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2. CMTE MEMBER'S NAME: 3. CMTE MEMBER'S NAME:

This final research report has been approved by the Graduate School.

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## Moua, GaoNhia. Impostor Phenomenon Among Hmong College Students

#### **Abstract**

Impostor Phenomenon (IP) refers to feelings of phoniness experienced by high achievers (Clance & Imes, 1978). Many studies have been conducted and have found that college students can experience IP, preventing them from internalizing their own success, leading to feelings of self-doubt and anxiety, and affecting their academic performance and their decision to quit their educational pursuits. Provided is a detailed review on IP and Hmong students' college experience. However, there is no exclusive study done on IP among Hmong students. A thorough review of peer reviewed articles on IP and Hmong students' college experience resulted in 39 studies, ranging from 1978 to 2014. The review outlines the impact of Hmong culture on college experience for Hmong students, impostors' relationships with their parents, constructs associated with impostors, mental health and treatment of impostors, personalities of impostors, and specific impostor populations and groups. Without specific research done on the effects of IP on Hmong college students, it is difficult to discern the actual effects. This may be an essential topic for future research to investigate, possibly to increase retention and graduation rates overall. This research may also lead to more beneficial treatment for IP as well.

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## **Chapter I: Introduction**

Students' college experiences toward graduation are like a voyage across the open seas. The voyage can be calm and relaxing, or turbulent and full of risks. One may never know what to expect when traveling across the sea, just as students may never know what to expect from their college experience. College provides an opportunity of self-discovery for students through their academic, personal, and social experiences. Through these experiences, they may encounter ferocious storms that may set their journey back. These storms may mark moments in students' lives where they may feel inadequate and their self-confidence shatters. Certain students, who are regarded as high achievers, may also begin to feel like frauds or impostors, which can affect their emotional and psychosocial well-being, as well as their academic and personal achievements. Clance and Imes (1978) refer to feelings of phoniness experienced by high achievers as impostor phenomenon (IP), also known as impostor syndrome. For this study, the term impostor phenomenon will be used, as it is widely used in the literature review.

The idea of impostor phenomenon was, at first, believed to only affect professional women. However, it is experienced by a wide range of people. For example, IP is observed to affect both genders (Clance & Imes, 1978; Castro, Jones, & Mirsalimi, 2004), professional individuals such as managers (Fried-Buchalter, 1992), college students (King & Cooley, 1995; Bernard, Dollinger, & Ramanish, 2002; Gibson-Beverly & Schwartz, 2008), and diverse range of ethnic groups (Trotman, 2009). According to Matthews and Clance (1985), Impostor phenomenon can happen to anyone. Seventy percent of people will experience a case of IP at least once in their lifetime (as cited in Gravois, 2007).

Possessing impostor feelings or thoughts can be detrimental to the well-being of students.

In a previous study, it was found that college students who experienced impostor phenomenon

may also experience symptoms similar to individuals with mild depressive disorder (McGregor, Gee, & Posey, 2008). Impostors were constantly evaluating their performance and tended to be tough critics on themselves. This often hindered the impostor's ability to realize that his or her thoughts may have possibly masked symptoms of depression.

According to Clance and Imes (1978), the origins of impostor phenomenon of certain individuals can be drawn from the context of the influence of an individual's family and social circumstances. Impostor phenomenon individuals may feel ashamed of themselves for not meeting and exceeding their parents' expectations. For example, if they were given the label as the "smart one" in the family, they may feel the pressure to live up to the label, and when they encounter situations where they struggle, they begin to see this as evidence of their hidden incompetence (Harvey & Katz, 1985). Which then results in the individuals having extremely unrealistic expectations for themselves (Clance, Dingman, Reviere, & Stober, 1995). There are also social circumstances that can lead to someone to feel as though they are an impostor. Social circumstances can include the college setting. For many new graduate students, the fear of not succeeding may be strong as graduate school is a new chapter in their educational journey. They may feel the pressure to prove themselves as qualified and competent individuals in such a high educational setting. The feeling of being the "low man on the totem pole" may increase vulnerability to IP feelings (Harvey & Katz, 1985). Such a social circumstance can then be internalized by the IP individuals, making them fear entering new territories or roles which can provoke a stronger IP experience. After more than 25 years since the first research on IP, many studies have been conducted, including studies among diverse populations with IP; however, there is no exclusive research conducted on Hmong college students and IP.

According to the 2010 Census, the Asian population grew faster than any other race group in the United States between 2000 and 2010. Among the Asian population, the Hmong population was the largest growing Asian group in Minnesota and Wisconsin. In researching Hmong college students and IP, it is vital to begin by examining the history of the Hmong.

The Hmong population in the United States has rapidly increased since they came to the United States in the late 1970s. Historically, the Hmong are from regions of China. However, due to persecution and discrimination, they migrated towards Southeast Asia. They have no country of their own and have a long history of being migratory people, moving from place to place (Cha, Carmen, & Vue, 2004). The Hmong people are commonly known to be a Southeast Asian mountain-dwelling tribe that lived in northern Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand (Conroy, 2006). Their lifestyle typically consists of farming and merchant trading, but during the Vietnam War, the Hmong became allies with the United States against the spread of communism in what was called the "Secret War" of Laos (Secrist, 2007, p. 1). At the time, the U.S. government promised the Hmong protection, regardless of what the outcome of the war would have been. However, when the Vietnam War ended in 1975, the American troops withdrew from Southeast Asia, causing thousands of Hmong to be unprotected and without supplies (Cha et al., 2004). Many fled Laos and into Thailand to escape revenge attacks on their villages by the new communist Lao government because they sided with the United States in fighting against the communist government (Conroy, 2006). Many who made it to Thailand were put into refugee camps, where they waited to be accepted for resettlements by other countries, including the United State. Since the U.S. promised to protect the Hmong regardless of the outcome of the war, they accepted Hmong refugees into their country. Thus, since the late 1970s, there has been a large boom in the Hmong population.

Since their arrival to the United States, the Hmong have taken advantage of the opportunities America has to offer, especially education. Education is highly valued among Hmong families and is viewed as the key towards success, thus the emphasis for graduating from high school and entering postsecondary institutions. According to Dr. Vang Pobzeb (cited in Crevier, 2002), there are many Hmong students receiving college degrees, and the number of Hmong American students attending colleges and universities in the United States is increasing. The high achievements of Hmong students across the nation have brought much hope for the Hmong community as they have overcome tremendous hardships over the last 50 years. With the continuous immersion of educated Hmong individuals, this trend will help aid the Hmong community as they continue into the 21st century.

#### **Statement of the Problem**

Currently, there is no exclusive study done on impostor phenomenon among Hmong college students. As the Hmong population increases, the number of Hmong students entering college will continue to be more prevalent. According to Ewing, Richardson, James-Myers, and Russell (cited in Bernard et al., 2002), minority groups are also susceptible to the impostor phenomenon. Specific research on Hmong students can help professionals working with Hmong college students to better address concerns regarding self-imposed negativity derived from IP. Furthermore, examining Hmong college students and IP can also provided insight for professional workers when it comes to student success and retention. Furthermore, research on Hmong college students who feel like impostors can add a great deal of validity and depth to the ongoing research of minorities with IP, and with IP in general. This can lead to a better understanding of impostor phenomenon and better means of identifying and addressing it.

## **Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study was to present a detailed review of the literature on impostor phenomenon and Hmong students' experience in college. It is hoped that this information will assist professionals working to better understand Hmong college students and their experiences as well as how to provide better services which in turn will help with student success, increase student retention and graduation rates for Hmong students.

#### **Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical framework that guided this study was the Family Ecology Theory (White & Klein, 2002). The Family Ecology Theory assumes that all individuals are part of a life system. Individuals are continually developing and growing through their interactions with family and societal contexts within the life system. The theory is based on an ecosystem comprised of four ecosystem environments that influence individual development and adaptation: microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, and macrosystem. The microsystem is the direct environment in which individuals resides in and have direct social interactions with family, friends, school, and work. The mesosystem involves the interrelations of two or more microsystems, such as family and school. The exosystem refers to the environment that indirectly affects individuals, such as the workplace of the individual's parents. The macrosystem refers to the broad societal culture context in which the individual lives in and how it affects their development, such as socioeconomic status and ethnicity.

The application of the Family Ecology Theory to this study would predict that all levels of environment would affect the development of college students, therefore, predicting the underlying factors of why students would have fraudulent thoughts and feelings. The theory would predict that family interactions would determine the attitudes and outcomes of college

students regarding their self-concept. For example, if a family places high expectations for a student to excel in school with all "As", but the student ends up with all "As" and one "B", they may feel as though they have failed and is not good enough for their family because of the one "B". Along with this prediction, societal attitudes and values towards college expectations would have an impact on students' self-concept and future success. For example, graduate students have many years of schooling under their belt. Thus, they are expected to perform at a higher level with competence and confidence. This can be a pressured expectation for new graduate students when the role of being a graduate student is still new to them.

## **Definition of Terms**

In order to clarify the terms in this study, a list of definitions is provided.

**Hmon**g. Southeast Asian mountain-dwelling tribe that lived in northern Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand; and have migrated to the United States (Conroy, 2006).

