Intragroup Marginalization Among Latinx Migrant Farmworker College Students

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INTRAGROUP MARGINALIZATION AMONG LATINX MIGRANT FARMWORKER COLLEGE STUDENTS

by

Annette Calvario Perales

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Counselor Education and Counseling Psychology
Western Michigan University
December 2021

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The Latinx population is the fastest-growing racial minority group in the United States (U.S.) (Passel et al., 2014). There are nearly 2 million migrant families in the U.S. (Tippett, 2020). Most migrant families live below the poverty level, and children often provide significant supplemental income to that of their parents’ (Zalaquett et al., 2007). Many migrant families are faced with various challenges, such as secluded living conditions, financial instability, physical and mental health barriers, and educational barriers (Dreby, 2015; Thompson et al., 2002; BPHC, 1995). In addition, migrant students frequently find themselves in a dilemma between providing financial assistance to their families and attending classes regularly (Prewitt-Diaz & Trotter, 1990). Several studies include Latinx college students in journals of higher education, addictions, and psychology; however, there is a dearth of studies that research the migrant college student population in counseling journals (Cano et al., 2014; Carrera & Wei, 2014; Castillo, 2009; Castillo et al., 2006; Llamas & Ramos-Sánchez, 2013; Morgan Consoli et al., 2016; Sanchez et al., 2018). Furthermore, only five of those studies on Latinx college students have implications for counselors. The purpose of this phenomenological research study was twofold: 1) to explore the intragroup marginalization experiences of Latinx migrant college students and 2) to understand the impact of intragroup marginalization on the mental health of Latinx migrant college students in Michigan. Michigan was selected as the location for this study because it is
one of three states that is ranked top 10 of specialty crops (of most value) in the nation (Mercier, 2014). The Midwest region accounts for a significant part of American agriculture.

This qualitative study sought to explore three research questions: (1) how do Latinx migrant college students cope with stressors in college, (2) do Latinx migrant college students experience intragroup marginalization, and (3) does intragroup marginalization have an impact on the mental health of Latinx migrant college students? Semi-structured interviews with 10 Latinx migrant college students in Michigan revealed six emerging themes that captured their experiences: (1) dealing with negative emotions: reaching out, (2) dealing with negative emotions: turning inward, (3) two different worlds, (4) intragroup marginalization, (5) supportive connections, and (6) not a big deal. Implications for counselors and counselor educators are offered, and suggestions for future directions are given.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Dr. Glinda Rawls: You have been an incredible mentor, guiding me as I navigate being a woman of color in higher education. I want to thank you for providing me with a safe space in moments of seriousness and humor.

Dr. Stephen Craig and Dr. Chien-Juh Gu: I appreciate you both serving on my committee. I appreciate your support as I move forward in my career.

Dr. LaCretisha McDole: You are the kindest soul I have ever encountered. I will always be appreciative the universe had us cross paths during our first year in the program. Thank you for checking in on me when you sensed I needed support.

Kamille: Amiga, I am so lucky to have met you early in the program. I look up to you; I admire your courage in your social justice advocacy and action. You've helped me feel sane in moments of panic.

Dr. Raymond Herrera: My first mentor who guided me in applying to graduate programs. I am truly fortunate to have been a part of the McNair Achievement Program at Washington State University during my undergraduate years. Thank you for believing in me.

Dr. Paul Hastings: You provided me with my first teaching opportunity in counselor education, and I will forever be grateful.

Papa y mama: You two are the light of my life. I would not be here if you both had not sacrificed and risked your lives to ensure we had endless opportunities. This doctorate is for you. You can now tell all your friends that I have finished the 5 chapter book I started writing a few years ago. Gracias por todo su amor y apoyo incondicional.
Acknowledgments—Continued

Jeanette: Mi gemela, you have been my rock since day one. I love you with my whole heart. Thank you for taking care of my dog, Luna, when I had to be on campus for several hours. I cannot imagine what my doctoral experience would have been like without you. Who knew we would end up in the same program?

Ivette: Hermana, I am forever grateful for the long-distance support after I moved to the Midwest. When we traveled over the last few years, you helped me feel like a normal functioning human. I thank you for taking care of me when I didn't want to be taken care of and holding me when I didn't want to be held. Thank you for taking care of our parents while Jeanette and I were away for school. I love you; I admire you.

Ana and Jaz: You have both been my best friends for several years. I mean this with the most seriousness; thank you for never asking me when I was graduating. Ana, I appreciate our 4+ hour-long phone dates. Jaz, I love the chaotic energy you bring into my life.

Annette Calvario Perales
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Background Information

The Latinx population is the fastest-growing racial minority group in the United States (U.S.) (Passel et al., 2014). As of July 1, 2016, there are approximately 57.5 million Hispanic and Latinx in the U.S. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). In 2015, there were an estimated 19.5 million Latinx or Hispanic immigrants entering the U.S. illegally (Zong & Batalova, 2017). There is an estimate of 11.7 million undocumented individuals in the U.S., 58 percent of this group being Mexican (Passel et al., 2013; Dreby, 2015). There are nearly 2 million migrant families in the U.S. (Tippett, 2020). Each year, several Latinx migrants leave their families, close friends, and communities to enter the U.S. for various reasons. Many men migrate to the U.S., risking their lives for jobs at higher pay than those of their home country (Cleaveland & Pierson, 2009), whereas several women migrate to improve the lives of their children (Baker, 2004).

Latinx Population

Over the last several years, there has been a shift that later became a debate regarding the terms Hispanic, Latina/o, and Latinx. Latina and Latino are binary identities, whereas Latinx emphasizes a gender-neutral identity. Hispanic is a term created by the U.S. government to classify individuals or families of the individuals who come from Spanish-speaking countries (Taylor et al., 2012).

A Latinx population is a heterogeneous group, meaning there are many variations of individuals. For example, there are many national origins within this population, such as Puerto Rico, Cuba, Columbia, Brazil, and many more. The largest Latinx group in the U.S. is from
Mexico (Furman et al., 2009; Roth, 2012). It is also important to note that there is variation in race and ethnicity; for example, Latinx can be White, Native American, and African American (Furman et al., 2009). There are also differences in language; for instance, the Spanish language can vary in diction, patterns in speech, vocabulary, and more (Furman et al., 2009).

**Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers**

Farm work is agricultural or horticultural work, which can include planting, packing, packaging, processing, and freezing fruits and vegetables before delivery (U.S. Department of Labor [DOL], 2006). A seasonal farmworker, as defined by the DOL (2006), is an individual who is employed seasonally at a farm and is not mandated to be away from permanent residence overnight. By nature, a seasonal farmworker does not usually have continuous employment throughout 12 months; their job is temporary. A migrant farmworker commutes far enough for work that he or she cannot return to permanent residence by the same day (U.S. DOL, 2006); and moves away from home temporarily because the distance is usually more than 50 miles (Michigan Department of Health and Human Services [MDHHS], 2018). Both seasonal and migrant farmworkers must have had employment in the past 12 months. According to the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA, 2016), in 2012, there were approximately 1.06 million employed farmworkers.

The Midwest region accounts for a significant part of American agriculture; Michigan, Minnesota, and North Dakota are top ten ranked of specialty crops (of most value) in the nation (Mercier, 2014). In Michigan, there are approximately 49,135 migrant and seasonal farmworkers (MSFWs). Counties with the highest population of MSFWs are Oceana, Ottawa, Allegan, Van Buren, and Berrien (MDHHS, 2014), most of which are in the southwest region of the state. Michigan is the fifth most populated state with registered MSFWs (MDHHS, 2014).
and 42,729 of which are children younger than 19-years-old (Michigan Interagency Migrant Services Committee [IMSC] 2013).

**Challenges Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers Face**

Most of the migrant and seasonal farmworkers (MSFWs) are Latinx who travel to the U.S. from Mexico and Central America or to different states for work (Hansen & Donohoe, 2003). From this group, the majority are young, single men (Weigel & Armijos, 2012). Young migrant men are especially susceptible to abuse and often work in industries, such as agriculture, hospitality, and construction (Cornelius, 1998; Passel & Cohn, 2009).

The likelihood of undocumented migrant and seasonal farmworkers to face labor abuses is high due to threats of deportation if discrimination, wage and hour violations, or safety violations are reported (United Food and Commercial Workers of America [UFCWA], 2009). There is a lack of regulations within the agriculture sector, which can create an unsafe and vulnerable environment of employee abuse from employers (Hager, 2010). Often, MSFWs are paid in cash, not paid by the hour, but instead paid at a piece rate (e.g., by a bin filled by produce) (Roca, 2009). A project that focused on low wage earners titled, National Employment Law Project, found that industries that pay their workers in cash are more likely to have higher minimum wage violations (Leonardi, 2006). Wages in the line of agriculture are the lowest at a universal level (Pigott, 2003); which impacts the earnings of MSFWs in the U.S. (Hager, 2010). Low wages in agricultural work are a common problem and a global issue.

Migrant families follow crops according to the season (Lundy-Ponce, 2010). Sometimes, migration occurs to locations with familiar people (e.g., other family members or friends from home country). Migrant youth and their families will move across states several times throughout a 12 to 36-month period (Lundy-Ponce, 2010), which also implies moving to many
school districts. Some migrant students work with their parents, often due to financial issues (e.g., to assist in providing for the family, parents cannot afford childcare), or they migrate in between academic school years, during the summer. For migrant students who pursue college after high school, work usually occurs in the summer.

There are also health risks faced by MSFWs, including not only agrochemicals from the residue on plants they work with, but also because MSFWs typically live near the farms they work at (Thompson et al., 2002). Another health risk is due to hazardous housing conditions, more explicitly overcrowding in living areas (Thompson et al., 2002). Due to many health risks in this population, it would be best if farmworkers were provided health care to minimize health concerns. However, that is not usually the case. Employers rarely grant health insurance to their employees (Thompson et al., 2002), which then also impacts their ability to seek out mental health services. No access to healthcare can be detrimental due to factors that may well affect their mental health. According to Thompson et al. (2002), the likelihood of the comorbidity of depression and substance abuse in farmworkers is high. Farmworkers usually live in remote areas away from the community. The combination of work stress and the instability of the nature of a seasonal farmworker can influence higher rates of depression and self-destructive behavior (U.S. Bureau of Primary Health Care [BPHC], 1995).

Lack of access to health care also impacts children. In a study by Dreby (2015), 212 children, legal status as the leading indicator of whether an individual had health coverage. In this study, none of the undocumented children had health coverage, while two-thirds of U.S. born children had health coverage; legal status plays a factor in their mental health. Fortunately, some programs help support MSFWs, one of which is the College Assistance Migrant Program (CAMP) funded by the U.S. Department of Education.
Migrant College Students

CAMP is an educational initiative to assist first-year college students with migrant or seasonal farm work backgrounds (e.g., are farmworkers themselves or are children of farmworkers) (U.S. Department of Education [ED], 2018). Participants receive academic, financial, social, and emotional support (e.g., securing on-campus housing, peer mentoring, counseling, study groups, cultural and educational events, and more). To participate in CAMP, the college student must have legal status in the U.S. because they must first be eligible to apply for the Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA), which requires individuals to be U.S. citizens. Nationally, there is a total of approximately 2,000 students that participate in CAMP every year (ED, 2018). As of the fall 2019 semester, there are 92 first-year students of migrant backgrounds enrolled at Western Michigan University and Michigan State University combined (A. Bravo, personal communication, September 30, 2019; E. Lopez, personal communication, September 30, 2019). There is a total of 375 undergraduate college students who are past CAMP participants currently enrolled at both of these institutions collectively. In all actuality, there may be more migrant college students in Michigan than what was reported by the CAMP staff when considering legal status (e.g., CAMP participants must have U.S. citizenship).

Latinx migrant college students are a highly vulnerable group as they persistently face many adversities, such as financial, health, and work-related issues, high mobility, experience social and physical isolation, and have limited proficiency in English (López et al., 2001). Most migrant families live below the poverty level, and children often provide significant supplemental income to that of their parents’ (Zalaquett et al., 2007). Migrant students frequently find themselves in a dilemma between providing financial assistance to their families and attending classes regularly (Prewitt-Diaz & Trotter, 1990).
Intragroup Marginalization

Acculturation is central to understanding intragroup marginalization (IM). Cano et al. (2014) described the acculturation process as adopting beliefs, attitudes, values, and actions of the host culture. IM occurs in a cultural group when individuals distance themselves or cast out the acculturated member (Cano et al., 2014). IM is a product of acculturation and could be a method or attempt to maintain cultural norms, even at the cost of belittling or diminishing those who display norms of the host culture in the U.S. In other words, IM is within-group marginalization (e.g., family, friends, peers, others belonging to one’s ethnic group) (Castillo et al., 2007). Acculturation is seen as shameful to the ethnic group, which is how IM occurs (Castillo et al., 2007). Examples that may be relevant to the Latinx population include being teased because one cannot speak Spanish, being told one has too many white friends, or family members having difficulty in accepting one’s career goals (Castillo et al., 2007). Social isolation is linked to suicidality among adolescents from various ethnic groups (Hall-Lande et al., 2007); it is an element of IM. Damaged familial relationships can be detrimental to Latinx migrant college students, a population that already experiences isolation.

Some researchers studied IM in Latinx individuals (Cano et al., 2014; Castillo et al., 2007; Castillo et al., 2008; Llamas & Morgan Consoli, 2012; Piña-Watson et al., 2019). They found that adolescents and emerging adults who frequently experience IM experience problems with mental health, social adjustment, and overall well-being when compared to adults. When considering IM and mental health, depression has been the most studied diagnosis, more specifically with emerging adults, such as the traditional college student (Cano et al., 2014; Castillo et al., 2008).
High frequency of IM from family members is related to emotional distress to an already vulnerable population (Cano et al., 2014; Castillo et al., 2008). An ideology that is common and unique to the Latinx culture is familismo, which emphasizes faithfulness and investment to the family or putting family before self (Cervantes & Parham, 2005; Falicov, 2010; Maglio, 2009).

**Statement of the Problem**

The Latinx population is the fastest-growing racial minority group in the U.S. (Ayala & Chalupa, 2016; Passel et al., 2014; U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). The Midwest is accountable for a considerable part of agriculture in the U.S., Michigan being one of the top states that harvest crops of most value to the nation (Mercier, 2014), and also is the fifth state with the most registered farmworkers in the country (MDHHS, 2014). In Michigan alone, there are over 49,000 MSFWs across mostly southwest counties (MDHHS, 2014). Between Western Michigan University and Michigan State University, there are 375 migrant undergraduate students enrolled (A. Bravo, personal communication, September 30, 2019; E. Lopez, personal communication, September 30, 2019). Many individuals of this group are MSFWs or are children of farmworkers. Migrant workers and families are faced with various challenges, such as secluded living conditions, financial instability, physical and mental health barriers, and educational barriers (Dreby, 2015; Thompson et al., 2002; BPHC, 1995).

Several studies include Latinx college students in journals of higher education, addictions, and psychology; however, there is a dearth of studies that research the migrant college student population in counseling journals (Cano et al., 2014; Carrera & Wei, 2014; Castillo, 2009; Castillo et al., 2006; Llamas, & Ramos-Sánchez, 2013; Morgan Consoli et al., 2016; Sanchez et al., 2018). Furthermore, only five of those studies on Latinx college students have implications for counselors. There is a large migrant college student population in
Michigan. Currently, few research studies have explored intragroup marginalization in Latinx migrant college students. Additionally, such scholarship is needed to better inform the field of counseling on ways to provide appropriate services to this uniquely underserved group.

**Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study was twofold: (1) to explore the intragroup marginalization experiences of Latinx migrant college students and (2) to understand the impact of intragroup marginalization on the mental health of Latinx migrant college students in Michigan.

**Research Questions**

The following questions guided this study:

1. How do Latinx migrant college students cope with stressors in college?
2. Do Latinx migrant college students experience intragroup marginalization?
3. Does intragroup marginalization have an impact on the mental health of Latinx migrant college students?

**Significance of the Study**

Adding literature that focuses on Latinx migrant college students will provide information for counselor educators, therefore also increasing the knowledge of counselors-in-training. Studies that focus on Latinx college students primarily include disciplines like higher education, psychology, addictions, and behavioral sciences. Currently, there are limited articles that study migrant college students in counseling journals, therefore lacking implications for individuals in the mental health field, such as counselor educators and counselors. Furthermore, in Michigan, there are over 49,000 farmworkers, most of which are in the southwest region (MDHHS, 2014). Western Michigan University and Michigan State University are the only two institutions in Michigan with an established CAMP. There are at least 375 migrant
undergraduate students enrolled at both institutions (A. Bravo, personal communication, September 30, 2019; E. Lopez, personal communication, September 30, 2019); not accounting for undocumented migrant college students. Migrant workers and their families face several hardships, one of which includes mental health (BPHC, 1995), therefore researching migrant college students is necessary to assist in advancing competency in practice.

In 2015, the Association for Multicultural Counseling and Development (AMCD) created a framework to incorporate Multicultural and Social Justice Counseling Competencies (MSJCC) into research, practice, and theory of counselors. One out of four domains, client worldview, is especially important when working with oppressed populations, such as migrant college students. Client worldview has four competencies: attitudes and beliefs, knowledge, skills, and action. Multiculturally effective counselors strive to understand their clients’ understandings of the world (e.g., cultural background), know historical contexts that shape the client, acquire culturally sensitive skills, and take action to provide adequate treatment for clients. Counselors have a list of competencies to follow. Deficiency in research studies that focus on migrant college students creates a barrier to adhere to ethical obligations. Exploring intragroup marginalization in this population will move the counseling field forward, expanding knowledge with a community that will benefit from mental health services.

**Definitions of Terminology**

**Acculturation**: Adopting beliefs, attitudes, values, and actions of the host culture (Cano et al., 2014).

**Hispanic**: Individuals or families of individuals who come from Spanish-speaking countries (Taylor et al., 2012).
**Intragroup marginalization** (IM): Interpersonal distancing from peers, friends, and family when an acculturating individual displays values, beliefs, and behaviors that are different from the cultural norms (Castillo et al., 2007).

**Latinx**: Latina (feminine) and Latino (masculine) are binary identities, whereas Latinx emphasizes a gender-neutral identity (Merriam-Webster, 2019), individuals whose heritage is from a Latin American country.

**Migrant farmworker**: An individual whose employment is typically farther than 50 miles, therefore, must temporarily live away from permanent residence (U.S. Department of Labor, 2006).

**Seasonal farmworker**: An individual who is temporarily employed and is not mandated to be away from their permanent residence overnight (U.S. Department of Labor, 2006).

**Summary**

This chapter provided background information on various populations, such as U.S. Latinx, migrant and seasonal farmworkers, and migrant college students. Challenges faced by migrant and seasonal farmworkers, along with those faced by migrant college students, are addressed. There is a particular focus on how this information applies to migrant individuals and their families in Michigan. This chapter also highlighted the purpose of the study and its significance which is to expand on limited existing research on Latinx migrant college students in counseling journals and to assist counselor educators and counselors with their competency to work with these students. Many groups of individuals, such as counselors, counselor educators, and supervisors may benefit from this study since it focuses on Latinx migrant college students and intragroup marginalization. Chapter two will focus on exploring the literature on intragroup marginalization, acculturation, and mental health practices of Latinx migrant college students.
CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher will review existing literature within the topic of Latinx migrant college students and intragroup marginalization. The areas of focus to describe the target sample for this study include Latinx college students, Latinx migrant college students, and the College Assistance Migrant Program (CAMP). Next, the researcher will review intragroup marginalization, acculturation, and social identity theory.

Latinx College Students

This section will include trends on literature that study Latinx college students in the United States. The researcher will begin with a seminal text that examined Latinx students. Next, the researcher will focus on studies that explore suicidality, ethnic identity, persistence, thriving, and undocumented students.

Early Studies

There have been varied shifts in focal points in the literature when investigating Latinx college students. An early text that several researchers refer to in scholarly work is a text edited by Michael A. Olivas (1986) titled, Latino College Students. There was a considerable focus on quantitative research; therefore, the text provided little information regarding further insight into the lived experiences of Latinx college students in this influential book and other research studies during this time.

Some authors challenged the significance of the research investigating Mexican American students (Carter & Segura, 1979), which was mostly due to researchers utilizing instruments that emerged of studies investigating white students (Olivas, 1986). Before the
1980s, research on Latinx students centered around socioeconomic status, outcomes of school programs, policies, practices, and school climate (Carter & Segura, 1979). There were two perspectives in research that included Latinx elementary and secondary students (Olivas, 1986). The first claim was attributing the challenges and failures of Latinx children to their parents. Researchers insisted that parents of minority students did not encourage their children to do well in school and did not provide a culture of learning in their home environment. The second perspective attempts to explain differences between Latinx and white children’s behavior, implying that differences in behavior are what keeps Latinx children in the cycle of remediation to overcome the challenges of these cultural differences. Both perspectives have a standpoint of blame and deficiency (Olivas, 1986).

Muñoz (1974-1977) researched experiences (i.e., attitudes, views, and coping strategies) of Chicanos in a public university in California. This mixed-methods design had a sample of 342 Chicano and 120 white college students. The researchers collected demographic information and administered the College Environmental Stress Index. Chicanos had higher stress levels when compared to white students; specifically, the most significant concern these students had were personal finances. Chicanos in this study discussed having to take out higher loans for school, have off-campus employment, and relied on undependable sources of institutional or government aid (e.g., grants and scholarships). Latinx families were described as generally larger, less educated, and have a less steady income when compared to their white counterparts. Chicano students are also constantly adapting to a new culture with different values and expectations in higher education. This study was unable to conclude the impacts of the stress of Chicano college students. Olivas (1986) recommended studying institutional
features such as financial aid, counseling, and campus climate to have a clearer vision of Latinx college student success.

Early studies examined Latinx college students with the use of quantitative measures and also from a deficit standpoint. Therefore, lacking insight on in-depth personal experiences and a balance of personal challenges and strengths. Olivas (1986) also suggested that researchers study counseling Latinx college students; this study will have a mental health focus on Latinx migrant college students. The recommendations from Olivas (1986) for future studies led to more research on Latinx college students.

**Anxiety, Depression, and Suicidality in Latinx College Students**

Chang et al. (2016) studied the relationship between ethnic variables such as ethnic affirmation (sense of pride in belonging to their ethnic group), ethnic identity achievement (exploration and understanding of their ethnic identity), and ethnic behaviors (participation in customs of their ethnic group). These variables all assess for schemas that inform the individual’s sense of ethnic identity. The last variable, other group orientation, evaluated a more general social identity, how one is involved and approaches members of different ethnic groups. Other relationships studied were adverse life events, depressive symptoms, and suicidality in Latinx students.

This study had a total of 160 Latinx college students, with 38 male and 122 female participants ranging from 17 to 46 years of age. Participants were from a large ethnically diverse public university on the east coast. For Latinx students, spending time and interacting with members outside their ethnic group seemed to buffer suicidal behaviors; this was especially helpful in connecting with others with similar life experiences (e.g., experiencing discrimination or loss of a family member). Engaging with other students outside of the Latinx ethnic group
can broaden perceptions of their social support, therefore assisting them as they experience adverse life events.

