

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: EXPLORING IDENTITIES AND
RELATIONSHIPS: NARRATIVES OF
SECOND-GENERATION, BLACK, WEST
INDIAN COLLEGE STUDENTS FROM
BOSTON

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The purpose of this study was to gain a deeper understanding of the collegiate experiences of second-generation, West Indian college students from Boston. Too often, Black students are treated as a monolith in education research and practice. This study provides new knowledge regarding how second-generation West Indian college students communicate and enact their racial, ethnic, and immigrant identities in their relationships with faculty, staff, peers, and family while in college. The theoretical framework guiding this study was Communication Theory of Identity, which centered the connection between identities and relationships. Through the use of narrative inquiry, seven West-Indian participants from Boston completed a demographic questionnaire and shared their narratives through two, semi-structured, in-person interviews. Through hand coding methods and inductive and deductive analysis of the data, five themes emerged: (a) Proving Cultural Authenticity, (b) Defining a West Indian Identity, (c) Differences Exist,

but Race Still Matters, (d) Homophily in Friendships, and (e) Representation Matters: Faculty and Staff Relationships. The findings offer insight of how participants viewed themselves, communicated their identities to others, and whether their relationships affirmed who they viewed themselves to be. Participants encountered disparate messages about their race, ethnicity, and generation status, compelling them to respond depending upon their audience and context. In particular, the shift from and contrast between participants' Boston neighborhoods to predominantly white campuses across Massachusetts contributed to a difference in how participants perceived themselves. In college, participants confronted the racialized component of their ethnicity and grappled with how they were viewed as Black and West Indian. Friendships provided the optimal space and relationship in which participants most easily navigated their racial, ethnic and immigrant status identities. In contrast to their friendships, participants minimally shared about themselves outside of close relationships with Black faculty or staff. The shifts in the racial composition of participants' environments, coupled with the types of messages they received in their interactions and relationships, demonstrates the connection between relationships, context, and identities.

EXPLORING IDENTITIES AND RELATIONSHIPS: NARRATIVES OF SECOND-
GENERATION, BLACK, WEST INDIAN COLLEGE STUDENTS FROM BOSTON

by

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Dedication

For my parents, Egbert and Beverly English, who sacrificed so much to immigrate to the United States from Jamaica to provide a life filled with opportunities for their three children.

For my brothers, Courtney and Damion English, who are the second-generation that also inspire this work. For my nephew, Gabriel English-Blyden, who inspires me every day to use education as a pathway to impact the next generation.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

I grew up in a two-parent household in Boston with my older and younger brothers. My parents migrated from Jamaica to the United States in the late 1970s. My mother first lived in New York City, NY, with her mother and my father lived in Massachusetts with his mother. They met in New York City, got married, and started their life together in Massachusetts. Eight years after they had my older brother, I was born. When I was 3 months old, my parents purchased a house in the neighborhood of Mattapan, in Boston. They had my youngest brother 4 years after I was born. My mother was a nurse and my father was a mental health worker. They have been married for 38 years.

For as long as I can remember, being Jamaican was one of my salient identities. My experiences with my parents and family cooking Jamaican food, speaking patois¹ or with a Jamaican accent, listening to reggae music, and traveling to Jamaica taught me about various aspects of Jamaican culture. My family often told stories about what life was like in Jamaica. My parents made sure that my brothers and I understood our Jamaican background, which fostered my connection to my Jamaican ethnicity.

Attending local cultural events, visiting diverse Caribbean and African restaurants, and interacting with other Black and Latinx immigrant and native-born communities further reinforced my ethnic identity. Many of our neighbors in Mattapan were Haitian, Dominican, Jamaican, and African American. Every year, I joined my family and thousands of people to participate or watch the annual Boston Carnival²

¹ Broken/Creole English specific to Jamaica (Mair, 2003)

² A parade showcasing West Indian culture

(2019), the Haitian Day Parade, and the Puerto Rican festival in nearby Dorchester (another Boston neighborhood known for its large numbers of Caribbean immigrants). These large-scale events displayed aspects of Caribbean culture with music, food, and entertainment. I also lived a few blocks away from the center of the small-business district in Mattapan. Many days I walked to the local gas station for snacks, the small Haitian supermarket to get groceries for my mother, the dollar store for knick-knacks, and the Jamaican restaurant for a beef patty. There were also restaurants and small shops owned by diverse African and Caribbean people in other adjacent neighborhoods such as Hyde Park, Dorchester, and Roxbury.

Witnessing my family, neighbors, and peers embrace the cultures in their homes reinforced my ethnic pride. Immigrant families across the African and Caribbean diaspora displayed their countries flags in their cars and in their homes and business, loudly played music from their countries, and spoke in their native tongues and accents. Displaying one's ethnic pride was a common practice among the people across many Boston neighborhoods. Even in predominantly white areas, such as South Boston, there is a strong Irish presence and culture displayed with flags, pubs, and the famous St. Patrick's Day parade. Because of my parents' nationality and what I ate, the type of music I listened to, and what I did reflected my upbringing in a Jamaican household, I ascribed to a Jamaican ethnicity despite being born in the United States. In middle school and high school, I noticed that my second-generation peers did the same: they claimed an ethnic identity based on their families' national background and household culture.

Prior to college my ethnicity was central to who I was but attending a predominantly white³ institution (PWI) was the first time I became more mindful of my race. I attended a small private liberal arts college about 20 minutes away from my predominantly Black neighborhood. My interactions with faculty and peers on campus showed me that others generally viewed me as Black. I believed others assumed my Blackness represented a certain and limited view of Black people generally, and African Americans specifically. I remember a distinct moment in my sociology class when we were discussing race. As the only visibly Black woman in the class, my professor turned to me and asked about my experience as a Black woman. She likely assumed my racial and gender identities were most salient to me, and that there was a monocultural Black experience. I believed her question overlooked the ethnic and native differences in the Black community. I viewed my race as distinct from, yet connected to, my ethnicity, and that there is not a singular Black experience. Ultimately, my interactions in college compelled me to further recognize and center my Black identity along with my Jamaican ethnicity, thus shifting my salient identities. My experiences lead me to wonder, what does it mean to be Black *and* West Indian⁴ for second-generation college students? How does growing up in the city of Boston, a city that has been home to Caribbean immigrants since the early 1900s (Showers Johnson, 2006), shape their experiences with their racial and ethnic identities? My experiences led to the conception of this study.

³ I employ the same writing practice as Crenshaw (1991), who capitalized 'Black' because it represents a cultural group like Asian and Latino, whereas white is not a cultural group and is not a proper noun.

⁴ The term *West Indian* refers to a person with a national, ethnic, or cultural connection to the region of the West Indies, including islands such as Jamaica, Haiti, and Trinidad and Tobago. Sometimes used to refer to the Anglophone countries (Meditz & Hanratty, 1989; Waters, 1999).

Additionally, the gaps in the literature inform this study. There is a considerable body of literature on Black collegians, illustrating race as a significant factor in their experiences, especially on their racial identity development, engagement, interactions, and perception of campus climate (e.g., Allen, 1992; Ancis, Sedlacek, & Mohr, 2000; Fries-Britt, Younger, & Hall, 2010; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado, 1992; Rankin & Reason, 2005; Sedlacek, 1999; Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). Similarly, race plays a role in the experiences of Black immigrant students, but in different ways compared to their native-born Black peers (Fries-Britt, George Mwangi, & Peralta, 2014a; Griffin, Cunningham, & George Mwangi, 2015; Griffin & McIntosh, 2015). Black immigrants' conception of race is unique to their sociohistorical background, which differs from African Americans. Research suggests that for many Black immigrants, race is not generally salient to them before arriving to the United States. (Awokoya, 2012; Joseph & Hunter, 2011; Okonofua, 2013; Vickerman, 1999; Waters, 1999). Most Black immigrants come from predominantly Black countries with histories of slavery, racial discrimination, and "color consciousness," (Vickerman, 1999, p. 9), but they were not socialized to view race as significant in their lives (Kent, 2007; Thomas, 2009; Vickerman, 2001; Waters, 1999).

How Black immigrants perceive race and their racial identity impacts how they respond to racialized incidents (Fries-Britt et al., 2014a; Griffin et al., 2015; Griffin & McIntosh, 2015; Malcolm & Mendoza, 2014). The less likely Black immigrant students view race as an important factor in their lives, the less likely race is to be central in their experiences (Deaux et al., 2007; Jones & Erving, 2015; Joseph, Watson, Wang, & Case, 2013); however, as they spend more time in the U.S. and have cumulative racial

encounters, their perspectives on race often parallel those of native-born Blacks (Benson, 2006; Case & Hunter, 2014; Fries-Britt et al., 2014a; Hall & Carter, 2006).

