

A Content Analysis of Immigrant and Refugee Research: A 31-year Review

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Abstract

This study systematically reviewed the immigrant and refugee research in counseling psychology and related fields, which included 323 empirical studies in 310 articles, over a 31-year period. We analyzed the content and methods in (a) participant characteristics, (b) study characteristics, (c) topics and theoretical frameworks, and (d) publication trends. To summarize key findings, top nations of origin included Mexico, China, and South Korea. English-speaking, young individuals and college students were overrepresented in study participants. Acculturation and enculturation was one of the most frequently used variables, topics, and theories. Nevertheless, the proportion of acculturation and enculturation research has declined over time, while research on racial bias and discrimination has increased since 2000. It suggests growing attention to sociopolitical dimensions of migration beyond cultural transition. Qualitative methods were frequently used when

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studying Middle Eastern immigrants, refugees, and LGBTQ issues. We evaluated the findings from strength-based, bidirectional, ecological, and intersectional perspectives and suggest directions for research, practice, advocacy, education, and training.

Keywords

immigrant, refugee, content analysis, strength-based, ecological

Significance of the Scholarship to the Public

This study reviewed how immigrant and refugee research has been conducted in counseling psychology and related field. The findings of this study suggest the need for strength-based, bidirectional, ecological, and intersectional perspectives in understanding and supporting immigrants and refugees.

The United States comprises various waves of immigrants and refugees. Since the enactment of the Immigration and Nationality Act in 1965, demographic make-up of the United States has grown more diverse with the influx of Asian and Latinx immigrants (Pew Research Center, 2021). Reflecting the changing demographic landscape of the United States, 67.3 million individuals (21. 9% of U.S. population) speak a language other than English at home, and at least 350 languages are spoken in U.S. homes (Center for Immigration Studies, 2021; U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). Nevertheless, immigrants and refugees are still targets of discrimination and violence, and immigration policies and practices have created much fear, vulnerability, and trauma among this population (Torres et al, 2018).

To briefly review the historical and sociopolitical contexts of immigration since 1965, many Mexican temporary workers became undocumented with the restriction of annual visa quotas for each country (Durand & Massey, 2019). Despite their good intention to equalize immigration opportunities, legislators overlooked the unchanged need for, and supply of, Mexican migrant workers (Durand & Massey, 2019). The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility ACT of 1996 resulted in great numbers of detentions and deportations, and the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 limited access to public benefits for noncitizens (Torres et al., 2018). More recently, during the Trump administration, several executive orders were issued to increase deportation of undocumented immigrants, construct a border wall, and ban entry of individuals from six predominantly Muslim countries (Homeland Security, 2017).

Negative political rhetoric and media portrayal affected the public's view of immigrants, creating a hostile and discriminatory climate (Durand & Massey, 2019). Although empirical evidence indicated the benefits of immigrant labor forces to the U.S. economy (Gillula, 2015) and lower crime rates within immigrant communities (Center for American Progress Immigration Team, 2014), immigrants and refugees have often been viewed as a source of economic drain, potential criminals, and threats to national security under an anti-immigrant sociopolitical climate (Torres et al., 2018; Waters & Pineau, 2016). Hate crimes against immigrants coupled with an anti-immigration climate may lead to psychological distress and trauma for immigrants (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2019).

On the other hand, about three million refugees have arrived in the United States since the federal Refugee Resettlement Program was created in 1980 (Pew Research Center, 2021). Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) enhanced the well-being of undocumented childhood immigrants by providing educational and career opportunities and reducing anxiety related to deportation (Torres et al., 2018). Given the close links between immigration policies and practices and the well-being of immigrants and refugees, psychologists' role as advocates is essential.

The American Psychological Association (APA) has advocated for immigrants and refugees as shown in the following efforts: *APA Resolution on Immigrant Children, Youth, and Families* (APA, 1998), *Crossroads: The Psychology of Immigration in the New century* (APA, 2012), and the *2019 APA Immigration and Refugee Policy Statement* (APA, 2019). Chavez-Dueñas et al. (2019) further called psychologists to action to make psychology a "sanctuary discipline" (p. 49), in relation to ethno-racial trauma in Latinx immigrant communities. Advocacy for immigrants and refugees are especially pertinent to the discipline of counseling psychology given its core values of diversity and social justice (Home, 2014). During the APA presidency of Melba Vasquez, a counseling psychologist, the APA formed the Presidential Task Force on Immigration and produced a comprehensive report of U.S. immigrants' psychological issues (APA, 2012). Two counseling psychologists, Frederick T. L. Leong and Azara Santiago Rivera, were respective founding editors of the *Asian American Journal of Psychology* and the *Journal of Latinx Psychology*, important outlets for immigrant and refugee research. *The Counseling Psychologist* and the *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, flagship journals of counseling psychology, have consistently published empirical studies on immigrant and refugee experiences.

However, despite the decades of accumulated research on immigrant and refugee experiences in counseling psychology, there has yet to be a comprehensive synthesis and evaluation of the literature. This is important for the following reasons. First, the gap between the advance of primary studies and a synthesis of accumulated knowledge creates difficulties in indexing past

accomplishments, appraising the strengths and weaknesses within the field, and giving directions for future research, practice, and advocacy (Yoon et al., 2020). For example, according to our anecdotal review based on personal observation, it appears that research on less privileged populations (e.g., undocumented, refugees, non-English speaking, aged, less educated) lags research on their counterparts (e.g., documented, voluntary immigrants, English speaking, young, educated). However, without an extensive literature search and a systematic analysis of sample characteristics, the extent and nature of the gap is unclear. Next, primary studies tend to be influenced by researchers' backgrounds and interests stemming from their personal experiences in immigrant and refugee families and communities. They are valuable by adding specificity to the body of knowledge. However, a comprehensive and systematic review can provide an overview of the field that gives future directions. Moreover, as influential as U.S. immigration laws and policies are in the international community, U.S.-based researchers need to be conscious of the impact of their immigrant and refugee research in the international context. This requires critical self-examination of the way we do research. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to synthesize and evaluate the content and methods of immigrant and refugee research in counseling psychology and related fields. As the first content analysis on this topic, we aimed for a comprehensive overview as opposed to a focalized review.