Another similar quantitative study by Chang et al. (2017) examined ethnic identity, loneliness, and suicide risk in Latinx college students. The focus was to determine whether aspects of ethnic identity could predict suicidality (hopelessness and suicidal behaviors). There were 160 participants recruited at a large public college on the east coast; ages ranged between 18 and 45 and were mostly women. Similar to the Chang et al. (2016) study, findings from his research suggested that for Latinx students, engagement with students from other ethnic groups lowered exhibits of suicidal behaviors (e.g., suicide attempt, suicidal ideation). Ethnic identity achievement predicted hopelessness in Latinx college students. In other words, having a less hopeless view of the future led to a prideful sense of their ethnic identity in relation to their ethnic community. The authors suggest, perhaps, a reason for this finding is that the fast growth of Latinx individuals in the U.S. possibly promotes confidence to overcome challenges that ethnic minority groups experience (e.g., discrimination; Araújo & Borrell, 2006). Consistent with similar studies of other ethnic groups (e.g., Asian Americans, African Americans; Chang, 2013, Chang et al., 2017; Muyan & Chang, 2015), the feeling of social isolation for Latinx students was associated with a higher risk of suicidality.

The researchers have recommendations for individuals who work with Latinx college students. Implications included assessing for elements of the ethnic identity, such as a sense of security of ethnic identity or engagement with peers from other ethnic groups. When working with distressed Latinx college students, one can assess social disconnectedness to help alleviate feelings of loneliness. Chang et al. (2017) pointed to the work of Nuñez (2009), who suggested that having positive diversity experiences, like attending a study session or event with members
of a non-Latinx organization, could help enhance a sense of connectedness among Latinx individuals (Nuñez, 2009).

This next quantitative study examined the relationship between emotion regulation and acculturative stress (i.e., depression, suicidality, social anxiety, and anxiety) (Mayorga et al., 2018). Challenges with emotion regulation demonstrate issues in regulating and maintaining a balance during periods of intense emotions (Carver et al., 1996; Gross, 1998). Acculturation can be an emotional process as it may involve the individual experiencing discrimination from the majority culture, dismissal from own cultural community, feelings of not belonging to either culture (majority or ethnic group of origin), and feeling shame throughout the process (Mena et al., 1987). Consequently, the term acculturative stress was created to call attention to noticeably insensitive experiences of acculturation (Mena et al., 1987). Acculturative stress will be described more in-depth at a later section in this chapter.

There were 448 Latinx college students (mostly women) recruited at a southwestern public university, ages ranging between 18 to 49 years. The Inventory of Depression and Anxiety Symptoms (Watson et al., 2007) and The Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (Watson et al., 1988) were used to measure symptomology and the degree of experienced affective states. The Financial Strain Questionnaire (Pearlin et al., 1981) was also used to measure financial-related stress. The research team found that Latinx college students who struggled with acculturative stress also had emotional regulation issues (Mayorga et al., 2018). The researchers implied acculturative stress plays a role in the symptomology of anxiety and depression. Mental health counselors and college counselors can screen for acculturative stress and coping skills used to regulate emotion in Latinx college students (Mayorga et al., 2018). Counselors could help Latinx students experiencing high levels of acculturative stress in finding
adaptive coping methods to manage emotions, therefore enhancing resiliency, and also targeting stress that comes with adapting to new environments (e.g., anxiety, depression).

To summarize, Chang et al. (2016; 2017) provided support for quantitative studies on Latinx college students on the east coast. Latinx students who create meaningful relationships with people who have similar life experiences and are of different cultural backgrounds can expand their social support, supporting their mental health (Chang et al., 2016). When working with Latinx college students, practitioners could give attention to creating a supportive circle (Chang et al., 2017). Acculturative stress may stem from the marginalization of the majority culture and own cultural community; ultimately, leaving the student feeling shame and lacking a sense of belonging (Mena et al., 1987). These quantitative studies did shed light on connections between the mental health of Latinx college students and social relationships. This study could provide more in-depth information regarding how and from whom support is received and how those relationships are valued.

**Ethnic Identity**

**Perceived Support and College Adjustment in Latinx College Students**

Schneider and Ward’s (2003) quantitative study investigated perceived social support and ethnic identification in Latinx college students in college adjustment. There were five forms of perceived support, which entailed family, peer, Latinx peer, faculty, and institutional. Also, there were five specific types of college adjustment, which were academic, social, emotional, institutional attachment, and overall. Ethnic identification was the extent to which a Latinx individual viewed their ethnic identity as salient to their self-concept.

The research team recruited 35 Latinx students (mostly female) from a medium-sized, predominately white liberal arts university in New York. The identity subscale of the Collective
Self-Esteem Scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) was used to measure ethnic identification. The authors created a scale to assess for perceived support; the Student Adaptation to College Questionnaire (Baker & Siryk, 1984, 1989) was utilized to measure college adjustment. Significant findings from this study concluded that perceived family support predicted overall, emotional, and academic adjustment for Latinx students. However, there was a correlation between other forms of perceived support (peer, faculty, and institutional) and college adjustment. Schneider and Ward (2003) suggested that universities should focus on creating opportunities for support from peers, faculty, and the institution itself, rather than focus on just one source of support for Latinx college students.

Another finding, which was contrary to previous research findings (e.g., Kenny & Stryker, 1996; Maton et al.,1996), was perceived support from general peers predicted social adjustment. Schneider and Ward (2003) suggested that perhaps this resulted because the institution is predominately white, where Latinx students account for only 3 percent of the student population. Moreover, there was only one Latinx student organization on campus. These two factors could have impacted Latinx students in a way that limits their ability to express their culture and also takes away the opportunity to experience what may be a potentially positive connection of support from their ethnic group on adjustment. Therefore, depending on the ethnic makeup of the university, Latinx students may turn to the aid of a diverse peer group as they adjust to the social climate of the institution.

Lastly, highly identified Latinx students were less adjusted than less identified Latinx students. This finding was due to their lack of perceived overall support. To enhance ethnic-related support at larger predominately white institutions, the authors suggest hiring more ethnic minority faculty and recruiting Latinx students (Schneider & Ward, 2003).
Ethnic Identity Development

In this next study, the researchers focus more specifically on ethnic identity development in Latinx students throughout the first two years of being in college. Torres (2003) stated that identity development throughout college generally affects how students adjust and handle situations and experiences. This study focused on this process for Latinx college students.

During this period in research, few researchers had examined Latinx ethnic identity development in college students (Phinney, 1993). Bernal et al. (1993) described the process of ethnic identity as how an individual views self as a part of their ethnic group of origin. In this qualitative study, Torres (2003) recruited 10 Latinx college students from a large university on the east coast. Students were interviewed during their first year and in their second year in college. There were significant influences that helped shape their identities throughout the first two years of college. These influences included the location of childhood environment, generational status in the United States, and how they view themselves in relation to society. Students who grew up in diverse communities were more likely to identify with their Latinx identity.

In contrast, students who grew up in predominately white communities were more likely to self-identify according to where they were from, geographic location (e.g., “Texan, American, or Spanish background”). These same group of students was also more likely to feel conflicted about having diversity in their college campus. One participant described feeling like an outsider because there were so many others who looked like her but did not act like her (Torres, 2003).

Furthermore, the family was another major influence that shaped identity in college. There were family influences on how students chose to identify. Students were often using terms that their parents used; for example, students who identified as Mexican American talked about
their parents’ descriptions of their culture. Other students who used the term Hispanic stated that their parents use the term to describe themselves. All students said their parents had a role in how they choose to identify (Torres, 2003).

Also, students were more likely to identify as Latino/a if their family engaged in cultural events. In addition, generational differences were another dimension. First-generation immigrant students felt stuck between balancing two cultures, finding challenges of the demands of the college culture, and those of their parents. Now, second and third-generation immigrant students appeared to have less conflict with their parents, perhaps due to these students having higher levels of acculturation (Torres, 2003).

Lastly, self-perception in relation to society, or how students perceive their privilege in comparison to others, is the last significant influence discussed (Torres, 2003). Some students who talked about their privilege were also likely to find truths to Latinx negative stereotypes and claimed to have not experienced or witnessed any form of racism. For example, one student (who was economically privileged and second-generation) explained the identity, “Tejano,” (Mexican born and raised in Texas). He clarified that he did not feel associated or connected to Mexicans in Texas because they live in the “ghetto” or “bad parts” of town. Students who did not perceive themselves as having many privileges in comparison to others were likely to discuss situations of racism and discrimination they had encountered (Torres, 2003).

Torres (2003) had some recommendations for those who work with Latinx college students. Practitioners should self-reflect on personal biases or assumptions about Latinx students, especially those on their campus. When working with Latinx students, practitioners can consider potential influences that may inform ethnic identity development. To better serve this population, one must keep in mind that each student experiences identity development
uniquely. Helping to explore a student’s ethnic identity allows for meaningful and intentional conversations and interventions.

In sum, family support plays a positive role in college adjustment in Latinx students (Schneider & Ward, 2003). There was a recommendation that universities could assist Latinx college students in building supportive networks between peers, faculty, and the institution, rather than just family support. While this recommendation seems like an enormous task, this study did shed light on how college counselors can become a part of Latinx college students' support network.

Torres’ (2003) qualitative study on the ethnic identity development in Latinx college students revealed that influential factors were childhood environment, generational status in the U.S., and self-concept. Many external factors were reviewed in this study, more specifically, experiences before college. This study focused on personal experiences, before and throughout college, of intragroup marginalization influences self-concept.

**Persistence and Thriving**

Latinx undergraduate students may not feel supported or even feel unaccepted with the pressure that comes with conforming to the college culture (Gloria & Pope-Davis, 1997). For instance, a Latinx student is scolded by his professor for attending to a family issue at home instead of focusing on his academic responsibilities. The student may feel the pull to adopt more individualistic values, which are often a part of the college culture, rather than focus on familial responsibilities (Aguinaga & Gloria, 2014). Individualistic values clash with familismo, an ideology that is common and unique to the Latinx culture that emphasizes faithfulness and investment to the family, or putting family before self (Cervantes & Parham, 2005; Falicov, 2010; Maglio, 2009). The cultural incongruence between conflicting values can bring distress
and can decrease decisions in academic persistence (Gloria & Robinson Kurpius, 1996; Castillo et al., 2006; Cerezo & Chang, 2013; Gloria et al., 2009; Nuñez, 2009; Reid & Radhakrishnan, 2003).

A quantitative study by Aguinaga and Gloria (2014) examined the generational status and cultural congruity in Latinx undergraduate students’ academic persistence. In this study, first-generation students are the first in their family to be born in the US., whereas second-generation students are those whose parents were born in the U.S. (Aguinaga & Gloria, 2014). Cultural congruity is the overall fit with the university environment considering the student’s ethnic culture and the university’s culture (Gloria & Robinson Kurpius, 1996). Conforming to values (i.e., acculturation or enculturation) predicted academic persistence in first-generation students (Aguinaga & Gloria, 2014). For first-generation students, if one adheres to values of the majority U.S. culture or their culture of origin, then they are more likely to persist academically.

In contrast, for second-generation students and beyond, university fit predicted academic persistence. In other words, if a second-generation student felt positive about the university environment they attend, then they are likely to persist academically. Furthermore, when compared to first-generation, second-generation students seemed to have a higher association with the majority U.S. culture (Aguinaga & Gloria, 2014).

When college counselors work with Latinx college students, there could be different areas of focus, depending on the generation level. For example, when working with first-generation students, one may focus on identity within the familial context (i.e., family expectations, family values). Differing from second generation (and beyond) students who may have a more diverse range of familial, cultural expectations, they may be more inclined to acculturate to the values of the university. A college counselor could explore how the student
sees themselves fit within the university. Second-generation students may not grapple with conformity to familial values and traditions to the same extent as first-generation students (Aguinaga & Gloria, 2014). Counselors should also keep in mind that a student can hold both a strong orientation to their Latinx culture and the majority culture. A student can be strongly oriented to one culture and not reject the other (i.e., biculturalism). Despite generational differences, all Latinx college students would benefit from student programming, advising, mentoring, and counseling services with similar values. Naturally, the support and validation of personal experiences can help increase academic persistence (Aguinaga & Gloria, 2014).

Another study by Cerezo et al. (2013) focused on different factors (i.e., educational systems, familial systems, and expectations in the neighborhood community) influence college access and retention for Mexican American males. In this study, the sample consisted of 12 men, ages ranging from 19 to 26; four of the participants had migrated to the U.S. The researchers found that most of the participants expressed the important influence that encouragement from the family had on their college success. These participants felt academically motivated when witnessing their parents and other family members boast and take pride in their achievements. Latino men discussed a sense of family pride due to their academic achievements. They mentioned this was due to their parents’ sacrifice to migrate to the U.S. (Cerezo et al., 2013). Family pride and encouragement invigorated these Latino men to persist in college. Parents also encouraged their sons by framing their mindset of college completion as a warranty to one day become head of household and have a stable income (Cerezo et al., 2013).

Many participants expressed gratitude towards a handful of ethnic student organizations (e.g., Latino fraternities, multiethnic fraternities, and Movimiento Estudiantil Chicanx de Aztlán [MEChA]); which also supported their retention. Those who were involved in fraternities
described their relationships as a family, providing emotional and academic support (Cerezo et al., 2013). While their experiences of encouragement in college have been positive, these students also experienced a lack of support in high school. Before college, many participants described negative experiences with some teachers. The Latino men explained that they were seen more so fitting for occupations involving physical labor or the military. Another challenge they often faced is feeling pressured and encouraged not to pursue college from peers in their communities (Cerezo et al., 2013).

Based on the findings, there was a significant recommendation for college counselors to consider when working with Latino men. As mentioned earlier, due to receiving discouragement from teachers before college, many Latino men may find it difficult to seek support services, such as counseling. There may be a sense of dread or fear of getting similar messages about their academic potential from college staff. Latino men are less and less likely to seek support for coping with stress as they advance in college (Gloria et al., 2009). For this reason, Cerezo et al. (2013) recommended that college counselors initiate communication with Latino men during their first year of college. Doing so can assist in creating norms for taking advantage of support services. Having men of color as staff counselors was another recommendation (Cerezo et al., 2013).

Thriving is another area of focus that is sometimes associated with persistence. Morgan Consoli et al. (2016) studied cultural values that predict thriving in Mexican and Mexican American college students. More specifically, the traditional Mexican/Mexican American cultural values were family support, respect, religion, and traditional gender roles. Thriving, defined by Carver (1998), is the capability to prosper through the face of hardship.
Morgan Consoli et al. (2016) recruited 124 Mexican and Mexican American college students from a public university on the west coast. Most of the participants were second-generation immigrants (parents were born outside the U.S.). Findings from this study revealed that family support predicted thriving in Mexican and Mexican American college students. Previous studies support this finding, along with the cultural concept of familismo (family before the self) (Carranza, 2007; Clauss-Ehlers & Wibrowski, 2007; Ong et al., 2006; Parra-Cardona et al., 2006). Both familismo and family support have a positive impact on studies with Latinx youth. Religion predicted thriving, which was defined as having a “better off” mentality and behavior (Rutter, 2012), which can embody self-improvement following hardship (Morgan Consoli et al., 2016). Family support and thriving have been linked by other researchers (Llamas & Morgan Consoli, 2012; Morgan Consoli et al., 2011).

Supplemental to social and family support, additional belief systems play an essential role in Latinx college students. Having religion as an additional form of emotional relief increases the likelihood of thriving with this population. A study by Kane (2010) found that individuals with affiliation to a religious group often experience their belief systems as inspiration to overcome hardships. Next, respect, another cultural term that was studied, was a negative predictor of thriving.

In Mexican communities, respect is often associated with obedience (Arcia & Johnson, 1998). Therefore, moving away from home to attend college can be interpreted as rebellious and disobedient to the families’ needs (Morgan Consoli et al., 2016), consequently also moving away from familismo. Additionally, traditional gender roles were not predicting of thriving in this sample, which was contrary to other research (Kulis et al., 2003). A study from 1991 linked adhering to traditional gender roles with less likelihood to attend college, especially for women.
(Cardoza, 1991). Attending college can be seen as conflicting with traditional Mexican gender role expectations, especially for women (Morgan Consoli et al., 2014; Phinney & Flores, 2002). There are some recommendations for those who work with Mexican and Mexican American college students. Working with this population may involve their families, taking the form of also meeting with the family if needed or at least considering the family in counseling. As familismo emphasizes, it is not uncommon for Mexican and Mexican American college students to highly consider their family needs above their own (Morgan Consoli & Llamas, 2013; Ojeda et al., 2011). The practitioner must take into account the collectivism in this population’s culture. Morgan et al. (2016) emphasized the importance of taking a more holistic view of education. For example, if a student needs to take a semester off to attend significant family matters, the situation could be carefully handled by not viewing this as detrimental.

In summary, a quantitative study by Aguinaga and Gloria (2014) examined generational differences in Latinx college students. When first-generation students experienced acculturation, they were more likely to persevere in college; second-generation students persisted if they perceived themselves to be a good fit at the university they attended (Aguinaga & Gloria, 2014). This study concluded that second-generation Latinx students most likely do not struggle with acculturation (Aguinaga & Gloria, 2014). This study did shed light on acculturation-related challenges of second-generation Latinx college students. Also, Morgan Consoli and Llamas (2013) recommend that practitioners focus on family as familismo is a cultural concept relevant to first and second-generation Mexican college students. Few Latinx research studies have recommendations for mental health practitioners, and these two recent studies provided suggestions for those that work with Latinx college students.
Undocumented Latinx College Students

Across the United States (U.S.), some states require undocumented students to enroll as international students if they choose to attend a public institution (Borjian, 2018). Thus, these states require these students to pay out-of-state tuition. These instances may be shocking to some undocumented students who have lived in the U.S. most of their lives. Even more, all undocumented students in the U.S. are not qualified to receive federal financial aid and government loans (Gonzales, 2009). Over the last decade, there has been an increase in the literature studying undocumented individuals, more specifically college students.

Contreras (2009) studied the experiences of undocumented students as they navigate college in Washington, a state with the Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act policy. Undocumented students are those who are not legal residents of the U.S. The DREAM Act assists undocumented students in making college more affordable by providing in-state tuition (Contreras, 2009). This qualitative study consisted of 20 undocumented students who were mostly from Mexico. There were several emergent themes found, living in fear for themselves and their families, financial difficulties, experiencing discrimination, the determination to persist, and concerns for the future. The undocumented Latinx students in this study expressed commitment, engagement, diligent, and have a positive mindset despite the challenges they face on a day-to-day basis. Due to the experiences of discrimination on campus, participants reported feeling discouraged from seeking support from campus staff and student services. This study also drew attention to the possibility of professional development programming at colleges and universities to provide information on opportunities and options for undocumented students (Contreras, 2009).
First-generation immigrants (the individual migrated to the U.S. from another country) experienced higher levels of acculturative stress when compared to second and third-generation immigrants (Yeh et al., 2003). Furthermore, those youth who migrate during periods of adolescence or early adulthood (typically named 1.5 generation immigrants) tend to have more difficulties in adjusting to the norms of the majority in the U.S. (Wong et al., 2004). Perreira et al. (2006) found that a positive view of ethnic identity can act as a buffering role for ethnic minority individuals. This finding may be because this developmental process requires connectedness and identification with an ethnic group; and also an awareness of discrimination (Quintana, 2007).

Another qualitative study that focused on undocumented students examined how they negotiate the relationship of acculturation, ethnic identity, and educational and career pursuit (Ellis & Chen, 2013). Seven of the 11 participants migrated from Latin American countries, and all participants migrated before the age of 16. Many participants discussed their identity makeup as two cultures: their home and host culture. One participant illustrated this experience as “sewn with two threads;” because these participants are 1.5 generation immigrants, exposure to their home culture happens across early childhood memories, older family members, or the continuance of cultural practices in the U.S. (Ellis & Chen, 2013).

Exposure to American values occurs mostly through interacting with peers at school (Ellis & Chen, 2013). Many undocumented students were still able to make educational progress, although they no longer claimed to embrace either U.S. American values or values of their home country. Perhaps these students had educational success due to other traits, such as resilience. Lastly, many of the participants viewed the challenges of being undocumented as growth and personal success opportunities. The participants’ educational motivation was fed
through overcoming adversities, becoming resourceful to other undocumented students, and overcoming immigration-related challenges (Ellis & Chen, 2013).

Ultimately, mental health practitioners must work beyond the traditional and conventional idea of mental health counseling (Ellis & Chen, 2013). Doing so can include researching and educating themselves on financial aid assistance, educational opportunities, and discuss information found with the undocumented students. Working outside the box of a counselor can make an incredible difference in the therapeutic alliance between the practitioner and the student (Ellis & Chen, 2013).

This next study examined educational attainment in Mexican undocumented college students (Covarrubias & Lara, 2014). Overall, Latinx students, especially Mexican students, repeatedly have the lowest rates of academic attainment across all educational levels (Covarrubias, 2011; Gandara & Contreras, 2009; Solórzano & Yosso, 2000, 2001, 2002a, & 2002b; Yosso, 2006; Yosso & Solórzano, 2006). For those students who choose to pursue higher education, guidance from support groups, student organizations, peers, and family all play an essential role in the experiences of undocumented students (Perez et al., 2009; Perez Huber & Malagon, 2007).

This quantitative study compared differences in educational attainment between two groups, U.S.-born citizens and undocumented individuals (Covarrubias & Lara, 2014). Before explaining the findings, it is important to note that most adults who migrate to the U.S. are usually less educated in comparison to those who receive education in the U.S. The students that received a U.S. education had slightly higher rates of associate degree attainment. Undocumented individuals who were U.S.-educated had much lower rates of baccalaureate and graduate degrees in comparison to noncitizens (i.e., noncitizens are “undocumented individuals
or those without legal authority to reside in the U.S., and ‘permanent residents’ who are not citizens but have been granted legal stay within the U.S.”; Covarrubias & Lara, 2014, p. 85). Noncitizens with a background in higher education were more likely to have completed a baccalaureate or graduate degree outside the U.S., therefore migrating to the U.S. with those degrees. Covarrubias and Lara (2014) stated, the U.S.-educated, undocumented students had likely experienced discouragement about pursuing a higher education degree. Other possible factors could be experiencing discrimination, concern with English-proficiency, seen as a burden in the U.S. economy, and feeling too exposed or vulnerable (Covarrubias & Lara, 2014).

The next study takes on a qualitative approach in examining undocumented college student and desire for achievement. Borjian (2018) studied successful undocumented college students who are advocates for access to educational opportunities, therefore learning about their desire for achievement. The participants in this study were all from Latin American countries and included a total of eight college students (four women and four men). Most of the participants had encountered bullying, racism, and discrimination throughout their education in the U.S. (Borjian, 2018). They also noted that these experienced did not get in the way of their journey in higher education.

All participants discussed the significance of support from others regarding their educational goals (Borjian, 2018). Moreover, they felt debt or wanting to return the favor to those who had supported them throughout their involvement in higher education, which also brought a sense of eagerness and enthusiasm to move forward in college. All participants emphasized the magnitude of mentorship as they progressed in their education, even allowing them to succeed and become socially aware, influencing many to be involved in social activism.
Many participants viewed their academic achievement as a form of social activism (Borjian, 2018).

There was one student who explained learning about Assembly Bill 540 in California, which allowed him to pay in-state-tuition. Then, he expressed gratitude for receiving valuable information that came from his peers, not from a college staff member (i.e., faculty member, college counselor). Social networks are crucial for this underserved group, assisting them in overcoming adversities with environmental stressors (Borjian, 2018; Hallett, 2013).