Yet, we know less about the significance and role of ethnicity, nativity, and immigrant generation status in the collegiate experiences of Black immigrants. Some research has suggested Black immigrants possess strong ethnic identities that influence their approach to and navigation of education (Awokoya, 2012; Daoud, George Mwangi, English, & Griffin, 2018; Deaux et al., 2007; George Mwangi & English, 2017; George Mwangi, Daoud, English, & Griffin, 2017; Haynie, 2002; Sanchez, 2013). While this information is important, there are different ethnicities to consider in the Black community given the uniqueness of cultural and sociohistorical backgrounds of different groups (Awokoya & Clark, 2008; Ogbu & Simons, 1998). For instance, Awokoya (2012) found that family, school, peer, and social media contexts influenced how 1.5 and second-generation Nigerian college students perceived and enacted their identities. Participants experienced an emotional toll in managing others' negative and conflicting perceptions about their ethnic group. On the other hand, in Deaux et al.'s (2007) study, first-generation West Indian students held a high regard for their own ethnic group and perceived that others held a favorable perception of their ethnic group. Deaux et al. asserted both individual and societal perceptions contributed to participants' higher performance on a test measuring the impact of stereotypes on their achievement. These studies shed light on potential differences across ethnicity and generation status among Black collegians.

To address the gap in the literature on ethnic and generation status differences of Black collegians, the purpose of this narrative inquiry was to explore the experiences of

second-generation West Indian college students from Boston. This work explored how their identities shape and are shaped by their relationships with faculty, staff, peers, and family while in college. Unlike earlier studies conducted in major cities or metropolitan areas such as New York City (Butterfield, 2004; Deaux et al., 2007; Lopez, 2002; Waters, 1999) or Southern Florida (Feliciano, 2009), this study illustrates how living and being socialized in Boston had an impact on how second-generation West Indian students navigated their racial and ethnic identities.

This chapter serves as the introduction to the study. Following this section is a definition of terms commonly used throughout this study. Then, I provide information on the demographic scope, characteristics, and identity perceptions of Afro-Caribbeans/West Indians, which serves as background information for the study. Next, I discuss the connection between identity and relationships in college, which has been established in higher education research. After that, I outline the problem statement as it relates to the gap in the literature about Black immigrants in higher education. Additionally, I provide the purpose statement, research questions, and overview of the design of the study, along with a summary of the theoretical framework. I conclude the chapter with the significance of this work.

Definition of Terms

Throughout this study, I use terminologies that have multiple definitions across bodies of literature. In the following, I outline how I define and use specific terminology in the context of this study.

Race is generally based on phenotypical (i.e., skin color), biological, and physiological characteristics (Cornell & Hartmann, 2004). Relatedly, *racial identity*

refers to “the meaning individuals and groups ascribe to membership in racial categories” (Jackson, 2012, p. 11) and how others racially perceive the individual.

Ethnicity refers to an individual’s membership in and connection to a group based on decent, homeland, kinship, heritage, and shared cultural characteristics (Cornell & Hartmann, 2004; Phinney, 1990). Relatedly, *ethnic identity* is an attachment to or expression of an individual’s nativity or parental homeland and ethnic group based on shared history and meaning (Cornell & Hartmann, 2004; Deaux, 2006; Phinney, 1990).

Salience is the likelihood an identity or identities will be invoked in each situation or context (Stryker, 1980). It also reflects the significance of that identity to an individual’s self-concept (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997).

Culture involves practices, beliefs, and attitudes shared among a group (Swidler, 1986). I use culture interchangeably with ethnicity because ethnicity is often communicated and shared through cultural practices (Hall, 1989).

Nativity refers to the country of birth of an individual or group (Rumbaut, 2004).

Generation status refers to the “generational cohort” of immigrants and the “differences in nativity” (Rumbaut, 2004, p. 1164).

First-generation immigrant is a person(s) born abroad and moved to the United States after the age of 12 (Rumbaut, 2004). This term generally refers to a person who is a U.S. citizen or permanent resident. An individual who migrates to the United States before the age of 12 is considered 1.5-generation (Rumbaut, 2004).

Second-generation immigrant is a person born in the United States and one or both of their parents were born abroad (Rumbaut, 2004). For the context of this study, second-generation status will be based on the nativity of both parents.

Black immigrant is an umbrella term referring to first and second-generation people (typically U.S. citizens and permanent residents) from Africa and the Caribbean (generally not inclusive of Latino immigrants such as Cubans or Dominicans; Anderson, 2015; Kent, 2007).

Afro-Caribbean and *West Indian*, in this study, are pan-ethnic terms collectively referring to first and second-generation persons with a national, ethnic, or cultural connection to the Anglophone Caribbean. Although list of countries under these umbrella terms tend to include places such as Haiti or the Dominican Republic, for the purposes of this study, the Anglophone Caribbean constitutes: Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Aruba, the Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Montserrat, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago, Turks and Caicos, and the U.S. Virgin Islands (CARICOM, 2001; Meditz & Hanratty, 1989; Morgan-Trostle & Zheng, 2016). Despite Guyana's geographical location on the mainland of South America, it shares many of its cultural characteristics and language with the Caribbean nations listed previously (CARICOM, 2001). I use Afro-Caribbean and West Indian interchangeably to refer to the same group. In some instances, West Indian appeared more frequently in older literature and majority of the participants in this study preferred the latter term.

Native/native-born Black, African American, and Black American refers to those who were born in the United States to native-born parents and native-born grandparents (of African descent), thus having at least three generations or more born in the United States (Hernandez, 2012).

Background

This section includes a broad outline of several characteristics about Afro-Caribbeans, which demonstrates their unique position in the United States relative to other Black immigrants. Additionally, I discuss the research on how first and second-generation Afro-Caribbeans navigate their racial identity and ethnicity. It is important to highlight generational differences because the second-generation's perceptions of race and ethnicity are often quite different from the first, largely because the second-generation are socialized in the U.S. and its corresponding racial context (Butterfield, 2004; Deaux et al., 2007; Jones & Erving, 2015; Waters, 1994).

Migration and Characteristics of Afro-Caribbeans in the United States

The number of foreign-born Black immigrants in the United States has increased more than fivefold from 816,000 in the 1980s to about 4.2 million in 2016, representing approximately 9% of the overall Black population (Anderson & Lopéz, 2018). The contemporary wave of African and Caribbean Black immigrants is largely attributed to the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 and subsequent immigration policies of the 1980s and 1990s (Anderson, 2015; Ewing, 2012; Kent, 2007). Post-1965 immigration policies lifted quotas, allowing for more diverse immigrants to enter the U.S. (Ewing, 2012; Rogers, 2006). Although immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa drive recent growth in the Black population over the past decade, Afro-Caribbeans make up the largest share, representing about 49% of the Black immigrant population (Anderson & Lopéz, 2018). While the figures about the Black immigrant population generally reflect the first-generation, “8% of Blacks were second-generation” in 2016 (Anderson & Lopéz, 2018,

para. 7); combined, first and second-generation Black immigrants comprise 18% of the U.S. Black population (Anderson & Lopéz, 2018).

The majority of present-day Afro-Caribbeans arrived between the 1980s and mid-late 1990s, where more than one million Afro-Caribbeans (majority of whom are Jamaican) migrated to the U.S. (Anderson, 2015; Kent, 2007; McKay, 2003). The flow of Caribbean immigrants decreased and only 18% of present-day Caribbeans arrived after 2006 (Anderson, 2015). Over 80% of Afro-Caribbeans entered the U.S. through the family reunification immigration policy (Jones, 2008; McKay, 2003; Rogers, 2006). The family reunification program provided entry into the U.S. for immigrants (especially from specific countries such as Mexico, China, and Jamaica) and reconnection with family members in the U.S. (McKay, 2003). This policy gave preference to those whose family members are U.S. citizens and provided a pathway to lawful permanent resident (LPR) status or citizenship (Jones, 2008; Kent, 2007; Rogers, 2006); giving this population access to documentation status and likely increased security and stability in their new host country (Anderson, 2015). Caribbeans have the highest rates of citizenship, at 58%, compared to other immigrant groups who have a rate of 49% (Anderson & Lopéz, 2018).