The Present Study

We aimed to respond to the following research questions through a content analysis of: (a) how immigrant and refugee research in counseling psychology and related fields has been conducted and (b) what has been studied. Given the extensiveness of the literature, we restricted the scope of immigrant and refugee research in counseling psychology and related fields by following the example of Yoon et al.'s (2011) content analysis on acculturation. We selected the five major APA and American Counseling Association (ACA) journals which many counseling psychologists have used as outlets for immigrant and refugee research. They represent the fields of counseling, counseling psychology, multicultural counseling, and ethnic minority psychology: *The Counseling Psychologist* (TCP), the *Journal of Counseling Psychology* (JCP), *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology* (CDP), the *Journal of Counseling & Development* (JCD), and the *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development* (JMCD). We analyzed the content and methods of empirical studies in (a) participant characteristics (e.g., race, home and host nations, immigration status, nativity and/or generation status), (b) study characteristics (e.g., sample size, sampling source, data collection and analysis methods, variables used), (c) research topics and theoretical

frameworks, and (d) publication trends. This review will reveal sub-populations and topics that have been neglected or understudied. It will also reveal methodological strengths and weaknesses.

Method

Researchers

The analysis team consisted of six researchers: two female faculty members in counseling psychology who are respective immigrants from South Korea and Nigeria; three doctoral students in counseling psychology including one female Chinese international student, one male Korean Canadian international student, and one female second generation Korean immigrant; and one female Korean immigrant doctoral student in educational psychology. All members have conducted research in ethnic minority psychology for 2 to 20 years. One faculty member developed the systems for data search, coding, and analysis; four student researchers conducted a literature search; all six researchers were involved in data coding; and two faculty members analyzed the coded data. It was possible that researchers' lived experiences as an immigrant or sojourner in the United States might affect data coding and analysis. To minimize the potential influences of researcher subjectivity, we used a reiterative review process that involved three steps of independent coding, paired coding, and group checking. This process will be explained in detail in the following section.

Procedure

Data Search. We searched for data articles in multiple phases. First, we searched for empirical studies published in *TCP*, the *JCP*, *CDP*, the *JCD*, and the *JMCD*, starting with 1990¹. We conducted a search on PsycINFO by using the keywords of "immigra*" and "refugee*." Our initial search up to April of 2017 produced a total of 201 articles. We reviewed each article by using the inclusion criteria of empirical research (i.e., quantitative, qualitative, mixed method) that included immigrants and/or refugees as study participants or studied host citizens' attitudes toward immigrants and/or refugees. Researchers were divergent in labeling immigrants and refugees. For example, some researchers restricted their use of "immigrants" only to foreign-born individuals, while others described their descendants as second-, third-, or fourth-generation immigrants. Unlike voluntary immigrants, *refugees* refer to the individuals who left their countries due to "fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion" ([Convention and protocol relating to the status of refugees, 1951](#), p. 3). However, quite a few researchers used the broad category of

immigrants to include both voluntary immigrants and displaced refugees. Contrary to the usage of “immigrants,” host nation-born descendants of refugees were rarely labeled as refugees.

Given this divergence in naming immigrants and refugees, we followed primary authors’ operationalization. For example, if primary authors labeled their study participants of U.S.-born Mexican Americans as second generation immigrants, we included the study. Even if the authors did not label their study participants as immigrants or refugees, we included the study if the participants were described from a migratory perspectives, for example, by reporting their generation status after immigration (e.g., first-generation Mexican Americans, second-generation Chinese Americans) or nativity (foreign-born vs. U.S.-born Vietnamese Americans) and situating their study within the context of international migration in the introduction and the discussion. As a result, we retained 134 of the 201 articles. Next, to ensure a thorough search, we did a thumb-through search (i.e., a quick review of all articles for each issue) of each journal issue since 1990, which yielded 61 additional articles.

Three years had passed since the initial data search by the time initial data coding was completed. To include more recent publications, we conducted a second-round search by using the same strategies of a keyword and thumb-through search of each journal issue published between May of 2017 and September of 2020. This search yielded 115 additional articles. In summary, we identified a total of 323 studies in 310 articles published from 1990 to September of 2020. A total of 20 articles were from *TCP*, 59 articles (60 studies) from the *JCP*, 198 articles (210 studies) from *CDP*, 17 articles from the *JCD*, and 16 articles from the *JMCD*. They comprised 270 (83.6%) quantitative studies, 45 (13.9%) qualitative studies, and 8 (2.5%) mixed method studies. The list of data articles is available as [online supplemental material](#).

Data Coding and Analysis. We developed an initial coding system based on our research questions. We referred to the examples of previous content analyses (e.g., [Worthington et al., 2007](#); [Yoon et al., 2011](#)) that descriptively analyzed sample characteristics (e.g., demographics, sampling sources), study characteristics (e.g., study type, data collection and analysis methods), and content areas. We held training sessions to review the coding system, practice coding, and clarify any uncertainties. Between training sessions, all members were assigned to independently code the same practice set of studies, which advanced from simple to more complicated ones. In this way, we could ensure that each member was ready for independent coding.

All data coding was done in three steps: independently, in pairs, and as a group. Both researchers in each pair independently coded the assigned studies and then reviewed the coding sheets together to resolve any discrepancies.

Disagreements in pairs were reviewed during research team meetings to reach consensus as a group. While inductively reviewing and coding the studies, we further refined the coding system (e.g., categorizing home nations into regions). As the coding system was revised, we retrospectively recoded the previously coded data. The variables and content areas (i.e., topics, theoretical frameworks), in particular, required multiple recoding and recategorizations as new contents arose. After initial coding was completed through the process of individual, in-pair, and group work, two faculty members and one doctoral student had additional meetings to recategorize the variables and content areas due to the overwhelming amount of information and excessive numbers of categories. We focused on creating larger categories to condense information without losing valuable information and arrived at the final categories through discussions.

As for the specifics of coding and analysis, we first examined participant characteristics in terms of race, home and host nations, immigration status (i.e., immigrants, refugees, host citizens), legal status, nativity (i.e., foreign-born vs. host nation-born), generation status, gender, and age. Second, we analyzed study characteristics of sample size, sampling source (e.g., K–12 schools), data collection methods (e.g., survey, interview) and language used, data analysis methods (e.g., path analysis, grounded theory), and variables used for quantitative research. Third, we analyzed the content of main topics and theoretical frameworks. Finally, we traced changes in total publications by the number of articles published from 1990 to 2020 in 2-year increments. We also traced research trends across six periods of 1990–1995, 1996–2000, 2001–2005, 2006–2010, 2011–2015, and 2016–2020 as to topics and theoretical frameworks.