In the end, students are more likely to succeed in higher education if more colleges and universities offer support services to undocumented students (Borjian, 2018). The current political climate has increased anxiety and insecurities across the U.S. for undocumented college students, especially regarding fear of deportation and economic unpredictability (Borjian, 2018). Implications for college counselors are similar to those in Ellis and Chen (2013), counselors must work beyond traditional roles in counseling when working with undocumented college students (Borjian, 2018). Supporting this group of students can include being proactive in providing resources that promote college success.

To sum up, undocumented Latinx college students experience unique challenges, such as high levels of acculturative stress (Yeh et al., 2003). Moreover, among immigrants, age of migration must also be considered as a factor when considering acculturation. In fact, individuals who migrate to the U.S. during adolescence or early adulthood are likely to have challenges in adjusting to U.S. norms (Wong et al., 2004). Another study explored how ethnic identity is perceived after migration (Ellis & Chen, 2013); there was discussion of feeling torn between two cultures with early exposure from home and U.S. culture. This finding is also similar to studies of second-generation immigrant individuals, with those who are bicultural.
Migrant and Seasonal Farmworker College Students

Many studies that examine the migrant college student population include students in the College Assistance Migrant Program (CAMP). The researcher will describe CAMP, a program that is a part of several universities across the U.S. Lastly, there will be literature presented that focuses specifically on Latinx migrant college students.

College Assistance Migrant Program

In 1972, The College Assistance Migrant Program (CAMP) was established by the Office of Economic Opportunity; this program was an element of the Johnson Administration’s War on Poverty (Araujo, 2011). Currently, CAMP is a grant under the U.S. Department of Education. This program aids migrant college students throughout their first year in college; students receive academic, personal, social, and financial support (National High School Equivalency Program and College Assistance Migrant Program Association [HEP CAMP], n.d.; Willison & Jang, 2009). Support can include tuition aid, assistance in applying for external scholarships, student housing or commuter expenses, tutoring, and counseling services. In the U.S., there are nearly 2,400 students who participate in CAMP annually (HEP CAMP, n.d.).

Similar to other retention programs, CAMP aims to increase retention, and advocates for academic success (Mendez & Bauman, 2018). Qualifications to participate in CAMP include acceptance to a university, earned a high school diploma or GED, have U.S. citizenship, or permanent residency, and have a background in migrant farm work (Araujo, 2011). A background in farm work indicates that an individual or the parents of the individual have worked in migrant or seasonal farm work for 75 days minimum during the two years before applying to the university (Araujo, 2011). Eligibility can also be applied if the student was a part
of a federal migrant education program in high school (College Assistance Migrant Program Alumni Association [CAMPAA], 2003; Cranston-Gingras et al., 2004).

**Latinx Migrant Farmworker College Students**

A study by Zalaquett et al. (2007) researched the characteristics of Latinx migrant students attending a large southwestern university who attained college access; sources of support for these students was also investigated. This study had a total of 52 students, who were mostly female (88%). Most of the participants were first in their families to attend college.

Latinx migrant students view themselves as competitive and proactive. The majority of the participants are first in their families to go to college and first to consider a different career path outside of farm work. Many students wish to hold leadership roles in their chosen career field. This group of students feel incredibly committed to their education and are strict with themselves when it comes to their schoolwork; many want to avoid making mistakes in their academic and life choices. Latinx migrant students view obtaining a college education as a step towards a better life, access towards a career, and making their family proud (Zalaquett et al., 2007).

The majority of the participants mentioned their ability to cope with feelings of rejection. Coping skills can assist in protection from feelings of inferiority; these feelings can be reinforced by peers’ exclusion and ridicule (Romanowski, 2003). The participants in this sample did not report feelings of isolation or inferiority that may cripple a student’s self-esteem and academic development (Romanowski, 2003).

Nearly all students said they felt a part of their school, like they belonged, and were not isolated (Zalaquett et al., 2007). Students in the study reported that the university they attended made strides towards understanding the qualities of Latinx parents and extended families.
(Zalaquett et al., 2007). Other research studies support university engagement with Latinx families to be associated with academic achievement (Hyslop, 2000; Trevino, 2004; Zalaquett, 2006; Zalaquett & Feliciano, 2004). They perceived their instructors as supportive, respectable, caring, approachable, and that they had an interest in them. Most students also denied experiencing discrimination. The characteristics of the university, teachers, and peers seemed to influence success in college for Latinx migrant students.

This next qualitative study examined ways in which CAMP provided support during the first year in college for three participants at a community college in Colorado (Reyes, 2007). The participants in the study had experienced discrimination and microaggressions in other educational settings. However, they all also mentioned feeling supported by the program, which disputed their negative feelings of self-worth. Engagement in the program also contributed to a sense of agency and empowerment throughout their educational journey (Reyes, 2007).

The study defined "schooling knowledge" as information, guidance, skills, and knowledge that is essential to navigating the college culture. There are two main points of implications for schooling (Reyes, 2007). The first implication is to create communities of practice for learning and student development. Reyes (2007) emphasized that there is no prescription for creating an environment that engages students on a path of becoming successful students. However, one must keep in mind that a community of practice can include various types of interactions, such as teacher-student, a small group of peers, or students in the classroom. The idea behind creating communities of practice is “the act of doing while learning, and learning while doing” (Reyes, 2007, p. 226). The second implication the importance of invested others; these individuals can be professionals whose approach in education is to empower students, especially underrepresented students, and their sense of self to foster change
and growth. Invested others are dedicated to the advancement and learning of the student; they must be ready to provide mentorship, assistance, and direction toward learning (Reyes, 2007).

Both of these critical implications for educators can also potentially serve as implications for mental health practitioners working with Latinx migrant college students (Reyes, 2007). Creating communities of practice worked well with these participants, indicating that one-on-one and small groups will provide a space of engagement and encouragement. Career counselors can become an "invested other" when working with Latinx migrant college students, creating a space for learning and guidance (Reyes, 2007).

In the next qualitative study, Araujo (2011) explored influences that support enrollment and attendance in migrant students attending college in the southwest region of the U.S. Many migrant college students have to work to pay for college while also financially supporting their families (Tucker, 2000). Migrant farmworkers are one of the poorest and underprivileged social groups in the U.S. (Martin, 1996). Lack of financial aid is among the highest-ranking factor that was related to dropping out of college for many migrant students who temporarily or permanently dropped off (Duron, 1995).

The CAMP staff seemed to be essential mentors for the students and assisted in relieving some feelings of loneliness (Araujo, 2011). Feelings of isolation are significant factors in the retention of Latinx in higher education (Araujo, 2011). The CAMP students formed friendships and networks of support through any of the program requirements such as, living in the same dormitory building, attending meetings, and taking an introductory seminar college course together (Araujo, 2011).

Findings from the study could potentially be helpful for college counselors working with this population (Araujo, 2011). Forming networks that built trust involved a lot of exposure and
engagement among peers; the camp staff also seem to be very involved, which helped provide social support. Each camp program can vary in funding they have for a period of time, which means that some years there can be afforded a college counselor to their grant. Other times, the program can choose to utilize mental health counselors on campus already providing free counseling for students. For college counselors working with this population, it may be helpful if the counselor can find a way to build trust to be a part of their network that they create (Araujo, 2011).

In this last research study, Mendez and Bauman (2018) used quantitative methods to examine factors that predict college outcomes for Latinx migrant college students. These students were recruited from college campuses across the western U.S. Factors considered in this study included gender, high school GPA, high school class rank, college academic self-efficacy, academic resilience, school connectedness, support to stay in college, employment, financial aid, family responsibilities, and living situation. College outcomes included college GPA, persistence, and academic probation. In past studies, these factors predicted college success in Latinx college students (i.e., Edman & Brazil, 2009; Ganderton & Santos, 1995; Hurtado et al., 2011; Maldonado, et al., 2005; Martin, & Marsh, 2009; Nora et al., 1996). However, the factors had not yet been examined with the migrant student population.

The participants in this study experienced environmental adversities due to their migrant backgrounds before college and during college (Mendez & Bauman, 2018). The authors highlighted that they expect migrant students who can cope with setbacks in college also to obtain a high college GPA. Additionally, another finding was that living on campus predicted a lower GPA for migrant college students (Mendez & Bauman, 2018). This finding was inconsistent with previous research (i.e., Gardner, 1996). The authors suggest different
possibilities for this finding. Living on campus can present various distractions for academics (Mendez & Bauman, 2018). Another reason may be due to students feeling like they do not belong or are not part of the campus culture, due to experiencing microaggressions from peers or university staff (Solórzano et al., 2002; Yosso et al., 2009). Therefore, some participants may feel more comfortable living at home, if they have that option, or off-campus if they attend predominantly white institutions (Hurtado & Ruiz, 2012). Also, migrant students who live off-campus may be living with family members who provide support and encouragement (Mendez & Bauman, 2018).

Similar to other studies, Mendez and Bauman (2018) found three contributing factors that predicted leaving college, which was work, accumulating debt, and family responsibilities. Migrant college students may be more aware and experience more fear of accumulating debt, due to their low socioeconomic status – persuading them these students to leave when they cannot afford college without federal student loans. Mendez and Bauman (2018) provided the importance of attending personal counseling to overcome personal cultural or academic obstacles. The researchers then described assistance that academic advisors offer to help in course selection, finding useful resources, identifying courses that are in line with students’ academic path, and helping the student identify tactics to self-regulate to prevent academic frustration (Mendez & Bauman, 2018).

Ultimately, many Latinx migrant college students have experienced discrimination in a college setting (Reyes, 2007). However, in a different study, Latinx migrant college students denied personal situations of discrimination (Zalaquett et al., 2007). A commonality between CAMP students is the value of support and mentorship received from CAMP staff (Araujo,
Intragroup Marginalization

This section will include studies that researched acculturation and intragroup marginalization. As stated in chapter one, describing acculturation is essential to understanding intragroup marginalization. Therefore, the researcher will provide brief descriptions of acculturation and acculturative stress. Social identity theory will be described, and the researcher will explain how it relates to intragroup marginalization. Lastly, there will be a description of the aspects of intragroup marginalization and studies that examine this phenomenon.

Acculturation

As defined by Berry (1998), acculturation is observing and adopting traits of the white majority American cultural norms; also, the extent to which an individual upholds their heritage cultural norms. Many universities across the U.S. embody majority, white American values (Castillo et al., 2004); consequently, many Latinx college students experience acculturation, learning different cultural values (Castillo et al., 2008). Berry (1998) defined acculturative stress as challenges and stress that occurs from the process of acculturation. To illustrate, the researcher will explain how acculturation can impact the Latinx family.

An individual can experience acculturative stress resulting from stressors within one’s ethnic group (Castillo et al., 2007). For example, first-generation immigrant parents acculturate at a slower pace when compared to their children (Castillo et al., 2008; Carrera & Wei, 2014). Lee et al. (2000) explained, children raised in the U.S., with higher levels of acculturation, now culturally different than their parents, may create family conflict. In ethnic minority families,
experiencing family conflict can create negative psychological impacts on the acculturating individual (Lee & Liu, 2001). Latinx children’s fluency in English increases, especially if they begin learning at a young age – this may influence a breakdown in communication between the child and the parents (Carrera & Wei, 2014). Thus, preventing the acculturated child from successfully communicating with their parents (Carrera & Wei, 2014).

These cultural differences can become more significant as the individual transitions from adolescence to early adulthood (Carrera & Wei, 2014). For example, moving away from home to attend college can impact the psychological distance between the acculturating individual and their parents (Carrera & Wei, 2014), resulting in risk for family conflict, which can jeopardize the students’ mental well-being (i.e., risk of depression). As Cano et al. (2014) explained some acculturated Latinx might be perceived too American in interactions with the members of their communities, and too Mexican or Latino/a in interactions with the majority culture. Cano et al. (2014) said, “…this experience has been captured by the phrase ‘ni de aquí, ni de allá’ (nor from here or there)” (p. 138). There was a study that examined acculturative stress and other psychological symptoms among migrant college students.

Researchers Mejía and Mccarthy (2010) found that Latinx migrant college students experience higher levels of acculturative stress when compared to non-migrants. In addition, male students had higher levels of acculturative stress than female students. There were high levels of depression among Mexican migrant and non-migrant college students. Implications for practitioners included the use of clinical interventions in an individual, group (e.g., psycho-education-based groups), and family format, and preventative coping skills (McCarthy & Mejia, 2001).
In short, when Latinx students begin college, they face challenges of upholding cultural norms and values. Latinx college students engage in acculturation strategies (i.e., assimilation, integration, marginalization, and separation) (please refer to figure 1). Some strategies have varying consequences, depending on which is used (Castillo, 2009). For example, separation is when the individual hopes to maintain their cultural norms, consequently being avoidant with the host culture. Latinx students who use this acculturation strategy are less likely to be criticized and teasing. In other words, intragroup marginalization than those who use different approaches.

**Intragroup Marginalization Inventory**

Intragroup marginalization is “the interpersonal distancing that occurs when an acculturating individual is believed to exhibit behaviors, values, and beliefs that are outside the heritage culture’s group norms” (Castillo et al., 2007, p. 232). The researcher will provide a description of intragroup marginalization inventory to explain the unique aspects of this phenomenon. The intergroup marginalization inventory was used as a reference to create research questions for this qualitative study. Next, the researcher will summarize various studies that researched intragroup marginalization.

Castillo et al., (2007) are the authors of the Intragroup Marginalization Inventory (IMI). There are three scales used to measure the degree to which a person perceives social distancing from family, friends, and their ethnic group community members. The three scales are as followed: IMI-Family, IMI-Friends, and IMI-Ethnic Group. The IMI-Family scale is first described.

The IMI-Family scale measures four factors: Homeostatic Pressure, Linguistic Expectations, Accusation of Assimilation, and Discrepant Values (Castillo et al., 2007). The first factor is called Homeostatic Pressure, where the family challenges the acculturating
individual to stay the same (i.e., trouble accepting the individual’s new values) (Castillo et al., 2007). Linguistic Expectations is the second factor in IMI-Family, in which there is an expectation that the acculturating individual should retain the ethnic group’s language (i.e., expectations may be communicated via family teasing or criticism). The third factor is Accusation of Assimilation, in other words, accusing the acculturating individual of adopting values and behaviors of the white American culture. The fourth factor of IMI-Family is Discrepant Values, that is, the belief that the individual’s values are now extremely different compared to the family’s values. Both IMI-Friends and IMI-Ethnic Group scales measure a mix of mostly similar factors as those mentioned above, with a few exceptions (Castillo et al., 2007).

Like the IMI-Family scale, the IMI-Friends scale measures Homeostatic Pressure, Linguistic Expectations, Accusation of Assimilation, and Discrepant Values (Castillo et al., 2007). However, the IMI-Friends scale adds a fifth factor named Accusation of Differentiation; the marginalization that occurs when an individual appears to look or act differently from their ethnic group (Castillo et al., 2007). Lastly, the IMI-Ethnic Group scale measures four factors, Linguistic Expectations, Accusation of Assimilation, Discrepant Values and adding a new factor, Pressure to Conform (i.e., group members pressuring the individual to conform to group norms) (Castillo et al., 2007).

**Intragroup Marginalization in Latinx College Students**

Intragroup marginalization is purposeful distancing created by members of a cultural group when a group member adopts norms of the host culture, white Americans. Castillo et al. (2007) viewed interpersonal distancing as a social sanction enforced on the acculturating individual, which is enacted through teasing and criticism. Castillo et al. (2008) provided an example: “brown on the outside, white on the inside,” which implies a person of color who
adopts white American values and behaviors. Some studies have researched this phenomenon in Latinx college students.

Castillo and colleagues (2008) examined family conflict, intragroup marginalization, and acculturative stress of Latinx college students with qualitative methods. The researchers suggested that although the Latinx students in the sample described themselves as bicultural (i.e., competency in both ethnic culture and host culture) they still experienced acculturative stress. That finding was interesting because another study found that not all individuals who experience acculturation also find it stressful (e.g., Hovey, 2000). In addition, family conflict also influenced psychological distress. Latinx college students who experienced intragroup marginalization from family members also contributed to acculturative stress (Castillo et al., 2008).

In this next study, Castillo (2009) examined intragroup marginalization and Latinx college students’ psychological adjustment. Castillo (2009) primarily focused on implications for counselors working with students experiencing intragroup marginalization. Counselors can focus on understanding the experience of intergroup marginalization in bicultural students. To do so, counselors can learn about the values and norms of the campus they work in and Latinx culture. In terms of counseling inventions, a college counselor can utilize cognitive restructuring to challenge and help the client restructure their beliefs of being disloyal to their ethnic group. Another suggestion is to facilitate workshops for incoming Latinx first-year students to help educate their families on potential value conflicts between home and college and emphasize how crucial family support can be, especially during a transition period (Castillo, 2009).

Llamas and Morgan Consoli (2012) examined relationships between intragroup marginalization, college adjustment, resilience (i.e., overcoming negative impacts of adversity,
coping with trauma; Olsson et al., 2003; Luthar, & Cicchetti, 2000; Masten & Powell, 2003; Rutter, 1985), and thriving (i.e., overcoming adversity and even experience personal growth; O’Leary & Ickovics, 1995) in 181 Latinx undergraduate and graduate students. This quantitative study found when Latinx college students experienced intragroup marginalization by their family members, they were less likely to adjust to college. Latinx students experiencing high levels of intragroup marginalization by family members were also less resilient, even while these same students viewed their family members as supportive. This finding was interesting because perceived familial support does not seem to alleviate the negative consequences of marginalization by family members (Llamas & Morgan Consoli, 2012).

Furthermore, Latinx students who felt socially supported still thrived in the presence of intragroup marginalization. Having close familial relationships and perceiving these relationships are supportive can help in reducing feelings of cultural disconnect for Latinx college students. The terms resilience and thriving had different impacts on Latinx college students (Llamas, & Morgan Consoli, 2012). There are recommendations from the researchers to study further impacts of intragroup marginalization for a more comprehensive understanding of the mental health of Latinx college students. Consequently, this study’s aim was to add a greater understanding of intragroup marginalization by implementing a qualitative methodology.

This next quantitative study examined perceived social support from friends, intragroup marginalization, acculturative stress, and college adjustment in 83 Latinx undergraduate students (Llamas & Ramos-Sánchez, 2013). Latinx undergraduate students experienced acculturative stress when their Latinx peers marginalized them. Acculturative stress continued even when these students perceived support from their peers. The participants in this study also experienced more challenges when adjusting to college in comparison to those who did not experience
intragroup marginalization. The friendships that these students built had a positive influence in their adjustment to college and assisted them in coping with college stressors. Llamas and Ramos-Sánchez (2013) strongly encouraged college counselors to examine Latinx students’ social networks and a sense of belonging to the college campus. The college counselor can assist the student and connecting them with resources across campus to help establish a sense of connectedness (Llamas & Ramos-Sánchez, 2013). Counselors can also help Latinx students in exploring their ethnic identity; a secure sense of identity can help to buffer stress if an individual were to struggle with acclimation to the college culture.

In the following quantitative study, Cano et al., (2014) examined intragroup marginalization, cultural incongruity (i.e., perceived lack of cultural fit between personal values and college values), acculturative stress, and depressive symptoms among 155 Mexican undergraduate students. Mexican and Mexican American college students who experienced high levels of acculturative stress also had more significant symptoms of depression. The participants that experienced more distancing of family members also had higher levels of acculturative stress, which was also related to more depressive symptoms. This study by Cano et al. (2014) was the first that linked intragroup marginalization with depressive symptoms. Students who experienced cultural incongruity also had higher levels of acculturative stress, even leading to symptoms of depression. The researchers suggest that mental health practitioners at universities in the U.S. can consider utilizing a formal assessment of intragroup marginalization when working with Mexican and Mexican American college students with symptoms of depression (Cano et al., 2014). College students of Mexican heritage can benefit from learning positive coping mechanisms to manage with intragroup marginalization.
In a similar realm, Llamas et al. (2018) explored the effects of locus of control and social support on intragroup marginalization and psychological distress among Latinx first-year college students. Internal locus of control is when an individual believes outcomes of an event is directly related and dependent on only behavior; external locus of control is what an individual believes outcomes of an event is the result is beyond one’s control (Llamas et al., 2018). The quantitative study collected data from a western university in the U.S.

When Latinx college students experienced marginalization from their friends, they were likely to experience psychological distress (Llamas et al., 2018). Marginalization from friends impacts college adjustment (Llamas & Morgan Consoli, 2012; Llamas & Ramos-Sanchez, 2013). This finding highlighted the impact that friendships have on Latinx students’ personal and academic life, as well as mental well-being (Llamas et al., 2018). When Latinx students encountered intragroup marginalization from their friends, those who believed they do not have control over their own life experienced poorer mental health. Perhaps with the influence of locus of control and social support, Latinx college students who encounter marginalization from friends could potentially seek support to combat negative impacts (Llamas et al., 2018). Researchers suggest that individuals working with Latinx college students in distress can help students feel empowered so that the student is proactive in improving and protecting their mental health (Llamas et al., 2018).

Lastly, Haywood (2017) studied six Afro-Latinx college students’ experiences with intragroup marginalization due to colorism. Findings included three ways in which colorism manifested in the participants’ lives: within families, social exclusion, and questioning of Latinx authenticity (Haywood, 2017). The findings from the study suggested that families influence how children make meaning of their skin tone, which was consistent with other research (Wilder
The Afro-Latinx college students discussed their experiences of racial socialization within their families, that devalued black esthetics and favored whiteness (Haywood, 2017). The students felt uncomfortable and unwelcome in Latinx spaces. Haywood (2017) made a point that English-dominant Latinx already often experience criticism by Latinx native Spanish-speakers (Bedolla, 2005). This criticism experienced by English-dominant Afro-Latinx intensifies when marginalization occurs due to colorism; these experiences consequently led to feelings of isolation (Haywood, 2017).

In conclusion, currently, there are limited studies that focus on migrant farmworkers (Zalaquett et al., 2007). And yet, a few studies are entering the literature, mostly focusing on two age groups, adults (e.g., Alderete, et al., 1999; Hovey & Magaña, 2000), and children and adolescents (e.g., Kupersmidt & Martin, 1997; Weathers et al., 2004; Wilson et al., 2000). While the literature studying Latinx college students may be growing, there is still a little known about the experiences of Latinx migrant college students (Nora, 2003), especially from a qualitative standpoint. Several studies that do finally focus on migrant college students are limited to studying participants of CAMP, which excludes migrant students who do not meet the qualifications and requirements for the program (i.e., undocumented migrant students). This study would also include information captured of the experiences of migrant students beyond their first year in college, given CAMP is a service for students for their first year only. In addition, the majority of studies that examine intragroup marginalization are quantitative, thus excluding experiences and the voices of migrant college students. This study explored the experiences of intragroup marginalization in migrant college students.