Family reunification was a major contributor to the migration and subsequent settlement patterns, economic outcomes, social networks, and mobility of Afro-Caribbeans (Kent, 2007; Logan & Deane, 2003; Rogers, 2006). Over 90% of Afro-Caribbeans live in the Northeast and Southeast regions of the U.S., in cities such as New York City, NY; Miami and Fort Lauderdale, FL; Washington, DC; Boston, MA; and Atlanta, GA (Anderson, 2015; Kent, 2007). While regions such as the New York and

New Jersey metro area holds the largest Black immigrant population of 275, followed by Florida with 17%, smaller metropolitan cities such as Washington DC with 6% and Boston with 4% in 2013 (Anderson, 2015). Boston, for example, is a small city with a population of approximately, 694,583 in 2018 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2018). In 2018, foreign-born residents comprised 28% of Boston's overall population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2018). Some of the top countries represented in Boston are China, Brazil, Cape Verde, India, and the Dominican Republic (Ciurczak, Kendall, & Stone, 2019). Among the foreign-born in Boston, Caribbean immigrants are well represented with Haitians, Jamaicans, Trinidadians and Tobagonians, and Bajans (Ciurczak et al., 2019; Jennings et al., 2015). There are concentrations of Caribbean immigrant communities across the Greater Boston area that has nearly doubled over the past 25 years (Ciurczak et al., 2019). Settlement patterns, particularly in metropolitan areas capture the extensive and growing familial and social networks of immigrant communities (Logan, Zhang, & Alba, 2002). Immigrant groups, like Afro-Caribbeans, greatly rely on their ethnic communities to adjust to American society, get jobs, receive educational support for their children, and have access to other social and economic resources (Kent, 2007; Haynie, 2002; Logan et al., 2002; Model, 2008; Park, 2012; Waters, 1999).

Afro-Caribbeans differ demographically from other Black immigrants in several ways (Anderson, 2015; Capps, McCabe, & Fix, 2012; Kent, 2007). They are more likely to be English-proficient, be legal permanent residents or citizens, be low income or employed in low-skilled jobs, be high school graduates or have an associate's degrees as their highest level of attainment, and live in predominantly Black and segregated neighborhoods (Anderson, 2015; Erisman & Looney, 2007; Hernandez, 2012; Jones,

2008; Kent, 2007; Logan & Deane, 2003; Massey, Mooney, Torres, & Charles, 2007; Rogers, 2006; Waters, 1999). Regarding higher education attainment rates, 20% of Afro-Caribbeans ages 25 and older have a bachelor's degree, compared to 19% of native-Blacks (Anderson, 2015; Erisman & Looney, 2007). In comparison, 35% of Africans have a bachelor's degree, and they are more likely than Afro-Caribbeans and native-Blacks to have advanced degrees, which increases chances of employability, income, and stability (Anderson, 2015; Erisman & Looney, 2007). Based on said characteristics, Afro-Caribbeans are situated in a unique position relative to their native-born and immigrant Black counterparts.

Regarding educational experiences, research suggests there are differences in the academic performance of Afro-Caribbeans compared to African Americans and Africans. Afro-Caribbeans perform slightly better in school than native-born Blacks (Fisher, 2005; Kao, 2004), and slightly less well or in some cases the same as African immigrants (Byrd, Brunn-Bevel, & Sexton, 2014; Erisman & Looney, 2007; Massey et al., 2007). Yet, there is limited literature exploring what contributes to these relative differences and the differential impact across subgroups in the Black community. There is an incomplete narrative about the status and experiences of Black immigrants in education, which downplays the complexities of cultural adjustment, immigration issues, and ethnic identity, coupled with anti-Blackness and racism (Bennett & Lutz, 2009; Benson, 2006). A closer look at the distinct perspectives and backgrounds of specific ethnic groups (in this case Afro-Caribbeans) reveals how Black immigrant groups may interact with other groups and approach education (George Mwangi & English, 2017).

Afro-Caribbeans Navigating Race and Ethnicity

Black immigrants' socialization and history in their homeland largely influence their identities and understanding of race in the United States (Awokoya & Clark, 2008; Fries-Britt, George Mwangi, & Peralta, 2014b; Jones, 2008; Kent, 2007; Ogbu & Simons, 1998; Smith, 2014; Waters, 1999). Most Black immigrants migrate from majority–minority countries, where most people in the country and in power are Black (Awokoya & Clark, 2008; Vickerman, 1999; Waters, 1999). Many Black people develop a racial consciousness in their majority Black countries (Vickerman, 1999), but they often ascribe to a national identity (Kent, 2007; Smith, 2014; Waters, 1999). Therefore, when they arrive in the United States, a national identity contrasts with the predominant focus and centrality of race (Omi & Winant, 2014).

Given the different perspectives of race in other countries compared to the U.S., first-generation immigrants' emphasis of a national or ethnic identity typically reflects an “either/or” identity choice between race and ethnicity (Awokoya & Clark, 2008; Butterfield, 2004; Rumbaut, 2004; Waters, 1999). Several studies have revealed racialization and an ascribed Black identity for first-generation Afro-Caribbeans challenge self-perceptions of a national identity (Benson, 2006; Warner, 2012; Waters, 1999; Wilson, 2009). Early studies by sociologists investigated why and how Afro-Caribbeans' interactions in the U.S. impact their understandings of race (Bryce-Laporte, 1972; Vickerman, 1999; Waters, 1999). Moreover, researchers attempted to understand how Black immigrants develop a racial identity because they are generally racially categorized as Black once they arrive to the U.S. (Bryce-Laporte, 1972; Foner, 2001; Hall & Carter, 2006; Vickerman, 2001; Waters, 1999).

Many Afro-Caribbeans have attempted to resist racialization and a Black identity. Afro-Caribbeans' responses to being labeled as Black are often a point of contention in their interactions and relationships with African Americans because it juxtaposes the former as better than the latter (Benson, 2006; Waters, 1999). However, it is important to note that Afro-Caribbeans may resist racial categorization for a variety of reasons, including to distinguish and distance themselves from African Americans; retain and emphasize their ethnic and national background (i.e., a sense of ethnic/national pride), resist the negative stereotypes attached to "Blackness" in the United States, or simply because they do not understand race and racial politics in the U.S. context (Deaux, 2006; Malcolm & Mendoza, 2014; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Rogers, 2006; Smith, 2014; Waters, 1999; Wilson, 2009).

While first-generation Black immigrants do not typically perceive race as a factor in their daily interactions and mobility, over time, they think differently about race and are more likely to identify with their native-Black peers (Benson, 2006; Case & Hunter, 2014; Fries-Britt et al., 2014a; Jones, Cross & DeFour, 2007). Experiences with racialized encounters can often result in Black immigrants developing a racial consciousness, while maintaining a connection to their ethnic/national identity (Benson, 2006; Fries-Britt et al., 2014a; Hall & Carter, 2006; Jones & Erving, 2015; Malcolm & Mendoza, 2014; Waters, 1999). Fries-Britt et al. (2014a) developed the Learning Race in a U.S. Context (LRUSC) conceptual model, illustrating how racialized encounters prompt foreign-born Black students to move from an unexamined racial identity to an examined racial identity. The model incorporates the racial understandings Black immigrants arrive with from their homeland context. When Black immigrants experience

a racialized encounter in which it is evident that race matters, they are compelled to reevaluate their previous understandings and level of importance they placed on race and racial identity. This process leads many Black immigrants to make a variety of choices personally and socially, and develop an awareness of racial positioning in the U.S.

Second-Generation Afro-Caribbeans

There is scant literature on the identity and experiences of second-generation immigrants broadly, and second-generation Afro-Caribbeans specifically. The uniqueness of second-generation Afro-Caribbean identity challenges the “either/or proposition” (Butterfield, 2004, p. 75) of racial/ethnic identity typically associated with the first-generation (Feliciano, 2009; Hall & Carter, 2006; Rumbaut, 2004). Despite being born in the U.S., many second-generation youth develop ethnic attachments to their parents’ homeland through various encounters with their culture (Butterfield, 2004; Feliciano, 2009; Lopez, 2002; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Waters, 1994). They are also able to develop strong racial identities given their socialization in U.S. racial hierarchy and their immediate social contexts (Butterfield, 2004, 2006; Jones & Erving, 2015; Rong & Brown, 2002; Waters, 1994). In some cases, second-generation Afro-Caribbeans attempt to balance and create space for their racial and ethnic identities, resulting in their self-identification being at odds in different encounters (Rong & Brown, 2001; Waters, 1994).

The second-generation often find ways to assert their ethnic identities because their ethnicity is not always readily apparent to others (Butterfield, 2004; Jones & Erving, 2015; Lopez, 2002). For example, a second-generation person may speak with a Jamaican or Trinidadian accent to signal their culture to others (Butterfield, 2004; Waters, 1999). This is particularly apparent in their peer relationships and school

contexts, where peers and teachers may be unaware of their ethnic backgrounds because it is an “invisible” identity (Butterfield, 2004; Lopez, 2002; Feliciano, 2009; Waters, 1994). The relationships (e.g., with family and peers) and social contexts of the second-generation usually shape the degree to which their racial and ethnic identities are salient (Butterfield, 2004; Charles, Kramer, Torres, & Brunn-Bevel, 2015; Feliciano, 2009; Hall & Carter, 2006; Rong & Brown, 2002; Waters, 1999).