**Impostor Phenomenon.** Feelings of phoniness experienced by high achievers (Clance & Imes, 1978).

#### **Chapter II: Methodology**

This literature review involved selecting studies that examined impostor phenomenon and Hmong college students. The search terms of "impostor phenomenon," "impostor syndrome" and "Hmong college students" were used. Additionally, specific key words such as "college, Hmong, and higher education" were used as well to help find studies related to the purpose of the study. When searching for "impostor phenomenon" and "Hmong college students" together, no exclusive study was found. Gathering information for "Hmong college students" was conducted separately regarding Hmong students and their college experiences.

The majority of references for this literature review came from university electronic databases, specifically EBSCO Host. When searching for the term "impostor phenomenon," 157 peer-reviewed articles between 1980 and 2013 were found on EBSCO Host. Many of the studies found did not relate to the purpose of the study; therefore, they were disregarded for the literature review. Additionally, the term "impostor phenomenon" was coined in 1978 by Clance & Imes. Therefore, literature review includes articles as old as 1978 to include initial studies of IP. When searching for the term "Hmong college students and impostor phenomenon" in EBSCO Host, no articles were found. The search engines Google and Google Scholar were also used for gathering information and peer reviewed journal articles for the literature review. A summative review of relevant studies resulted in a total of 39, ranging from 1978 to 2014. A summary of these 39 impostor phenomenon and Hmong college students studies' methodologies, purposes, and relevant topics are present in Appendix.

#### **Chapter III: Results**

This chapter focuses on the results from reviewing the literature pertaining to the imposter phenomenon (IP) and Hmong college students. The literature review found no studies on IP among the Hmong population. The chapter will start with findings on Hmong cultural background and how culture can influence Hmong students' college experience. The chapter will continue with the themes that emerged from the literature review of IP: Impostor Phenomenon and Family Dynamics, Impostor Phenomenon and Associated Constructs, Impostor Phenomenon and Mental Health, Impostor Phenomenon and Personality Traits, Impostor Phenomenon and Specific Populations/Groups, and, Impostor Phenomenon and Clinical Treatment.

## Hmong Cultural Background in Relationship to Hmong Students' College Experience

Over the last 30 years, since the first group of Hmong refugees came to the United States, many studies have been conducted on the Hmong population. However, no exclusive study has been conducted on the Hmong population and IP. In order for educators and professional counselors to implement effective counseling for Hmong college students who may experience imposter feelings, it is vital to understand factors affecting academic success for Hmong college students.

In a quantitative study conducted by Lee and Green (2010), they examined the acculturation process among Hmong living in Wisconsin. Results showed that Hmong have adapted progressively in the United States. Their study revealed three different groups of acculturation in which the Hmong fell into: integrated, separated, and assimilated. The most integrated groups came to the country at a young age, have higher exposure to educational opportunities, and higher proficiency in reading, writing, and speaking English, whereas, the most separated groups consisted of those who came over at older ages and have little to no

English proficiency. Additionally, the most assimilated groups were those with high proficiency in reading, writing, and speaking in English. Lee and Green's study showed that the more integrated the group, the less likely they would experience marginalization (2010). However, the most integrated and assimilated the groups become, the more marginalization they experienced. They concluded that the Hmong population will shift towards the assimilated groups and as a result, much of the Hmong population will experience greater levels of marginalization. To reduce the problem, they suggested that Hmong communities and schools pool their resources together to create programs that foster Hmong language and culture to help Hmong students integrate between the two different cultures.

The concept of seeking professional counseling outside the home for the challenges, of marginalization and culture integration, is still foreign for many Hmong individuals. In Tatman's (2004) study, he examined the implications for counseling Hmong individuals. Through his research, he found that, to effectively counsel Hmong individuals, it is imperative that counselors acknowledge and understand the Hmong history, culture, acculturation, and value placed on family, with the latter being especially crucial, as Hmong individuals turn to their family as their primary source of aid when they need help resolving their issues. This is consistent with Lee's (2007) findings which showed that mothers and siblings are the primary source for information sharing and support for Hmong students. Aside from having a conducive, counseling environment, the need to have a positive experience in schools and with teachers is important for Hmong students. Other studies suggested that, to effectively accommodate different learning styles, educators need to perceive students objectively (Vang, 2005). In Lee's study of 50 Hmong students, the students participating in the study believed that they were being discriminated against by teachers and professors (2007).

In examining factors that affect Hmong American students' academic successes and failures, Vang (2005) found that family obligations and family responsibilities influenced the students' grades and often interfered with the students' educational goals. For example, there is gender inequality among Hmong girls and boys, and Vang's study revealed that Hmong parents, oftentimes, would not support their daughter's educational pursuit due to the fear that their daughters would be "too old" for marriage by the time they graduate with a college degree (2005). According to a 2007 study conducted by Lee, Hmong college students were delaying early marriage in favor of earning college degrees.

A body of research examined Hmong college students and the factors that aided them in attending college (Crevier, 2002). The results showed that many of the respondents were first-generation students, meaning that they were the first in their family to pursue postsecondary education. When looking at the factors aiding student success, students, who reported feeling satisfied with their grades, contributed their success to the following: feeling comfortable approaching professors for help and asking questions in class, finding help through peer groups, reaching out to multicultural support services, and placing a high importance on studying often. Also, as expected, it was found that family responsibilities, lack of financial support, and the hardship of balancing family, work, and school negatively affected students' grades.

Furthermore, the same study found that taking part in extra-curricular activities in college was found to provide Hmong college students a more positive college experience. Overall, students from the study reported that the quality of services provided by the college to Hmong students was important. Over 86% of students gave positive responses, based on a Likert rating.

## **Impostor Phenomenon and Family Dynamics**

Over the years, studies have been conducted to examine the catalysts for impostor feelings. Research has found that family forms the backdrop for impostor feelings (Castro et al., 2004; Clance et al., 1995; Clance & Imes, 1978; Garwick, Ford, & Huges, 2011; King & Cooley, 1995; Langford & Clance, 1993; Li, Huges & Thu, 2014; Robinson & Goodpaster, 1991; Want & Kleitman, 2006; Watson & Betts, 2010). According to Langford and Clance, "people who experience impostor feelings are likely to come from families in which support of the individual is lacking, communications and behaviors are controlled by rules, and considerable conflict is present" (1993, p. 497).

Family relationships play a crucial role in how individuals develop and internalize their self-concept. According to Clance and Imes (1978), the women in their study came from two different family dynamics that affected their development of the impostor phenomenon. The first group observed, consisted of women who came from families where a sibling or a close relative had been labeled as the "intelligent" member of the family. In the group, the women encountered situations in which they felt they could never prove their worth or success to their family members, regardless of their actual accomplishments. In this particular group, the women struggled within themselves; one part of them believed the family myth and the other part wanted to refute it. This contributed to their belief that they were truly unintelligent, and so they continued to doubt themselves and the impostor phenomenon surfaced (Clance & Imes, 1978).

The second group of women came from families that had placed high value on a woman's ability to do anything she wanted to do. They believed that she was intelligent and perfect. The women from this second group encountered experiences in which they felt they could do everything they strived for. However, because they felt that they were indiscriminately

praised for everything, they began to distrust their parents' perceptions of themselves (Clance & Imes, 1978). This eventually led to the women doubting their own abilities and intelligence, facilitating their belief that they were impostors. Individuals with IP believe that they should know without being taught and are embarrassed to ask for instruction (Clance et al., 1995). According to Langford and Clance, "families in which there is a good deal of underlying conflict without channels of expression and without much active support for the child appear to foster traits, such as, excessive concern with impressing and pleasing others" (1993, p. 498).

Moreover, to further study the extent family factors affect one's impostor experience, Want and Kleitman (2006) examined parental rearing styles and objective confidence in relation to IP. They found the strongest predictor of IP was parental overprotection or lack of parental care. Another study also found a link between parenting styles and IP (Li et al., 2014). Maternal care was found to have a negative correlation with IP scores for males. Both maternal and paternal care was negatively correlated with IP scores, and maternal and paternal overprotection positively correlated with IP scores for females. It was also found that females with strong relationships with their mothers had lower IP scores (Garwick et al., 2011). The research showed that family factors may affect males and females differently (Li et al., 2014; Garwick et al., 2011).

In addition, parentification was found to correlate with IP scores. According to Boszormenyi-Nagy and Spark (1973), parentification is when the family dynamic changes and parent child roles are reversed (as cited in Castro et al., 2004). Children who take on the responsibility of being a parent will develop an inauthentic and false sense of self, and will keep hidden feelings of inadequacy to obtain their parent's approval. In the long term, these children will more than likely experience impostor feelings in adulthood. Langford and Clance (1993)

also found that young adults who developed IP tendencies may have experienced parentification as a child.

Robinson and Goodpaster's (1991) research, entitled, "The Effects of Parental Alcoholism on Perception of Control and Imposter Phenomenon," sampled 48 college students, and 21 students of Adult Children of Alcoholic groups. Results showed that students with non-alcoholic parents had lower IP scores compared to students with alcoholic parents. Additionally, students with non-alcoholic parents believed they had control over their success in life, whereas, students with alcoholic parents had less belief that their success along with any failures in life were under their control. This led to students lacking a high internal locus of control. It is evident from the study that IP is influenced by family.