In summary, intragroup marginalization is criticism and teasing that occurs within one’s ethnic group (Castillo et al., 2007). Familismo is an essential cultural concept in the Latinx
community. While the family is vital to Latinx college students' support system, the family can also create acculturative stress for these students (Castillo et al., 2008). Also, students who experience intragroup marginalization by family members tend to struggle in adjusting to college and are less resilient (Llamas & Morgan Consoli, 2012). By the same token, a student who perceives their family as supportive, regardless of experiencing teasing from family members, can still thrive (Llamas & Morgan Consoli, 2012). Moreover, close relationships with family members can alleviate feelings of disconnect from the Latinx culture (Llamas & Morgan Consoli, 2012). Researchers recommended further exploration of experiences of intragroup marginalization and the mental health of Latinx college students. This study explored intragroup marginalization more in-depth and the influence on the mental health of Latinx migrant college students.

**Foundational Concepts**

**Social Identity Theory**

Intragroup marginalization can be understood by first explaining acculturation and social identity theory. This theory describes a person’s self-concept that stems from their understanding of association to a social group; the emotional value is also considered (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In this study, the social group is Latinx migrant students. A foundational component of social identity theory is a sense of belongingness to this social group, the Latinx cultural group, that brings a sense of identity and norms to those associated (Castillo, 2009). Group norms are “attitudinal and behavioral expectations about the appropriate conduct for a group member” (Castillo, 2009, p. 248). Turner (1991) explained that norms communicate meaningful aspects of an individual’s identity; members of the social group have the expectations to act according to group norms.
According to Tajfel and Turner (1986), members of a social group strive to have distinguishable traits that set them apart from other groups. Norms that belong to a particular group symbolize the values and behaviors that group members must also display to maintain their uniqueness from others outside the group (Jetten et al., 2004). A method to restore the uniqueness of a group is by marginalizing the group member that deviates from the group norms (Castillo, 2009). For example, the statement describing when someone “acts white” gives more significance to the meaning of having a Latinx identity rather than being perceived as white (Castillo, 2009).

Berry (2003) identified four strategies of adaptation to majority culture: assimilation, integration (i.e., biculturalism), marginalization, and separation. Those who use the assimilation strategy are assumed they do not want to maintain their culture's values, beliefs, and norms, but instead look to adopt norms of the host culture. When an individual uses separation strategy, a person wishes to maintain their culture's norms while also being avoidant with the host culture. In the next strategy, marginalization, the individual does not want to maintain their culture or the host culture, thus disengaging from both cultures. The last strategy, integration, the individual maintains their heritage culture while also adopting aspects of the host culture (i.e., biculturalism) (Berry, 2003).

Lastly, Latinx students can receive different reactions from members of their heritage cultural group depending on the strategy chosen by the person undergoing assimilation (Castillo, 2009). That is, Latinx students who do use separation strategy (avoiding host culture) are less likely to experience intragroup marginalization than students who choose the assimilation strategy (adopting host culture’s norms). Moreover, students who use the integration strategy (biculturalism) may also experience intragroup marginalization. Although this will depend on
the student’s competency in navigating both the college culture and their own culture (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Castillo et al., 2008). Figure 1 displays a visual representation of the relationship between Social Identity Theory and acculturation within intragroup marginalization.

**Figure 1**

*Flowchart of Foundational Concepts*

[Flowchart image]

**Ethnic Identity Model**

Ruiz (1990) created a model to serve in understanding ethnic identity conflicts in Chicanx (Mexican Americans) or Latinx clients. The Ethnic Identity Development model was created based on clients' histories from counseling sessions -- the clients were college students (Ruiz, 1990). There are five stages in this model: (1) Causal, (2) Cognitive, (3) Consequence, (4) Working Through, and (5) Successful Resolution.

The first three stages focus on the evolution of ethnic identity conflicts (Ruiz, 1990). At the Causal stage, there is an increase in awareness of messages about the Latinx identity. The
messages received can affirm, disregard, invalidate, or belittle the identity of the individual. In the second stage, Cognitive, the individual then associates three faulty beliefs related to their ethnic identity. The first belief is identifying as Latinx leads to living in poverty and experiencing discrimination. The second belief is that assimilation is the answer to avoiding poverty and discrimination. The third belief that assimilation is the only solution to personal success and economic gain. In the third stage, Consequence, the individual rejects qualities of ethnic identity (i.e., skin color, full name, language, cultural traditions); these qualities are seen as inferior (Ruiz, 1990). An individual at stage three would also experience shame and embarrassment (Ruiz, 1990).

Furthermore, the fourth stage, Working Through, increases the individuals’ sense of ethnic consciousness and therefore, reclams pieces of their ethnic identity (Ruiz, 1990). There is a process of healing and reconnection with their culture. Lastly, at the fifth and final stage, Successful Resolution, the individual has a higher level of respect towards self, culture, and ethnic identity (Ruiz, 1990). Ethnicity is no longer viewed as a flaw, as it once was in earlier states. Figure 2 visually represents the five stages of this model.

**Figure 2**

*Ethnic Identity Development Model*

Note. An individual can move forward and back to different stages throughout their identity development process.
Summary

This chapter provided a literature review of Latinx college students, migrant college students, and intragroup marginalization. The topics ranged from psychological symptomology, ethnic identity, persistence, thriving, and undocumented college students. The researcher also included a description of the college assistance migrant program. Lastly, acculturation and social identity theory were described to illustrate intragroup marginalization further. Chapter three will explain the qualitative phenomenological approach in this study, participants and sampling methods, data collection methods, and interpretative phenomenological analysis. The researcher will also provide trustworthiness tactics, ethical considerations, and a brief statement to describe the researcher’s relationship to the research.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study was (1) to explore the intragroup marginalization experiences of Latinx migrant college students and (2) to understand the impact of intragroup marginalization on the mental health of Latinx migrant college students in Michigan. Chapter three will include a description of the qualitative research approach and the phenomenology design of this study, participants and sampling methods, data collection methods of recruitment and procedures, and interpretative phenomenological analysis. There will also be information on strategies to ensure the trustworthiness of this study, ethical considerations, and a brief statement to describe the researcher’s relationship to the phenomenon under investigation.

Research Approach

Intragroup marginalization is social distancing by members of a cultural group when a group member adopts norms of the host culture (i.e., acculturation) (Castillo et al., 2007). Social or interpersonal distancing can be criticism or teasing the acculturated individual (Castillo et al., 2007). Currently, intragroup marginalization is investigated and measured through quantitative research. As described in chapter two, Castillo et al. (2007) created the Intragroup Marginalization Inventory (IMI); this measure has three subscales that include family, friends, and ethnic group. The IMI was developed to fill a gap in the acculturation literature; creating an instrument to examine acculturation from a within-group perspective (i.e., intragroup marginalization) (Castillo et al., 2007). This inventory was normed on 386 racial and ethnic minority participants (224 female and 160 male undergraduate and graduate college students). There were 196 Latinx, 85 Asian and Asian American, 75 Black and African American, 9 Native American, and 21 biracial college students; ages ranged from 17 to 49 years.
Investigating intragroup marginalization with only quantitative methods can leave out rich information that qualitative methods would provide. Qualitative research can follow up quantitative research to explore the process, the reasoning behind answers, and content that includes additional insight into thoughts and behaviors behind a phenomenon (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Furthermore, this approach is fitting when the researcher hopes to empower individuals to speak their truth and stories, especially to hear silenced voices (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Therefore, qualitative research would be most appropriate for this study for various reasons, such as when a newly emerging research area has limited studies, therefore needing further exploration (Creswell, 2014).

Qualitative researchers study how humans understand personal experiences, build their worlds, and create meaning from lived experiences (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). Braun and Clarke (2013) differentiate between quantitative and qualitative by highlighting the use of words instead of numbers as a form of data to collect and analyze. Lastly, there are some common vital characteristics in qualitative research. They are: (1) process, understanding and meaning, (2) the researcher is critical in data collection and analysis, (3) the process is inductive, and (4) the outcome is richly descriptive (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). The researcher learns from the insider’s perspective, referred to as emic, understanding through the lens of the participant. Secondly, the researcher is the instrument in qualitative research, which has strengths and weaknesses. During data collection, the researcher can be immediately responsive and receptive to verbal and nonverbal communication, which can help provide more information. The researcher is responsive in clarifying, summarizing data, and checking for accuracy of interpretation during data collection.
Nonetheless, the researcher has preconceived beliefs and values that may interfere with the research. Yet, there are still methods in dealing with this concern, such as identification of biases and observing how they may be influential to data collection and interpretation, which will be covered later in this chapter. Next, qualitative data is naturally an inductive process, therefore building ideas, suggestions, and theories. Findings typically are displayed through themes, categories, concepts, and potential theories. Lastly, the product of qualitative research is elaborate and descriptive. Examples of this would be data in forms consisting of participant interviews, participant quotes, electronic communication, or a combination of these forms. Qualitative approach has several potential designs; however, this study applied a phenomenological design. The use of a qualitative research with a phenomenological design will be beneficial for this study because doing so will allow for exploration of participants’ lived experiences as they pertain to intragroup marginalization. This study explored the complexity of intragroup marginalization among Latinx migrant college students.

**Phenomenology**

Phenomenology is the study of lived experiences and social action (van Manen, 2014; Schram, 2003). A phenomenological approach is used under the notion that there are underlying meanings experience through a common phenomenon (Patton, 2015). Studying migrant college students' experiences with intragroup marginalization through a phenomenological qualitative approach will allow for further exploration of meaning-making of a common experience. This approach centers around studying intense human emotions and experiences (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). Phenomenology is “science of science,” which Husserl (1965) described as a science that is ignored or taken for granted by other scientific approaches. Descriptions of experiences are what provide life to the phenomenon studied (Moustakas, 1994).
In addition to the phenomenological design, two subcategories fall under this design: hermeneutical (Van Manen, 1990, 2014) and transcendental phenomenology, or psychological phenomenology (Moustakas, 1994). Hermeneutical phenomenology consists of various research activities instead of a set of rules. These activities include: (1) finding a concern (the phenomenon that is of interest to the researcher), (2) reflecting on potential themes of lived experiences, (3) create a description of the phenomenon, and (4) the researcher interprets the meaning of the investigated lived experiences. In contrast, transcendental phenomenology tends to focus more on the description of participants’ lived experiences instead of the interpretations of the researcher. A key concept in transcendental phenomenology is epoche or bracketing (Moustakas, 1994).

Epoche is when researchers strive to set aside personal biases to observe and examine the phenomenon from a new perspective. Often, researchers will practice this idea by describing their own experiences as it pertains to the phenomenon before data collection (Creswell & Poth, 2015). Moustakas (1994) described procedures that include: (1) identification of a phenomenon, (2) epoche, (3) data collection from several individuals who have experienced the phenomenon, (4) data analysis by condensing substantial statements or quotes, thereby creating themes, and (5) creation of a textural description (what the individual experienced) and structural description (how the individual experienced it) to illustrate an essence of the experience.

The researcher incorporated hermeneutical phenomenology in this study. A hermeneutical perspective focuses on the interpretation of the researcher (Patton, 2002). In this study, the researcher interviewed participants to collect data regarding their experiences with intragroup marginalization as a migrant college student. Then the researcher built an understanding of the phenomenon; the meaning-making behind participants’ lived experiences.
This approach is double hermeneutic because both the participant and the researcher made sense of the lived experiences of intragroup marginalization (Smith et al., 2009). The researcher put themselves in the shoes of the participant.

**Participants and Sampling**

The target sample for this study is Latinx migrant college students. The inclusion criteria for this study required the following: (1) the participant’s nationality is from Latin American country and self-identifies as Latino, Latina, or Latinx, (2) they are currently enrolled as an undergraduate student at Western Michigan University (WMU) or Michigan State University (MSU) with a migrant or seasonal farmworker background (the student is a farmworker, or their parents are farmworkers), (3) they live in Michigan, and (4) they are at least 18 years old. The exclusion criteria are (1) students who are at the graduate level, (2) who do not identify as Latino, Latina, or Latinx, and (3) are not students at WMU or MSU. Secondly, students did not need to be enrolled in the College Assistance Migrant Program (CAMP) program to participate in this study. The researcher implemented two purposeful sampling methods, convenience and snowball sampling.

Purposeful sampling is used in qualitative research to gain insight into a phenomenon that a particular group would have experience in (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015); or to intentionally obtain a sample of individuals that can speak to their experiences regarding the research questions (Creswell & Poth, 2018). In convenience sampling, the researcher selects a sample out of practicality (e.g., based on time, location, availability of respondents). The researcher used convenience sampling because the study is specifically interested in Latinx migrant college students in Michigan, basing the sample on location. In snowball sampling, recruitment occurred at the end of interviews with participants who had already agreed to participate in the study, to
refer the researcher to other participants. However, the referred participants must also fit the inclusion criteria. The sample size can range from 8 to 10 participants in an interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) study (Smith et al., 2009); this study had 10 participants. In addition to sample size, the sample was homogeneous and used purposive sampling. IPA studies examine groups who are closely defined, therefore, also provide relevancy to the research questions.

Data Collection

Recruitment

The researcher contacted the directors of the College Assistance Migrant Program (CAMP) at Western Michigan University (WMU) and Michigan State University (MSU). These two universities were handpicked, as mentioned in chapter one because they are the only two in Michigan that have established CAMP. There are a handful of registered student organizations (e.g., Latino-based student organizations and multicultural Greek organizations) at WMU and MSU that the researcher contacted. These organizations are Association of Latino Professionals for America, Ballet Folklorico at WMU, Delta Tau Lambda Sorority, Kappa Delta Chi Colony, Lambda Theta Alpha Latin Sorority, Latino Student Alliance, Multicultural Greek Council, Omega Delta Phi Fraternity, Sigma Lambda Beta International Fraternity, Sigma Lambda Gamma Sorority, and Society of Hispanic Professional Engineers. The researcher also contacted registered student organizations at MSU. These organizations are dreaMSU, Organization of Latino Social Workers, Culturas de las Razas Unidas, Delta Tau Lambda Sorority, James Madison Latinx Unidos Initiative, Kappa Delta Chi Sorority, La Comunidad Latino Americana, Lambda Theta Alpha Latin Sorority, Lambda Theta Phi Latin Fraternity, Phi Iota Alpha Fraternity, Sigma Lambda Beta International Fraternity, Sigma Lambda Gamma National
Sorority, and Multicultural Greek Council. Initial communication to each organization was through email (see Appendix A) and a direct message on social media (e.g., Instagram and Facebook).

The researcher contacted the president of the various organizations across WMU’s campus to ask to attend a meeting video conferencing (Webex). The exchange of communication between student organizations that responded were via social media or email. The purpose of this initial form of contact was to personalize the invitation to organizations for participation in the study and to answer questions of the audience. After initial contact, the researcher sent a formal email to the contact person of each organization to introduce themselves and asked that they share the recruitment email with current members. The email contained a brief introduction of the researcher, introduction to the study, data collection process, explanation of confidentiality, description of eligibility to participate in the study, and the researcher’s contact information. The email also contained the informed consent (see Appendix B) in two forms, a direct link using Qualtrics survey software and in a PDF format.

In the email sent to potential participants, the informed consent information was included, the title and description of the study, eligibility for the study, interview process (including time commitment), risks of participation and how the researcher planned to minimize risks, benefits to participation, who had access to data collected, process of dropping out from the study, and the researcher’s email and cell phone. The email also instructed to contact the researcher if the student is interested in participating or if there are questions about the study. Students interested in participation were instructed to click on the direct link provided by the researcher, which led the student to the informed consent via Qualtrics for their electronic signature to agree to participate.
After the researcher received consent, the participant completed a screening questionnaire (see Appendix C) that asked for demographic information. Information in this screening included age, gender identity, current residence, childhood residence, ethnic identity, parents’ nationality, generation status (immigrant and college), years of residence in the United States (if applicable), languages spoken, employment status, class standing, major, self-reported grade point average (GPA), and involvement in extracurricular campus activities. Participants were also asked to provide availability for the interview (top three preferred day and time), preference of video conferencing or phone call for the interview, email address, and phone number. Once the demographic questionnaire was completed, the participant was informed that the researcher would make contact via email or phone call to schedule and confirm a one-on-one phone or video conferencing interview.

Procedures

After obtaining HSIRB approval, the researcher conducted an individual, semi-structured interview to collect data for this study; studies that implement IPA recommend using semi-structured interviews (Smith et al., 2009). The duration of the interviews was between 30 to 60 minutes; interviews were conducted via phone due to the COVID-19 pandemic. When conducting video meetings, both environments of the interviewer and the participant were private and quiet to avoid interruption. Before the start of the interview, the informed consent was reviewed once again to the participant.

All participants were asked if they wanted a video conferencing or phone interview format to prioritize safety during the pandemic. While in-person interviews are most common, video conferencing and phone interviews do not seem to intimidate the younger generation, adolescents, and young adults (Gray et al., 2020). Conducting phone interviews are convenient,
cost-effective, and provide safety (Gray et al., 2020), however can create limitations. With video conferencing, Internet reliability is key. On the other hand, with phone interviews, Internet reliability is not as important, however, body language is a missing component, so non-verbals are necessary for engagement. Gray et al. (2020) recommended having a back-up plan, such as switching to a phone interview, in the case there is Internet unreliability. All participants chose to participate in phone interviews.

Interviews were audio recorded with a software, NoNotes, which stores information on their website and in a phone application. The account to store the data, laptop, and phone used to store and analyze the data are password-protected. The researcher reviewed the interview protocol several times prior to the first interview, as recommended by Smith et al. (2009), to become familiar with the questions. During the interview, the researcher focused on establishing rapport with the participant, probed with follow-up questions when needed, and allowed for flexibility with caution (following the participant in new areas without moving too far away from the focus of the study) (Smith et al., 2009). After each interview, the researcher wrote reflexive comments in a word document to captivate personal observations, hunches regarding the preliminary interpretation, and significant reactions from participants (Creswell & Poth, 2018). As recommended by Smith et al., (2009), interviews were transcribed in significant detail (i.e., including pauses, laughs, and other expressions within the transcript) to prepare the text for data analysis.

The researcher used the Intragroup Marginalization Inventory (IMI) as a guide to create the interview protocol for this study. In this study, the concept of intragroup marginalization was explored in a more in-depth manner, reviewing this concept beyond the original quantitative
inventory. Intragroup marginalization (IM) was studied deeply to investigate the meaning-making, lived experiences, and beyond the occurrence of IM situations.

For example, the researcher created the questions, "[If bilingual] Have you experienced criticisms or teasing when you speak Spanish?" and "[If participant is not bilingual] Have you been teased because you do not speak Spanish?". This question was modeled after the item in the IMI, "Family members laugh at me when I try to speak my ethnic group’s language." Another example, the researcher also created an interview question, "Have friends ever told you that you are not really [participant’s ethnicity or Latinx/a/o] because of how you ‘act’ or ‘look’?". This question was guided by the item on IMI, "Friends of my ethnic group tell me that I am not really a member of my ethnic group because I don’t act like my ethnic group" (see Appendix D).

**Data Analysis**

After data collection, the interviews were transcribed and analyzed. A description of interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) was implemented throughout the study. The researcher then explained why IPA was appropriate for this study. Information on sample size was covered. Lastly, there was a detailed description of each step of data analysis.

After data collection, the researcher used Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) to analyze the data. IPA is founded on three key concepts: phenomenology, hermeneutics, and idiography (Smith et al., 2009; Smith, 2011). IPA strives to understand how participants make sense of their world personally and socially (Smith et al., 2009); this approach is phenomenological due to the complex investigation of the participant’s lived experiences and perceptions. The meaning of experiences, events, and states of the participant fueled this study utilizing IPA. This method is suitable for this study because the purpose is to investigate how migrant college students perceive personal situations of intragroup marginalization they face and
how these potential challenges. As mentioned in chapter one, some quantitative studies explore intragroup marginalization among Latinx migrant college students. However, a quantitative approach can limit further explanation, stories, and the worldview of the participants.

As mentioned in an earlier section, IPA adopts a two-stage interpretation method, commonly known as double hermeneutic. The researcher took an active role in this study to get familiar with the participant’s personal and social world. Each participant made sense of their world, all while the researcher also tries to make sense of how the participant makes sense of their world. Therefore, the researcher aimed to take the participants’ point of view. This process is complicated due to the researcher’s high involvement, including personal biases and the requirement for high participation during data collection and analysis stages.

Idiography is the third key concept in IPA, which primarily emphasizes the commitment to reviewing data in detail case by case as opposed to a nomothetic approach (attempting to draw generalizations) (Smith et al., 2009). There are smaller sample sizes (Smith et al., 2009) in an IPA study. Aligning with an idiographic approach entails an examination of the data for each participant, analyze the data, then the review of patterns across participants (Smith, 2011). Moreover, IPA studies are both convergent and divergent, which means the researcher shared themes and provide specific examples of ways these themes play out in day-to-day life of the participants (Smith, 2011).

Smith et al. (2009) argue that there is no one absolute method of conducting IPA. The researcher modified methods to the specific phenomenon under investigation and personal style of working. Smith et al. (2009) inform that IPA studies use small sample sizes because the aim is to provide a detailed interpretation of the lived experiences, perceptions, and the way this
particular group makes sense of their world. In contrast, the goal of the study is not to generalize.

The software NoNotes was used to record interviews; this application also transcribed the interview. After each interview, the researcher downloaded the transcript stored on the cloud (i.e., NoNotes cloud on their website) on a personal laptop and review the transcript for errors. After completion of all interviews and transcripts, there was an analysis of the data collected.

Smith et al. (2009) strongly emphasized that the IPA methodology is not prescriptive, meaning throughout the analysis process, there were options for the researcher to choose. Some decisions made depended on the raw data (interview transcripts). Due to the personal nature of IPA, interpretative work is continuously implemented during each stage of the analysis process. The researcher reviewed the first transcript in detail prior to continuing the examination of the other transcripts, which highlights the idiographic element of IPA (Smith et al., 2009; Willig, 2013). Next, the researcher explained each stage of the data analysis process, as recommended by Smith et al. (2009) and supported by Willig (2013).

In the first stage of analysis, the researcher read the first transcript three times. The researcher became familiar with each transcript. Reading the transcript multiple times can bring new insights into the analysis process. The researcher used the margin on the left to annotate openly. Annotations or notes included interesting or significant responses, initial thoughts, observations, questions, use of language, paraphrases, associations, connections, or potential initial interpretations. As the researcher made progress with each transcript, there were noted similarities and differences, intensifications, and contradictions. Again, these recommendations are not supposed to be prescriptive.
In the second stage of analysis, the researcher began again at the start of the same transcript and used the margin on the right to record emerging themes (Smith et al., 2009). At this stage, the researcher took notes from stage one and created brief phrases. The themes became slightly more abstract than the initial round of notes and captured the essence described in the text (Smith et al., 2009). Going back and forth between themes and the transcript was essential in this stage to ensure the themes were not too abstract to the extent that the themes no longer seem connected to the transcript (Smith et al., 2009). There were similar themes that emerged as the researcher continued to analyze this first transcript.

In the third stage, the researcher began to connect the emergent themes to create clusters. In the first stage, the notes are in chronological order, and in the second stage they are theoretically ordered. However, in this third stage, Smith et al. (2009) suggested to record the themes extracted from the list created in the second stage and create clusters, or reorder, to help make sense of them. There are a few methods used to create meaningful clusters, such as abstraction (pairing similar emergent themes), subsumption (understanding that emergent themes can include other emergent themes), polarization (detect emergent themes which contradict), numeration (frequency in emergent themes), and function (recognizing the purpose or function of the emergent themes). Clusters of themes can be in vivo, words used by the participants, brief quotations, or a descriptive label. Similar to the second stage, the researcher reviewed the transcript to make sure the connections between clusters made sense to the participants’ words.