Most analyses were done based on the 323 studies, while the 310 articles were used to trace publication numbers over years. Although the total number of studies was 323, the specific number of cases for each analysis varied. For example, if a study included immigrants from multiple nations and/or racial backgrounds, we counted all the nations and racial groups, thus *ns* exceeding 323. Conversely, many studies omitted certain information (e.g., theoretical framework(s) of the study); thus, *ns* became lower than 323. Although we primarily analyzed the combined data of quantitative, qualitative, and mixed method studies, we occasionally analyzed them separately by study types if it provided more useful information (e.g., sample size, data collection, and analysis methods). Additionally, given the different migratory conditions between immigrants and refugees, we planned to conduct follow-up analyses by immigrant versus refugee status. However, many studies either did not report this status differences or lumped them together in the same sample (e.g., Hmong refugees and other Asian immigrants). Hence, we did a follow-up analysis only for the studies whose samples included refugees alone ($n = 13$).

We reported the follow-up analysis results only if they were distinct from those of the combined data.

Results

Participant Characteristics

As presented in [Table 1](#), Latinx and Asian Americans were the most frequently studied racial and ethnic groups, each being included in 49.5% ($n = 160$) of the 323 studies². They were followed by Black/African Americans and European Americans. Immigrants and refugees originated from 97 different countries. Top home nations included Mexico ($n = 98$; included in 30.3% of the 323 studies), China, and South Korea. When the 97 countries were grouped into geographic regions, North America (e.g., Mexico, Canada; $n = 102$, 32.6%) was the top region of origin, followed by East Asia, Southeast Asia, and Caribbean America. The home nations of refugees included Bangladesh, Cambodia, Eritrea, Ghana, Iran, Laos, Lebanon, Myanmar, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, the United Arab Emirates, and Vietnam. A total of 17 nations were represented as host nations which immigrants and refugees migrated to. Most studies listed the United States as the host nation ($n = 281$; 87.0%), followed by Canada and the Netherlands.

A total of 252 studies (78% of the 323 studies) reported participants' immigration status (e.g., immigrants, refugees, host citizens). Thirteen studies included only refugees and 24 studies included the dominant racial group of the host society. A small number of studies ($n = 28$, 8.7%) reported participants' legal status, 17 of which included undocumented immigrants. As to participants' nativity (i.e., foreign-born vs. host nation-born) and generation status, both foreign-born ($n = 316$, 97.8%) and host nation-born ($n = 288$, 89.2%) participants were well represented in the 323 studies, 126 (39.0%) of which specified participants' generation status. As for the subsample of 13 refugee only studies, all participants were foreign-born. Only 96 studies (29.7%) reported the average length of time that foreign-born participants had lived in the host nation (or age of immigration), which ranged from .90 to 30.90 years (weighted mean by sample size = 14.53, $SD = 7.52$). Primary studies reported gender information in a binary manner. While most studies ($n = 263$, 81.4%) included both males and females, more studies included females only ($n = 41$, 12.7%) than males only ($n = 10$, 3.1%). Overall, females represented 59.1% of the total participants across all studies. Mean ages of participants ranged from 4.46 to 78.5 years, with a weighted mean of 28.98 ($SD = 8.55$) by sample size.

Table 1. Participant Characteristics

Participant Characteristics	Frequency (No.)	Percentage (%)
Race and/or Ethnicity	<i>n</i> = 486	
Asian American	160	32.9
Latinx	160	32.9
Black/African American	47	9.7
European American	43	8.8
European outside of the United States	22	4.5
African outside of the United States	20	4.1
Middle Eastern American	14	2.9
Other (e.g., Asian outside of the U.S.)	20	4.1
Home Nation	<i>n</i> = 939	
Mexico	98	10.4
China	77	8.2
South Korea	56	6.0
Vietnam	47	5.0
India	38	4.0
Philippines	36	3.8
El Salvador	31	3.3
Puerto Rico	28	3.0
Colombia	27	2.9
Guatemala	25	2.7
Cuba	25	2.7
Dominican Republic	25	2.7
Other (e.g., Lebanon, Nigeria, Poland)	426	45.4
Home Region	<i>n</i> = 544	
North America (e.g., Mexico, Canada)	102	18.8
East Asia	76	14.0
Southeast Asia	54	9.9
Caribbean America	49	9.0
Central America	41	7.5
South America	41	7.5
South Asia	34	6.3
Eastern Europe	24	4.4
Middle East	20	3.7
Other (e.g., Pacific Islands, Northern Africa, Southern Europe)	82	15.1
Host Nation	<i>n</i> = 327	
United States	281	85.9
Canada	17	5.2
Netherlands	8	2.4

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

Participant Characteristics	Frequency (No.)	Percentage (%)
Germany	3	.9
Israel	3	.9
Other (e.g., Finland, Spain, UK)	15	4.6
Generation Status	<i>n</i> = 301	
First generation	113	37.5
1.5 generation	23	7.6
Second generation	85	28.2
Third generation	52	17.3
Fourth generation	28	9.3

Note. Percentage calculation is based on the number of valid cases (*n*) for each analysis after counting multiple responses and excluding missing cases.

Study Characteristics

Table 2 presents study characteristics. Sample sizes ranged from 39 to 76,879 (*Mdn* = 252) for quantitative and mixed method studies (*n* = 278). The majority of them (88.5%) included less than 1,000 participants, while four (1.2%) studies had larger than 10,000 participants. The sample sizes of qualitative studies (*n* = 45) ranged from 1 to 93 (*Mdn* = 13). Major sampling sources included community, college campuses, and K–12 schools. As for the subsample of 13 refugee only studies, community was the dominant sampling source (*n* = 9, 69.2%). Survey and individual interview were most frequently used for data collection, respectively for quantitative and qualitative research. A total of 21 languages were used for data collection, among which English was most frequently used (*n* = 250, 77.4% of the 323 studies), followed by Spanish, Mandarin Chinese, and Korean. Top analysis methods included moderation test, path analysis and structural equation modeling (SEM), and correlation and regression for quantitative research and consensual qualitative research (CQR), grounded theory, phenomenological approach, and thematic analysis for qualitative research.

