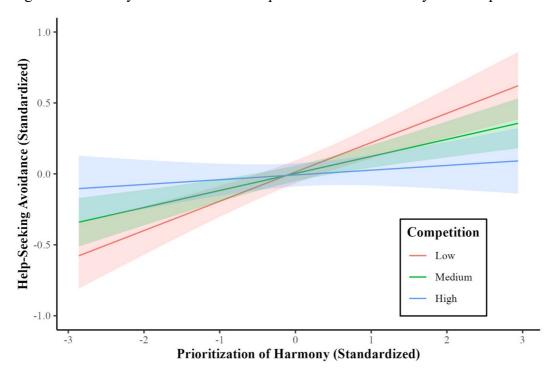


Figure 1. Two-way interaction between prioritization of harmony and competition.

Note. This figure illustrates the association between prioritization of harmony and help-seeking avoidance at low (-1 SD), medium (mean), and high (+1 SD) levels of competition. Shaded ribbons represent the 95% confidence intervals around the predicted slopes.