This process is repetitive and emphasized an intimate interaction between the researcher and the data. The researcher read the transcript thoroughly several times, interpreted the interview, while also checking personal perceptions and views during the interpretive process.
(and compared perceptions to participants’ actual statements). The researcher gathered participant’s phrases and themes and created a directory in an excel document.

Lastly, in the fourth stage, the researcher created a summary table ordering the clustered themes. The clusters are labeled with a name that embodied the superordinate themes (Smith et al., 2009; Willig, 2013). Another part of this table included an identifier of each clustered theme to help trace the theme back to the original source (Smith et al., 2009; Willig, 2013); the identifier included the page number and the line number (e.g., 1.12, which identifies page one, line twelve). The last component to the table was key words from the transcript for easier identification to the original source. The researcher kept in mind to include only themes that grasp the participant’s experience of the phenomenon, such as intragroup marginalization. Similar to stage two, some themes were dropped during this stage. For example, themes that were not as rich in evidence as others or did not fit well in the clustered theme (Smith et al., 2009; Willig, 2013). The summary table focused on superordinate themes that captured the essence of the experienced phenomenon.

Beyond the examination of the initial transcript, one can use themes from the first transcript to analyze the other transcripts or analyze the second transcript from scratch with new possible themes (Smith et al., 2009; Willig, 2013). In this study, the researcher used themes from the initial transcript to orient the following transcript analysis. High levels of discipline were vital to maintaining the chosen method of analyzing subsequent transcripts, while also understanding new matters arose as the data analysis process continued (Smith et al., 2009). Consequently, acknowledging the convergences and divergences in participant data, similarities, and variances between participants.
Trustworthiness

To illustrate trustworthiness, Lincoln et al. (2011) highlighted the importance of rigor in research and raised the concern of whether or not the conclusion to a study is “sufficiently authentic” (p. 120), which implies if a practitioner would feel comfortable in implementing recommendations. Another researcher explained trustworthiness in qualitative research as providing sufficient detail so that the conclusion and recommendations of a study make sense to readers (Firestone, 1987). Four concepts characterize trustworthiness in qualitative research: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Guba & Lincoln, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Credibility is the extent to which findings to a study are credible, given the context of the studied phenomenon. Member checks, or respondent validation, were conducted to check the credibility of interpretations and check personal biases of the researcher (Maxwell, 2013). The researcher sent the analyzed transcript with emerging themes (stage two of IPA) to the participant and asked them to review for accuracy of interpretations. Participants then had an opportunity to agree with, adjust, or change interpretations. Necessary adjustments were made after the researcher received the transcript back with edits from the participant.

Transferability points to the ability to utilize or extrapolate research findings to apply them to other situations and groups under similar conditions (Patton, 2015). Extrapolation is to be done carefully with logic, not statistical. The idea behind transferability is the capability to transfer new and learned information to similar situations. The researcher included sufficient descriptive data of the setting for each participant and findings with necessary quotes from the interviews to enhance transferability.
The goal of dependability was to have consistency in results from the data collected (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). Given the data to this study, the results should make sense to a reader; results are dependable. The researcher implemented the audit trail as a strategy to ensure dependability and consistency. An audit trail described in detail steps and decisions made throughout the study, which included data collection, creation of themes in analysis, and how decisions were made throughout the process. The researcher kept a journal to record memos on the research process (i.e., personal reflections, questions, decisions about issues faced in data collection, and engagement with data in interpretation and analysis). Further, a second colleague audited the researcher’s coded themes. After auditing, the researcher and her colleague compared and discussed emerging themes.

Confirmability refers to the extent to which other researchers can confirm the findings of a study (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). The focus here is that other researchers can also agree with themes and interpretations in the analysis of this study. Similar to dependability, the researcher created an audit trail to be transparent in describing in detail steps taken throughout the research process.

**Ethical Considerations**

There are ethical considerations the researcher weighed in planning a research study to address them ahead of time. Ethical issues can arise in several stages of a study. The researcher considered how their role as an outsider influences various stages of the study, such as early stages, data collection, data analysis, and reporting data. Next, are strategies implemented in this study to address concerns.

Prior to recruitment, the researcher sought approval from the Human Subject Institutional Review Board (HSIRB) at Western Michigan University to ensure awareness of ethical issues.
that may arise in this study and the strategies to address them (Creswell & Poth, 2018). The researcher kept the three principles in mind: “respect for persons, concern for welfare, and justice” (Creswell & Poth, 2018, p. 54). Weis and Fine (2000) encourage researchers to consider their role in the study as it relates to the participants. A potential issue to recognize is putting oneself in the shoes of the participant, specifically to think about fears of disclosure in the interview process. IPA emphasizes the significance of establishing a respectful working relationship and building rapport with each participant (Smith et al., 2009; Willig, 2013).

Next, Hatch (2002) draws attention to working with vulnerable populations, such as migrant college students. As mentioned in chapter one, there could have been undocumented students in this study; however, all participants in this study were U.S. citizens. In the transcription process, the researcher excluded identifiers, such as the full name of the participant, hometown, or other identifiers. The researcher assigned a pseudonym to each participant to avoid the participant choosing an identifiable name. Transcripts were stored on a password-protected laptop and transcript documents were encrypted.

Another suggestion by Weis and Fine (2000) is for the researcher to write a reflection on the personal relationship to the research study. The reflection was implemented in this chapter. In addition, the researcher also engaged in reflective notes to memo experiences throughout the study. The next section will include how the researcher is connected to the phenomenon and the target sample of the study.

**Relationship to Research**

While the target sample of this study ultimately was migrant undergraduate college students, the researcher herself is an individual who has a background in migrant farm work (mother and father were seasonal farmworkers). There were few personal experiences that the
researcher shared with participants in this study; she as mindful of throughout the research process. The researcher also provided emotional support to several CAMP students in the 2018-2019 cohort, completing part of her doctoral internship hours for an academic school year. There has also been a pre-established relationship with a few CAMP students in her role as an academic advisor at WMU over the past two years. The researcher recruited from this academic program, along with registered student organizations on campus.

Aforementioned, Weis and Fine (2000) recommend researchers to reflect on their role played throughout the study as related to the participants. Participants could have possibly been hesitant to disclosure during the interview. Based on personal experience working with CAMP students, the researcher acknowledged the challenging nature of being an outsider to their support network. The researcher was cognizant of the weight of building rapport with participants (Smith et al., 2009). Considering the difficulty of building rapport quickly, the researcher began this process with the initial point of communication (e.g., via email and meeting with RSO members). Once interviews began, the researcher kept reflective notes to expand on the personal relationship to the research.

**Summary**

In this chapter, the researcher provided detail of the methodology to study the lived experiences of migrant college students. The researcher provided the rationale to use a qualitative research approach with a phenomenological design and included a detailed description and process of IPA to study intragroup marginalization. The target sample and sampling techniques, purposeful and snowball, were explained. Lastly, there was information on data collection, trustworthiness, ethical considerations, which then lead to a personal reflection
of the researcher. The next chapter will provide findings of migrant college students in Michigan and their experiences of intragroup marginalization.
CHAPTER IV
FINDINGS

Chapter four begins with the overview of the study followed by a detailed description of the ten participants. Information about the semi-structured interviews is also included along with the demographic information of participants. An overview of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was used to analyze the data in this study. This section also provides a detailed step-by-step of the analysis conducted. Finally, the chapter will conclude with an explanation of the findings, including a narrative on the lived experiences of intragroup marginalization among Latinx migrant college students.

Overview of Study

This study sought to explore a more in-depth understanding of Latinx migrant college students' lived experiences with intragroup marginalization. The findings of this study added to literature that focuses on Latinx migrant college students. In addition, findings provided information for counselor educators, increasing the knowledge of counselors-in-training. The research questions in this study aimed to provide more insight to: (1) the intragroup marginalization experiences of Latinx migrant college students and (2) to understand the impact of intragroup marginalization on the mental health of Latinx migrant college students in Michigan.

A qualitative approach was used for this study because it consequently explores the process, the reasoning behind answers, and content that includes additional insight into thoughts and behaviors behind a phenomenon (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Furthermore, this approach is fitting when the researcher hopes to empower individuals to speak their truth and stories, especially to hear silenced voices, such as Latinx migrant farmworkers (Creswell & Poth, 2018).
A phenomenological hermeneutic approach was used in this study; this approach considers the researcher's interpretation (Patton, 2002). Furthermore, this study is double hermeneutic because both the participant and the researcher make sense of the lived experiences of intragroup marginalization (Smith et al., 2009).

Semi-structured interviews were implemented in this study, as recommended when conducting an IPA study (Smith et al., 2009). There are a few themes to answer each of the three research questions that emerged from the data. Further, additional significant findings arose in the data with most participants that will be discussed later in this chapter. The direct quotes from the participants will be kept in the Spanish language. The researcher will translate the quotes into English for the readers.

**Description of Participants**

The following demographic information was gathered following the electronic informed consent. The demographic information shown in table 1 consists of the participants’ pseudonyms, gender, class standing, generation (college and immigrant status), and languages spoken. The researcher assigned pseudonyms to avoid potential identifiable names chosen by the participants. Potential sensitive and identifiable information was changed to maintain the anonymity of participants in this study. The length of the interviews ranged from 20 to 60 minutes; the average interview lasted 34 minutes. All participants were provided the option to choose between a video or phone interview, and all participants decided to have phone interviews.

The participants in this study were all first-generation undergraduate college students attending either Western Michigan University or Michigan State University. All participants were between ages 18 to 24 and living in Michigan at the time of the interview. There were six
cis-gender women and four cis-gender men in this study. While all participants were full-time students, five of the ten participants had part-time employment, one had full-time employment, and four were not employed. Regarding class standing, two participants were sophomores, four were juniors, and four were seniors. The grade point average (GPA) of four participants was between 3.00 to 3.49, and six participants’ GPA was between 3.50 to 4.00. There were four participants involved in various Latinx-based student organizations, two of which were involved in leadership positions within those organizations.

The participants were all bilingual, English and Spanish, to various extents, expressed during the interview process. All participants were born in the United States and identified México as being the country of origin. Therefore, participants were second-generation immigrants and Mexican Americans. However, their chosen ethnic identities varied (e.g., Hispanic, Latinx, Latino, Latina, Mexican, and Mexican American). Lastly, two participants were from Texas and would migrate to Michigan during their summers throughout their childhood and adolescence.

Table 1

Demographic Information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Class standing</th>
<th>Generation: College</th>
<th>Generation: Immigrant status</th>
<th>Languages spoken</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Junior</td>
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<td>2.5</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Second</td>
<td>English, Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>First</td>
<td>Second</td>
<td>English, Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephanie</td>
<td>Female</td>
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<td>First</td>
<td>Second</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Junior</td>
<td>First</td>
<td>Second</td>
<td>English, Spanish</td>
</tr>
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<td>2.5</td>
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</tr>
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<td>First</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claudia</td>
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<td>Sophomore</td>
<td>First</td>
<td>Second</td>
<td>English, Spanish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Participants

*Ana* – Ana is a Mexican American female originally from Texas. She is a junior and a first-generation college student studying Child Development. She is employed part-time and a student full-time.

*Jorge* – Jorge is a Mexican American male from Michigan. He is a senior and a first-generation college student studying Interior Design. He is employed part-time and a student full-time.

*Ivan* – Ivan is a Mexican American male from Michigan. He is a junior and a first-generation college student studying Criminal Justice. He is employed part-time and a student full-time.

*Stephanie* – Stephanie is a Mexican American female from Michigan. She is a sophomore and a first-generation college student studying Psychology. She is employed part-time and a student full-time. She is involved in a Latinx-based student organization on campus.

*Maria* – Maria is a Mexican American female from Michigan. She is a senior and a first-generation college student studying Sociology and Criminal Justice. She is employed part-time and a student full-time. She is involved in two Latinx-based student organizations and one social justice-related student committee on campus.

*Lupita* – Lupita is a Mexican American female from Michigan. She is a junior and a first-generation, full-time college student studying Biomedical Sciences. She is involved in one student organization associated with her major on campus.

*Manny* – Manny is a Mexican American male from Texas. He is a senior and a first-generation, full-time college student studying Human Capital and Society. He is involved in a leadership position at a Latinx-based Greek organization.
**Rosa** – Rosa is a Mexican American female from Michigan. She is a junior and a first-generation, full-time college student studying Social Work. She is involved in two leadership positions at her corresponding Latinx-based Greek and student organization, three scholarly student organizations, and one leadership position in a student organization.

**Claudia** - Claudia is a Mexican American female from Michigan. She is a sophomore and a first-generation college student studying Sociology. She is a full-time student.

**Arturo** – Arturo is a Mexican American male from Michigan. He is a senior and a first-generation college student studying Aviation Management and Operations. He is an employed full-time student and a student full-time.

**Data Analysis**

The researcher used Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) to analyze the interviews from each participant. IPA has three foundational concepts: phenomenology, hermeneutics, and idiography (Smith et al., 2009; Smith, 2011). IPA also aims to understand how participants make sense of their world (Smith et al., 2009). Consequently, IPA is phenomenological due to the extensive investigation of the participant’s lived experiences and meaning-making.

Next, IPA also implements a two-stage interpretation method, known as double hermeneutic (Smith et al., 2009). The researcher took an active role in this study to become familiar with the participant's world. During the interviews, participants provided insight into their world's meaning-making; simultaneously, the researcher also attempted to make sense of how they make sense of their world. Asking follow-up questions and clarifying the meaning-making of the participants was helpful in this double-hermeneutic process.
Idiography is the final foundational concept in IPA, in which the researcher was committed to immersing self in the data. To do so, the researcher listened to each audio recording twice and read each transcript three times. In addition to the first transcript analysis, the researcher made changes to themes in subsequential interviews as more interviews were analyzed. This process was a constant movement of back and forth between interviews, making changes as more prominent themes arose.

Early in data collection, the researcher struggled to recruit participants in the study. The researcher did reach out to Latinx-based student organizations at Western Michigan University and Michigan State University, as stated in chapter three. Organizations were more responsive on social media (Instagram and Facebook). A few weeks after the HSIRB committee's approval, the researcher resubmitted her HSIRB protocol with revisions to include a raffle for one $20 Amazon E-Gift card. Next, the researcher had a phone meeting with the College Assistance Migrant director at Western Michigan University for recruitment purposes.

In addition, the researcher also met with the director and senior associate of Migrant Student Services at Michigan State University via Zoom. Both individuals recommended that the researcher offer a $20 Amazon E-Gift card as monetary incentives to each participant instead of doing a raffle for one gift card. As per their advice, the researcher again resubmitted the protocol with revisions to include this updated monetary incentive. Shortly after the HSIRB committee approved this change, there was high interest from potential participants to be a part of this study. The researcher was able to conduct interviews with ten participants in three weeks.

The researcher kept a journal that she stored in a locked file cabinet to memo throughout the research process. After each interview, she wrote personal reflections, perceptions, and thoughts of each participant (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). This was helpful to grasp a more
holistic picture of who the participants were. In addition, the researcher also created an audit trail of detailed steps of decisions throughout the study (data collection and creation of themes) to ensure dependability and confirmability.

Highlighting the idiographic focus in IPA (Smith et al., 2009; Willig, 2013), in stage one, the researcher became familiar with each transcript. This was done by listening to the interview audio twice and reading the transcript twice before the analysis. On the third read of the initial transcript, the researcher began annotating significant responses, initial thoughts, language, paraphrases, associations, connections, and initial interpretations. Annotations in the first stage are chronologically ordered.

In the second stage of analysis, still working with the initial transcript, the researcher began to record emerging themes (Smith et al., 2009). The researcher organized the emerging themes in a table in a separate document that included themes, text, and location of text. The themes created at this stage are slightly more abstract or theoretically ordered to capture the essence described in the transcript (Smith et al., 2009). Whereas the text from stage one was brief, direct quotes were used to highlight how the participants chose to answer questions, many of which were a mix of Spanish and English. The text that corresponded to the emerging themes in this stage were moved until each text seemed to capture the essence of the overall themes found.

Next, in the third stage of analysis, the researcher began to connect the emergent themes to create clusters. The researcher grouped themes from stage two that were similar per a few suggested methods: abstraction (pairing similar emergent themes), subsumption (understanding that emergent themes can include other emergent themes), polarization (detect emergent themes which contradict), numeration (frequency in emergent themes), and function (recognizing the
purpose or function of the emergent themes) (Smith et al., 2009). The researcher in vivo quotes from the initial transcript to create clusters, which was one of the suggestions of Smith et al. (2009). Lastly, in this stage, the researcher continuously returned to the initial transcript to review the text to ensure the connections between clusters make sense to the participants’ words. The analysis process continues to be intimate between the researcher and the data, as the researcher continues to check for personal bias and comparing perceptions to participants’ actual statements.

Lastly, in the fourth stage of analysis, the researcher created a summary table to order clustered themes. The clusters were then labeled with a name that embodied the superordinate themes (Smith et al., 2009; Willig, 2013). Again, they were labeled using in vivo quotes to emphasize the use of language. Superordinate themes aimed to capture the essence of the phenomenon studied, intragroup marginalization. The next component of the table were keywords belonging to the clustered themes.

Alongside the keyboards, there were identifiers (line numbers) for each clustered theme to help trace the theme back to the source (Smith et al., 2009; Willig, 2013). When the table of master themes was complete, the researcher had a colleague assist her in reviewing all master themes and their corresponding quotes to ensure the master themes made sense to another reader. The researcher sent analyzed transcripts and emerging themes to all participants for member check (Maxwell, 2013). Participants had the opportunity to agree with or adjust to change interpretations; there were no adjustments made.

In analyzing subsequent transcripts, the researcher used themes from the first transcript to analyze themes in the following transcript (Smith et al., 2009; Willig, 2013). Then gathered themes from the first and second transcripts as a guide to analyzing the third, and so on.
Furthermore, the researcher reviewed all transcripts to examine the richness of the superordinate themes (Smith et al., 2009; Willig, 2013). There were a few clustered themes dropped, renamed, or taken apart. When the clustered themes were taken apart, some corresponding keywords were added to other already established themes. This was only done if the keywords truly fit the essence of the themes (Smith et al., 2009; Willig, 2013).

After transcripts were thoroughly analyzed, the researcher created a master table of themes on an excel spreadsheet to integrate all superordinate themes from stage four (Willig, 2013). The data analysis process used in the study produced six master themes that captured the essence of intragroup marginalization in Latinx migrant college students. These six master themes answered the research questions in this study. Along with the master themes, the researcher added significant in vivo quotes from all interviews and the location (interview number, page number, and line number) (Willig, 2013). After one round of implementing in vivo quotes of all interviews, the researcher reviewed all transcripts once more and included more significant quotes.

The researcher included more descriptive data in the master table until the final implementation of all transcripts seemed sufficient to enhance transferability (Patton, 2015). Once again, many in vivo quotes are in Spanish. Therefore, the researcher kept the original quote but also translate them into English. Also, there was one more additional finding, another master theme that became a significant finding throughout most interviews. The six master themes and the additional finding will be further explained in the next section.

**Findings**

The aim of IPA is to provide a detailed interpretation of the lived experiences, perceptions, and the way this particular group makes sense of their world (Smith et al., 2009).
The meaning-making of experiences, events, and states of the participants fueled this phenomenological hermeneutic study. The three research questions are located below in table 2. The master themes that answer each of the three research questions are also shown.

### Table 2

*Research Questions and Themes*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Questions</th>
<th>Master Themes</th>
<th>Quotes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| RQ 1: How do Latinx migrant college students cope with stressors in college? | (1) Dealing with negative emotions: Reaching out | - Fun with my friends  
- Socialize with my family with my friends  
- I really didn't know...what I was getting myself into with counseling  
- Hard to take that step but I took it  
- I don't know what, like what I have to say or how it works  
- She kind of made me realize like the growth that I was making  
- I've seen growth within myself...I think I'll be fine  
- I pray and I cry  
- Sought out counseling  
- Find myself  
- Sometimes there are things that family just doesn't understand |
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<tr>
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<th>Quotes</th>
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</table>
| (2) Dealing with negative emotions: Turning inward | - Once I finish then I’ll hopefully start taking care of myself  
- I don’t want to be dependent on it. I rather learn to deal with it myself so later on…I’m, uh, I’m basically my own resource  
- I wanna learn to deal it, to deal with it myself. Yeah…I rather learn to deal with it myself and than depend on somebody or a certain program to help me with it  
- I try to take days off but not too much days off, but good some hours to not think about it, and just have time for me  
- Try to not think about it… not thinking about it makes me more anxious  
- Ignore it and pretend like it's not happening  
- I'm just making a big deal out of it  
- Sometimes I feel like I don't know how to deal with it  
- I do get depressed but that goes away eventually  
- I got myself, I can get through it |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Questions</th>
<th>Master Themes</th>
<th>Quotes</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| RQ 2: Do Latinx migrant college students experience intragroup marginalization?   | (1) Two different worlds      | - You have to be more Mexican than the Mexicans and more American than the Americans  
- I’m from neither here nor there  
- These are my roots…this is who I am  
- Twister going on in my mind  
- We’re not from here but we’re not from there  
- High school friends and they’d look at me weird  
- You’ll probably never see me in stuff like Tejana (Texan) boots…like going to jaripeos (rodeo)  
- I live in different worlds…back home…back here  
- You gotta be more professional  
- Obviously can’t speak that good of English to be from here, but not good of Spanish to be from Mexico either  
- I often wonder how it would be if I, (long pause), if I were to be able to speak good one language, you know?  
- I’m good at code switching  
- Middle ground with everyone  
- If I want to stay in touch with my culture it has to be me, I can’t expect anybody to…keep me attached to my culture |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Questions</th>
<th>Master Themes</th>
<th>Quotes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| - U.S. is very…forward with trying to assimilate immigrants into this culture  
- Executive directors, like top-notch people...my parents do landscaping and they pack apples  
- Coming to Western…I found myself  
- Never thought higher education was for me  
- College wasn’t supposed to be on my mind  
- I might be white but there is still people that call me…beaner  
- White people see me as brown  
(2) Intragroup Marginalization | - How am I White-washed? Am I speaking too much English?  
- You think you’re better than all of us  
- You’re like a coconut  
- Question my Latinidad  
- Do I have to tattoo the Mexican flag on my forehead?  
- I pronounce a word wrong and they laugh  
- They’ll tell your tias [aunts] and…your friends  
- Real Mexican or if you’re a 'ya sabo' type  
- Oh, you’re like a White girl  
- Almost like me trying to prove that I'm Mexican enough, you know? |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Questions</th>
<th>Master Themes</th>
<th>Quotes</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- You're not really Mexican, you weren't born from Mexico</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Don't go in the sun, you're dark enough,...I'm like no, I'm not dark enough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Oh, you have a lot of White friends, cause they came from other towns that were full Hispanics</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Are you serious? You're saying this again? It's getting old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Are you serious? You're saying this again? It's getting old</td>
<td></td>
<td>- You're from college now. You know, like, you're too good for us. People expect that I have an attitude</td>
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<tr>
<td>- You're not Mexican if you don’t know this song</td>
<td></td>
<td>- You're not Mexican if you don’t know this song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Güera (white girl)</td>
<td></td>
<td>- ¡Oh, qué vergüenza qué no puedes hablar Español!...¡Oh, qué vergüenza qué nunca me...um...me... agh I already forgot the word, you see? (Oh, how embarrassing is it that you can't speak Spanish...Oh, how embarrassing is it that you never...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- I'm not truly Mexican or whatever</td>
<td></td>
<td>- I'm not truly Mexican or whatever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The Spanish that I speak is not the formal Spanish</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Why are you going to school if you can't even translate this?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Why are you going to school if you can't even translate this?</td>
<td></td>
<td>- I don’t act like...a nopal (cactus)</td>
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Table 2—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Questions</th>
<th>Master Themes</th>
<th>Quotes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| RQ 3: Does intragroup marginalization have an impact on the mental health of Latinx migrant college students? | (1) Supportive connections | - They think I’m just like a gringo (white person)…typical American person  
- ¡Mija, échale ganas! You got this (Put all your effort into it!)  
- We try and we communicate  
- My family has been my backbone  
- We’re first-generation here so we’re the same  
- Not really from friends…we’re the same, you know?  
- They don't really understand it but they're still there  
- Échale ganas…you can do it (Put all your effort into it!)  
- Help me with words that I miss…which is nice  
- Instead of criticism, they actually help me  
- Push me to speak Spanish |
|                   | (2) Not a big deal | - It's not like they're bashing  
- I honestly don’t get offended  
- We’ll be just messing around, but we don’t take it personally  
- Doesn't faze me  
- I just brush it off  
- They didn't use it to offend me  
- Jokingly  
- I don’t let it bother me |
Findings for Research Question 1

*How do Latinx migrant college students cope with stressors in college?*

**Theme 1: Dealing With Negative Emotions: Reaching Out**

The researcher started the interview by asking about general stressors in college and dealing with stressful situations. At the end of the interview, this question was asked again, and all participants had more to add. The participants seemed to answer in one of two ways: (1) reaching out to friends, family, or a counselor, or (2) relying on themselves to get through emotionally challenging situations.