As shown in Table 3, we analyzed the variables used for quantitative and mixed method studies (*n* = 278)—predictors, outcomes, and intervening variables (e.g., mediator and moderator). Acculturation and enculturation was the most frequently used predictor (*n* = 100, 36.0% of the 278 studies), followed by immigration related participant characteristics (e.g., generation status, national or ethnic background, length of stay in the host nation), and general demographic characteristics (e.g., age, gender, education). Top outcome variables included mental health and well-being (*n* = 167, 60.1% of 278 studies), acculturation and enculturation, and counseling-related factors

Table 2. Study Characteristics

Study Characteristics	Frequency (No.)	Percentage (%)
Sampling Source	<i>n</i> = 351	
Community	149	42.5
College campus	98	27.9
K-12 schools	61	17.4
Other (e.g., hospital, outpatient mental health center, correctional facility)	43	12.3
Data Collection Method		
Quantitative	<i>n</i> = 282	
Survey	267	94.7
Experiment—laboratory	7	2.5
Experiment—field	4	1.4
Other (e.g., meta-analysis)	4	1.4
Qualitative	<i>n</i> = 59	
Individual interview	29	49.2
Focus group	23	39.0
Case study	4	6.8
Open-ended questions in writing	3	5.1
Data Collection Language	<i>n</i> = 406	
English	250	61.6
Spanish	83	20.4
Mandarin Chinese	16	3.9
Korean	8	2.0
Arabic	7	1.7
Vietnamese	7	1.7
Dutch	6	1.5
Other (e.g., Cantonese, Farsi, Russian)	29	7.1
Data Analysis Method		
Quantitative	<i>n</i> = 353	
Moderation test (using ANOVA or multiple regression)	92	26.1
Path analysis and SEM (excluding CFA)	75	21.2
Correlation and regression	61	17.3
Mean comparison	39	11.0
Factor analysis (exploratory and confirmatory)	35	9.9
Mediation test (using multiple regression)	25	7.1
Other (e.g., cluster analysis, hierarchical linear modeling, meta-analysis)	26	7.4

(continued)

Table 2. (continued)

Study Characteristics	Frequency (No.)	Percentage (%)
Qualitative	<i>n</i> = 56	
Consensual Qualitative Research	15	26.8
Grounded theory	12	21.4
Phenomenological approach	9	16.1
Thematic analysis	8	14.3
Case study	3	5.4
Other (e.g., post-positivist approach, unspecified)	9	16.1

Note. ANOVA = Analysis of Variance; SEM = Structural Equation Modeling; CFA = Confirmatory Factor Analysis. Percentage calculation is based on the number of valid cases (*N*) for each analysis after counting multiple responses and excluding missing cases.

(e.g., help-seeking attitudes, counselor credibility). Acculturation and enculturation was the most frequently used intervening variable (*n* = 35, 12.6% of 278 studies) as well, followed by social relations and attitudes (e.g., belongingness, social support, in-group vs. out-group attitudes).

Content Areas

We categorized study topics into 30 broad categories. Many studies covered multiple content areas. Hence, in some cases, more than one major topic was coded from the same study. As shown in Table 4, the most frequently studied topics included mental health, well-being, adjustment, coping (*n* = 130, 40.2% of 323 studies) and acculturation and enculturation (*n* = 117; 36.2%), followed by racial bias/discrimination, racial/ethnic/national identity, and family/parenting/close relationship. The majority of the 13 refugee only studies covered the topics of stress/trauma (*n* = 5, 38.5%) and counseling/psychological services (*n* = 4, 30.8%).

Less than half of the studies specified their theoretical framework(s) (*n* = 142, 44.0% of the 323 studies). When we categorized them into 12 broad categories, identity (*n* = 33, 10.2% of the 323 studies) and acculturation (*n* = 32, 9.9%) related theories were most frequently utilized. They were followed by social system's theories (*n* = 28, 9.9%), mental health and stress (*n* = 27, 8.7%), oppression and privilege (*n* = 10, 3.1%), academic and career development (*n* = 8, 2.5%), and family related theories (*n* = 6, 1.9%). To name salient theories, the primary studies utilized such theories as Tajfel's (1981) social identity theory, Erikson's (1968) life span development, Phinney's (Phinney & Ong, 2007) ethnic identity development, Berry's (1995)

Table 3. Predictors, Outcomes, and Intervening Variables for Quantitative Methods

Predictors, Outcomes, and Intervening Variables for Quantitative Methods	Frequency (%)		
	Predictors	Outcomes	Intervening Variables
	<i>n</i> = 505	<i>n</i> = 362	<i>n</i> = 268
Acculturation and enculturation (e.g., behaviors, values, acculturative stress, acculturation gap)	100 (19.8)	42 (11.6)	35 (13.1)
Immigration related participant characteristics (e.g., generation status, length of stay in the host nation)	76 (15.0)		29 (10.8)
General demographic characteristics (e.g., age, gender, education)	67 (13.3)		27 (0.1)
Bias and discrimination (e.g., racism, microaggression)	54 (10.7)	22 (6.1)	14 (5.2)
Identity (e.g., racial identity, ethnic identity, national identity)	33 (6.5)	15 (4.1)	29 (10.8)
Social relations and attitudes (e.g., belongingness, social support, in-group vs. out-group attitudes)	30 (5.9)	12 (3.3)	30 (11.2)
Family (e.g., parenting, parent-child relationship)	28 (5.5)	22 (6.1)	29 (10.8)
Mental health, well-being, adjustment, and coping	28 (5.5)	169 (46.7)	33 (12.3)
Ecological factors (e.g., ethnic density, perceived context of reception, availability of cultural resources)	23 (4.6)		
Personal traits/dispositions (e.g., personality, self-efficacy, attachment)	18 (3.6)		9 (3.4)
Counseling-related factors (e.g., help-seeking attitudes, counselor credibility)		26 (7.2)	
Immigration-related attitudes and behaviors (e.g., host citizens' attitudes toward immigrants, immigrants' attitudes toward immigrants)		17 (4.7)	
Career and academic factors (e.g., work satisfaction, academic performance, school drop-out)		17 (4.7)	
Physical health		8 (2.2)	
Research methods (e.g., language, time)			6 (2.2)
Other	71 (14.1)	12 (3.3)	27 (9.0)

Note. Frequencies were reported only for the top 10 categories for each variable. Percentage calculation is based on the number of valid cases (*n*) for each analysis after counting multiple responses and excluding missing cases.