Examining Identity and Relationships in College

College is often a time when significant personal development occurs, particularly around identity (Evans, Forney, Guido, Patton, & Renn, 2010). Social identities, such as race and ethnicity, often undergird the connections people make with others who they perceive as similar, thus making relationships key to developing and sustaining social identities (Harper & Quaye, 2007; Phinney, 1993; Porter & Dean, 2015; Winkle-Wagner, 2009). Further, relationships are an important aspect in multiple psychosocial and social identity models. For example, in the ethnic identity model, Phinney (1990) illustrated how an individual progresses from an unexamined ethnic identity toward an achieved ethnic identity. An individual reaches ethnic identity achievement when he/she demonstrates a secured sense of ethnicity and what it means in his/her life, and how his/her relationships with family and peers reaffirm his/her ethnicity (Phinney, 1993). Similarly, Black racial identity models (e.g., Cross, 1991; Helms, 1990) underscore how in and out-group interactions and relationships can facilitate or hinder racial identity development.

Scholars have established that relationships are a central part of the collegiate experience (Evans et al., 2010; Jones & Abes, 2013; Wilson, 2011). Faculty, peer, and

familial relationships can positively or negatively impact involvement, learning, persistence, retention, academic achievement, sense of belonging, adjustment, and overall student success (e.g., Astin, 1993; Dennis, Phinney, & Chuateco, 2005; Lundberg & Schreiner, 2004; Mayhew et al., 2016; Quaye & Harper, 2015; Tinto, 1993; Winkle-Wagner, 2009). This is especially true for Black students, who sometimes experience racial discrimination, isolation, and other negative encounters, which can contribute to negative interactions or the absence of meaningful relationships (Guiffrida, 2005b; Herndon & Hirt, 2004; Museus, 2008; Quaye & Harper, 2015; Solórzano et al., 2000). Positive relationships, however, can help Black students overcome chilly racial climates, aid in their adjustment, and contribute to their overall satisfaction in college (Allen, 1992; Anglin & Wade, 2007; Fries-Britt & Turner, 2002; Guiffrida, 2005a; Museus, 2008; Quaye & Harper, 2015; Solórzano et al., 2000; Strayhorn & Terrell, 2007; Williamson, 2010). Scholarship on identity and relationships in college has provided ample evidence of the significance of and connection between identity and relationships for college students.

Boston: Setting the Context

Boston, MA is a small city with a population of approximately 695,000 people (U.S. Census Bureau, 2018), compared to New York City whose population is about 8.4 million people (U.S. Census Bureau, 2018). Once inhabited by Indigenous peoples, English colonizers settled in Boston and founded the city in 1630; making Boston one of the oldest cities in the United States (Stefon et al., 2019). As a major port city along the Atlantic Ocean, Boston was attractive to merchants, shipbuilders, fishermen, and immigrants during the 17th and 18th centuries (Boston College Department of History,

n.d.; Stefon et al., 2019). Between the mid-late 1800s and early 1900s, scores of Irish, Italian, and Jewish immigrants settled in Boston and expanded the city's boundaries (Boston College Department of History, n.d.; Stefon et al., 2019). Also, in the early 1900s, African Americans began migrating from the South and settled at the edge of the city's center (Miletsky & Gonzalez, 2018; Stefon et al., 2019). Around the same time, hundreds of Black Caribbeans migrated to Boston (Showers Johnson, 2006).

After World War II and through the late 1960s, the city grew more diverse with the arrival of African Americans, Afro-Caribbeans, Africans, and Latinx people (Miletsky & Gonzalez, 2018; Schuster & Ciurczak, 2018; Stefon et al., 2019). By 1990, majority of the foreign-born population were from Italy, Portugal, Ireland, China, and Canada, but there were also smaller concentrations of people from Dominican Republic, Brazil, Haiti, Jamaica, El Salvador, Vietnam, and Colombia (Ciurczak, Kendall, & Stone, 2019).

By the late 1990s and early 2000s, there was a rise in the Black immigrant population in Boston (Ciurczak et al., 2019). The top 10 countries that Black immigrants represented, in addition to Haiti and Jamaica, included Cape Verde, Nigeria, Kenya, Trinidad and Tobago, Ethiopia, Barbados, Uganda, and Somalia (Ciurczak et al., 2019). By 2017, Massachusetts had over one million immigrants, comprising 16% of the state's population of about 6.9 million people (American Immigration Council, 2017). In the same year, Boston was among the top 20 metropolitan areas with the largest number of immigrants, along with cities such as Philadelphia, New York City, and Washington, D.C. (Radford, 2019). In 2018, foreign-born residents comprised 28% of Boston residents (U.S. Census Bureau, 2018).

Although Boston has a rich colonial and dynamic history (Miletsky & Gonzalez, 2018; Schuster & Ciurczak, 2018; Stefon et al., 2019), it has a contemporary and controversial reputation regarding race and race relations. For example, an infamous event in Boston was desegregation busing⁵, which led to riots, particularly in South Boston (Johnson, 2017). A recent article highlighted the Black-white race relations in Boston, stating that many people across the U.S. perceive Boston as one of the most racist cities in the U.S. (Johnson, 2017). This negative perception of Boston is possibly connected to the desegregation era of the 1970s (Johnson, 2017). Racial desegregation of schools was a problem of a larger symptom of Boston's segregated neighborhoods, racial dynamics, and inequities (Delmont, 2016). While many present-day Bostonians may claim more racial tolerance, racial disparities are still evident in areas such as political and business leadership, homeownership, composition of neighborhoods, housing, attendance at selective colleges, and other domains (Johnson, 2017).

Boston has been and remains a racially segregated city (Ciurczak et al., 2019; Johnson, 2017; Miletsky & Gonzalez, 2018). A defining characteristic of Boston is the diversity across its neighborhoods (City of Boston, 2019a). In the mid-late 19th century, the city expanded to incorporate twenty-three neighborhoods, and over 40 suburban cities and towns, comprising the Greater Boston⁶, metropolitan area (City of Boston, 2019a). Boston neighborhoods are filled with compelling histories, eccentricities, cultures, ethnic enclaves, and activities (City of Boston, 2019a; Culture Trip, 2019). The racial, ethnic,

⁵ The effort to desegregate Boston Public Schools between 1974 – 1976, by bussing students across the city, which led to protests and riots (Delmont, 2016)

⁶ Boston and Greater Boston will be used interchangeably to refer to Boston proper and the metropolitan area of Boston

and class composition of Boston neighborhoods differs from one another in that predominantly Black and Brown neighborhoods tend to have low-income renters and some homeowners, compared to neighborhoods with predominantly white, high-income homeowners (Ciurczak, Kendall, & Stone, 2019; Schuster & Ciurczak, 2018).

For example, since the 19th century, the neighborhood of Roxbury is considered a Black cultural center because of its history of politics and Black political figures (such as Malcolm X), Black churches, and small Black-owned businesses (Miletsky & Gonzalez, 2018; Stefon et al., 2019). African Americans from the South settled in Roxbury since the 1900s (Miletsky & Gonzalez, 2018). Around the 1950s, Roxbury was 25% percent Black and adjacent neighborhoods were predominantly white and Jewish (Lewis & Edozie, 2019). During the Civil Rights period, African Americans, Caribbeans, and other Black immigrants moved into Boston and settled in Roxbury (Lewis & Edozie, 2019). By 1980, over 79% of residents in Roxbury were Black and created businesses, community centers, restaurants, and events reflecting the culture of the people in the neighborhood (Lewis & Edozie, 2019; Miletsky & Gonzalez, 2018). However, the Black population in Roxbury (and other neighborhoods) is declining due to gentrification (Johnson, 2017; Lewis & Edozie, 2019; Miletsky & Gonzalez, 2018) and increased displacement of Black and Brown people to suburban areas of Boston such as Brockton (Melnik, Waterhouse, & Schuster, 2019). The overall Black population in Boston is about 148,000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). Presently, 42% of Roxbury residents are foreign-born Blacks (primarily Cape Verdean and Haitian), while 50% are African American (Lewis & Edozie, 2019).

Similarly, Mattapan is a majority Black (both native-born and immigrant) neighborhood (Boston Planning and Development Agency Research Division 2017).