Ivan and Maria both mentioned "fun with friends" and "socialize with my family with my friends." Ana and Rosa had both sought out counseling at their universities. Ana attended counseling during her first year in college. She stated she sought counseling for personal reasons, "in a process of trying to find myself." Ana mentioned her family as a part of why she decided to seek counseling, "sometimes there are things that family just doesn't understand." Beyond counseling, she also copes with stressful situations by reaching out, "I pray, and I cry." To Ana, praying seemed to be an experience where she reaches out to a higher being beyond her.

Rosa described her initial thoughts when she started seeing her counselor, "I really didn't know…what I was getting myself into with counseling." This was her first time attending counseling, and she described her experience as confusing. Rosa said, "I don't know what, like
what I have to say or how it works." She also described her thoughts before taking the initiative to seek counseling services, "hard to take that step but I took it." While the idea of attending counseling might have seemed scary and unknown territory to her, she still decided counseling would be beneficial. Rosa described her experience with her counselor, "she kind of made me realize like the growth that I was making." After about a year or so, Rosa decided to terminate counseling, "I've seen growth within myself…I think I'll be fine." The thought of reaching out to a stranger might have been intimidating, but overall, Rosa seemed to receive the support she was looking for.

Two participants, Ivan and Maria, stated they reach out to family and friends when they feel stressed. And Ana and Rosa chose to attend counseling as a means for personal exploration and growth. In all these cases, the participants reached out to others, whether they were familiar or strangers. On the contrary, most participants expressed coping with negative emotions by keeping to themselves or turning inward.

Theme 2: Dealing With Negative Emotions: Turning Inward

By creating a theme called turning inward, the researcher hoped to grasp a mix of reactions to stress. Responses ranged from being unsure about dealing with stressful situations, putting self-care on pause, or attempting to ignore the stress. When asked about any counseling experiences, Jorge seemed to have strong opinions. He said,

I don’t want to be dependent on it. I rather learn to deal with it myself, so later on…I’m, uh, I’m basically my own resource…I wanna learn to deal it, to deal with it myself. Yeah…I rather learn to deal with it myself than depend on somebody or a certain program to help me with it.
Jorge and Manny had similar responses to coping with stressful situations. Manny stated, “I got myself. I can get through it.” Manny mentioned having one friend he could rely on when seeking support after a breakup. However, the support received was not as emphasized as him being his own support.

Arturo had a more passive approach to dealing with stressors. He was also a participant who stood out from the rest, being a student full-time and having employment full-time working over 40 hours a week. He mentioned being so busy that it’s hard for him to focus on himself. Arturo said, “once I finish then I’ll hopefully start taking care of myself.” He pointed out, once he’s graduated, he hopes to begin taking care of his physical and mental health. When discussing mental health, Arturo said, “I do get depressed but that goes away eventually.” This statement seemed to capture a passive role in self-care, which leads to the following participants.

Next, when the researcher and Lupita discussed mental health and counseling, she seemed almost dismissive of her personal issues. She said she had considered counseling in the past; however, she felt her issues were not significant or concerning enough. When asked how she handles feeling anxious or nervous, she stated,

I’m the type of person that kind of gets too anxious about those stressors and like try to not think about it, but not thinking about it makes me more anxious (laughs). So, either I just try to ignore it and pretend like it’s not happening, or I do it, like no in between.

Lupita seemed to be almost avoidant when dealing with stress. Stephanie had a similar but slightly different approach. Stephanie stated, “I try to take days off but not too much days off, but some hours to not think about it, and just have time for me.” Stephanie is a sophomore this year, which may influence how her responses were similar to Claudia’s.
Lastly, Claudia is another unique participant. She is a sophomore this academic year, which means she attended college in-person for one semester. Then the pandemic began, consequently moving most college classes online. She emphasized throughout the interview that she struggled to deal with stressors or that she did not know how to manage them.

Claudia stated, "sometimes I feel like I don't know how to deal with it. Usually, I try to like, take my mind off of things and enjoy the moments I have with my friends." Although Claudia mentioned spending time with friends, this statement seemed to emphasize staying in the present. While a few of these participants mentioned friends, the focus seemed to be more internal. A few other participants were unsure or inexperienced in dealing with higher levels of stress in college. And others seemed to take a more passive or avoidant role in managing stress in college.

Findings for Research Question 2

*Do Latinx migrant college students experience intragroup marginalization?*

**Theme 1: Two Different Worlds**

The theme, two different worlds, captured aspects of acculturation, biculturalism, and belongingness (or lack of). This theme is closely related to the second theme under this research question, intergroup marginalization. As previously mentioned in chapter three, acculturation is a part of intragroup marginalization. Therefore, some of the lived experiences between these two themes had intersecting characteristics.

When the researcher and Ana discussed general stressors in college, she mentioned discrimination, homesickness (she’s from Texas), and “fitting in” the college environment. Ana primarily focused on feeling like an imposter during her freshmen year in college, she said,

I never thought that higher education was for me, because I'm a first-generation student.
So, college wasn’t supposed to be on my mind. I never really thought about what I would do after high school … and it wasn't until I got introduced to the CAMP program.

Ana then went on to further discuss, “I’m from neither here nor there,” then quickly reassured herself and said, “these are my roots…this is who I am.” Later, she expressed, “you have to be more Mexican than the Mexicans and more American than the Americans,” and then described how she felt, “twister going on in my mind.” Ultimately, based on interactions with White classmates, friends, and family members, Ana often feels between cultures.

Jorge is the only Latinx and only male in his major; he knows many of his classmates because his major only accepts a select number of students each year. A classmate of his asked him where he was from, leading him to wonder and make the comment of, “I often wonder how it would be if I, (long pause), if I were to be able to speak good one language, you know?” Jorge associated this question with his English and Spanish fluency; he said, “obviously, I can’t speak that good of English to be from here, but not good of Spanish to be from Mexico either.” Like a quote from Ana, Jorge expressed, “we’re not from here, but we’re not from there.”

The researcher asked about friends from his hometown and how those relationships have changed throughout his time in college. Jorge discussed nuances between him and his childhood friends, such as differences in humor and clothing. He expressed, “I live in different worlds…back home…back here.” Then he mentioned that he would wear “Tejana (Texan) boots” and going to “jaripeos (rodeos).” When Jorge described how he experiences being in the college environment, he said, “you gotta be more professional.” He is a senior this year and will be entering the workforce soon, so throughout the interview, he talked about his clothing and how important it is that he carries and represent himself well.
Lupita had similar experiences to Jorge, as she felt she could ignore questions or comments from her White peers and her friends and family. She described her bicultural experience as establishing a "middle ground" with all her friends, White and Latinx. Lupita expanded on her experiences on biculturalism and said, "I'm good at code-switching." She referred to the way she speaks and how she carries her presence with both friend groups.

When the researcher asked Maria if she had ever heard the phrase "acting white," Maria said no, but she did mention to her nickname is "güera," which means "white girl." She said it this nickname does not offend her as it might to others. She said, "I know…my skin is fair." Then she explained,

Um, but at the same time, I also know that that’s just to the people who are brown.

Whereas, like White people they see me as brown…I might be White but there is still people that call me bean, you know? Like a beaner. Those who are White do not see me as white.

Maria explained, other Latinx people see her as White and call her “güera” because she has a lighter skin tone. But on the other hand, White people do not see her as White. Maria also felt disconnected from her culture throughout her childhood.

In reference to experiencing intragroup marginalization from family members regarding her Spanish fluency, Maria expressed her opinion of assimilation in the U.S. She stated, “the U.S. is very…forward with trying to assimilate immigrants into this culture.” Then she emphasized her love for her culture and her responsibility to preserve her cultural roots. Maria stated, “If I want to stay in touch with my culture, it has to be me. I can’t expect anybody to…keep me attached to my culture.” She also expressed how detached she felt from her culture growing up. Maria’s father is a second-generation immigrant, and her mother is a first-
generation immigrant. Her mother migrated to the U.S. when she was eight years old. Therefore, she was immersed in the U.S. culture early in life. Maria and Lupita were the only two participants who were 2.5 generation immigrants.

Next, Rosa expressed her personal experiences in her honor courses in college with her White peers. She often felt alone, singled out, and thought she did not belong, especially in White spaces. During a classroom group activity, Rosa’s classmates disclosed their parents’ backgrounds. Rosa stated, “executive directors, like top-notch people...my parents do landscape, and they pack apples.” She described feeling that she did not belong in that honors college course. Rosa also expressed having pleasant experiences moving away from her hometown; she thought she could explore her identity. She described, “coming to Western…I found myself!”

The theme, two different worlds, embodied multiple aspects of acculturation, biculturalism, and the feeling of not belonging in their college environments. Some of these experiences were positive, and others were negative. Many of the participants shared experiences similar to characteristics with the theme that follows, intragroup marginalization.

**Theme 2: Intragroup Marginalization**

The theme of intragroup marginalization captured many aspects of this phenomenon. Intragroup marginalization occurs within a cultural group when individuals cast out the acculturated member (Cano et al., 2014), which happens because acculturation is perceived as shameful to the ethnic group (Castillo et al., 2007). The quotes under this theme illustrate teasing by family members and friends that involve Latinx group norms, consequences of deriving from group norms, identity dilemmas, and more. Many quotes described reactions to the teasing and criticism they experience from family and friends.
Stephanie described comments her aunts, uncles, and cousins make towards her regarding deciding to attend college. Her family members have made remarks, "you're from college now...you're too good for us." Stephanie's thought was that her family members expect that she has "an attitude," now that she is in college with funding to get her through graduation.

Her reaction to these comments was, "Are you serious? You're saying this again? It's getting old." It is important to note that Stephanie emphasizes that these criticizing comments come from extended family members, not her parents or siblings. Lupita also expressed similar experiences; her sister told her, "you think you're better than all of us." This argument left Lupita feeling defensive, and she emphasized that "families fight" and that it is a regular occurrence.

The participant explained other dismissive comments regarding her nationality. Again, her extended family members have said, "You're not really Mexican. You weren't born in Mexico. You don't know what it's like being over there." Stephanie perceived this as her not being "Mexican-Mexican," or Mexican enough. Family members have also commented on her skin tone, telling her to avoid the sun because she is dark enough. During the interview, Stephanie's reaction was strong and matter of fact; she said, "no, I'm not dark enough."

Lastly, Stephanie described another significant experience of intragroup marginalization involved her friends from college who said that she had a lot of White friends. They asked, “are they all Trump fans?” She explained that she comes from a small town that mostly consisted of White and Latinx people. Then she continued describing the towns that her friends are from, “they came from other towns that were full Hispanics.” She described hearing this as her friends “stomping” on her.

Arturo did not experience many instances in which he felt attacked by friends or family. However, when he visits family in Mexico, he often hears family calling him “gringo (White
person) …typical American person.” Arturo associated these interactions with his style in clothing. When the researcher asked about a sense of belongingness to the Latinx cultural group, he said he had never felt like he did not belong. Arturo explained, “I don’t act like…a nopal (cactus).” The term nopal is used as an insult to draw attention to those with strong indigenous physical traits but feel ashamed or try to hide their culture through appearance. Someone labeled as nopal may also be described as utilizing the acculturation strategy, assimilation (adopting host culture’s norms) (refer to figure 1 in chapter two).

The following intragroup marginalization experiences included interactions with family members and friends that involve Spanish language fluency. As mentioned previously, Maria is one of two participants who is a 2.5-generation immigrant; English is her primary language. Maria said she could carry a conversation in Spanish but occasionally forgets words. Maria suggests her lack of fluency in Spanish is because her parents did not teach her during childhood. She stated,

‘¡Oh, qué vergüenza qué no puedes hablar Español!’ (‘Oh, how embarrassing is it that you can’t speak Spanish!’) I would always come back to them like, ‘¡Oh, qué vergüenza qué nunca me…um…me…’, (‘Oh, how embarrassing is it that you never…um…’), ah, I already forgot the word, you see? (laughs) What I’m saying is you haven’t even taught me this. The way I learned was listening to them talk about me (laughs).

Maria seemed to look back at this experience and said she was motivated to continue to learn Spanish. Rosa had a similar experience to Maria. Receiving continuous critiquing and teasing from her parents regarding her Spanish fluency, she decided to minor in Spanish.

Ana described a situation where she was in a car with a mutual friend, and that person called her a “coconut” and “White-washed.” This experience had her questioning her identity, “I
questioned my Latinidad.” Other thoughts she had after this situation was, “Am I speaking too much English?” and “Do I have to tattoo the Mexican flag on my forehead?” During the interview, Ana seemed frustrated and confused when she explained this to the researcher.

On the other hand, Manny had similar experiences where his friends often critiqued his fluency in Spanish. However, his reactions were different. Manny is from Texas, and he explained, the Spanish that he grew up learning was a dialect. He stated, “the Spanish that I speak is not formal Spanish.” Then he expressed that the critique from his friends was not bothersome.

Jorge’s parents have also teased him for mispronouncing words in Spanish; he said, “I pronounce a word wrong, and they laugh.” Throughout this part of the interview, Jorge was laughing as he thought back on this experience. He mentioned that he overheard a phone conversation between his father and Jorge’s aunts; his father told them about Jorge’s mispronunciations. He further explained his rationale for the teasing as, “you know how sometimes they say like, if you’re a real Mexican or if you’re a “ya sabo” (mispronunciation) type?” He referred to mispronouncing Spanish words as being a “ya sabo” Mexican (the correct phrase is “ya se” [I know], not “ya sabo”).

Furthermore, in terms of intragroup marginalization regarding language, Lupita described a conversation with her friends where they noticed she code-switched in class. And they said to her, "oh, you're like a white girl." During the interview, Lupita laughed; she described this conversation as "demeaning," then said, "things like that don't really get to me."

Many students discussed the importance of music in Latinx culture. Lupita remembered several situations in which her Latinx friends from college caught her listening to non-Spanish
songs. They made a remark wondering, "I didn't know you listen to these." Lupita then processed,

I think about it every time I play something different. I kind of like (laughs) think back to those situations. It shouldn't be that way, but I don't know, somehow, it just stuck in my head and it's something that I constantly think about, which is really weird. And it's almost like me trying to prove that I'm Mexican enough, you know?

This situation seemed to bother Lupita. Ivan described similar experiences, a friend in college played a song for him, and Ivan said he did not recognize it. His friend continued and said, "you're not Mexican if you don't know this song." However, Ivan's reaction was different than Lupita's.

Ivan did not seem bothered by his friend's comment because he has heard this often from others. Manny also experienced intragroup marginalization from his friends regarding differences in music. Manny's friend said to him that he was "not Mexican" for listening to newer genres of Spanish music. Like Ivan, Manny also seemed to brush off criticism from friends.

Almost all participants experienced intragroup marginalization to some extent. Some were bothered and hurt by the criticism and teasing of family and friends. However, most participants had varying answers that drew attention to the immense support they felt from friends, and especially family. Also, several participants appeared to disregard the intragroup marginalization they experienced. The following themes, supportive connections, and not a big deal further illustrated their experiences with the studied phenomenon.
Findings for Research Question 3

*Does intragroup marginalization have an impact on the mental health of Latinx migrant college students?*

**Theme 1: Supportive Connections**

The theme, supportive connections, embodies situations that countered intragroup marginalization. Most participants viewed situations that some may see as marginalization, actually as helpful and essential to their personal growth. Not only were these counter experiences supportive, but some family members also even provided constructive feedback in some instances.

This supportive connections theme includes many conversations and situations around the Spanish language. Jorge had experienced intragroup marginalization from family members, and they teased his fluency in Spanish. However, he perceived his friends to be in a similar situation as him. Jorge said, “not really from friends just because we’re the same, you know? We are first-generation here, so we’re the same.”

Ana shared viewing her Latinx friends and other peers as supportive when speaking Spanish. She said,

They're all very supportive because there is also other Latinx students who haven't had the chance to exercise their Spanish and speaking it. So, we all just encourage one another because I tell them that where I'm from I speak mochito (direct translation is “chopped up”, but implied she speaks a mix of English and Spanish) Spanish (laughed). So, I was like, I talk that Tex-Mex Spanish. So, I'm like, sometimes instead of saying “estacionando (parking),” I'm going to say “parkiando,” because that's how I've heard it (laughed).
Ana said she and her friends “try and communicate” in their unique ways. During this part of the interview, Ana seemed to be proud of her heritage and unique Spanish-speaking abilities. As previously mentioned, Ana is from Texas. She frequently emphasized how different her Spanish was in comparison to her friends from Michigan.

Similar to Jorge and Ana, Arturo also experienced support in speaking Spanish. However, Arturo received feedback from his family members. Arturo said, “instead of criticism, they actually help me. They would actually help me, educate me in a way. Like, ‘don’t say this. This is the correct term.’” He was not the only student that expressed receiving feedback.

During Maria’s time in farm work, many of those she worked with provided her with feedback on her Spanish mispronunciations. She described many of her coworkers as “patient” and helpful when she forgets words in Spanish. Another participant, Claudia, felt encouraged by her family to speak Spanish. She said, “they tell me to speak more Spanish. They push me.” On the one hand, Claudia described feeling nervous when she translates English to Spanish for new farmworkers and customers of the farm. On the other hand, she also felt appreciated and valued for her ability to speak both languages.

Another aspect of the supportive connections theme is the immense support received from family members during college. Ana described a highly stressful situation she experienced during the fall semester. She described her family as her “backbone” and often called her mother to talk about college struggles. She found it comforting to hear her mother tell her, “¡Mija, échale ganas! You got this. (Put all your effort into it).”

Many participants viewed the feedback and critique received from family members and coworkers as helpful. One participant emphasized the importance of the delivery of feedback. Many participants translated the feedback as learning experiences to improve their Spanish. A
few other participants drew attention to sharing similar struggles with their friends, who are also second-generation immigrants and first-generation college students—implying that similar acculturation experiences have an impact on fluency in Spanish. All participants described their family as essential to their overall well-being and their decision-making in college. The next theme provided more information on the pattern of perceiving teasing and criticism as no matter of concern.

**Theme 2: Not a Big Deal**

The theme, not a big deal, represented the feelings of being unbothered by intragroup marginalization experiences. Despite being teased and critiqued by family members and friends, a commonality between their experiences was their perception. The themes supportive connections and not a big deal have overlapping qualities. Many participants experienced intragroup marginalization by friends and family and still perceived them as helpful and encouraging. They seemed unbothered by the teasing.

Manny described several instances in which he experienced intragroup marginalization regarding his Spanish fluency and his friends calling him White. In these two situations, Manny said he perceived his friends as being playful with him. Manny said, "in a joking manner. I'm pretty sure they weren't…they didn't say it to offend me." Friends had also teased him because he does not listen to Regional Mexican music. His friends said he was not "truly Mexican."

Manny's response was, "I don't let it bother me," which was his response to several situations.

Like Manny, Arturo also experienced teasing from his family members in Mexico, calling him “gringo (White).” He said, “honestly, I don’t get offended.” Then he rationalized, stating, “I mean, I was born and raised here in the U.S.; I never lived in Mexico.” He associated the word gringo, with being an American. In a different situation with playful teasing with
friends, Arturo also seemed unbothered. He said, “we’ll be just messing around, but we don’t take it personally. Not in a way to offend the person.”

Maria also often is teased by friends and family when she mispronounces a word in Spanish. She said, "they are the ones that tease me the most… it's like playful way teasing. It's not evil…critical." As she continued throughout the interview, she expressed how she perceived her culture, "I like the fact that I have my Mexican side, especially because of how beautiful the culture is." Maria mentioned feeling closer to her culture throughout her years in college.

Another participant mentioned being told she was "not Mexican enough" in a situation she had a hard time remembering. Rosa said, "I don't really think about it, to be honest…it doesn't faze me. I know who I am." Similar to Maria, Rosa associated this experience with her identity and culture. In a different situation, family and friends told Rosa that her skin tone is too light. She said she "brushes off" comments about her skin tone. Claudia had similar reactions to experiencing intragroup marginalization, stating, "it's not like they're bashing." In both instances, the participants perceived teasing as harmless or insignificant.

Lastly, Ivan did not have many experiences of intragroup marginalization. However, he described a situation where he was teased for not eating certain food and not listening to a specific music genre. Ivan's response was, "I'm like, okay, whatever, dude. Cause I mean…I've heard it so many times that it just doesn't even affect me anymore. But at the same time, it's like 'you make no sense, you sound stupid.'" On the one hand, Ivan appeared to brush it off, but on the other hand, he also seemed to have a strong reaction towards his friends' comments.

Overall, many participants who experience intragroup marginalization in one form or another had many similar reactions. Some participants were bothered and annoyed by experiencing intragroup marginalization. However, ultimately, there was a greater emphasis on
feeling unbothered and unfazed. There was a significant emotional response towards experiencing racism and discrimination by the White majority. The following section will include additional findings that organically arose during interviews with participants.

**Additional Findings**

The interview protocol for this study included questions related to the phenomenon studied, intragroup marginalization. All questions were prompted to learn more about marginalization experiences involving Latinx friends, family, and community members. Almost all participants shared experiences where they felt marginalized by the White majority (peers, classmates, friends, and instructors). Some experiences shared were blatant, and others were subtle. The following theme, othered, will provide examples of these lived experiences.