In a study by King and Cooley (1995), they investigated the impostor phenomenon among college students and found family environments that emphasized success were associated with higher levels of imposter phenomenon. King and Colley suggested that "the impostors' perceptions of their families were more significant than the actual level of family achievement orientation in the development of the impostor phenomenon" (p. 309). This empirical find supports the conclusion Clance and Imes had initially reached in 1978, that impostor phenomenon originated from familial relationships and dynamics.

When examining family as a catalyst for impostor feelings, Clance et al. took their study further and examined the convergence in family role expectations (1995). They found that when a woman changed the course of her life and became differentiated from her immediate family, she was susceptible to the impostor phenomenon. This can happen when she decides to live a non-traditional lifestyle in terms of education and occupation (Clance et al., 1995); "such vulnerability may occur for individuals from cultural groups which have traditionally been

discriminated against in society" (p. 86). When it was perceived that she had achieved more than was proper for her group, she experienced conflict of being seen as an outsider from her family or cultural group; "setting oneself apart in these ways can lead to psychological conflict, a sense that "you can't go home again" (p. 86). To overcome this conflict is to distort one's success, by suffering the impostor phenomenon (Clance et al., 1995).

Watson and Betts (2010) conducted a research study while enrolled in their doctoral programs that sought to connect a theoretical framework around IP and their personal experiences in the program. The method for their study was autoethnography, in which they exchanged emails with each other over an eight month period to find answers to their research question: Do their email conversations provide clues to explain their impostor feelings? Their data found family as one of the predominant themes in their study. The following is an email from Watson that revealed her frustration at trying to fulfill her role as a student, mother, and wife:

I really don't think my family even notices that I am doing this degree. They just roll along like nothing is going on, still expecting meals, taxi service, an immaculate house, and a social partner. In the end, they will all probably think that doing graduate work is no big deal...that my wife/mom did it for years and I hardly even noticed! (Watson & Betts, 2010, p. 8).

Their study showed that they struggled to find acceptance with their new role as graduate students (Watson & Betts, 2010). From their research, both researchers are "able to intellectualize the impostor phenomenon as it connects to their lived experiences" (p. 11).

#### **Imposter Phenomenon and Associated Constructs**

A number of studies have examined the various constructs associated with IP. It was found that achievement orientation (King & Cooley, 1995; Kumar & Jagacinski, 2006; Sahragard & Baharloo, 2009; Yates & Chandler, 1998), attachment and entitlement (Gibson-Beverly & Schwartz, 2008), fear of failure (Fried-Buchalter, 1992; Ross, Stewart, Mugge & Fultz, 2001; Thompson, Davis, & Davidson, 1998), and fear of success (Sahragard & Baharloo, 2009) were all associated with IP.

Kumar and Jagacinski (2006) investigated the relationship between impostor fears and achievement goals. They sampled 135 college students and had them complete the Clance Impostor Phenomenon Scale (CIPS), a measurement of impostor fears, and several measures of achievement goal theory. They found that impostor fears and achievement were positively related to test anxiety and negatively related to confidence in one's intelligence. Ability-avoid goals were positively related to impostor fears for males, indicating that the more males were motivated by the need to avoid failure, the greater their impostor fears (Kumar & Jagacinski, 2006). In contrast, for females, impostor fears had a positive association with ability-approach goals and had a negative association with task goals; "simple improvement at a task is not seen as producing feelings of competence for women who have imposter fears; instead they must outperform others to feel competent" (p. 156). In addition, Sahragard and Baharloo (2009) also found a negative correlation between IP and academic achievement; however, it was not as significant as Kumar and Jagacinski's findings.

In a sample of 127 undergraduates from four colleges in southeastern United States, it was found that achievement orientation was associated with higher levels of IP (King & Cooley, 1995). The researchers also found that IP was a greater predictor of academic accomplishments

and achievement-oriented behavior for women than for men. Women with higher levels of the IP characteristics reported higher high school grade point averages and spent more time on academic endeavors outside of the classroom. Although impostors are known to strive academically and work hard outside of the classroom, they are more likely to downplay their academic success and assess their performance on knowledge tests to be less than that of the expected peer average level (Yates & Chandler, 1998).

Further research by Gibson-Beverly and Schwartz (2008) found that attachment and entitlement were strong predictors of imposter phenomenon among female graduate students. It was "suggested that individuals with anxiety try to meet their attachment needs through positive feedback from others, but are not able to internalize the feedback because of their negative view of themselves" (p. 127), which can lead to the fear of failure. Additionally, it was found that narcissistic expectations / self-promotion entitlement positively related to IP, meaning that individuals, who believed they deserved special treatment, had a harder time internalizing success and had a greater fear of failure. According to Nadkarni, Steil, Malone, and Sagrestano (2005, as cited in Gibson-Beverly & Schwartz, 2008), "individuals with a healthy sense of entitlement tended to possess higher levels of self-esteem" (p. 128).

According to Conroy (2007), fear of failure motivates individuals to avoid failure because of the aversive consequences of failing (as cited in Sahragard and Baharloo, 2009). In an investigation of IP in relation to common achievement dispositions and the Five Factor Model (FFM), achievement constructs, "self-handicapping" and "fear of failure" were the most important achievement dispositions related to IP (Ross et al., 2001). Fear of failure has been known to be connected to IP tendencies. Fried-Buchalter (1992) conducted an investigation on the relationship between IP, fear of failure (FOF), and fear of success (FOS). Her study sampled

104 mid-level managers from a New York metropolitan area and had them complete measures of IP, FOF, and FOS. Her results showed that "fear of failure scores correlated significantly with IP factors representing one's self-estimated intellectual ability" (p. 377). In addition, she found that many of the sampled managers perceived career success to have negative consequences on the self. It had been confirmed that impostors internalize their failure to a greater degree than non-impostors (Thompson et al., 1998).

According to Sahragard and Baharloo, "fear of success is a psychological trait that keeps most learners from making progress and from achieving their academic goals" (2009, p. 8). They found that there was a significant relationship between students' fear of success and their experience of IP. This indicates that individuals who experience more intense impostor feelings will fear the negative consequences of success more.

As evident by the number of research studies on IP, achievement orientation, attachment and entitlement, fear of failure, and fear of success are all associated with IP.

## **Impostor Phenomenon and Mental Health**

After surveying 506 college students, Cusack, Huges and Nuhu (2013) found mental health to have a significant correlation with IP, implying that individuals with IP are more likely to have lower optimum levels of mental health than someone without IP. In another study, researchers examined the relationship between IP and depression among students attending a small liberal arts university (McGregor et al., 2008). The researchers found that students experiencing IP may struggle with effects of depression, but suggested that IP may not necessarily cause depression. Furthermore, in a quantitative study, it was found that impostor tendencies can be predicted by self-handicapping and shame-proneness which lead individuals who experienced IP to underrate themselves and their own success (Cowman & Ferrari, 2002).

Henning, Ey and Shaw (1998) also concluded that impostor feelings are correlated with psychological distress. After surveying 477 students in medical, dental, nursing, and pharmacy programs, they found that those employed in health professions were at high risk for psychological distress. Moreover, the number of students who expressed strong fears of being discovered as an impostor was high. Nursing and pharmacy students were more probable to have sought mental treatment before starting their medical program than the other medical students. In addition, it was found that male nursing students experienced more distress than female nursing students. Conclusively, the researchers believed that the "severity of impostor concerns served as a better predictor of students' current psychological distress than all of the other demographic and personality characteristics examined" (Henning et al., 1998, p. 463).

Several studies have been conducted to examine the relationship between self-esteem and IP (Garwick et al., 2011; Kamarzarrin, Khaledian, Shooshtari, Yousefi & Ahrami, 2013; Ghorbanshirodi, 2012). According to two studies, there is a negative relationship between self-esteem and IP (Kamarzarrin, et al., 2013; Ghorbanshirodi, 2012). Essentially, if self-esteem increased, then IP feelings decreased and vice versa. However, in a study of 401 female undergraduate and graduate students, researchers hypothesized that women with high self-esteem would have lower IP scores, but discovered that this was not supported by the data (Garwick et al., 2011). Cusack et al. (2013) also found no relationship between IP and self-esteem. These studies are inconsistent with the other two studies. It is inconclusive if self-esteem is a determinate of IP.

# **Impostor Phenomenon and Personality Traits**

Several bodies of research have been carried out to examine IP as a disposition or a personality trait, such as neuroticism, introversion and perfectionism. One study used the CIPS

along with the NEO-Personality Inventory-Revised (NEO-PI-R) to measure the five major factors of personality: Neuroticism, Extraversion, Openness, Agreeableness, and Conscientiousness (Chae, Piedmont, Estadt, & Wicks, 1995). Results from the NEO-PI-R questionnaire revealed impostors to be high in neuroticism, meaning there was a strong correlation between impostor fears and neuroticism. This also suggested that, "a high level of negative emotion and poor impulse control appear to be the core elements of the IP" (p. 478). In a similar study, findings showed a significant relationship between IP and neuroticism, which is consistent with findings from Chae et al. (1995) (Ross et al., 2001).