Table 4. Study Topics

Study Topics	Frequency (No.)	Percentage (%)
Mental health, well-being, adjustment, and coping	120	17.9
Acculturation/enculturation	106	15.8
Racial bias and discrimination	59	8.8
Racial, ethnic, and national identity	52	7.8
Family, parenting, and close relationships	49	7.3
Stress and trauma	38	5.7
Counseling and psychological services	29	4.3
Social relations and attitudes (e.g., belongingness, social support, in-group vs. out-group attitudes)	26	3.9
Demographic and cultural backgrounds (e.g., citizenship status, gender, skin color)	23	3.4
Career and academic development	22	3.3
Personal traits and dispositions (e.g., personality, self-efficacy, attachment)	16	2.4
Undocumented immigrants' experiences	16	2.4
Physical health and disease (e.g., breast cancer)	12	1.8
Context of host society (e.g., acceptance, attitudes toward immigrants, multicultural climate)	11	1.6
Other (e.g., colonial mentality, LGBTQ issues, racial/ethnic socialization, poverty)	116	17.3

Note. $n = 669$. Percentage calculation is based on the number of valid cases (n) after counting multiple responses.

acculturation strategies, [Hwang's \(2006\)](#) acculturative family distancing, [Bronfenbrenner's \(1977\)](#) ecological system theory, [Allport's \(1954\)](#) inter-group contact theory, and [David and Okazaki's \(2006\)](#) colonial mentality.

Changes in Total Publications and Research Trends

[Figure 1](#) presents changes in the number of articles from 1990 to 2020 in 2-year increments. Despite some fluctuations, the number of articles has overall increased from three between 1990 and 1991 to 71 between 2019 and 2020. All publications before 2000 were quantitative except for one. Since 2000, study types became more diverse with the increase of qualitative and mixed method studies. Next, we traced changes in major topics and theoretical frameworks across six periods of 1990–1995, 1996–2000, 2001–2005, 2006–2010, 2011–2015, and 2016–2020. The major topics of mental health, well-being, adjustment, coping; racial, ethnic, national identity; family, parenting, close relationship; and stress and trauma did not indicate any noticeable

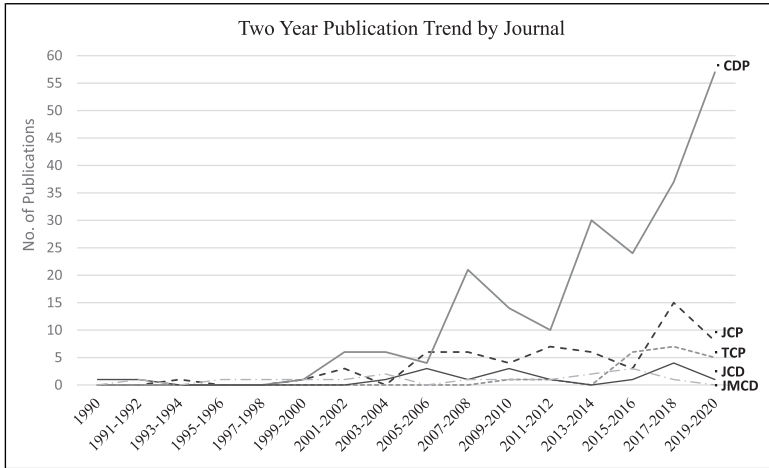


Figure 1. Publication trends (1990–2020).

Note. CDP = *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*; JCP = *Journal of Counseling Psychology*; TCP = *The Counseling Psychologist*; JCD = *Journal of Counseling & Development*; JMCD = *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*.

patterns of increase or decrease, while the topic of counseling/psychological services has declined in proportion to other topics. Even though the number of publications on acculturation and enculturation has increased over years, they have steadily declined in proportion to other topics from 40.0% of all topics between 1990–1995 to 13.5% from 2016–2020. Conversely, publications on racial bias/discrimination have gradually increased from 0% between 1990–1995 to 11.2% from 2016–2020.

New topics that emerged during the recent 10–15 years included social relations and attitudes (e.g., belongingness, social support, in-group vs. out-group attitudes), undocumented immigrant experiences, personal traits and dispositions (e.g., personality, self-efficacy, attachment), context of host society (e.g., acceptance, attitudes toward immigrants, multicultural climate), other ecological influences (e.g., ethnic density, classroom composition, cultural resources in the community), colonial history and mentality, and racial and ethnic socialization. It is noteworthy that all 16 articles on undocumented immigrant experiences were published in the 2010s, including 14 articles published between 2016–2020. Theoretical frameworks were specified only in the publications after 2000. Parallel to the shifting trend in topics, acculturation and enculturation theories have also declined from 44.3% of all theories in the years 2001–2005 to 13.3% between 2016–2020.

Differences by Study Types

We conducted a follow-up analysis to examine if the findings differed by study types. Interestingly, although qualitative studies comprised only 13.9% of the 323 studies, six of the 14 studies (42.9%) conducted with Middle Eastern Americans, seven of the 13 studies (53.8%) conducted with refugees only, and three of the four studies (75.5%) on the topic of LGBTQ issues were qualitative. Additionally, *CDP* published mostly quantitative studies (91.0%), while the *JCD* (47.1%) and *TCP* (35%) frequently published qualitative or mixed method studies.

Discussion

To summarize the key findings of participant characteristics, top host nations were the United States (87% of 323 studies) and other Western countries (e.g., Canada, Netherlands, Germany, Australia). Although 31% and 22% of migrants worldwide live in Asia and North Africa, respectively, ([Department of Economic et Social Affairs, 2017](#)), only five of 323 studies listed non-Western countries (i.e., Israel, China, Uganda) as a host nation. This discrepancy may result from the nature of the current U.S.-based, English-written journals. Therefore, readers should keep in mind the international context of migration while interpreting current findings.

Top home nations and regions of origin were generally similar to the report by [Pew Research Center \(2021\)](#). Latinx and Asian Americans, as the most frequently studied groups, also reflected the current immigration trend in the United States ([Pew Research Center, 2021](#)). The level of specificity in reporting nativity and generation status varied from foreign- versus host nation-born status to specific generation status, and even to further specification of first versus 1.5 generation status. Only about a third of the studies reported foreign-born individuals' length of stay in their host-nation (or age of immigration). This is important demographic information to report considering its links to acculturation and enculturation, ethnic identity, and mental health ([Yip et al., 2008](#); [Yoon et al., 2013](#)). Less than 10% of the studies reported participants' legal status presumably due to the sensitivity of this information, many of which had a specific purpose of studying undocumented immigrants' experiences.

As for study characteristics, community was the top source of data collection, contrary to the typical reliance on college students in psychology research ([Henrich et al., 2016](#)). Although it is encouraging that community, college campus, K–12 schools, and other sources were all included, college students were still heavily overrepresented (27.9% in this review vs. less than 6% in U.S. general population; [U.S. Census Bureau, 2021](#)). Although this may partially reflect the discipline specific focus on this developmental stage, it

may also be due to the convenience of data collection void of translation, scale validation, relationship building within immigrant and refugee communities, and related cost and resources (Yoon et al., 2011). The disproportionate sampling practice, which overrepresents English speaking, young individuals (mean age of 29 years) and college students, could limit or skew our understanding of immigrant and refugee experiences, especially non-English speaking, aged, and less educated individuals.