Taking a look back even further, the researcher wanted to expand on two other critical themes beyond the first layer of analysis. The two themes, supportive connections and not a big deal, addressed research question three: Does intragroup marginalization have an impact on the mental health of Latinx migrant college students? In addition, the theme, two different worlds were one of two themes that answered research question two: do Latinx migrant college students experience intragroup marginalization? In this section of additional findings, the researcher will expand further on the meaning-making of these collective experiences. The following themes will capture the additional findings: navigating two words, othered, and connectedness.

**Navigating Two Worlds**

Many participants in this study discussed feeling like they live two separate lives: college and life at home with family. Beyond the raw data that the interviews provide, there are other interpretations of the meaning behind biculturalism navigation. Someone who successfully navigates biculturalism might feel strongly connected to one culture while not rejecting the other
culture. In this case, bicultural individuals have competency in Latinx and American culture (Castillo et al., 2008). Being able to navigate both cultures successfully does not protect the individual from acculturative stress.

The Latinx college students in this study described many examples of strategically navigating different dimensions of their world. Being able to navigate two cultures successfully seems ambiguous. However, the participants in this study provided many examples that illustrate the process of decision-making as they learn to navigate different dimensions of a world that values American beliefs and attitudes. Competency in the navigation of two cultures seems almost unrealistic; the words competency and success may imply that the individual will not receive repercussions to move across cultures.

Many students' friend groups consisted of other Latinx students, a mix of Latinx and other students of color, or Latinx and White students. A handful of students were intentional about keeping their friend groups separate, their White and Latinx friends. Perhaps mixing both worlds is an added stressor that they instead avoid. An intragroup marginalization aspect is being teased about having "too many White friends" or being called "White-washed." To avoid this criticism of family and friends, separating both worlds might make an apparent decision.

The Spanish language is a significant aspect of the Latinx culture. Many participants experienced criticism for mispronouncing, forgetting, or making up Spanish words. One participant said she successfully code switches, and she has two friend groups, her White and Latinx friends. However, engaging in integration, an assimilation strategy (Berry, 2003), does not stop others from teasing and criticizing the acculturated person. This participant experienced teasing from her Latinx friends; they called her a "White girl" when they heard her code switch.
This society values individuals with American beliefs and attitudes with the expectation that bicultural individuals are just as connected with their ethnic culture. Bicultural individuals seem to have little room to explore their identity made up of two different cultures. Acculturative stress, intragroup marginalization, and discrimination all speak to the challenge of navigating between two worlds.

**Othered**

The term othering was coined by Spivak (1985) and involves social differentiation based on class, gender, and race has been modified since (Jensen, 2011). Further, othering is a process by dominant or powerful social groups to “define subordinate groups into existence” (Jensen, 2011, p. 65). This is done to assign problematic characteristics to these subordinate social groups, thus constructing them as inferior (Jensen, 2011). In this study, othered is a theme that represented lived experiences of being othered, leading to discrimination, racism, and marginalization by the White majority. Many participants described feeling singled out, out of place, and like they did not belong. Some of these experiences are more obviously intentionally harmful, and others are perhaps well-meaning comments with subtly detectable insults.

Ana described several experiences in which she felt marginalized. She recalled several instances when classmates yelled "beaner" and "wetback" when she was younger. Ana described feeling the impacts of "imposter syndrome," especially in college. In a small group class discussion, Ana interacted with a classmate where she assumed Ana was born in Mexico. Ana explained she was from Texas, and her classmate asked, "but how are you Mexican?" Ana said she felt the dynamics of her group shift, and she felt a feeling of discomfort. The participant said she felt frustrated and furious; she said, "it's not our job to educate them, but…if we're not telling them, nobody else is."
Furthermore, when she was in high school, a classmate said, "what is a Mexican doing in an advanced English class and I'm not?" He referred to Ana, which led her to wonder if she belonged in the advanced English course. Stephanie had a similar experience in her honors English class in high school. She often felt nervous and felt like she did not belong in the course, especially when she was asked to read out loud. Stephanie recalled the stares of her White classmates, "they will look at me like, 'how can you not pronounce these words? You're like in honors English, and you can't pronounce these words?'" Her classmates did not seem to tell her this directly, but she perceived their stares to be implications of these statements.

Ana had a mix of blatant and more subtle experiences of marginalization. Jorge’s academic major consists of a small cohort that accepts a selected number of students annually. Therefore, he knows most of his classmates at a more personal level.

He said he is the only male student in his cohort, but he is also the only Latino male. Jorge said, “you can’t miss me when you walk into a room,” implying that he stands out. He has been asked by his classmates a handful of times if he was born in Mexico. One classmate commented, “you really have a thick accent,” and he wondered, “too thick to…be born here?” The researcher asked how he felt after, and he explained, “I didn’t feel down…sometimes you could tell when people mean it in the wrong way.” Then Jorge followed up with, “she was probably just curious…she’s nice.” While this exchange did not seem harmful, he did express he felt out of place; he said he does not feel like he is from here (U.S.) or there (Mexico).

Lupita recalled a memory from childhood that seemed to influence strategic acculturation. When the researcher asked Lupita if she had ever been teased when speaking Spanish, she described a moment that she said “traumatized” her. Lupita felt more comfortable expressing herself in Spanish when she was younger. She described getting in trouble with a
teacher at school for speaking Spanish with her friends; her parents were also called to the school. This situation happened with other teachers at least two different times. After the third time, she began speaking English more often. Lupita said, “I kind of got traumatized…I just started speaking English all the time after that.” She said the situation felt “wrong” and also wondered to herself, “what other choice do we have?”

One of the final questions in the interview protocol for this study asked participants for their sense of belonging. This question was intended for the participant to consider the intragroup marginalization experiences they had previously discussed in the interview. However, many participants answered this question in a way that included the White majority. Stephanie replied, "in my college classes there will be a lot of White people and I feel a little left out." The participant described another occurrence in college in her first year where she felt singled out by campus security. Stephanie was walking home to her dorm alone in the late evening, and she was behind a group of White female college students. Stephanie described, "they didn't stop the whole group (in front of her). They only stopped me, and they pointed a flashlight at me." She felt confused and thought the situation was "weird;" Stephanie ran straight to her dorm afterward.

Throughout the interview, Ivan seemed unfazed by many situations of marginalization. However, he did describe a situation when he was in high school, and a coworker asked him where he learned to speak English. He described feeling angry at that moment, thinking to himself, “what is this girl talking about? I’m like, ‘you sound dumb.’” Ivan said he did not want to “blow up on her” and decided to tell her supervisor instead. He said, “I didn’t want to cause a scene.” Eventually, Ivan’s coworker apologized to him.
Rosa described her hometown as small and predominantly White; she also described some experiences of discrimination in detail. She remembers some of her classmates telling her, "why even apply to college?" All you're going to do is go pick in the fields,' like…things like that. It's just negative, negative things." Rosa also described being told, "you probably don't have papers… you're a wetback," by her classmates.

Further, Rosa had a school counselor advise her towards the workforce as if she did not have other options. Rosa said, "she was pushing me more to go to the workforce, like trying to find a job and stuff. But not to go into higher education." Rosa said she felt unsupported by her school counselor.

When the researcher asked Rosa about her changes in her friendships from high school to college, Rosa said she was intentional about not keeping in touch with her high school friends. This question was directed towards friendships with other Latinx individuals. However, because Rosa is from a town predominately white, she did not seem to have close connections with other Latinx's. Rosa stated,

When I look back at the person who I was in high school, it's like man, I used to take all of these…things, like…they would say racist comments and I would never say nothing! So, I was like, man, these people are racist. They hate my people. So, I was like, ‘you know what? I don't need that.’ They're not going to help me succeed in any way. So, kinda like, just stopped. I've never reached out.

Rosa associated this significant change due to her focus on self-growth, exploration, and connecting more with her culture during her freshmen year in college.

All participants were prompted to speak to experiences involving other Latinx individuals. However, most participants provided examples of marginalization, discrimination,
and racism. The interviews took place in December 2020, towards the end of the Trump administration. Black, Indigenous, and people of color across the U.S. have been impacted by the last several years' social-political climate. Perhaps the students might have felt more empowered to speak up about their lived experiences of discrimination and racism. Or they could have also felt more inclined to lean in that direction, even when questions were geared towards within-group marginalization.

**Connectedness**

Taking a step back and examining the impacts of both discrimination and racism and intragroup marginalization, the participants' lived experiences seemed to differ. Many participants described experiencing teasing and criticism from Latinx friends and family. However, many of these experiences were described as critiques and constructive feedback. This form of critique was perceived as helpful, especially in being corrected by family when speaking Spanish.

Teasing experiences did not appear to outweigh the love and support received by their family members and close friends. Critiquing almost happened to be an experience that the participants expected. All participants seemed to feel a strong connection with their culture, including values, traditions, norms, music, mentors, friends, and family.

**Summary**

This chapter provided an overview of the study including information of the phenomenological hermeneutic approach. There was a total of ten participants in this study. The researcher provided a detailed summary of each participant, which included demographic information. An overview of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was provided, along with a detailed step-by-step analysis of this study. There was a total of six master themes.
that answered the three research questions in this study. Furthermore, there were additional themes discovered during data collection. The researcher provided many direct quotes from all participants to explain the phenomenon studied, intragroup marginalization among Latinx migrant college students.
CHAPTER V
DISCUSSION

This chapter will present the overall conclusions gained from the results of this qualitative investigation. The researcher will summarize the study, discuss related literature, and provide implications for counselors and counselor educators. This chapter will end with recommended areas for future research.

**Summary of the Study**

Many studies include Latinx college students in journals of higher education, addictions, and psychology. Still, there is a dearth of studies that focus on migrant college students in counseling journals (Cano et al., 2014; Carrera & Wei, 2014; Castillo, 2009; Castillo et al., 2006; Llamas, & Ramos-Sánchez, 2013; Morgan Consoli et al., 2016; Sanchez et al., 2018). Additionally, only five of these studies have implications for counselors. Currently, few research studies have explored intragroup marginalization in Latinx migrant college students. Understanding more about intragroup marginalization experiences can contribute to the quality of care counselors provide to Latinx migrant college students.

**Overview of the Problem**

The Latinx population is the fastest-growing racial minority group in the U.S. (Ayala & Chalupa, 2016; Passel et al., 2014; U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). The Midwest is accountable for a substantial part of agriculture in the U.S. (MDHHS, 2014). Michigan is the fifth state with the most registered farmworkers in the country, with over 49,000 farmworkers across mostly southwest counties (MDHHS, 2014). Migrant workers and their families face various challenges. Many migrant families live in secluded conditions, experience financial instability,
and face physical, mental health, and educational barriers (Dreby, 2015; Thompson et al., 2002; BPHC, 1995).

Counselors must implement Multicultural and Social Justice Counseling Competencies (MSJCC) into their practice. Client worldview, a domain in this framework, has four competencies: attitudes and beliefs, knowledge, skills, and action. Multiculturally effective counselors strive to understand their clients' understandings of the world (e.g., cultural background), know historical contexts that shape the client, acquire culturally sensitive skills, and take action to provide appropriate services for clients. Counselors have a list of competencies to follow; deficiency in research studies creates barriers to adhere to ethical obligations. Exploring intragroup marginalization among Latinx migrant college students will expand knowledge in a community that often faces many overall health barriers.

Many studies that examine Latinx college students are in journals of higher education, addictions, and psychology. Yet, there is a dearth of studies that research the migrant college students in counseling journals (Cano et al., 2014; Carrera & Wei, 2014; Castillo, 2009; Castillo et al., 2006; Llamas, & Ramos-Sánchez, 2013; Morgan Consoli et al., 2016; Sanchez et al., 2018). Furthermore, there are even fewer studies that have implications for counselors. Few research studies have explored intragroup marginalization among Latinx migrant college students. Such scholarship is needed to better inform the counseling field on providing appropriate services to this uniquely underserved group.

**Purpose Statement and Research Questions**

Given the presented issues of limited articles relating to Latinx college students and counseling implications, specifically migrant college students, the purpose of this study was to
explore intragroup marginalization experiences and their impact on the mental health of Latinx migrant college students in Michigan.

There were three research questions in this study: (1) How do Latinx migrant college students cope with stressors in college; (2) Do Latinx migrant college students experience intragroup marginalization; (3) Does intragroup marginalization have an impact on the mental health of Latinx migrant college students?

**Review of Methodology**

This study was qualitative and utilized hermeneutic phenomenology (van Manen, 1997), which requires the researcher to understand the phenomenon and the meaning-making behind participants' lived experiences. This study consisted of ten Latinx college students with a background in farm work; the participants were undergraduate students who lived in Michigan during the study. All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed by a professional transcriptionist. Also, the researcher reviewed the transcripts before analysis to edit the Spanish and translate the phrases to English. Data collection began in November 2020 and concluded in December 2020. The researcher sent analyzed transcripts and emerging themes to all participants for member check. Participants had the opportunity to agree with or adjust to change interpretations.

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was used to analyze the data, which included four stages and an integration of all transcripts to complete analysis (Smith et al., 2009; Smith, 2011). The researcher identified six master themes in the analysis. The process of IPA was used to explore the meaning-making of intragroup marginalization lived experiences. The researcher was also involved in making sense of the meaning-making of participants (i.e., double hermeneutic) (Smith et al., 2009).
Findings Related to the Literature

Perceived Supportive Connections

A few findings in this study were consistent, and others were inconsistent with past related studies. The perception of family and Latinx friends' support seemed to have a significant influence on Latinx migrant college students. In a quantitative study by Schneider and Ward (2003), Latinx college students who perceived their families to be supportive were likely to be overall emotionally and academically adjusted. In this study, all participants viewed their closest friends and immediate family members as supporting and encouraging. Many students in this study were involved in the College Assistance Migrant Program (CAMP) and student organizations across their respected campuses. In terms of being generally emotionally adjusted, a few students had sought counseling at their institutions, while others reached out to family members and friends for support.

Researchers have found family support to predict thriving in Latinx college students (Llamas & Morgan Consoli, 2012; Morgan Consoli et al., 2011; Morgan Consoli et al., 2016). Religion also played a crucial role in predicting thriving (Morgan Consoli et al., 2016). Consistent with these findings, one participant in this study described how she copes. In combination with mental health services and emotional support from her parents and Latinx friends, she mentioned engaging in prayer and emotional catharsis as a form of dealing with stressors in college.

Ethnic Identity

In a past study, some findings pointed to generational differences in acculturation (Torres, 2003). This study found that first-generation immigrant students struggled in balancing two cultures (demands of college and their families). Second and third-generation immigrant
students experienced less conflict with their parents. Torres (2003) suggested this finding might have been because these students were more acculturated. This study did not have first-generation immigrant students, so the researcher cannot speak to generational differences. However, participants in this study did experience challenges in balancing two cultures or worlds, that of their families and in college.

Another difference was the implications of discussing privilege. Torres (2003) found that some students who addressed their privilege were also likely to claim to have not experienced or witnessed racism. While this study did not focus on privilege, one participant addressed her privilege (regarding having a lighter skin tone). Not only did she discuss experiencing racism in the past, but also intragroup marginalization from family and friends.

A few students in this study mentioned that attending college positively influenced their decisions to explore their ethnic identity. One participant said she mostly had White friends in high school. During her first year in college, she intentionally sought out connections and opportunities of involvement in Latinx student organization to feel close to her culture. She said doing so helped her feel more secure in her ethnic identity.

Similar to a study by Torres (2003), there were findings that students were more likely to identify as Latino or Latina if the students’ family engaged in cultural events. There was another participant that explained learning about cultural celebrations in her late adolescent years. She said attending college helped her explore her culture, leading her to feel more secure in her Mexican identity.

**Intragroup Marginalization and Acculturation**

Carrera and Wei (2014) emphasize how significant the cultural differences are among individuals transitioning from adolescence to early adulthood. The researchers in the study
found that many acculturating individuals experienced impacts of psychological distancing after moving away from home to attend college (Carrera & Wei, 2014). This finding implied that there was family conflict, which ultimately negatively impacted the students’ mental health. All participants in this study were influenced in one way or another by the college culture, which led some to lose friends and gain others, impact their Spanish fluency, change music preferences, or change how they dress. While this finding was true for some participants, these same participants, along with others, were also interested in learning more about their culture after starting college.

While this finding was true for some participants, these same participants, along with others, were also interested in learning more about their culture after starting college. Even though acculturation occurred while they began college and beyond, some participants became more involved in Latinx-based student organizations or mentioned being intentional about staying connected with their culture (e.g., speaking Spanish with friends). One participant even said coming to college helped her find herself and became more emersed in her culture, mostly because she was from a predominantly white town. Another participant had a similar experience; she expressed that she became more familiar with Latinx culture during college (e.g., participating in cultural events on campus and Latinx-based student organization involvement).

Menta et al. (1987) described that acculturation could be emotional, often involves discrimination by the White majority and marginalization from their own family, Latinx friends, and community members. Many students in this study described feelings of not belonging to either culture. In an acculturation study, participants described being perceived as too American in interactions with other Latinx peers and too Latinx in interactions with the White majority (Cano et al., 2014). The researchers illustrated this experience with a quote, "ni de aquí, ni de
Allá' (nor from here or there)” (Cano et al., 2014, p. 138). Many students in this study had similar quotes that illustrated very similar acculturation experiences and marginalization, which influenced the researcher to create the theme, two different worlds.

A qualitative study by Castillo and colleagues (2008) found that although Latinx students perceived themselves to be bicultural (i.e., competency in both ethnic and host cultures), they still experienced acculturative stress. Another study found that not all students who experienced acculturation found it stressful (Hovey, 2000). In this study, all students experienced varying degrees of acculturative stress. For example, one student expressed how difficult transitioning to college has been. This participant had a unique situation because she was a sophomore at the time of the study, which means she only attended one semester entirely in-person before classes switched to online due to the COVID-19 pandemic. In addition, the participant also tested positive for COVID-19, which only increased distress.

A previous quantitative study concluded that Latinx college students who had intragroup marginalization experiences by family members were less resilient, even if they perceived their family to be supportive (Llamas & Morgan Consoli, 2012). All participants in the study had above a 3.0 GPA, most of which had GPA is above 3.50. Most participants were employed, and at least half were involved in student organizations. Participants described their experiences in learning how to balance their time with family, friends, and college demands; they did not express a constant struggle in their ability to thrive and push forward.

Another finding in this study was the protective factor of having close familial relationships and perceiving them as supportive, reduced feelings of cultural disconnect (Llamas & Morgan Consoli, 2012). This finding is consistent with the participants in the study; many participants also found involvement in Latinx-based student organizations to be helpful in their
ethnic identity development. What is more, is that many participants described how leaving their hometowns and attending college was a crucial factor in feeling close to their culture and in identity development.

In a quantitative study by Llamas and Ramos-Sánchez (2013), the researchers found that when Latinx college students experienced intragroup marginalization, they also experienced acculturative stress. Another study found that students who experienced intragroup marginalization from Latinx friends also were likely to feel psychologically distressed (Llamas et al., 2018). The researchers drew attention to the continuation of stress even though the students perceived support from their Latinx peers (Llamas & Morgan Consoli, 2012). All participants in the study experienced acculturative stress to some extent. However, many participants also added that intragroup marginalization experiences were no longer as stressful as in the past. Some participants mentioned that they were accustomed to the teasing or that they able to brush it off, where in the past, this might have been a challenge.

Conclusions

This study explored an understanding of Latinx migrant college students' lived experiences with intragroup marginalization in-depth. The participants in the study described teasing and criticism from family members and Latinx friends. There were no intragroup marginalization experiences from Latinx community members. In fact, many students described feeling an abundance of support from community members in their respective communities. Although participants in the study experienced intragroup marginalization, many expressed that these experiences were not bothersome. Furthermore, participants felt supported by their family and Latinx friends.
Although the researcher did not intentionally explore discrimination and racism in this study, many participants described discrimination and racism from the White majority. The results of this study add to the literature on further exploration of intragroup marginalization among Latinx migrant college students to better illustrate the impacts on mental health. These lived experiences are unique because of the Midwestern influence that past studies lacked. The southwest region of Michigan is not as populated with Latinx individuals as Western and Southern parts of the country.

Lastly, this study took place during the worldwide pandemic of COVID-19. Many participants discussed financial stressors, which were additional to the already experienced financial barriers that many migrant farmworkers face. Many participants described being laid off or having difficulty in finding funding for their studies. Next, the study was conducted towards the end of the Trump administration, in December 2020. During this time period and prior is when immigration issues were salient in this country. Both the COVID-19 pandemic and the presidential administration at the time of the study seemed to influence answers and the themes of this study.

**Challenges**

During recruitment, the researcher ran into challenges with data collection. This study took place during the COVID-19 pandemic. All participants were offered the opportunity to have a phone or video interview to ensure safety. The researcher is also located in a different state, therefore, having a geographical barrier to conduct in-person interviews. While in-person and socially distanced interviews might have been ideal, the researcher had to adjust the interview format choices. All participants preferred phone interviews. This format provided limitations that will be discussed in the following section.
Limitations

This phenomenological investigation explored intragroup marginalization experiences of Latinx migrant college students in Michigan. There could be other possible interpretations of the findings in this study. For example, the researcher also has a background in migrant farm work. However, there could possibly be regional differences across the U.S., the researcher's parents were farmworkers in Washington state, and the participants all spoke to their experiences being farmworkers in Michigan. Most of these participants were from Michigan and were involved in farm work in Michigan as well. Two participants were from Texas and would migrate to Michigan during the summer months.

Also, this study focused on Latinx migrant college students in Michigan. While this state could potentially provide transferability to other Midwestern states, this study's findings may not apply to other Latinx migrant college students in different regions of the U.S. Also, all participants in the study were Mexican American. The Latinx population is a heterogeneous group; there are many differences in individuals (e.g., race, ethnicity, skin tone, language) (Furman et al., 2009). Perhaps, experiences may have been different depending on these variances across such a broad cultural group.

In addition, all participants in this study were participants of the College Assistance Migrant Program, which could impact transferability to other migrant college students outside of this program. For example, a program requirement for participation in CAMP is to have U.S. citizenship. Therefore, this requirement excludes undocumented migrant college students. There could be differences in responses when comparing U.S. citizens and undocumented migrant college students.
All participant interviews were conducted over the phone, which provided some limitations in data collection. This format, versus video, limited the researcher’s ability to observe non-verbal behavior. To compensate for this limitation, the researcher added as much detail to the transcript as possible (e.g., change in tone, pace, and laughter). However, conducting phone interviews avoided potential interruptions in connectivity in using a video format. In addition, the protocol questions for this study were developed from a qualitative assessment. The assessment, Intragroup Marginalization Inventory (Castillo et al., 2007), was used as a guide to create and modify questions that would describe intragroup marginalization experiences. Thus, while this study was not quantitative, the protocol did include questions based on a quantitative inventory.

**Implications for Counselors and Counselor Educators**

The findings from this study provided several implications for the practices of counselor education. The study of Latinx migrant college students beyond studying the College Assistance Migrant Program remains an understudied research area within counseling journals. Only a handful of studies focus on implications for counselors when working with Latinx college students.