In a more recent study, Bernard et al. (2002) confirmed the findings of Chae et al. (1995) when they found a substantial association between impostor feelings and neuroticism among 190 college students. Impostor Phenomenon is associated with "having negative feelings, including self-doubt; thus, a person prone to negative traits would be susceptible to the state of impostor feelings" (p. 329). According to Berglas and Snyder (cited in Bernard et al., 2002, p. 330), IP can possibly be a "personality equivalent to the social psychological process of self-handicapping." Self-handicapping strategies consist of behaviors that provide excuses, such as substance abuse or physical ailment, and are used when failure is experienced. However, despite self-handicappers and impostors sharing a sense of competence, there is an integral difference between the two: self-handicappers focus on internal causes, whereas, impostors focus on external causes. Bernard et al. (2002) also found that high IP scorers of both genders were disposed to feelings of anxiety and depression.

Aside from looking at neuroticism, studies have looked at the personality types of individuals with IP. In the Chae et al. (1995) study, they also gave their sample group the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator. They found that individuals with high IP scores were also an introverted

type, indicating that "they are more comfortable with their inner world and do not appreciate structure or order imposed on their activities" (p. 479). Langford and Clance (1993) found that individuals with high IP scores commonly placed within the category of introverts. These particular individuals tended to be more comfortable within their own internal realms, and felt uncomfortable when an external source would impose on their activities and internal structure. This would then cause these individuals to further hide their true identities from the world. The feeling that an IP individual may not be seen for who he/she really is, is an essential component of the imposter experience and may arise when the presentation of the individual to other people does not align with what the IP individual may experience internally (Langford & Clance, 1993).

Ross and Krukowski (2003) took their study of IP and personality traits one step further by examining the relationship between IP and personality pathology, as outlined by the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders scale (DSM-III-R). They found the DSM-III-R personality disorder scales accounted for 30% of the variance in IP scores. When looking at the disorder characteristics associated with IP scores, there was a positive relationship between IP and the DSM-III-R personality disorder, schizotypal disorder. The researchers concluded that there is validity to support that IP is a maladaptive personality style.

According to Sakulku and Alexander (2011), the desires to be the best, to do things without mistakes, and compulsiveness to overdo things, are essential characteristics of impostors, which are consistent with the desire to seek perfection; "perfectionism is a trait that is believed to have a marked impact on the development and maintenance of impostor fears" (p. 87). In a quantitative study, Dudau (2014) studied the relationship of the two in a sample of 129 Romanian students. She gave her sample both, the CIPS and a perfectionism inventory. She found IP was associated with three of the four self-evaluative perfectionism dimensions (concern

over mistakes, need for approval and rumination). Her findings coincide with Sakulku and Alexander's (2011) description of impostor tendencies and perfectionism.

# Imposter Phenomenon and Specific Populations/Groups

Since the first impostor phenomenon research was conducted among high achieving women (Clance & Imes, 1978), it has been evident that the types of samples in IP studies have expanded to include specific populations and groups, such as ethnic minorities (Trotman, 2009; Chae et al., 1995; and Cokley, McClain, Enciso, & Martinez, 2013), trainees (Prata and Gietzen, 2007; Roskowski, 2010), and emerging professionals (Maes, 2014).

According to Ewing, Richardson, James-Myers, & Russell (as cited in Bernard et al., 2002, p. 331), "minority groups may also be susceptible to the imposter phenomenon." This is evident from an article written by Trotman (2009). Trotman has been conducting studies over the last three decades on the imposter phenomenon among successful African American women; "African American women in the United States have experienced the imposter phenomenon by virtue of being both African American in a predominantly white America and women in a maledominated culture" (p. 78). Impostor Phenomenon has been particularly strong for African American women with jobs in higher education.

Furthermore, IP has been sampled among Asian populations. In one study, it investigated if IP can be assessed in a Korean context (Chae et al., 1995). The participants included 654 Korean men and women who completed the CIPS. Results showed that IP is reliably translated into Korean and represents a valid construct. However, in this particular study, it revealed that "prevalence of IP in their Korean sample was much less than found in studies in America" (p. 481).

In an exclusive research study, IP was studied among Asian American, Latin American, and African American students (Cokley et al., 2013). Findings showed that Asian American students experienced higher impostor feelings than African American and Latin American students. Additionally, researchers found that stress from the minority status and impostor feelings correlated with psychological distress and psychological well-being for all ethnic minority groups (Cokley et al., 2013).

Another specific group of individuals who have been examined for IP, include trainees and emerging professionals. Prata and Gietzen (2007) found IP to be prevalent among graduates training to become physician assistants. They found that women in health professions were more likely to have impostor feelings than men. Interestingly, they found that IP declines after the first year in professional practice. Individuals training to become counselors who experienced intense IP tendencies viewed their counseling skills as inadequate (Roskowski, 2010). Their ability to counsel increased as they completed a practicum experience. Thus, with more professional experience, the less they felt like an impostor.

As with trainees, emerging professionals may also harbor symptoms of IP. Maes (2014) found prevalence and effects of impostor thoughts and feelings in individuals transitioning into professional roles. Maes suggests that individuals who realize that impostor feelings are "normal" and discuss and share their personal experience of IP in a group setting, will have a positive effect on the transition (2014). In retrospect, both studies (Maes, 2014; Roskowski, 2010) confirm what was found by Prata and Gietzen (2007), that IP feelings will decrease after further professional work exposure and experience.

#### **Imposter Phenomenon and Clinical Treatment**

It is crucial that clinicians, therapists, and counselors working with individuals with IP, understand the full spectrum of IP and the experiences IP individuals face to provide effective therapeutic treatment. Much of the current research on clinical treatment of IP has been conducted by Dr. Pauline Rose Clance and her colleagues (Clance & Imes, 1978; Clance & O'Toole, 1988; Langford & Clance, 1993).

Clance has played a vital role in studying IP as she was one of the first researchers to coin the term IP with Imes in 1978. Since then, she has worked with many other researchers to examine IP and therapeutic interventions for IP. In her early work with Imes (1978) they found it effective to use a multi-modal therapy where several therapeutic techniques were used to alter the impostor tendencies in clients. They suggested that Gestalt therapy would work effectively with impostors. In addition, they also recommended that clinicians use group therapy settings, where other high achieving individuals experiencing impostor feelings can share their personal experiences with feeling like an impostor. This would help IP individuals see that they are not alone in this endeavor; "the client needs to become aware of the superstitious, magical aspects of her impostor belief and must consciously experiment with changing her ritualistic behaviors" (p. 6).

Furthermore, Clance and O'Toole (1988) also found it essential to have IP clients participate in group therapy sessions to see themselves in a more realistic way. In many cases, individuals with IP, hide their impostor feelings when they first meet with therapists, thus it may take more than one session to identify IP in clients. They suggested it was vital to help identify impostor feelings as they appear during therapy, and take the clients' feelings of doubt and fears seriously (Clance & O'Toole, 1988). One body of research that validates the importance of group

therapy is Trotman's (2009) study of IP among African American women. Trotman strongly believed that group therapy was therapeutic for high achieving African American women with IP as it provided a safe environment where they can express and share their impostor feelings.

As evident from empirical studies, family dynamics plays a role in IP. Counselors need to focus on family dynamics and experiences that have caused clients to feel inadequate and acquire tendencies to please others and seek approval (Langford & Clance, 1993). According to Langford and Clance (1993), the goal of treating impostors is to lessen their dependence on others' positive evaluations for their self-esteem and to build a more internalized sense of self-worth.

Through appropriate therapeutic techniques such as group therapy, clinicians can help individuals with IP to move from feeling like a fraud, an impostor, or phony, to feeling intelligent, smart, and to participate fully in the joys of his / her accomplishments and success (Clance & Imes, 1978).

## **Chapter IV: Discussion**

Impostor Phenomenon (IP) refers to feelings of phoniness experienced by high achievers, and was first identified by Clance and Imes (1978). The purpose of this study was to present a review of the literature on impostor phenomenon (IP) and Hmong students' experience in college. Over the years, impostor phenomenon has been studied in a variety of populations, including college students. However, this review found no exclusive study conducted on IP among Hmong college students.

This chapter will discuss the impact of Hmong culture on the college experience for Hmong students, followed by a discussion of several thematic findings of IP, specifically, impostors' relationships with their parents, the constructs associated with impostors, the mental health and treatment of impostors, the personalities of impostors, and specific impostor populations and groups. Thereafter, limitations of the review, implications for future research, implications for practitioners, and concluding remarks will be discussed.

## The Impact of Hmong Culture on College Experience

According to Lee and Green (2010), the Hmong have adapted progressively in the United States. The acculturation for Hmong people, however, varies as they fall into three different acculturation groups: integrated, separated, and assimilated. The group that young Hmong students and the group their parents fall into may impact the students' college experience because of the difference in how they prioritize family and education. Integrated Hmong individuals are able to hold onto their Hmong culture meanwhile adapting to the American culture (Lee & Green, 2010). Hmong who have assimilated have fully adapted to the American culture and have alienated themselves from the Hmong culture. Hmong individuals who fall into the separated group will hold onto their own culture and isolate themselves from the American

culture. Acculturation may be a problem for young Hmong students with older parents that fall into the separated group.