Between Roxbury and Mattapan, the median household income is about \$33,000 (Data USA, 2019c). Mattapan is a small neighborhood that is home to many Haitians, Jamaicans, Dominicans, and African Americans (Boston Planning & Development Agency Research Division, 2017). Over 35% of residents in Mattapan are foreign-born (Boston Planning and Development Agency Research Division 2017). In fact, Boston has over 75,000 Haitian residents, constituting nearly 9% of all Haitians in the U.S. (Lewis & Edozie, 2019). Cultural aspects of the neighborhood can be seen in the annual Haitian Parade showcasing Haitian pride and culture, the local Dominican supermarket, Jamaican restaurants, and small shops, barbers, and salons.

In contrast, other neighborhoods experienced demographic shifts, especially in the 20th century with the influx of immigrants, expansion of the neighborhoods, white flight to the suburbs, and displacement of people of color (Ciurczak, Kendall, & Stone, 2019). Many white neighborhoods, whose Irish, Italian, and Canadian families lived in Boston for generations tended to live in neighborhoods such as South Boston, Charlestown, North End (also known as Little Italy), and West Roxbury, and suburbs such as Medford and Cambridge (Boston Planning & Development Agency Research Division, 2017; City of Boston, 2019a). The income also tends to differ in predominantly white neighborhoods. For example, majority of West Roxbury residents are U.S.-born whites with median incomes over \$90,000 (Statistical Atlas, 2018a). The median household income in Medford is about \$80,000 (Data USA, 2019d). Cambridge is famous for being the home of Harvard University and sits on the border of Boston proper. Cambridge's population is approximately 62% white, 15% Asian, and 10% Black, (Data USA, 2019a).

Dorchester is different compared to other Boston neighborhoods because it is the “largest and most diverse neighborhood” in Boston (Boston Planning & Development Agency, 2019, para. 1). Prior to the 1960s, Dorchester primarily consisted of Irish, Italian, and Jewish residents (Watanabe & Lo, 2019). Presently, Dorchester comprises concentrations of Irish, African American, Vietnamese, and Latino residents (Boston Planning & Development Agency Research Division, 2017; Watanabe & Lo, 2019). Watanabe and Lo (2019) note that ethnic enclaves remain in Dorchester as the neighborhood changes demographically. From Vietnamese community centers, to Irish pubs, to Dominican salons, and the annual Caribbean festival, Dorchester contains vibrant elements of the cultures reflected across the neighborhood. Despite these diverse reflections of culture, economics and housing disparities are still evident. In South Dorchester for example, the median income is about \$62,000 (Statistical Atlas, 2018b) and houses are valued at approximately \$496,000 (Watanabe & Lo, 2019).

There are ethnic enclaves in other areas of Boston as well. For instance, there are large concentrations of Cape Verdeans in Brockton, and East and Southeast Asians in Chinatown and Dorchester (Watanabe & Lo, 2019), and majority Latinx neighborhoods in Jamaica Plain and East Boston (Boston Planning & Development Agency Research Division, 2017). Each neighborhood provides different and unique characteristics based on its history and residents. The recent demographic composition across Boston and Greater Boston within the last 10-15 years marked the city as the sixth most diverse city in the U.S. (Schuster & Ciurczak, 2018), and a majority-minority city (World Population Review, 2019).

Boston is also well-known and lauded for its number of higher education institutions within and around the boundaries of the city (Pohle, 2015; U.S. News & World Report, 2018). In the city of Boston alone, there are thirty-five colleges, universities, and community colleges (Meade, 2011), most of which are predominantly white. Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education estimates that 120 colleges, universities, and community colleges are in the state of Massachusetts (Indiana University Center for Postsecondary Research, 2016).

Despite the racial and ethnic demographic diversity within the city, there continues to be disparities in the enrollment of Black students in Boston's top colleges and universities since the 1980s (Dungca, 2017). Dungca (2017) noted that African American student enrollment at institutions in Greater Boston was less than 7% in 2015, which is lower than the national average (11%). This percentage is even lower at the top universities in the city, such as Boston College, Northeastern University, and Harvard University (Dungca, 2017). The demographic composition of colleges and universities in Boston has changed, but largely due to international student enrollment (Dungca, 2017). In addition, the number of Black faculty in colleges and universities in Boston is very low (Dungca, 2017). For instance, in 2015, 2.6% of the "2,500 full-time instructional staff," at Boston University, were Black (Dungca, 2017, n.p.). This information begins to paint a picture of Black students' representation at Boston-area colleges and universities. Knowing about the general landscape and race relations of Boston, helps to further situate participants and their experiences related to the focus of this study. Given its history, racial and ethnic composition, geographical location, and extant racial inequities, Boston

served as a unique site in which to explore the lived experiences of Black, second-generation, West Indian college students.

Problem Statement

There is limited discussion in higher education literature on diversity in the Black community based on ethnicity, nativity, and generation status. Black collegians are often portrayed, and subsequently treated, as a monolith, which limits our understanding of any differential impact of these dimensions of identity across subgroups (Blum, 2015; George Mwangi, 2014; George Mwangi & Fries-Britt, 2015; Massey et al., 2007). Moreover, many researchers and educators do not consider the fact that Black students have an ethnic identity, nor consider if students place importance on their ethnic or national identities or immigrant generation status. Overlooking ethnicity and generation status further limits educators' awareness of diverse subgroups and how these identities may shape students' collegiate experiences (George Mwangi et al., 2017; George Mwangi & Fries-Britt, 2015; Griffin & McIntosh, 2015; Rong & Brown, 2002). Studies examining the experiences of Black immigrant students reveal that these students negotiate particular cultural, educational, and social adjustments based on their multiple identities (e.g., ethnicity, race, nativity, generation status; Anglin & Wade, 2007; Awokoya, 2012; Butterfield, 2006; Deaux et al., 2007; Fries-Britt et al., 2014a, 2014b; George Mwangi et al., 2017; Kim, 2014; Malcolm & Mendoza; 2014). Therefore, collapsing Black students into one category based on their race may result in assumptions and lead to insufficient conclusions that lack the nuance of culture, behaviors, and attitudes (Blum, 2015; Bryce-LaPorte, 1972; George Mwangi, 2014; George Mwangi & English, 2017).

There is growing research in higher education about the identities and unique experiences of Black immigrant students (e.g., Anglin & Wade, 2007; Barnett, Sonnert, & Sadler, 2012; George Mwangi et al., 2017; Griffin et al., 2015; Griffin, del Pilar, McIntosh, & Griffin, 2012; Kim, 2014; Malcolm & Mendoza, 2014; Massey et al., 2007; Owens & Lynch, 2012; Thomas, 2014). Some of the recent work targets students attending elite and highly selective institutions (e.g., Barnett et al., 2012; Byrd et al., 2014; Haynie, 2002; Massey et al., 2007). The focus of these studies is on academic enrollment and performance. The overrepresentation of elite and selective college attendees may further skew the limited portrayal of Black immigrants in higher education. Additionally, some of the studies focus primarily on African students (e.g., Awokoya, 2012; De Walt, 2011; Rivers, 2012), which may be due to their recent and growing migration to the United States.

In research on Black immigrants, there is a need to further disaggregate data based on region, country, and generation status due to differences across ethnic groups in terms of geography, culture, language, and backgrounds (George Mwangi & Fries-Britt, 2015). Afro-Caribbeans are one group who receives less attention than Africans do in the higher education literature. Over 60% of people receiving some form of tertiary education end up leaving the Caribbean and migrate to the United States (Hickling-Hudson & Arno, 2016). In many cases, some are leaving their home countries to study in the U.S. It is likely then that first and second-generation Caribbeans are entering the U.S. higher education system. Yet, it is uncertain how many West Indians are represented in U.S. higher education, leaving educators further unaware and unprepared on how to best serve this population.

While there is some research about Afro-Caribbeans, especially the first-generation, there is less research about the second-generation (Lopez, 2002; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Rong & Brown, 2002). Despite being born in the United States, the second-generation tend to develop strong connections to and meanings of their ethnic and racial identities (Butterfield, 2004; Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, & Waters, 2004; Lopez, 2002; Waters, 1994). Generally, their identities are challenged or reinforced in their relationships with others (Butterfield, 2004, 2006; Feliciano, 2009; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Waters, 1994). Therefore, the consistency of their racial and ethnic identities is constantly contested. For example, Butterfield (2004) found second-generation West Indians' identity choices depended on who they are interacting with and if they trusted them, importance placed on identity labels, and socioeconomic status (SES). Because second-generation West Indians' communication of their identity shifted based on context and who they were with, these factors should also be important to consider when studying this population in college. Connecting West Indian students' identities to their relationships in college helps to (a) center their racial *and* ethnic identities, (b) center their relationships, and (c) consider the role these identities play in students' experiences across different relationships. Ultimately, relationships can serve as "the bridge" between understanding who students are and how they experience college (Allen, 1992, p. 39).