**Self-care in Community**

The information provided from this dissertation could improve how counselors and counselors-in-training approach a discussion of self-care during counseling sessions with Latinx college students. Often, self-care is emphasized at an individualistic level, which is important. Considering Latinx college students come from a collectivistic culture (Morgan et al., 2016), counselors can discuss engaging in self-care with others (e.g., family and friends) and self-care in community (e.g., volunteer work). Perhaps engaging in self-care at the individualistic level
might feel unnatural, uncomfortable, or maybe even bring feelings of guilt. Self-care is multidimensional and should be discussed as such.

Many students in this study were involved in student organizations, some of which were Greek organizations. Students who are a part of these organizations typically engage in community service work, hence self-care in community. A few participants in this study expressed how important their involvement is in other roles beyond being a college student (e.g., mentoring others and in volunteer work in Latinx communities in their college town). Due to the Latinx cultural group's collectivistic nature, self-care involving family, friends, and community can be a focal point when working with this population. This can lead to Latinx college students strengthening their support systems, which seems to overpower experiences of marginalization from Latinx friends, family, and community members.

In addition, many Latinx students are not involved in student organizations. However, many Latinx-based student organizations host social events. These events are geared towards reaching out to other Latinx college students and non-Latinx as well. Also, some academic majors have student organizations that are associated with a specific major (or academic college) and Latinx-based (e.g., Society of Hispanic Professional Engineers at WMU). In this example, self-care in community can be attending a professional conference that supports Latinx or other minoritized scholars. Often, there are socials in these events with the purpose of other scholars to connect and network and find support in their cultural community.

**Intragroup Marginalization and Support Systems**

There are a lot of factors in college that can influence mental health. Intragroup marginalization did not seem to negatively impact the mental health of most students in this study. However, counselors should still consider intragroup marginalization, discrimination, and
racism as potential factors impacting Latinx migrant college students' mental health. Friends and family support should be considered, even if Latinx college students experience intragroup marginalization from them. Counselors should focus on these support systems. When working with Latinx college students, counselors could learn more about how students perceive their support systems. Exploring the quality of supportive connections can help counselors understand the client’s worldview and culture. Consequently, assisting in providing culturally sensitive mental health services to support their Latinx clients.

**Creating a Sense of Belonging**

There was a lot of discussion surrounding a sense of belonging, primarily between their two words (i.e., their hometown and the college culture). While involvement in student organizations seemed to relieve some feelings of not belonging, some students engaged in various acts to feel connected to their culture while in college. Thus, creating a sense of belongingness at *home away from home*. There are different ways Latinx college students could potentially have a sense of belonging to their campus.

For example, Latinx students connecting with mentors, counselors, staff, professors, or administrators who belong to a similar ethnic group can create a sense of belonging. Cerezo et al. (2013) also made the recommendation to hire more counselors of color. Aside from more Latinx representation at a college campus, the students would benefit from having meaningful connections that involve trust. For example, all students in this study are first-generation college students, therefore, have limited knowledge on college resources (e.g., financial aid, study groups, student support groups). Having mentors who can guide first-generation Latinx students in this process, especially during their first year in college, can significantly make a difference in their college experience. Another example, many Latinx-based student organizations across
college campuses have fundraisers by hosting dinners with traditional dishes from Latin American countries. Student organizations providing a space for other Latinx students to connect could potentially provide a sense of belonging and community.

**Non-traditional Roles for College Counselors**

Implications for counselors-in-training or counselor educators at predominately White institutions can include building a relationship with Latinx-based student organizations and student support services (e.g., College Assistance Migrant Program, Latinx-based Greek organizations, and other Latinx-based student organizations). Creating a relationship with these organizations can lead to establishing a practicum or internship opportunity for master’s level counseling students who hope to serve this community. One participant in this study mentioned that counseling would be more approachable if there were occasional presentations on mental health and coping skills presented in a more intimate setting with these organizations and student services.

Building relationships with Latinx-based organizations can potentially help destigmatize counseling and make it seem more approachable. Schneider and Ward (2003) recommended that universities should create opportunities for Latinx support from peers, faculty, and the institution itself, rather than focus on just one source of support for Latinx college students. Also, Cerezo et al. (2013) recommended that college counselors should initiate communication with Latinx students during their first year of college to help create norms for taking advantage of support services. Therefore, integrating mental health services collaborating with established student organizations that serve Latinx college students is important.

Further, counselor educators can help counselors-in-training learn how to take a non-traditional role as a counselor when working with Latinx college students. In addition to
receiving mental health care, Latinx college students may benefit from learning about scholarships, grants, and financial aid. As simple as helping the student navigate the college website can make a difference. Some academic advisors spend one-on-one time assisting first-year students in navigating campus resources online (e.g., financial aid, study groups, student organizations). However, many other advisors are limited to how long they spend with their advisees (many appointments lasting between 15 to 30 minutes maximum).

The recommendation of working beyond the traditional idea of mental health counseling also aligns with that of Ellis and Chen (2013). The researchers advised that college counselors can research and educate themselves on financial aid, educational opportunities, and resources. Counselors spending a bit of extra time working outside the conventional role as a mental health counselor to assist the student can help in the sense of belonging and in building a therapeutic alliance.

**Recommendations for Future Research**

Future research should continue to expand on intragroup and outgroup marginalization experienced by Latinx migrant college students to develop more knowledge on counseling implications for college counselors, counselor educators, counselors-in-training, and potentially others who work with this population in a college setting. As mentioned in chapter four, there were two significant factors that might have played a role in these students’ experiences of marginalization, the current social-political climate of the past presidential administration and the COVID-19 pandemic of 2020 that continues. Latinx migrant college students are understudied in research but are widespread across the nation; many registered farmworkers are across southwest Michigan. The researcher advises a few areas of recommendations for further investigation to help improve the mental health of Latinx students.
Future research can involve a qualitative investigation on intragroup marginalization in Latinx migrant college students and a younger population (i.e., high school students). Many participants in the study described how they no longer felt negatively impacted by intragroup marginalization experiences. Qualitative interviews with Latinx high school students could potentially shed more light on the process of potentially dismissing experiences of intragroup marginalization.

Many studies that examine Latinx migrant college students also explore the College Assistance Migrant Program's (CAMP) impact on academic achievement and college outcomes. In addition, many of these studies are quantitative and focus on the evaluation of CAMP. Few studies have implications for counselors. Information from qualitative research may contribute to advancing more in-depth knowledge on counseling Latinx migrant college students. Furthermore, future studies could also explore racism Latinx students experience on a college campus, or outgroup marginalization.

There may be some benefit in exploring immigrant generational differences (e.g., first and second-generation immigrants). For example, studying undocumented farmworker college students, who are first-generation immigrants, and further generations. Other Latinx studies have found generational differences when examining other factors. Generational differences could also provide differences in ethnic identity development, potentially influencing marginalization experiences and mental health. The areas for future research mentioned above can all assist in providing a higher level of care for Latinx college students, consequently improving their overall mental health.
Summary

This qualitative phenomenological investigation explored the intragroup marginalization experiences of Latinx migrant college students in Michigan. The results of this study provide a new perspective on the conceptualization of intragroup marginalization, racism, and discrimination experienced by Latinx migrant college students in Michigan. This information can be applicable to counselors working with Latinx clients in college counseling centers and counselor educators. The information gathered from this study could potentially improve the overall mental health care that Latinx migrant college students receive, therefore improving their mental well-being. Further research should focus on Latinx migrant college students in the Midwest.
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Appendix A

Recruitment Email Script
Dear (name of addressee),

My name is Annette Calvario Perales and I am a doctoral candidate in the Counselor Education and Supervision program at Western Michigan University. My doctoral advisor is Dr. Glinda Rawls, a professor in the Department of Counselor Education and Counseling Psychology at Western Michigan University. Currently, I am seeking support in data collection for my dissertation. My study explores personal experiences of acculturation and marginalization of migrant farmworker college students in Michigan. The findings of this study may add to informed practices for educators and mental health practitioners when working with Latinx migrant farmworkers in college.

I am reaching out to ask if you would be willing to help recruit Latinx undergraduate students with a background in migrant farm work at (WMU or MSU) to participate in a phone or video interview? If so, please provide support by forwarding the email below to the members. I would also be happy to schedule a meeting via Webex if you or the members want more information or have questions about this study.

Below, you will find the email that can be sent to the members or other students that may be interested and qualified to participate in this study.

If you have questions prior to or during the study, you may contact Dr. Glinda Rawls at glinda.rawls@wmich.edu or Annette Calvario Perales at annette.c.perales@wmich.edu.

I am very thankful for your assistance and any support you are able to offer.

Thank you for your consideration,
Annette

Annette Calvario Perales, MA, LPC, NCC
Counselor Education Doctoral Candidate
Western Michigan University
Pronouns: She/Ella

--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Hello Students,

My name is Annette Calvario Perales and I am a doctoral candidate in the Counselor Education and Supervision program at Western Michigan University. I would like to invite you to participate in an interview designed to help explore experiences of acculturation and marginalization of Latinx college students in Michigan with a background in migrant farm work. The findings of this study may add to informed practices for educators and mental health practitioners when working with Latinx migrant farmworkers in college. Additionally, if you choose to participate, you will receive a $20 electronic Amazon gift card!
The interview would be in a format of your preference, either phone or video. The duration of the interview will be between 30 to 60 minutes. To qualify for this study, you must:
1) Identify as Latino, Latina, or Latinx
2) Enrolled as an undergraduate college student with a migrant or seasonal farmworker background (you or your parents are farmworkers)
3) You live in Michigan
4) At least 18 years old

If you have questions prior to or during the study, you may contact Dr. Glinda Rawls at glinda.rawls@wmich.edu or Annette Calvario Perales at annette.c.perales@wmich.edu. Please feel free to forward this email to anyone who would qualify.

If you are interested in participating, please click on the following link to the online informed consent: https://wmich.co1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_efehetHnsPZXanz. I have also attached a PDF copy of the informed consent for your records.

Thank you for your consideration,
Annette

Annette Calvario Perales, MA, LPC, NCC
Counselor Education Doctoral Candidate
Western Michigan University
Pronouns: She/Ella
Appendix B

Informed Consent
Informed Consent
Western Michigan University
Department of Counselor Education and Counseling Psychology

Principal Investigator: Glinda Rawls, Ph.D
Student Investigator: Amette Calvario Perales, M.A.
Title of Study: Intragroup Marginalization Among Latinx Migrant Farmworker College Students

You are invited to participate in this research project titled “Intragroup Marginalization Among Latinx Migrant Farmworker College Students”

STUDY SUMMARY: This consent form is part of an informed consent process for a research study and it will provide information that will help you decide whether you want to take part in this study. Participation in this study is completely voluntary. The purpose of the research is to: explore experiences of Latinx migrant farmworker college students in Michigan and the acculturation in the United States, and the response of family, friends, and peers. This study will serve as Amette Calvario Perales’ dissertation for the requirements of the Ph.D. If you take part in the research, you will be asked to interview through phone or video, depending on your preference. Your time in the study will take approximately 10 minutes to complete the screening questionnaire and the duration of the interview will be approximately 30 to 60 minutes. Possible risk and costs to you for taking part in the study may be discomfort from answering sensitive questions; there are no direct benefits. Your alternative to taking part in the research study is not to take part in it.

The following information in this consent form will provide more detail about the research study. Please ask any questions if you need more clarification and to assist you in deciding if you wish to participate in the research study. You are not giving up any of your legal rights by agreeing to take part in this research or by signing this consent form. After all your questions have been answered and the consent document reviewed, if you decide to participate in this study, you will be asked to sign this consent form.

What are we trying to find out in this study?
The purpose of this study is to explore experiences of acculturation in the United States and the response of family, friends, and peers. This study will focus on Latinx migrant farmworker college students in Michigan.
Who can participate in this study?
Western Michigan University or Michigan State University undergraduate students residing in Michigan. The student must identify as Latino, Latina, or Latinx and are at least 18 years old and eligible to participate. In addition, the student must have a migrant or seasonal farmworker background (the individual is a farmworker, or their parents are farmworkers).

Where will this study take place?
Data will be collected via phone or video conferencing interview. The researcher will conduct the interview in a private room. You will also be asked to meet via phone or video conferencing in a separate private room.

What is the time commitment for participating in this study?
The duration of the interview will be approximately 30 to 60 minutes.

What will you be asked to do if you choose to participate in this study?
If you choose to participate in this study, you and the researcher will schedule a meeting for the semi-structured interview. Interviews will be done either via phone or video conferencing, depending on your preference. Interviews will also be audio or video recorded. Audio recordings will be via cell phone and video recordings will be via laptop, and both will be password protected.

What information is being measured during the study?
Our interview will be transcribed and used to identify influences and outcomes of acculturation between your family, friends, and peers.

What are the risks of participating in this study and how will these risks be minimized?
There may be emotional responses to some questions that involve personal reflection. You may decide to take a break during our interview or skip a question. You have the option to stop participation during the interview. You can reach WMU Counseling Services at Sindecuse Health Center by calling (269) 387-1850. If you are a student at MSU, you can contact Counseling & Psychiatric Services at Student Health & Wellness by calling (517) 353-8270.

What are the benefits of participating in this study?
Participation in this study could potentially assist in advancing informed practices of educators and practitioners who work or plan to work with Latinx college students with migrant farm work backgrounds. If you choose to participate, you will receive a $20 electronic Amazon gift card.

Are there any costs associated with participating in this study?
There are no costs associated with participation in this study.
Is there any compensation for participating in this study?
You will receive a $20 electronic Amazon gift card if you choose to participate.

Who will have access to the information collected during this study?
The principal and the student investigator will be the only researchers to have access to the information collected. The student investigator will assign you a pseudonym and remove identifiable information within the interview transcript to ensure anonymity. Interview transcripts will be kept in a password-protected laptop only during the duration of the study, which is typically one year. After this study ends, the data will be destroyed.

What will happen to my information or biospecimens collected for this research project after the study is over?
After information that could identify you has been removed, de-identified information collected for this research may be used by or distributed to investigators for other research without obtaining additional informed consent from you.

What if you want to stop participating in this study?
You can choose to stop participating in the study at anytime for any reason. You will not suffer any prejudice or penalty by your decision to stop your participation. You will experience NO consequences either academically or personally if you choose to withdraw from this study. The investigator can also decide to stop your participation in the study without your consent.
Should you have any questions prior to or during the study, you can contact the principal investigator, Dr. Glinda Rawls at (269) 387-5108 or glinda.rawls@wmich.edu. You may also contact the student investigator, Annette Calvario Perales at (616) 389-0409 or annette.c.perales@wmich.edu. You may also contact the Chair, Institutional Review Board at (269) 387-8293 or the Vice President for Research at (269) 387-8298 if questions or problems arise during the course of the study.

This consent document has been approved for use for one year by the Western Michigan University Institutional Review Board (WMU IRB) as indicated by the stamped date and signature of the board chair in the upper right corner. Do not participate in this study if the stamped date is older than one year.

I have read this informed consent document. The risks and benefits have been explained to me. I agree to take part in this study.

Please Print Your Name

Participant’s signature ___________________________ Date ___________________________
Appendix C

Screening Questionnaire
Demographic Information / Questionnaire

Background

1. What is your age?
   a. 18-24
   b. 25-35
   c. 36-49
   d. 50+

2. What is your gender identity?
   a. Female
   b. Male
   c. Transgender female
   d. Transgender male
   e. Non-binary
   f. Other: _______________

3. Current residence:
   a. (insert city/town)__________, Michigan

4. Childhood residence:
   a. (insert city, state, and country)

5. What is your ethnic identity? (check all that apply):
   a. Bolivian
   b. Chilean
   c. Colombian
   d. Costa Rican
   e. Ecuadorian
   f. Guatemalan
   g. Honduran
   h. Mexican
   i. Nicaraguan
   j. Panamanian
   k. Paraguayan
   l. Peruvian
   m. Salvadoran
   n. Venezuelan
   o. Other: _______________

6. What is your parent’s nationality?
   a. Parent 1 (check all that apply):
      i. Bolivian
      ii. Chilean
      iii. Colombian
      iv. Costa Rican
      v. Ecuadorian
      vi. Guatemalan
      vii. Honduran
      viii. Mexican
ix. Nicaraguan
x. Panamanian
xi. Paraguayan
xii. Peruvian
xiii. Salvadoran
xiv. Venezuelan
xv. Other: _________________

b. Parent 2 (check all that apply):
   i. Bolivian
   ii. Chilean
   iii. Colombian
   iv. Costa Rican
   v. Ecuadorian
   vi. Guatemalan
   vii. Honduran
   viii. Mexican
   ix. Nicaraguan
   x. Panamanian
   xi. Paraguayan
   xii. Peruvian
   xiii. Salvadoran
   xiv. Venezuelan
   xv. Other: _________________

7. What is your generation status (i.e., immigrant and in college; first, second, third generation)
   a. Immigrant (i.e., if you migrated from another country, you are first-generation. If your parents migrated from another country, you are second-generation. If your grandparents migrated from another country, you are third-generation).
      i. First-generation
      ii. Second-generation
      iii. Third-generation+
   b. College (i.e., if you are the first in your family to attend college, you are first-generation. If your parents graduated from college, you are second-generation).
      i. First-generation
      ii. Second-generation
      iii. Third-generation+

8. If born outside United States, years of residence in the United States
   a. 1-5 years
   b. 6-10 years
   c. 11-15 years
   d. 15+ years

9. Languages spoken (check all that apply):
   a. English
   b. Spanish
   c. Other: _________________

10. Employment status (including number of hours worked per week).
a. Not employed  
b. Employed working 1-20 hours a week  
c. Employed working 21-40 hours a week  
d. Employed working 40+ hours a week

**Academic**

11. Class standing  
   a. Freshman  
   b. Sophomore  
   c. Junior  
   d. Senior  
   e. 5th+ year senior

12. Major  
   a. ____________________ (insert major here)

13. Self-reported college GPA  
   a. 0.00 to 0.99  
   b. 1.00 to 1.49  
   c. 1.50 to 1.99  
   d. 2.00 to 2.49  
   e. 2.50 to 2.99  
   f. 3.00 to 3.49  
   g. 3.50 to 4.00

14. Are you involved in extracurricular campus activities (i.e., student clubs, Greek organizations)?  
   a. Yes (insert activities/organizations here)  
   b. No

Thank you for completing the Screening Questionnaire. The researcher will review this information to ensure eligibility for this study. If you are eligible to participate, you will be contacted via email to schedule an interview time. A reminder, participation in this study is voluntary. You may decline to participate or choose to withdraw from this study at any time.
Appendix D

Interview Protocol
Interview Script and Introduction
Introduce yourself: My name is Annette Calvario Perales; I am a doctoral student in the Counselor Education and Supervision program at Western Michigan University and I was also an academic advisor for a few years. I am the daughter of immigrants and of farmworkers. I am from Washington state, but have been living in Michigan for a few years. I became interested in working with migrant college students over the last few years. I had the opportunity to do a year-long clinical counseling internship with the College Assistance Migrant Program at WMU and have also been an academic advisor to several migrant college students.

I am going to ask you a set of questions regarding your personal experiences of criticism and teasing. During the interview, I will ask you to consider these questions in relation to your family members, friends, and community members of your ethnic group (e.g., mentors, members of your religious community, or other peers that are of the same ethnic group as you). If you are unclear about a question during the interview, please ask for clarification. Before we begin the interview, do you have any questions? If at any point in the interview you experience distress, we can pause, and you can choose to reschedule our meeting. I can also provide you with the contact information to the counseling center at WMU (or MSU if applicable). We are going to start off by talking about high school.

Interview Questions
Section 1: Stressors
1. Prompts: What are some recent stressors you have had in college?
   a. In college, with family and friends, and with finances?
   b. How have you dealt with these stressors?
2. Prompts: Do you ever feel like there is a stigma against migrant workers in the U.S.?
   a. What personal experiences do you have related to this?
3. Prompts: Have others ever assumed that you are undocumented because of your status as a migrant worker?
   a. What personal experiences do you have related to this?
   b. Other students? Latinx peers? Professors? University staff?
4. Have others ever assumed that you were “not from here?”
   a. Other students? Latinx peers? Professors? University staff?

Section 2: Intragroup Marginalization
5. Prompts: How do you self-identify in terms of your ethnic identity?
   a. Latino/a/x? Other?
6. Prompts: What adjectives did others use to describe you? How would you describe yourself?
   a. How have you changed since the start of college?
   b. How have your relationships changed?
7. Prompts: Tell me about a time you were told that you do not act the way you used to in comparing how you were in high school to now?
   a. Situations with family and friends?
b. Have you lost anyone important because of this?
c. Have you ever felt that people have a hard time accepting you? How so?
d. What do you think about that?

8. Prompts: [If bilingual] Have you experienced criticisms or teasing when you speak Spanish?
   a. Situations with family, friends, and community?
   b. How would you describe that experience and its effect on you?

9. Prompts: [If participant is not bilingual] Have you been teased because you do not speak Spanish?
   a. Situations with family, friends, and community?
   b. How would you describe that experience and its effect on you?

10. Prompts: Have you heard the phrases “coconut” (i.e., brown on the outside but white on the inside) or “acting white?”
    a. Discuss the experience in which that phrase was used.
    b. Have you ever felt pushed away from your community because of your educational background?
    c. Situations with family, friends, and community?
    d. How would you describe that experience and its effect on you?

11. Prompts: How much support do you feel regarding your work or career goals? From whom do you get such support?
    a. If so, what are ways you are supported? If not, what are ways you would like to be supported?
    b. Have you experienced any relationships feeling closer or more intimate because of your success in college?
    c. Situations with family, friends, and community?

12. Prompts: Have friends ever told you that you are not really [participant’s ethnicity or Latinx/a/o] because of how you ‘act’ or ‘look’?
    a. Describe this experience if it applies to you.
    b. Have you ever been told that your skin is too light or too dark to be [participant’s ethnicity or Latinx/a/o]?
    c. How did it feel coming from your friends?

13. Prompts: Have any community members ever told you that you need to act more like them?
    a. Describe this experience if it applies to you.
    b. Have any community members ever told you that you have too many white friends?
    c. How have you handled these situations?

14. Prompts: In any of the situations discussed today, have you felt that you did not belong to your ethnic group? Like you were not a part of something?

Section 3: Mental Health

15. Prompts: What things make you feel stressed, sad, angry?
    a. What are some ways you destress when dealing with criticism or teasing?

16. Prompts: Have you ever sought out counseling?
    a. If you have, what kept you attending counseling?
    b. If not, what has prevented you from attending counseling?
Appendix E

HSIRB Approval
Date: December 10, 2020

To: Glinda Rawls, Principal Investigator
    Annette Perales, Student Investigator for dissertation

From: Amy Naugle, Ph.D., Chair

Re: WMU IRB Project Number 20-10-09

This letter will serve as confirmation that the changes to your research project titled “Intragroup Marginalization Among Latinx Migrant Farmworker College Students” requested in your memo received December 9, 2020 (to revise monetary incentive to $20 Amazon gift card for each participant; review recruitment and consent materials to reflect this change) have been approved by the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board.

The conditions and the duration of this approval are specified in the Policies of Western Michigan University.

Please note that you may only conduct this research exactly in the form it was approved. You must seek specific board approval for any changes in this project. You must also seek reapproval if the project extends beyond the termination date noted below. In addition, if there are any unanticipated adverse reactions or unanticipated events associated with the conduct of this research, you should immediately suspend the project and contact the Chair of the HSIRB for consultation.

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

Approval Termination: October 15, 2021