Vang's (2005) study attests to this problem. He found that Hmong parents tend to not support their daughters' educational goals, which can include going to college. Hmong parents fear that by the time their daughters graduate, they will not be of marriageable age. The cultural belief that Hmong women should marry and start families young may be strong among older Hmong parents. It can be concluded that perhaps the older Hmong parents who hold these beliefs fall into the acculturation group of separation, and may struggle when their children begin to adapt and assimilate into the American culture.

When Hmong students go off to college, their Hmong cultural background continues to impact their college experience. Crevier (2002) found that for Hmong college students, family responsibilities negatively affected their grades. This can be attributed to the fact that the importance of family is an essential component of the Hmong cultural values. Therefore, although college students are in college and should focus on their studies, they also have to balance that with the responsibilities given to them by their parents. These responsibilities can include going back on the weekends to take care of siblings, or going with their parents to Hmong cultural events that require their presence, help, and time. Avoiding such responsibilities demonstrate to their parents that they are not valuing their family and honoring their Hmong culture. Consequently, taking on the expected responsibilities takes away their own time from focusing on school work.

The literature review found that extra-curricular activities, such as joining a Hmong club, were beneficial to Hmong students' overall college experience (Crevier, 2002). It is understandable as to why they would reach out to Hmong clubs as it is a way to build

relationships with other students, since many would share similar interests and a cultural background. Additionally, joining a Hmong club would provide Hmong students a place to continuing embracing their culture and build a "home away from home" atmosphere for themselves.

The Hmong culture also impacts Hmong college students' views on seeking counseling services on campus. Lee (2007) reported that Hmong students often felt discriminated by professors. Feelings of discrimination can make students feel isolated, unsafe, and humiliated. They may feel ashamed for being Hmong, especially if they are a minority on campus. Discrimination from professors can lead Hmong students to avoid going to class and dropping out of college. It is important to point out that Hmong students may not seek help or report feelings of discrimination. The family is known to be the primary source of aid for Hmong individuals when confronted with a problem (Lee, 2007). Hmong families emphasize the importance of keeping confidentiality within the family and not relying on outsiders. One issue with this outlook is that some Hmong students attend colleges that are far from their families, and in many situations, like encountering discrimination, their families may not even be the best support to seek solutions from. Therefore, the need to seek outside help from college personnel is critical for Hmong students when faced with certain problems, such as discrimination, as they would be the most appropriate authority to properly address many issues.

## **Impostors' Relationships with Their Parents**

The type of relationship impostors have with their parents, when they are either children or as young adults, influence how strongly they experience IP. For instance, parental care, which includes expressed care, warmth, and emotional support, had a negative correlation with impostor fears (Li et al., 2014). Whereas parental overprotection, which includes perceived

control and restriction in the family, had a positive correlation with impostor fears Another factor that may influence a child's impostor feelings is parentification, the role-reversal that some children may need to adopt, as in being the ones to need to give care to the parents rather than just receive it from their parents (Castro et al., 2004). Parental expectations are a third IP influence in parent-child relations, where parents may place certain expectations onto their child that will eventually influence and develop impostor feelings within the child when these expectations are not met (Chance et al., 1995). For example, parent expectations can include specific career choices, academic achievements, and specific role responsibilities. Parental care and overprotection, parentification, and parental expectations placed on children are all major factors that influence their impostor feelings and tendencies.

The development of high IP feelings, due to the kind of parental care received, is experienced differently for males and females. For males, the parental care received is not a significant predictor for IP (Li et al., 2014). According to the norm of parenting practices, men expect to receive less parental care and overprotection on average than women, which would explain why men are less affected. Females with overprotective parents can experience higher levels of IP as the freedom to grow and control over her life's direction may be limited due to her parents' overprotection. Additionally, the more care females receive from both their parents, the lower they experience impostor feelings (Li et al., 2014). The research by Garwick et al. (2011) implies that females who have weak relationships with their mothers have high IP scores.

Mothers typically serve as a role model for their daughters, and without this role model figure, the daughters may feel inadequate as women as they develop into adults without female guidance. It is important to note that the first study of IP was conducted on females because of

the belief that only women were affected by IP. Of course, more recent studies, like the study by Li et al., have shown that men are also affected by IP.

Parentification is another parent-related factor that may influence a child's impostor feelings. One study found that children, who experienced parentification while growing up, may find that the parent-child role reversal resulted in developing impostor feelings later on in life (Castro et al., 2004). In this case, instead of the parents providing parental care, it is the responsibility of the child to provide such care to the parents, who, under certain circumstances, are unable to take care of themselves. This forces the child to take on more responsibility than he or she is developmentally prepared for, which results in his or her developing a false sense of self, as well as requiring him or her to bury feelings of inadequacy in order to gain approval from his or her parents. This false sense of self conflicts with the real self, thus impostor feelings begin to manifest, and as a parentified child develops into an adult, the child may experience stronger impostor feelings in adulthood.

Parents' expectations can contribute to a child developing impostor feelings (Chance et al., 1995). As the child grows and develops, the parents place certain expectations that do not align with the child's own self-expectations. For example, if a child is the first to go to college in the family, and changes the course of his or her life from what his or her parents expected, the child can be seen as an outsider from the family. It is a heavy burden to carry, when a child wishes to be the changing agent in the family, especially when he or she breaks away from the family or social norm and finds himself or herself unsure of his or her identity and what the future entails.

#### **Impostors' and Their Associated Constructs**

Students suffering from IP often trivialize their academic achievements and high scores, comparing themselves as being average or even inferior to their peers (Yates & Chandler, 1998). For achievement oriented students with IP, receiving an "A" on a test can be interpreted to mean that they successfully comprehend the class material. On the other hand, receiving an "A-" could be interpreted to mean that they failed, despite that an "A-" is also widely considered a good, strong, passing grade. Since IP students consider this a failure, they will downplay their performance and their knowledge of the course material when sharing test scores with their peers by claiming that they were not intelligent enough to achieve a greater score. However, in reality, they are smart and capable students who struggle with generalizing their own success.

The fear of failure is one of the most prevalent tendencies associated with IP (Ross et al., 2001). The fear of failure encourages impostors to avoid difficult projects and activities that have a lower chance of success, in order to avoid the negative consequences that result from failing (Sahragard & Baharloo, 2009). For impostors, the fear of failure can prevent them from expanding their horizons, trying new things, and stepping out of their comfort zone. Their feelings of inadequacy prevent exploration and growth, causing them to feel fear that if they try something new, and fail, it will confirm their inadequacy.

According to Sahragard and Baharloo (2009), impostors fear success. Since impostors experience feelings of inadequacy and believe that their successes are not of their own doing, but from outside sources, such as luck, they feel that accepting success is terrifying. Individuals with IP can experience such strong fears of success that they self-handicap themselves from sharing and acknowledging their success. Their unwillingness to share and acknowledge their success contributes to their giving up and lack of putting in all of their effort into a project, resulting in

an unsatisfactory outcome, validating their belief that without help from an outside source, they are incapable of success. This fear reciprocates, and so, the cycle continues. A conclusion can be drawn that the fear of success can manifest in strong impostor feelings, thus impostors find themselves afraid to fully pursue their hopes and dreams.

# **Impostor's Mental Health and Treatment**

An important aspect of IP is to examine the mental health of impostors as mental health conditions can be detrimental to impostors' psychological well-being. The literature review showed that impostor feelings correlate with psychological distress (Henning et al., 1998). Psychological distress can negatively impact one's body, thoughts, and feelings. One impostor phenomenon study also revealed that IP sufferers may struggle with depression; however, IP may not be the cause of depression (McGregor et al., 2008). Impostor Phenomenon and depression seem to exacerbate each other, so if it may be possible to alleviate the symptoms of depression, it may also alleviate the feelings of IP as well, and vice versa.

Furthermore, it can be difficult to determine if impostor fears have an effect on self-esteem since studies were not consistent with their findings on the two variables. According to two studies, impostor feelings have been shown to have a negative correlation with self-esteem (Kamarzarrin et al., 2013; Ghorbanshirodi, 2012). They have found that when impostor fears increase, then self-esteem decreases, and vice versa. On the other hand, one study found no significant relationship between self-esteem and IP (Garwick et al., 2011). Some predictors of IP include self-entitlement and narcissistic expectations which may correlate with high self-esteem (Gibson-Beverly & Schwartz, 2008). Symptoms of IP include denying one's own successes and capabilities, where the IP sufferer may believe himself or herself to be incapable, which may correlate with low self-esteem. With the varying symptoms and predictors for IP and how they

correlate with self-esteem, it is understandable that the studies were not found to be consistent with each other.

Mental health conditions can already be overwhelming for individuals, yet when it is also coupled with impostor fears, the effects can be devastating, exponentially so for impostors who do not seek treatment. Individuals with IP may not seek therapy for their impostor fears because their belief of being a fraud is a well-guarded secret (Clance & Imes, 1978). The literature review has found reports of clients who have been identified as impostors. However, no studies were found to examine why some impostors sought treatment in the first place. Impostor phenomenon sufferers are more than likely to seek therapy for one or more of the mental health conditions they experience, such as depression, which may be related to IP. Group therapy has been found to be beneficial for treating individuals with IP (Clance & Imes, 1978; Clance & O'Toole, 1988; Langford & Clance, 1993). These sessions allow an environment to draw out impostors' fears and share those fears among other impostors. Impostor phenomenon has many symptoms and predictors and one therapy session may not be enough to accurately identify impostor fears in individuals. It may require many sessions before the impostor reveals his or her fears (Clance & Imes, 1978). The group therapy process allows for impostors to realize that they are not alone and that there are others who experience similar feelings of self-doubt, and so they can begin to realize their own self-worth. The therapeutic process with IP sufferers is often slow and requires a great deal of patience, but it is rewarding to see clients make strides in changing themselves and seeing themselves in a realistic way (Clance & O'Toole, 1988).