It is not only important to consider the size of the Afro-Caribbean population in the U.S. but also where they tend to reside. Boston served as the research site for a few reasons. First, many studies about Afro-Caribbeans and West Indians (e.g., Butterfield, 2004; Foner, 2001; Foner, 2009; Hall & Carter, 2006; Lopez, 2002; Rogers, 2006; Waters, 1999) primarily draw samples from New York City and South Florida, with a

few exceptions (e.g., Benson, 2006; Jones & Erving, 2015; Showers Johnson, 2006). This leaves the Black immigrant population in the Boston area relatively unexplored, even though Black immigrants have migrated to Boston since the early twentieth century (Showers Johnson, 2006). Second, Massachusetts has the fifth-largest, foreign-born Black population, and Boston is home to 4% of the Black immigrant population within the state (Anderson, 2015). Third, Caribbean immigrants are well-represented in Boston. Haitians are the largest ethnic group in the Boston metropolitan area, followed by Jamaicans in third place, Trinidadians and Tobagonians in sixth, and Bajans in seventh place (Jennings et al., 2015). Finally, the racially and ethnically segregated neighborhoods across Boston are unique and contrasting spaces compared to the many predominantly white colleges and universities that participants have access to and chose to attend; the diversity across context shed light on the shifting dynamics of identity salience for participants' ethnic and racial identities.

A limited understanding and awareness of second-generation Afro-Caribbeans and other ethnic minorities possibly overlooks the disparities among underrepresented student populations on access, retention, and other educational outcomes. As higher education continues to diversify and espouse values of equity, diversity, and inclusion, failure to consider ethnic and generation status differences runs counter to those values and aims. There is a growing body of research uncovering the influence of Black immigrants' identities on academic outcomes and experiences (e.g., Barnett et al., 2012; Byrd et al., 2014; De Feyter & Winsler, 2009; Fisher, 2005; George Mwangi et al., 2017; Griffin et al., 2015; Owens & Lynch, 2012). Presently, Black immigrants are generally portrayed as academically successful (e.g., Barnett et al., 2012; Crosby & Dunbar, 2005;

Kao, 2004) with some scholars asserting “culture” as a prominent reason for Black immigrants’ success. Yet, there is evidence to suggest that there are background characteristics that generally shape the access and aspirations of these students (Bennett & Lutz, 2009; Byrd et al., 2014; Erisman & Looney, 2007; Massey et al., 2007).

Purpose and Overview of Research Design

There remains a gap in understanding, particularly at the collegiate level, of the presence and experiences of second-generation West Indian students. This study explored the experiences of second-generation West Indian college students in Boston and considered how their identities shape and are shaped by their relationships with faculty/staff, peers, and family while in college. This study addressed the following research questions:

1. How do second-generation West Indian college students communicate their racial and ethnic identities?
2. What types of messages do second-generation West Indian students receive about their racial and ethnic identities from faculty or staff, peers, and family while in college?
3. How do second-generation West Indian students enact their racial and ethnic identities in their relationships with faculty or staff, peers, and family while in college?

Using a qualitative approach, this study explored “the lived and told experiences” (Creswell, 2013, p. 71) of second-generation West Indian college students. Employing narrative inquiry, I invited participants to share their understandings about and make meaning of their lived experiences (Creswell, 2013). I interviewed seven second-

generation West Indian students (second year in college through recent graduate) who were raised in Boston⁷ and attended a predominantly white, 4-year institution in Boston. I conducted two semi-structured interviews in which each participant shared stories about how they understood their racial and ethnic identities, relationships with peers, teachers, and family during high school and college, and their relationships, or lack thereof, with faculty or staff in college.

Theoretical Framework

This study centers racial and ethnic identity to focus on the salience and maintenance of these identities for second-generation Afro-Caribbean students from Boston. This focus is a slight shift from other studies which tend to examine the psychological perspective or development of identity (Evans et al., 2010; Jones & Abes, 2013). Instead, I use a social psychological perspective to explore identity salience through the dynamic of relationships, to advance a social and communicative approach on identity-related work in higher education research.

The theoretical framework guiding this study is communication theory of identity (CTI; Hecht, 1993; Hecht, Collier, Ribeau, 1993; Hecht, Jackson, & Ribeau, 2003). The basic premise of CTI is that an individual's identities are based on roles and relationships and understood (by self and others) through various forms of communication; that is, identity itself is communicative (Jung & Hecht, 2004). There are four "frames of identity" (also considered dimensions) in which identity is considered in CTI: personal, enacted, relational, and communal (Hecht, 1993). Personal is an individual's self-

⁷ For the recruitment and selection criteria of this study, Boston includes Greater and Metro Boston areas. See Chapter 3 for more details.

concept. Enacted is how an identity is expressed, acted out, or performed. Relational includes four levels in which an individual's (a) identity develops according to others' perceptions, (b) identities are viewed in relation to other people (e.g., sister, husband), (c) "identities exist in [relation] to other identities" (Jung & Hecht, 2004, p. 266-267), and (d) a relationship is an identity, such as a married couple or partners. Finally, the communal frame has a focus on a group as a source or frame of identity such as a sorority (Jung & Hecht, 2004). CTI considers one's social sphere and "provide[s] a unique integrative approach to studying identity and social relations" (Jung & Hecht, 2004, p. 279). Situating identity in the context of interactions and communication illustrates how identities are built and maintained through relationships (Hecht, 1993). The application of this theory can facilitate a more holistic understanding of the connection between second-generation Afro-Caribbean students' racial and ethnic identities and interpersonal relationships in college.

Significance of Study

This study is significant for several reasons. First, this study complicates Blackness and the tendency to study Black communities with a monolithic approach. Black immigrants' presence and engagement in cultural practices challenges the definition of Black and Blackness (Kent, 2007), further demonstrating their need for recognition as a culturally and ethnically distinct group (Awokoya & Clark, 2008; Blake & Shousterman, 2010; George Mwangi, 2014). By focusing on West Indians, this study addressed the need for highlighting ethnic subgroups and the gap in the limited research and discourse about West Indians specifically, and their status as college students especially. Even though this study explored West Indians as a regional panethnic group,

the cultural similarities shared among the Anglophone nations demonstrate a collective, ethnic distinctiveness (Meditz & Hanratty, 1989; Sutton & Chaney, 1987; Waters, 1999). This study uncovered their ethnic distinctions that shape their perspectives and experiences. By highlighting ethnic distinctions, practitioners and educators should consider ways to incorporate and broaden culturally sensitive practices and attitudes in their work with students and colleagues who are West Indian.

Second, this study focused on the second-generation immigrant population, which is often overlooked because information about the birthplaces of students' parents is generally not collected, in research or in higher education practice (Teranishi, Martin & Suárez-Orozco, 2013), nor is generational status considered for those who are racialized as Black (Blum, 2015). As Rumbaut (2004) stated, "The 'new second generation' is rapidly growing and diversifying, ...making it increasingly important, for theoretical as well as programmatic and public policy reasons, to clarify who and what is encompassed by that term" (p. 1161). Although Rumbaut's article was published over a decade ago, the statement is still, if not more, important with the increasing diversity in the United States due to immigration. Moreover, this work can influence a broader awareness for educators in higher education to recognize and address within-group distinctions. This is not in name only; educators and administrators should examine how they are collapsing groups in terms of gender, sexual orientation, religion, race, ethnicity, and other identities that may overlook disparities and differences within and across groups.

Third, this work advances the discussion on multiple identities, how they may influence students' lives, and the maintenance of identity. There are other dimensions of identity that influence race and ethnicity, such as generation status and gender, which is

evident in some of the extent research on second-generation immigrants (Butterfield, 2004; Deaux et al., 2007; Tsai & Fuligni, 2011; Waters, 1994). Multiple identities are one factor influencing an individual's capacity of making meaning of their life and experiences (Jones & Abes, 2013). Also, this study broadens our understanding of college student identity from the traditional psychological approaches of development. Instead, identity salience and maintenance are considered and explored from a social psychological perspective and underscores the social and interactive process of identity (Hecht, 1993).