Spanish, Mandarin Chinese, Korean, Arabic, and Vietnamese were the most frequently used languages for data collection, other than English, which partly reflects the top non-English languages spoken in U.S. immigrant families—Spanish, Chinese, Hindi, Filipino/Tagalog, and French in descending order of frequency (Pew Research Center, 2021). It is positive that 21 different languages have been utilized. Nevertheless, almost half of U.S. immigrants report being nonproficient in speaking English and at least 350 languages are spoken in U.S. homes (Pew Research Center, 2021; U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). Thus, it is likely that many immigrant and refugee experiences are still un- and underrepresented in the current scholarship. The top data collection and analysis methods of survey included: moderation test, path analysis and SEM for quantitative research and individual interview, focus group, CQR, and grounded theory for qualitative research and reflected the methods commonly used in counseling psychology research (see Yoon et al., 2011).

It is noteworthy that acculturation and enculturation was one of the most frequently used variables, topics, and theories. Interestingly, with the emergence of new topics and theories, acculturation and enculturation research has steadily declined in proportion. Conversely, the topic of racial bias and discrimination has increased since 2000. This inverse trend of acculturation and enculturation versus racial bias and discrimination suggests that research focus may have shifted or expanded from cultural aspects to sociopolitical dimensions of migration. Since the enactment of the Immigration and Nationality Act in 1965, the number of second- and third-generation immigrants from non-European backgrounds has grown over time (Pew Research Center, 2021), which is likely to affect the demographics in academia as well as in the public. These later generation immigrants may consider racial discrimination and oppression as seriously as, or even more important than, acculturation and enculturation. Acculturation and enculturation is crucial to foreign-born, first-generation immigrants for adjustment and survival in a new cultural context (Yoon et al., 2013). Conversely, racial oppression in their country of birth may feel particularly painful to later generation immigrants who do not have an alternative home to return to—an affective anchor. Such generational differences may partly explain the shifting trend of research topics in line with immigration history.

Furthermore, with the advance of acculturation and enculturation research, major meta-analytic studies have been published since the early 2010s and have summarized accumulated empirical findings as well as theoretical and conceptual developments in the field (see Lui, 2015; Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013; Sun et al., 2016; Yoon et al., 2013, 2020). Currently, acculturation research appears to be somewhat saturated and have reached a plateau, both empirically and theoretically (Yoon et al., 2020). A major paradigm shift or expansion is expected in measurement, research, and theory to capture the dynamic, evolving, and interactive process of cultural socialization in its sociopolitical environments.

The overall increase of qualitative and mixed method studies since 2000 is promising. These methods enable study of the populations and topics that quantitative research cannot by requiring a rather large sample size and hypothesis testing (Gergen, 2001). In relation, many studies on refugees, Middle Eastern Americans, and LGBTQ issues utilized qualitative methods. This highlights the potential of qualitative methods in reaching understudied populations due to language barriers or vulnerability (e.g., asylum seekers; politically persecuted; culturally, religiously, or racially stigmatized) and tapping into difficult topics.

Limitations

First, given the extensiveness of the literature, we limited the scope of this study to five major APA and ACA journals which represent counseling and counseling psychology, multicultural counseling, and ethnic minority psychology. Thus, this study did not encompass all journals that counseling psychologists may use as outlets for immigrant and refugee research (e.g., *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, *Journal of Black Psychology*, *Journal of Latinx Psychology*), while including research from other related disciplines (e.g., counselor education, social psychology). In addition, immigrant and refugee research may particularly benefit from international collaboration. However, exclusivity of the current U.S.-based, English-written journals may have limited such international perspectives. International psychology journals, such as *the Counselling Psychology Quarterly*, *the International Journal for the Advancement of Counseling*, *the Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, and *the International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, as well as journals from non-Western societies, might take different approaches to studying immigrant and refugee experiences.

Second, we followed primary researchers' operationalization of immigrants and refugees in data search, which is likely to have affected included versus excluded studies for this review. In addition, immigrant and refugee data were combined in the data analysis because primary studies often did not differentiate the two or lumped them together in one sample. To address this

limitation, we did a follow-up analysis of the studies whose samples included refugees alone and reported the results if they were distinct from the combined data. Third, the current analysis was based on the information that the primary studies provided. For example, primary studies sometimes categorized Middle Eastern immigrants as White instead of creating their own category. Hence, their unique experiences as cultural and/or religious minorities were sometimes conflated with White racial experiences. Additionally, participants' gender composition reflected the gender binary reports by the primary studies. Lastly, because of the reiterative process of independent, paired, and group coding, which involved several revisions of the coding system and retrospective recoding in an inductive way, it was challenging to record multiple versions of data coding and assess inter-rater reliability. Thus, the present findings should be understood in consideration of these limitations.

Implications for Research, Practice, Advocacy, Education, and Training

Before discussing specific implications, we propose a general perspective change in immigrant and refugee research and practice. Traditional approaches in psychology (i.e., deficit-based, acontextual, compartmentalized identities) can be further reinforced in research and practice with immigrants and refugees, due to increased power differences between researcher-participant and practitioner-client. This may lead to pathologizing, patronizing, and overly simplifying immigrant and refugee experiences. Alternatively, we propose strength-based, bidirectional, ecological, and intersectional perspectives as an overarching framework of immigrant and refugee work. Then, we will discuss specific suggestions for research, practice, advocacy, education, and training.

Strength-Based Perspective. About half of the studies included mental health/well-being or stress/trauma as one of the main topics. Stress/trauma was especially frequently studied with refugee populations. Psychology researchers have traditionally focused on the factors and processes leading to mental health outcomes (Park & Peterson, 2008). Hence, the current findings are not aberrant from such tradition. However, our view of immigrants and refugees can be confined within a deficit model by omitting research on strengths and resilience. Despite elevated levels of stress and difficulties around migration (Torres et al., 2018), an exclusive focus on deficits pathologizes immigrant and refugee experiences. Instead, we propose a strength-based approach that highlights resilience and potential within immigrants and refugees by viewing their adjustment difficulties, acculturative stress, and intergenerational family conflicts as a part of migratory process (i.e., developmental, transitional) as opposed to inherent flaws. Research and practice

for refugees particularly need to look beyond maintaining basic needs by simply focusing on their survival ([United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2017](#)). It is important to also address refugees' ability to be resilient and achieve higher order human needs.