# **Impostors and Their Personalities**

Several studies found impostors to be high in neuroticism (Bernard et al., 1995; Chae et al., 1995; Bernard et al., 1995) found neuroticism to be a predictor of IP because individuals with

high neuroticism experience negative emotions, such as anxiety and depression, both of which are prevalent among impostors. It is very likely that individuals acquired neurotic-like tendencies before developing impostor feelings. Since neurotics experience anxiety and depression, these feelings become susceptible to developing impostor fears, like self-doubt, when associated with other variables like family dynamics and success.

Individuals with IP also fall into the category of the personality trait, introversion (Langford & Clance, 1993; Chae et al., 1995). Introverts tend to hide important aspects of their personality from others, which is a central component of the impostor experience (Langford & Clance, 1993). It can be argued that introverts may have the desire to hide some part of themselves from others to see, and still not experience IP. Many introverts are likely to describe themselves as being shy, and can be anxious in public settings, which gives rise to their low self-confidence to speak and socialize in public. This may be due to their inexperience in social settings rather than to impostor feelings. However, based on the studies, it is evident that impostors can be introverts.

Sakulku and Alexander (2011) found the tendencies between impostors and perfectionists to be similar. Both have strong desires to perform without mistakes and put in extra effort into their work and activities. Dimensions of perfectionism include the need for approval and rumination. These are also consistent with impostor tendencies. Impostors will never be satisfied with the amount of effort they put in despite others claiming that they are doing an excellent job. Impostor Phenomenon individuals are unable to internalize their success, as well as the efforts to achieve that success. It is uncertain if all perfectionists have IP, but perfectionism is believed to have an impact on the construct and maintenance of impostor fears.

There is a positive relationship with IP and the DSM-III-R personality disorder, schizotypal disorder (Ross & Krukowski, 2003). Impostors have trouble generalizing their success and have difficulty accepting sincere compliments from others, much like how people with schizotypal disorder have cognitive or perceptual distortions about reality and the people around them. It is important to note that schizotypal disorder can be clinically diagnosed based on the DSM-III-R; however, while IP is also a pervasive and maladaptive personality style, there have not been any studies to date that would indicate impostor phenomenon to be a mental illness.

# **Impostors from Specific Populations and Groups**

Originally, IP was thought to only affect women (Clance & Imes, 1978); however, recent studies have found that IP affects a wide range of individuals including ethnic minorities. There are variations among different ethnic populations in regards to IP (Cokley et al., 2013). For instance, Asian Americans appear to experience higher impostor fears compared to African Americans and Latin Americans. The reasons for this may be because Asian Americans have to deal with the stressors of being the "model-minority" stereotype as well as meeting parental expectations. Lee, Chang, Demyan, Cocchiara, and Quick (as citied in Cokley et al., 2013) define the "model-minority" stereotype for Asian American to being intelligent, hardworking, high achieving, and academically striving, and not have emotional or adaptive problems (p. 84). Typically, IP researchers study one factor at a time, but many combinations of factors, like gender, profession, and/or ethnicity, may be taken into account when studying IP. For example, Trotman (2009) found African American women working in higher education experienced strong IP because they are an ethnic minority and live in a male-dominated society. In this case, the African American women have to deal with IP factors of ethnic stereotypes as well as gender

inequality. There are many factors related to IP that have been studied. More recent studies have found that there are still other factors that have only recently been identified, such as the stress that comes with the minority status and complications that include multiple factors within an individual. There may be other factors that have not yet been discovered.

Trainees and emerging professionals are very susceptible to IP. Impostor feelings can manifest for individuals going through transitions in their life, such as transitioning into a professional role (Maes, 2014). This can cause them to re-evaluate their abilities and they can easily fall back into self-doubt. Roskowski (2010) suggests that practicum and internship experiences will help the trainees acquire the necessary skills they need to be self-efficient and gain confidence in performing in their professions. With more professional experience, individuals with IP will experience fewer impostor feelings. This would be beneficial for new college graduates as they enter their first professional job, as it would lessen any self-doubt they have for the new job.

#### **Limitations of the Review**

The most essential limitation to this study was not gathering actual empirical data but relying on secondary data. However, the Clance Impostor Phenomenon Scale (CIPS) is available to use for future research studies that examine IP among Hmong college students, similar to how Chae et al., (1995) used the scale to investigate IP in Koreans. They translated and adapted the CIPS for use in their study with Koreans. It may be possible to translate the CIPS for use in studying Hmong college students.

Another limitation to this study is that there were no studies found on IP among Hmong college students. Therefore, this study was not able to examine IP among Hmong college students and truly examine how IP affects them.

### **Implications for Future Research**

No research was found on IP and Hmong college students. Future research in this field would add to the already existing IP literature. Matthews and Clance (1985) believes that a majority of people will experience IP at least once (as cited in Gravois, 2007), and Hmong students in college may potentially be sufferers of IP as college is a period in their lives where assessment of their own worth and capabilities are reevaluated in a new environment. This research can be beneficial for universities when looking at factors for retaining Hmong students, as IP can play a major role in affecting students' belief that they can succeed in college and their decision to continue their academic career. It would also provide another perspective of how IP affects certain ethnic minority groups. Research on impostor phenomenon is scarce, with research on ethnic minorities even more scarce.

In addition, researchers may want to consider variables such as family dynamics which include, parental care and overprotection, and family expectations that can manifest IP feelings in Hmong students. From the literature review, family is an important aspect to the Hmong culture and it is apparent that the parents make major impacts in Hmong students' lives.

Quantitative studies may not be the most effective method in order to study IP in Hmong students. One effective method may include conducting qualitative interviews one-on-one with the student. This method will help the researcher understand the individual Hmong student's college experience and how his or her experiences can relate to their IP tendencies. However, such a method requires time and can focus only on a small sample size. Focus groups may be another appropriate method to use to collect data. With this method, students may be relieved to hear that other students also struggle with IP tendencies and are more inclined to share impostor feelings, similar to group therapy treatment that has been found to be effective in treating

individuals with IP. However, one should consider the likelihood that Hmong students may not feel comfortable sharing personal information about themselves with other students, especially regarding their doubts and fears.

More studies are needed to examine effective treatment for IP. Group therapy was found to be the most effective treatment, but it requires resources, such as time and willing participants, as well as many factors to align, such as acquiring participants to commit to multiple sessions and the willingness of participants to volunteer and share their fears. Further studies can provide alternative and more efficient methods for treating IP.

# **Implications for Practitioners**

It is imperative that practitioners, such as college personnel, including, but not limited to mental health counselors, advisors, and professors, realize that impostor phenomenon is real, and that college students may experience IP. Family dynamics, associated constructs, mental health and treatment of IP may all be intricately related. For example, a student that comes from a family with high expectations may foster impostor feelings when he or she does not meet those expectations, which can lead to the fear of failure. Such fears may then lead to mental health issues, such as anxiety and depression, over their feelings of inadequacy. Eventually, the student may seek help from practitioners who may need to identify the root of the problem. Here the underlying problem began with the family dynamics of the student. The family dynamics led to an associated construct, specifically the fear of failure, resulting in reduced mental health, and finally required treatment. There may be other examples with varying degrees of complexity.

College students may not be aware that they have a problem, so they do not seek counseling or help. Practitioners may need to make themselves more readily available in order to

identify and treat impostors. Practitioners may also need to explore alternative types of treatment, such as group therapy, which has been shown to help treat individuals with IP.

Many are unaware that others also experience impostor feelings and that those feelings can be "normal." More astonishingly, many do not realize that the IP symptoms they experience, such as depression, anxiety, fear of failure, and fear of success, can be identified as such. With the help of practitioners, individuals with IP are able to put a name to what they are experiencing, which in itself, can be exceptionally relieving to the IP individual.

It is important for practitioners to pay attention to the family dynamics of Hmong students. The struggle of balancing family expectations based on their Hmong culture, and the expectations of college can lead Hmong students to develop anxiety and depression. This can cause them to miss class and perform poorly on tests. This should be taken into account by college advisors and professors, when helping them. Hmong students may not seek counseling as a solution to their feelings of self-doubt or low self-esteem because counseling is not a familiar treatment to them. This makes it difficult for mental health counselors to effectively treat IP in Hmong students. It would be beneficial for mental health counselors to understand the Hmong culture and how it may impact the students' college experience in order to get them to share their fears.