Finally, this study provides scholars with a broader understanding of where Afro-Caribbeans are situated in higher education issues or national issues such as access and retention or immigration. This study compels scholars to consider how the pre-college characteristics, along with identity, shape the educational trajectory of second-generation Afro-Caribbeans. Too often Black immigrants “suffer double invisibility as Blacks” (Bryce-Laporte, 1972, p. 31) and immigrants in educational research and national and political discourses (Bennett & Lutz, 2009). In terms of the national conversations around race and ethnicity and their intersections with immigration, this study is part of a movement to ease tensions within the African diaspora. Pitting immigrants against natives by in-group and out-group members overshadows the inherent racism and discrimination both groups face (Waters, 1999). The aim of this work does not frame one group as better than another but provides a deeper understanding and one group's unique racial perspective due to their ethnic identification and immigrant background. Acknowledging and researching Black students' ethnic and generational identities can widen “our narrow understandings of ‘Blackness’” (Butterfield, 2004, p. 75) and allow us

to consider and better understand factors beyond culture that influence Black immigrant students' academic and social experiences (George Mwangi & English, 2017).

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Chapter 2 is a synthesis of the relevant literature and theoretical framework guiding this study. The chapter consists of four sections. Section 1 is a review of the scholarship on Afro-Caribbeans and identity. Additionally, Section 2 outlines the importance and meaning of ethnicity and culture for first and second-generation Afro-Caribbeans. Section 2 is an overview of the research related to Black immigrants in higher education and serves as the “first impression” for how Black immigrants are generally portrayed in higher education. Section 3 presents a summation of research about the quality of Black college students’ relationships with faculty and staff, peers, and family while in college. This section provides the blueprint for understanding the range and impact of social relationships in Black students’ lives. Following that section is a summary of the gaps in literature on Black students and how this study can fill those gaps. Lastly, section four outlines the theoretical framework for this proposal: CTI. This theory describes how an individual understand and communicates his/her identity through social relationships, providing a lens with which to view the salience and maintenance of identity.

First-Generation Afro-Caribbeans

Early research, predominantly in the fields of sociology and psychology, examined the assimilation and integration patterns of Afro-Caribbeans and considered the role that identity and culture play in their incorporation process (Bryce-LaPorte, 1972; Butcher, 1994; Foner, 1997, 2001, 2009; Hall & Carter, 2006; James, 2002; Logan & Deane, 2003; Model, 1991, 2008; Rogers, 2006; Sowell, 1978; Sutton & Chaney, 1987; Vickerman, 1999; Waters, 1999). James (2002) posited this group “is the least studied

and understood” (p. 223). Minimal understanding about Afro-Caribbeans is evident in the scant and dated literature, and the narrow portrayals of them as generally successful in comparison to African Americans (e.g., Butcher, 1994; Model, 1991; Sowell, 1978). Additionally, scholars explored how Afro-Caribbeans develop a racial identity and respond to racism in the United States, given their shared racial status with African Americans (Butcher, 1994; Hall & Carter, 2006; Rogers, 2006; Vickerman, 1999, 2001; Waters, 1999). Overwhelmingly, studies have illustrated that social context (immediate community such as school, work, and neighborhood) is a critical element in understanding the identity, ideologies, and experiences of Afro-Caribbeans (Alfred, 2003; Deaux, 2006; Foner, 2001, 2009; Foner & Frederickson, 2004; Hall & Carter, 2006; Kent, 2007; Vickerman, 2001; Waters, 1999).

Assimilation and Integration

Much of the discussion about Afro-Caribbeans, particularly in the 1980s and 1990s, was fixed on their ability to integrate into American society and experience social mobility (Butcher, 1994; Model, 1991; Rogers, 2006; Sowell, 1978; Waters, 1999). A few researchers highlighted the success of Afro-Caribbeans by examining their social mobility in terms of income, education, and their degree of assimilation (Butcher, 1994; Model, 1991; Waters, 1999). Sowell (1978), for example, was heavily cited for his argument that if Afro-Caribbeans were able to migrate to the United States and achieve social mobility, then racism is not an actual barrier to success; thus, suggesting African Americans are lazy.

Some scholars have highlighted unique patterns of assimilation for Afro-Caribbeans, illustrating some degree of social mobility, despite the racism and

marginalization they faced. For example, James (2002) argued migration selectivity, and not culture, largely accounts for the differences in socioeconomics, and that racial discrimination still affects Afro-Caribbeans' mobility and experiences. Further, Waters's (1999) seminal ethnographic study of West Indians⁸ in New York City added nuance to the debate on assimilation and racism related to Afro-Caribbeans. Waters examined how West Indians tend to deviate from the traditional assimilation process of becoming American, gain social mobility, and navigate interpersonal relationships in their new social context. Afro-Caribbeans experienced social mobility relative to their native Black peers, but did not follow traditional patterns of assimilation, which suggests (primarily European) immigrant success is dependent on shedding ethnic distinctions and adopting American cultural norms (Butcher, 1994; Model, 2008).

While Waters found first-generation West-Indian immigrants experienced relative success compared to their native-born Black counterparts, they also confronted instances of interpersonal racism, which illustrated how certain barriers (especially racial barriers) can impact their integration and mobility. Despite the work, educational, and housing challenges, some of first-generation West Indians were able to adopt particular American economic behaviors (such as "network hiring," helping family and friends get jobs where they work), yielding some success, while maintaining "a strong ethnic identity and culture" (Waters, 1999, p. 5). Waters referred to this process as *segmented assimilation*.

Other people's (e.g., employers, peers, co-workers) perceptions of Afro-Caribbeans in contrast to native Blacks has also shaped their integration into American

⁸ West Indian is a collective/pan-ethnic regional identification based on the term West Indies (Waters, 1999).

society (Model, 2008; Vickerman, 2001; Waters, 1999). Waters also found white coworkers and employers were more likely to have favorable perceptions of, and subsequently hire, West Indians over African Americans. As Afro-Caribbeans are favored in the labor market, they are then getting more jobs and believing they work harder than African Americans, leading many African Americans to become resentful (Waters, 1999). Such practices further fuel the stereotype of meritocracy, the divisive claim of Good Blacks (Black immigrants) vs. Bad Blacks (African Americans), the intra-racial tensions between Afro-Caribbeans and African Americans, and impacts Afro-Caribbeans' SES (Deaux, 2006; Joseph et al., 2013; Waters, 1999).

White people's perceptions may have a particularly strong influence or provide certain social cues about acceptable behaviors reflective of the white mainstream culture, further shaping Afro-Caribbeans' mobility and integration behaviors and attitudes. Joseph et al. (2013) found Afro-Caribbeans' beliefs about public perceptions (also referred to as *public regard*) of African Americans predicted their engagement with African American culture (values, beliefs, and interactions with African Americans). If Afro-Caribbeans perceived that others held favorable perceptions of African Americans, then they were more likely to engage in African American culture. Yet, if others held more favorable perceptions of Afro-Caribbeans as an ethnic group, then they were less likely to engage in African American culture. Further, Afro-Caribbeans' engagement in African American culture was mediated by cultural race-related stress (the degree to which one is upset by how Blacks are portrayed and treated in society). When Afro-Caribbeans perceived high public regard for their racial group and less stress about negative stereotypes about Black people, then Afro-Caribbeans are more likely to engage in African American culture.

Joseph et al. posited lower stress and more engagement in Black culture helped to boost their social mobility in terms of avoiding negative perceptions about immigrants generally. These findings suggest the context for how others perceive Black people can influence not only Afro-Caribbeans' engagement with African American people and culture, but also how Afro-Caribbeans choose to identify racially and ethnically.

Afro-Caribbeans' Ethnic Identity

Research has suggested Afro-Caribbeans have salient ethnic identities, which informs their responses to a racial identity, race, and racism (Alfred, 2003; Foner, 1997; Jones & Erving, 2015; Rogers, 2006; Vickerman, 1999; Waters, 1999). The connections Afro-Caribbeans' maintain with Caribbean culture and people, strongly influence their decisions and ability to identify ethnically or nationally (Benson, 2006; Hall & Carter, 2006; Vickerman, 1999; Waters, 1999). Scholars in ethnic and migration studies and anthropology have referred to international cultural ties between people as *transnationalism* (Basch, 2001; Vertovec, 2001). It is a concept explaining how immigrants maintain connections to their homeland through sending remittances, economic investments, continued visits, technological communications (social media and the internet), and other connections (Glick Schiller, Basch, & Blanc-Szanton, 1992; Portes, Guarnizo, & Landolt, 1999; Vertovec, 1999). Transnational connections can be reinforced depending on where Afro- Caribbeans settle. Vickerman (2001) argued, West Indians can “carve out a distinct identity as West Indians” (p. 16), particularly in areas where there is a critical mass such as New York City, Southern Florida, Washington DC, and Boston. The social connections and bonds they create with their kinfolk, both abroad and in the United States, help to reinforce not only cultural customs and traditions, but

also the salience of ethnicity and nationality (Foner & Frederickson, 2004; Vickerman 1999, 2001; Waters, 1999).