We redefine the relationship between the host nation and immigrants and refugees from a benefactor–beneficiary relationship to a mutually beneficial one. This shift would mitigate relational imbalance and cultivate mutual appreciation. For example, parents and teachers could encourage children in the host society to develop active listening skills of English spoken with various accents. This could be taught as a necessary skill to live harmoniously in an increasingly diversifying nation, as opposed to considering accents an indication of cultural or intellectual inferiority. By actively engaging in cross-cultural interactions and learning from immigrant and refugee communities, host citizens may expand their cultural horizons and develop skills needed as citizens of this increasingly globalized world.

Bidirectional and Ecological Perspective. A small number of studies examined the context of host society (e.g., acceptance, attitudes toward immigrants, multicultural climate) and other ecological factors (e.g., ethnic density, classroom composition, cultural resources in the community). These topics emerged during the recent 10–15 years, suggesting increasing attention to migratory environments beyond individuals. Additionally, most research on undocumented immigrants were published after 2015, which suggests the impact of sociopolitical circumstances (e.g., anti-immigrant policies and rhetoric at the federal level) on immigrant research. It is also promising that a small number of studies involved host citizens' views in the equation of immigrant and refugee experiences. Nevertheless, immigrant and refugee research has been largely acontextual by omitting ecological variables in study designs (see [Yoon et al., 2020](#)). Furthermore, a bidirectional approach studying the impact of immigration on the host society was even more scarce. Reflecting Euro-centric views of intercultural relations, researchers have almost exclusively focused on the influences from the U.S. mainstream society to immigrant and refugee communities, while overlooking the impacts of and benefits from these communities.

Immigration affects both immigrating individuals and the host society. Individuals and surrounding systems (e.g., family, school, community, society, global community) interact and influence each other, requiring a bidirectional and ecological understanding of immigration ([Yoon et al., 2020](#)). For example, an influx of immigrants and refugees to a community will affect its school system (e.g., English language learner [ELL] classes), while the school curriculum (e.g., portrayal of Mexican culture) will impact immigrant and refugee children's ethnic identity development. Immigration related policies and rhetoric at the federal level will have ripple effects on community,

leading to acceptance or rejection of immigrants and refugees in the neighborhood. Thus, immigrant and refugee mental health needs to be understood in the context of migratory environments (e.g., diversity climate, immigration policy; [da Silva Rebelo et al., 2018](#); [Torres et al., 2018](#)). As an excellent example of an ecological approach, [Fanfan and Stacciarini \(2020\)](#) reviewed acculturative stress among Latinx and Black Caribbean immigrants across five levels of social-ecological influences—individual, interpersonal, institutional, community, and policy. It is encouraging that the current review indicated increasing attention to migratory contexts.

Intersectionality. The primary studies included in data analyses examined immigrant and refugee experiences in relation to cultural and ethnic backgrounds, race, gender, sexual orientation, nativity, generation status, and legal status. However, our review of topics and theories indicated that researchers have rarely conceptualized, designed, or discussed their studies explicitly from intersectional perspectives. In other words, although researchers might have been aware of the intersectionality of immigrant and refugee experiences and identities, they have not clearly conceptualized or designed research within the theoretical framework of intersectionality.

Intersectionality theory was first introduced by Black feminist scholars and activists to understand the experiences of oppression more accurately across multiple social identities ([Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2019](#); [Crenshaw, 1989](#)). This theory attends to the interlocking systems of power and oppression across individual, institutional, cultural, and systemic levels. Given the multidimensionality of immigrant and refugee experiences across race, culture, religion, gender, language, and social class, traditional theories and research in psychology appear to be ill equipped to explain the complexity of these experiences. Alternatively, researchers and practitioners need to take an intersectional perspective of racism, nativism, linguisticism, classism, and xenophobia to understand immigrant and refugee experiences of oppression in its entirety (see [Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2019](#)).

Specific Implications for Research. Participants' age groups need to be diversified for different generation statuses, as opposed to studying mostly community-based adults for first-generation experiences versus youth and college students for later generation experiences. For instance, most studies on parent–child relationships focused on adolescents and college students—a developmental period for identity search and individuation with elevated family conflict ([Erikson, 1968](#)). Consequently, not much is known about adult children's interpretation of their family of origin at a later developmental stage. This exclusive focus on one developmental period may unfairly portray immigrant family dynamics to be highly conflictual and problematic. Adult children may develop a new understanding of their first-generation parents

while undergoing their own family and career development. Diversification of participants' age groups within each generation, in addition to longitudinal research, would inform how family relations evolve along the family life cycle, shifting the focus from deficits to strengths.

Migration and its effects span lifetime and generations (Yoon et al., 2020). Therefore, longitudinal research would better describe migratory experiences as an evolving process rather than a fixed state. The Midwest Longitudinal Study of Asian American Families (Choi, 2021), which has followed Filipino and Korean families in parent-child dyads from children's middle and high school years, to college, and thereafter, is an excellent example for that purpose. Additionally, qualitative research may better elucidate the strengths within immigrant and refugee communities by allowing participants to explore and express their lived experiences freely. Using a native language would further facilitate this exploration. Qualitative research would be especially appropriate for studying migratory growth (e.g., identity discovery, expansion of worldviews, posttraumatic growth).

Although counseling psychologists have been actively engaged in immigrant and refugee research from a humanitarian and social justice stance, research as self-exploration can easily confine researchers within their personal experiences. Considering that most researchers are likely to be English speaking, well-educated, and later-generation immigrants, the voices of non-English speaking, less educated, and/or first-generation immigrants might easily be muted. For example, children's view of intergenerational family conflicts and parenting is well reflected in the literature because later-generation researchers are likely to design the study, collect data directly from English-speaking children, and interpret the findings from their perspectives. Conversely, non-English speaking, first-generation parents' experiences are less well represented in the literature because parents' data are often collected through English-speaking children's reports and/or are interpreted by later-generation researchers. As a result, first-generation's narratives are often silenced not only in the mainstream literature and media but also in ethnic minority scholarship.

Intentional efforts are needed to hear the voices of underrepresented groups by diversifying (a) research participants in terms of cultural and ethnic backgrounds (e.g., African immigrants, East European immigrants), generation status, immigration status (e.g., asylum seekers, undocumented immigrants), and socioeconomic status (e.g., noncollege students), (b) research methods (e.g., native languages, qualitative methods, small sample sizes with simple statistics), and (c) the pool of researchers. Journal editorial boards need to consider diversity of researchers as well as participants. Research partnership through community-based participatory research is an excellent example of such efforts (Vaughn et al., 2017). It fosters equity and empowerment for immigrant and refugee communities by including community participants

in the process of developing research questions, collecting data, and interpreting and disseminating the findings (Suarez-Balcazar et al., 2022; Vaughn et al., 2017). The discipline of counseling psychology and academic institutions may promote such efforts via editorial decisions, promotion and tenure evaluations, and funding support.