#### **Conclusion**

This study provided a literature review on Hmong students' college experiences as well as IP, and given many of the circumstances that Hmong students face, there is evidence to support the idea that Hmong students may also possess impostor feelings. This study found no research on IP in relation to Hmong college students. As a result of this study, it is hoped that future IP studies will include the Hmong population. As evident from the literature review,

experiencing impostor feelings can be detrimental to one's psychological well-being as well as affect many aspects of a person's life, including their academic, personal, and professional lives. Imposter Phenomenon sufferers are not able to generalize their own success, thus they may be limiting themselves to the vast opportunities available to them on the basis that they feel they are not successful or smart enough to explore such opportunities.

The Hmong population continues to make strides in the United States. It would be this researcher's privilege to see the continuation of their growth as a community as a whole, as well as an increase in the number of Hmong graduates, without the implications that impostor phenomenon may prevent them from enjoying and accepting their success, from trying, and exploring new paths, from taking away their self-confidence, and ultimately prevent them from achieving their educational endeavors.

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# Appendix: Comparison of Studies Addressing Impostor Phenomenon (IP) and Hmong Students' College Experience

Study Authors	Methods	Purposes	Relevant findings
Bernard, Dollinger & Ramaniah, 2002	Quantitative; sample: 190 college students.	To relate IP to the Five-factor model of personality.	~There is a correlation between IP and neuroticism. ~Results show that depression and anxiety are characteristics of students with IP.
Castro, Jones & Mirsalimi, 2004	Quantitative; sample: 213 graduate students.	Examines the hypothesis that individuals who were parentified as children are more likely to experience impostor feelings in adulthood.	~Parentification and IP moderately correlate.  ~No gender difference found in study.  ~No significant differences with racial/ethnic differences, however, Caucasians have higher IP scores than African Americans.  ~Findings suggest that IP can be explained partly as a significant long-term effect of childhood Parentification.  ~A child's family caretaking role may lead to impostor feelings. In taking an adult role, children develop inauthentic false self and hide feelings of inadequacy to receive parent's approval.

Chae, Piedmont, Estadt &	Quantitative; sample: 654	Determine if IP can be assessed	~IP is reliably translated into
Wicks, 1995	Korean men and women.	in a Korean context.	Korean and represents a valid
			construct.
			~IP with Korean sample is less
			than found in studies with
			Americans.
			~Impostors are introverted
			types on the MBTI.
			~With the NEO-PI-R, it shows
			impostors to be high in
			neuroticism and low in
			conscientiousness.
Clance, Dingman, Reviere &	Reviewed the research on IP	Examine origins of IP among	~IP emerge when a child
Stober, 1995	and its origins and treatment.	women by looking at	experience selective validation
		interpersonal and social	and unsupportive family
		contexts.	system.
			~ Society's imposed values on
			children contribute to
			development of IP.
			~Women that become different
			from her immediate family are
			vulnerable to IP.
			~Group psychotherapy is found
			to be an effective treatment for
			women with IP.

Clance & Imes, 1978	Qualitative; sample: 95 female undergraduates.	To examine IP in high achieving women as well as IP constructs from family dynamics and therapeutic interventions for IP.	~Women with IP fall into two groups. In group one; they have siblings who are labeled "intelligent" members of the family.   ~IP develops from social expectations.   ~Four types of behavior maintains IP: diligence and hard work, sense of phoniness; using charm and perceptiveness to win the approval of superiors; and response to negative consequences.   ~A multi-modal therapy approach is used to help alter IP tendencies.   ~Group setting is valuable to help women with IP realize she is not alone in experiencing IP.   ~Varies Gestalt techniques is beneficial in altering impostor feelings.
Clance & O'Toole, 1988	Authors used their own previous studies along with other research to review IP.	To examine internal barrier to empowerment and achievement for IP individuals.	~IP feelings may prevent more women than men from reaching their full potential.  ~An impostor cycle exists for IP individuals.  ~Group therapy is beneficial to help IP individuals.

Cokley, McClain, Enciso &	Quantitative; sample: 240	Examine differences in	~African American students
Martinez, 2013	ethnic minority students (111	minority status stress, impostor	have higher minority status
	Asian Americans, 76 Latino/ a	feelings, and mental health.	stress than Asian American and
	Americans, 50 African		Latino/ a American students.
	Americans, and three biracial		~Asian American students
	individuals).		experience higher imposter
			feelings than African American
			and Latino/ a American
			students.
			~Minority status stress and
			impostor feelings correlate with
			psychological distress and
			psychological well-being for all
			ethnic minority groups.
			~No gender differences in
			minority status stress or IP.
Cowman & Ferrari, 2002	Quantitative; Sample: 436	Examine relationship between	~ No significant gender
	college students.	impostor tendencies and	differences on IP scale scores.
		different behavioral affective	~ Impostor tendencies are best
		variables.	predicated by behavioral self-
			handicapping and shame-prone
			affect.
			~Students with IP claim to self-
			handicap their performance and
			express feeling shame-prone
			about interactions with others.

Crevier, 2002	Quantitative; sample: 22	To examine Hmong college	~Results show that many of the
,	Hmong college students.	students attending a four year	students from the sample where
		college and determine factors	single and majority are first
		that aids them in attending	generation in their family to
		college.	pursue college degrees.
			~Many were dissatisfied with
			their grades; largely due to
			several factors such as family
			responsibilities, lack of
			financial support, and the
			hardship of balancing family,
			work, and school.
			~Extra-curricular activities is
			an crucial factor for general
			college experience.
Cusack, Huges & Nuhu, 2013	Quantitative; sample: 506	To determine if there is gender	~ Results show females are
	college students (105 males and	differences in IP beliefs as well	more likely to report IP feelings
	401 females).	as examining the correlations	than males.
		between IP with mental health,	~Significant results between IP
		perfectionism, test anxiety, and	and mental health,
		self-esteem.	perfectionism, and test anxiety.
			These three are strong
			predictors of IP.
			~No relationship found
			between self-esteem and IP.

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Ghorbanshirodi, 2012	Quantitative; sample: 200 college students.	Purpose of study was to examine the relationship between self-esteem and emotional intelligence components with IP among medical students.	~Results show negative significant correlation between self-esteem and IP ~If self-esteem increases than IP decrease and vice versa. ~Positive correlation between "appraisal and expression of emotion" and "utilization of emotion" with IP. ~Emotional intelligence components are similar in both male and female.
Gibson-Beverly & Schwartz, 2008	Quantitative; sample; 170 female graduate students.	Examine the utility of attachment and entitlement as predicators of IP in female graduate students.	~Study finds that attachment and entitlement are predictors of IP.   ~Individuals with anxious attachment and narcissistic expectations/self-promotion entitlement were unable to freely accept positive feedback due to own perceived deficits in self-worth.

Henning, Ey & Shaw, 1998	Quantitative; sample:477 medical, dental, nursing, and pharmacy students.	To examine the severity of perfectionism and IP in health professional students, and assess the relationship between personality traits and students' psychosocial adjustment.  Additionally, study also compares students from different health programs and their psychosocial maladjustment.	~Students in health professions are at high risk for psychological distress. ~Findings show that there is a relationship between current psychological distress, perfectionism, and impostor feelings in each program. ~Students in nursing and pharmacy are more likely to have had mental treatment before starting their program. ~Minority medical students have less psychosocial distress than Caucasian medical students. ~Students who report to be more perfectionistic are at a greater risk for psychological distress.
Kamarzarrin, Khaledian, Shooshtari, Yousefi & Ahrami, 2013	Quantitative; sample:30 specialized physicians and 35 practitioners.	To study relationship between self-esteem and IP in physicians of Rasht city in Iran.	~Negative relationship between self-esteem and IP, indicating that as self-esteem increase, IP decreases and vice versa.

King & Cooley, 1995	Quantitative; sample: 127	Examine relationships between	~Significant positive
	undergraduates (75 females, 52	impostor phenomenon and a)	correlation between FES
	males).	family achievement orientation	Achievement Orientation
		and b) achievement-related	subscale scores and IP scale
		behaviors.	scores.
			~Significant correlation
			between IP Scale scores and
			high school GPA.
			~Family environment that
			emphasizes achievement is
			associated with higher IP
			scores.
			~There is relationship between
			children's achievement
			behaviors and parental values
			and expectations regarding
			achievement.

Kumar & Jagacinski, 2006	Quantitative; Sample: 135	To investigate relationship	~Impostor fears and ability-
	college students.	between impostor fears and	avoid achievement goals
		achievement goals.	positively relate to test anxiety
			and negatively relate to
			confidence in one's
			intelligence.
			~Find that for males, impostor
			fears were mostly associated
			with ability-avoid goals.
			~Impostor fears associated with
			lower confidence in
			intelligence.
			~ Females possessed more
			impostor fears than males.
			~The more motivated they were
			by the desire to avoid failure,
			the greater males had impostor
			fears.
			~Females' impostor fears were
			positively related with ability-
			approach goals
			~No relationship between
			theory of intelligence and
			achievement goals for males.
			Impostor fears were driven by
			fear of failure for males.

Langford & Clance, 1993	Reviewed the research on IP	To review IP studies and	~IP first observed among
Langiora & Clance, 1993	and psychotherapy with	discuss therapeutic theories and	female college students and
	impostors.	strategies to use when	professionals.
	impostors.	counseling IP individuals.	~Impostor feelings come along
		counseling if marviauus.	with worry, depression, and
			anxiety resulting from pressure
			to excel and fear of being
			exposed as incompetent.
			~A strong positive correlation
			between IP and trait anxiety.
			Positive correlation between IP
			and introversion.
			~Individuals who experience IP
			come from families in which
			support is lacking,
			communications and behaviors
			are governed by rules, and
			conflict is present.
			~Males' impostor feelings
			correlate with impulsivity and
			need for change higher than
			females.
			~Therapist must provide
			accepting and affirming
			environment for clients in order
			for therapy to be successful.
			Therapy session need to
			address family dynamics and
			explore fears of failure.

Lee, 2007	Quantitative; sample: 50 Hmong students.	To explore the well-being of Hmong students.	~Hmong college students are delaying early marriage in exchange for college degrees. ~Students feel they are view in a prejudice manner by teachers and professors. ~Mothers and siblings are becoming the primary source for information sharing, especially when it comes to major problems and personal issues.
Lee & Green, 2010	Quantitative; sample: 110 Hmong adults.	To examine acculturation processes among Hmong in Eastern Wisconsin.	~Study reveal that the Hmong sample fell into three different groups of acculturation: integrated, separated, and assimilated.   ~Those in the integrated groups came to the United States at a young age.   ~ Those in separated groups came to the United States when they were much older in age and not able to speak, read, or write well in English.   ~Those in assimilated groups were able to speak, read, and write in English.   ~The more integrated the Hmong individual is, the less likely they experience

			marginalization.
Li, Huges & Thu, 2014	Quantitative; sample: 506	To study the links between	~Lack of parental care and
	undergraduate and graduate	parenting styles and IP, and	parental overprotection is link
	students (105 males and 401	determine if gender is a	with higher IP scores.
	females).	variable.	~Parental care and parental
			overprotection are predicators of IP scores.
			~Maternal care is a negatively
			predictive of impostor scores.
			~Maternal care has negative
			correlation with IP scores for
			males.
			~Maternal and paternal care is
			negatively correlated with IP
			scores, and maternal and
			paternal overprotection
			positively correlates with IP
Maga 2014	Method was two-fold:	To study may along a and offert	scores for females.
Maes, 2014	~Phase One - Quantitative;	To study prevalence and effect of impostor thoughts and	~IP prevalent in individuals going through professional
	sample: 242 participants given	feelings in individuals	transition.
	a survey	transitioning into professional	transition.
	~Phase Two -	roles.	
	Qualitative; sample: 15	10100.	
	participants in interview.		
McGregor, Gee & Posey, 2008	Quantitative; sample: 186	To examine relationship	~Results suggest individuals
	students attending small liberal	between IP and depression.	with IP may struggle with
	arts university in southwest		depression.
	Arkansas.		~Positive correlation between
			IP and BDI-II scores.
			~Females differ from men with
			IP scores. Females
			experiencing IP greater than

			males.
Prata & Gietzen, 2007	Quantitative; sample: 83 students and past graduates.	To examine the prevalence of IP among Physician Assistant students.	~IP is prevalent among graduates from a PA program. ~Women in health professions more likely to have impostor feelings than men. ~IP declines after first year in professional practice.
Robinson & Goodpaster, 1991	Quantitative; sample: 48 college students and 21 members of local Adult Children of Alcoholic groups.	Examine differences in internal and external locus of control and IP among students with alcoholic and non-alcoholic parents.	~IP shown to be strongly influenced by family. ~Results show there are negative effects alcoholic parents have on child's development of personality. ~Adult children of alcoholics have lower belief that their success and/or failures are under their control which leads to them lacking a high internal locus of control. ~Students with non-alcoholic parents believe they have personal control over their outcomes of life events. ~Students with non-alcoholic parents have lowest IP scores compare to students with alcoholic parents.

Roskowski, 2010	Quantitative; sample: 296 graduate level trainees.	To investigate the influence of IP on counseling experience and counseling self-efficacy.	~IP has negative relationship with counseling self-efficacy. ~Impostor tendencies go beyond the early levels of trainees' development. ~ IP present at moderate levels or more among counseling trainee. ~Negative relationship between IP and counseling self-efficacy. If trainee's level of IP goes up, than their perceptions of their ability to effectively counselor goes down. ~Counseling self-efficacy increase as trainees complete practicum experiences. ~Trainees with more intense IP tendencies view their counseling skills as inadequate; resulting in a negative relationship between impostor feelings and counseling self-efficacy. ~Results show gender has no impact on influence of the IP

Ross & Krukowski, 2003	Quantitative; sample: 177 undergraduate students.	Examine relationship between IP and personality pathology as outlined by DSM-III-R.	~DSM-III personality disorder scales account for 30% of the variance in IP scores.   ~Schizotypal was a positive predicator of IP.   ~Anxiety and self-consciousness are important qualities of persons higher in IP. This leads to individuals fearing others, having insecurity, feeling ill-at-ease in interpersonal situations, and being in the center of attention.
Ross, Stewart, Mugge & Fultz, 2001	Quantitative; sample: 129 college students.	To investigate IP in relations to common achievement dispositions and the Five Factor Model (FFM).	~Achievement constructs self-handicapping and fear were the most important achievement dispositions related to IP.    ~Fear of failure is part of the cultivation of IP.    ~Study find significant relationship between IP and Neuroticism, Extraversion, and Conscientiousness.

Sahragard & Baharloo, 2009	Quantitative; sample: 151 Iranian university students majoring in English Language and Literature.	To study relationship of ELL learners' "fear of success" and IP with their "academic achievement" and "language proficiency".	~Students' GPA scores and performance on the fear of success questionnaire have no correlation.   ~Negative correlation between students' level of IP and their academic achievement.   ~Significant relationship between students' fear of success and their experience of IP.   ~No correlation between IP and language proficiency.   ~Positive relationship between students' language proficiency and academic achievement.   Indicating that students who are more proficient in English will achieve academically at a
Sakulku & Alexander, 2011	Reviewed the research, definitions and characteristics of IP and IP antecedents.	To examine IP.	higher level.  ~Six characteristics associated with IP: impostor cycle, need to be special or to be the very best, superman/superwoman aspects, fear of failure, denial of competence and discounting praise, fear and guilt of success.  ~IP derived from family situations in early childhood.  ~Personality correlates with IP.  ~Neuroticism relates to impostorism.

Tatman, 2004	Reviewed the research on Hmong and implications for counseling Hmong individuals.	To provide background knowledge and suggestions for counselors working with Hmong individuals.	~Counselors must acknowledge and understand the Hmong history, culture, acculturation, and value placed on family. ~Family tend to be primary source of aid for Hmong individuals when they need to address their problems.
Thompson, Davis, & Davidson, 1998	Quantitative; sample: 164 undergraduate psychology students enrolled at University of Tasmania	Investigate affective and attributional reactions of impostors following success and failure feedback.	~Impostors report to have lower academic self-esteem than non-impostors. ~Study find impostors internalize their failure at a greater degree than non-impostors.
Trotman, 2009	Reviewed the research on IP among African American.	Examine IP among high achieving African American women, and implications for counseling.	~Counselors need to provide environment where African American women can express their sadness, disappointment, and rage. They also need to be understanding of black culture. ~Group therapy can be therapeutic for African American women who experience IP as they can share their impostor feelings in a safe environment. ~Crucial for minorities in academia to meet other minorities in groups that allow them to share their experiences.

Vang, 2005	Reviewed the research on Hmong and factors affecting academic success and/or failure of Hmong-American Students.	To examine factors affecting Hmong American students' academic success and/or failure.	~Family obligations and family responsibilities affect school grades and interfere with educational goals. ~Gender inequity negatively impact Hmong women academically and socially. ~Hmong parents may not support their daughters' education fearing that after their college graduation, they would be "too old" for marriage. ~Parents' socioeconomic status impacts children's education. ~Hmong secondary students are failing at higher rates then the rest of the student body. ~Hmong-American students need positive role models to guide them through American traditional educational system
			traditional educational system.

Want & Kleitman, 2006	Quantitative; sample: 115 people participated in study. Sample included a diverse range of occupations: doctors, solicitors, business executives, graduate students, and small business owners.	The purpose is to examine parental rearing styles and objective confidence in relation to IP. It also examines the correlation between impostor feelings and self-handicapping tendencies.	~Strongest predictor of feelings if impostorism was overprotection or lack of care in paternal parenting style. ~Strongest predictor of self-handicapping was the feelings of impostorism. ~Lower confidence judgments were associated with higher IP scores. ~Results show the parenting style of the father and his involvement with his children – care and overprotection, has influence on the development of IP tendencies.
Watson & Betts, 2010	Qualitative; sample: two women doctoral students experiencing IP – methodology for study is autoethnography	~To connect a theoretical framework around IP to their experiences in doctoral program.~Question asked – Do their email conversations provide clues to explain impostor feelings?	~Data found three predominant themes; fear, family, and fellowship.
Yates & Chandler, 1998	Quantitative; sample: 136 undergraduates.	The purpose was to develop a brief measure of IP and examine possible correlation between IP, optimismpessimism, and cognition. Study also investigates if IP scores relate to different test measures of general knowledge, and perceived	~IP has at least three contributing sources: social phoniness, personal phoniness, and tendency to discount one's achievements.  ~Individuals who experience IP tend to prefer simple rather than complex cognitive and intellectual tasks.

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