Specific Implications for Practice, Advocacy, Education, and Training. We highlight several missing topics that have important implications for practice, advocacy, education, and training. First, we suggest that practitioners contextualize social variables in case conceptualization and clinical intervention. Social relationships are not formed in a vacuum, solely driven by dispositional factors (e.g., extraversion, trait anxiety, general social connectedness). They develop in interaction with social contexts, suggesting the importance of contextualizing social relationships. As for immigrants and refugees who traverse multiple cultural contexts, general social variables such as social connectedness, social anxiety, and social self-efficacy are limited in fully explaining their varying social experiences in mainstream versus ethnic contexts (Fang et al., 2016; Yoon et al., 2012). For instance, immigrants and refugees who feel accepted, connected, and comfortable in their ethnic environments may feel unwelcomed, awkward, and anxious in mainstream contexts. The traditional approach to social relationship variables as dispositional and general constructs can pathologize immigrants and refugees by decontextualizing their social experiences. From the strength-based and ecological perspectives, practitioners need to understand social well-being of immigrants and refugees in relation to their varying social contexts. This may further develop into advocacy efforts to create welcoming school, community, and social environments.

Next, migratory grief is “disenfranchised grief” since it is not “openly acknowledged, publicly mourned, or socially supported” (Doka, 1989, p. 4). While immigrants and refugees, practitioners, schools, communities, and the host society exclusively focus on adjustment and acculturation of immigrants and refugees for their survival and success in the new environment, migratory loss and grief are forgotten or suppressed (Chang, 2015). Migratory loss/grief and adjustment/acculturation can be likened to two sides of the same coin. Thus, to understand the totality of migratory experiences, loss/grief needs to be considered as the other half of their experiences. Practitioners need to assess, validate, and process immigrant and refugee clients’ migratory loss/grief. As for community interventions, it is important to balance assistance with adjustment/acculturation with acknowledgement of their loss/grief, which is particularly important when working with refugees.

Additionally, community interventions need to address conflicts between minority groups (e.g., Asian immigrants and African Americans; Black immigrants and African Americans) and discrimination within minority

groups (e.g., U.S.-born vs. foreign-born immigrants; [Mendez et al., 2012](#)). Fear of diluting the gravity of White racism may have delayed attention to this topic. However, conflicts and discrimination between and within minority groups are legitimate immigrant and refugee experiences that deserve serious attention. It is important to situate these between-group and within-group conflicts in the larger context of U.S. racial hierarchy. We recommend White supremacy and internalized racism as a theoretical framework to situate such research, which will help build bridges between minority groups and combat within-group discrimination ([Chopra, 2021](#); [Tran et al., 2018](#)). As an example of community-based coalitions, African American and Asian immigrant communities may collaborate to support the Black Lives Matter movement and combat COVID related anti-Asian hatred.

Immigrants have underutilized mental health services due to lack of insurance, high cost, language and cultural barriers, and mental health related stigma, despite their heightened need for mental health services around migration ([Derr, 2015](#)). This discrepancy demands advocacy and outreach efforts. Counseling psychologists may collaborate with other mental health professionals (e.g., psychiatrists, social workers) to develop helping resources (e.g., a directory of local bilingual and bicultural mental health professionals with fee information included), hold pro bono psychoeducational workshops (e.g., intergenerational family conflicts, acculturation strategies, socialization to mental health services), and advocate for community needs (e.g., resources for the survivors of domestic violence). Korean American Wellness Association ([KAWA, 2022](#)), a nonprofit coalition of mental health professionals to serve the needs of Korean immigrant communities, is an excellent example of such efforts.

Lastly, such efforts require diversifying the pipeline of counseling psychologists who are committed to serving the needs of immigrant and refugee communities, as suggested by *Social Responsiveness in Health Service Psychology Education and Training Toolkit* ([Council of Chairs of Training Councils, 2020](#)). Intentional efforts are needed to recruit and train future counseling psychologists from underrepresented backgrounds (e.g., undocumented, refugees, African/Caribbean immigrants) who will strengthen the ethnic resources of their communities. Academic programs may be reluctant to recruit students who lack financial resources (e.g., undocumented students who are ineligible for governmental financial aid), further perpetuating underrepresentation of and underservice for certain communities. Hence, recruitment efforts require institutional support (e.g., multiple years of graduate assistantship for undocumented students) beyond individual academic programs.

Student recruitment is directly related to recruitment and retention of faculty of Color who share personal backgrounds and professional interests. However, publication, hiring, tenure, and promotion processes are not

immune to the systemic racism present in the larger society (Roberts et al., 2020). Roberts et al.'s (2020) review of six major journals in psychology revealed that the races of editors in chief were closely related to the racial compositions of editorial boards, which in turn were associated with publications on racial issues. For example, when editors in chief were White versus people of Color (POC), publications on race were only a third of those under the editorship of POC. Thus, POC researchers studying race and culture turn to specialty journals focusing on racial and cultural issues since they are likely to have POC as editors in chief and value such research (Buchanan et al., 2021; Roberts et al., 2020). However, the specialty journals are often less valued and cited by White colleagues, disadvantaging many POC scholars in hiring, tenure and promotion processes (Buchanan et al., 2021). These findings highlight interconnectedness among editorship, researcher, research topic, and participants, and the need for top-down changes by diversifying racial composition of editorial boards (Buchanan et al., 2021; Roberts et al., 2020). They also suggest how the publication process might affect recruitment and retention of POC scholars and students. Taken together, awareness and intentional efforts, at the levels of training programs, academic institutions, and the discipline, are warranted to represent the voices of underrepresented immigrant and refugee groups, learn from their experiences, and strengthen their ethnic resources. We expect that this review may guide such endeavors through research, practice, advocacy, education, and training.

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Supplemental Material

Supplemental material for this article is available online.

Notes

1. We started from 1990 for the following reasons. First, multicultural psychology has become a major part of counseling psychology literature since the 1990s. Second, electronic search and review for coding has become much easier for publications since 1990s, enabling a large-scale content analysis.
2. Percentage calculation here is based on the total number of studies ($N = 323$) or articles ($N = 310$). This is different from the percentage calculation in Tables 1–4 which is based on the varying number of valid cases for each analysis that counted multiple responses and excluded missing cases.

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