Some have discovered, however, the overarching reason Afro-Caribbeans identify ethnically is to distance themselves from African Americans (Deaux, 2006; Foner, 2001; Vickerman, 1999; Warner, 2012; Waters, 1999). Many West Indians choose to distance themselves from the label “African American” because it does not allow for ethnic distinctions in the Black community (Malcolm & Mendoza, 2014; Waters, 1999). West Indians can trace their ethnic roots to a country outside of the U.S., whereas many African Americans’ familial history is rooted in the United States for at least three generations or more (Butterfield, 2004; Malcolm & Mendoza, 2014; Waters, 1999). In some instances, West Indians emphasize their ethnicity to distance themselves from negative stereotypes and certain cultural aspects connected to Black Americans (Deaux, 2006; Vickerman, 1999; Waters, 1999). Afro-Caribbeans identify in the ways that they do because of the meaning they attach to their ethnic identity and culture (Deaux, 2006; Foner, 2001; Vickerman, 1999). In particular, the meaning of an Afro-Caribbean identity shows a strong attachment to home, which also marks it as a “separate and distinct identity to counteract anti-black stereotypes [in the United States] and to further their goals of achievement” (Vickerman, 1999, p. 168).

Responses to racial identity, race, and racism. In some cases, Afro-Caribbeans are labeled with a Black racial identity that is different from how they view themselves, and they opt to identify ethnically or natively (Vickerman, 1999; Warner, 2012; Waters, 1999). There may be different motives driving how and why Afro-Caribbeans’ emphasize their ethnicity and background, which also frames their understandings of and responses

to a racial identity, race, and racism (Deaux, 2006; Foner, 1997; Hall & Carter, 2006; Jones & Erving, 2015; Malcolm & Mendoza, 2014; Vickerman, 1999; Waters, 1999). In Warner's (2012) and Deaux et al.'s (2007) studies, first-generation Afro-Caribbeans' purported a strong ethnic identity and expressed "ambivalence toward their racial identity" (Warner, 2012, p. 82). Similarly, Hall and Carter (2006) found first-generation Afro-Caribbeans had a low racial identity salience and a high ethnic identity salience, illustrating the propensity of the first-generation to identify ethnically.

Afro-Caribbeans' adoption of a racial identity connects to their understanding of race and the development of a racial consciousness (Benson, 2006; Vickerman, 1999). How Black immigrants conceive of race is unique to their sociohistorical background, which differs from African Americans. According to Benson's research (2006), native origin and the amount of time spent in the U.S. were significant predictors for racial group identification for Black immigrants. Research has suggested for many Black immigrants, such as Haitians (Joseph & Hunter, 2011), West Indians (Waters, 1999), Nigerians (Awokoya, 2012), and other African groups (Okonofua, 2013), race is not generally salient to them before arriving to the United States.

While most Black immigrants come from predominantly Black countries with histories of slavery, racial discrimination, and "color consciousness," (Vickerman, 1999, p. 9), they were not socialized to view race as important or as a significant factor in their lives and social mobility (Kent, 2007; Thomas, 2009; Vickerman, 2001; Waters, 1999). Subsequently, Black immigrants are more likely to adopt connections to their nation rather than race (Vickerman, 1999, 2001; Waters, 1999). It is not until they arrive to the U.S. that they are compelled to think more about race, a racial identity, and racialization

(that is, how others perceive and treat them based on race; Deaux, 2006; Foner, 2001; Fries-Britt et al., 2014a; Vickerman, 1999; Waters, 1999). Because immigrants arrive with preexisting understandings of self (national identity, education background, class status, etc.), attachments to their national identity or ethnicity tend to heighten when in a new and unfamiliar social context or environment (Benson, 2006; Foner & Frederickson, 2004; Vickerman, 1999; Waters, 1999).

Racial identity and understanding of race also inform one's perceptions of racial discrimination (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). The work of Sellers and Shelton (2003) has demonstrate that the significance of one's racial identity is positively associated with the extent to which an individual perceives they have experienced racial discrimination.

While some have argued Black immigrants do not experience racism in the same ways as their native counterparts due to socioeconomic differences (e.g., Kirby, 2016; Sowell, 1978), several studies have revealed Black immigrants do experience and perceive racial discrimination (e.g., Awokoya, 2012; Benson, 2006; Fries-Britt et al., 2014b; Griffin et al., 2015; Hall & Carter, 2006; James, 2002; Jones & Erving, 2015; Thornton, Taylor, & Chatters, 2013; Waters, 1999). For instance, Thornton et al. (2013) analyzed a national survey to examine feelings of closeness between and in African Americans and Afro-Caribbeans. They found experiencing racial discrimination may increase the level of closeness Afro-Caribbeans feel toward African Americans and increase their likelihood of a shared racial identity (Thornton et al., 2013). There are also instances where Black immigrants (across different native origins) have varying degrees or low perceptions of discrimination (Hall & Carter, 2006) and believe that if they just work hard enough they

can overcome instances of racial discrimination (Benson, 2006; Joseph & Hunter, 2011; Waters, 1999).

Racial and ethnic identity are not static nor mutually exclusive. Case and Hunter (2014) suggests that the meaning Afro-Caribbeans ascribe to their racial identity, and not necessarily the importance they place on that identity, likely changes and the importance of their racial identity increases the longer they live in the United States. The differences in the first-generations' responses to race and racial identity is not to suggest racial identity and ethnic identity for them are "mutually exclusive" (Warner, 2012, p. 92). Instead, it may signify that they develop together (Hall & Carter, 2006) depending on their social settings (Warner, 2012). That is, they can develop a racial identity and retain their ethnic identity, thus possessing both identities to varying degrees. In fact, a few studies indicate that first-generation Black immigrants are likely to develop a "dual identification" (Hall & Carter, 2006, p. 158) of their racial and ethnic identity over time and develop a sense of shared fate with their Black American peers (Thornton et al., 2013).

Second-Generation Afro-Caribbeans

The uniqueness of second-generation Afro-Caribbean identity challenges the "either/or proposition" (Butterfield, 2004, p. 75) of racial and ethnic identity typically associated with the first-generation (Feliciano, 2009; Hall & Carter, 2006; Rumbaut, 1994). However, much less is known about second-generation Afro-Caribbeans and their identity formation process. To provide context on second-generation identity, this section includes literature on both Afro-Caribbeans and other ethnic second-generation immigrants.

Bicultural Identity

Afro-Caribbean second-generation youth negotiate whether to identify as African American, Black, and/or ethnically (e.g., Trinidadian, Nigerian; Awokoya, 2012; Butterfield, 2004, 2006; Joseph & Hunter, 2011; Lopez, 2002; Waters, 1994). Several scholars found certain identification patterns among second-generation Black immigrants. The first pattern is an ethnic or hyphenated identity (e.g., Jamaican-American or Nigerian-American; Awokoya, 2012; Butterfield, 2004; Feliciano, 2009; Joseph & Hunter, 2011; Rumbaut, 1994; Waters, 1994). For those with a hyphenated identity, they are more likely to feel a connection to both cultures but emphasize their ethnic background (Butterfield, 2004; Joseph & Hunter, 2011; Waters, 1994). An ethnic-hyphenated identity reflects a bicultural identity because it captures how one might view themselves in relation to both cultures (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). Bicultural identity is the degree to which two cultures overlap in how an individual perceives and portrays his/herself. Therefore, the more that the two cultures overlap in connection with one's self-concept, the more bicultural he/she is, and the less likely the cultures overlap in relation to one's self concept, the less bicultural they are (de Anda, 1984; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). The second pattern is an immigrant identity (e.g., Trinidadian/West Indian; Awokoya, 2012; Butterfield, 2004; Feliciano, 2009; Joseph & Hunter, 2011; Rumbaut, 1994; Waters, 1994). An immigrant identity is a rejection of an American identity and is similar to how many first-generation immigrants identify (Deaux, 2006; Deaux et al., 2007; Hall & Carter, 2006; Warner, 2012; Waters, 1999). Also, the second pattern of identification does not necessarily portray a bicultural identity

because individuals choose to associate with one culture (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997).

A few studies (e.g., Feliciano, 2009; Joseph & Hunter, 2011; Waters, 1994) have noted a third identification pattern among second generation immigrants. Some possess a “Black American identity,” articulating that their ethnic identity is not “important to their self-image” (Waters, 1994, p. 802). Approximately 42% of Waters’ second-generation West Indian sample identified as Black American and was the largest share of the sample (30% hyphenated and 28% immigrant identified). Waters’ participants described themselves as American and believed there were more similarities than differences between African Americans and West Indians, thus feeling a close connection to their African American peers (Feliciano, 2009; Joseph & Hunter, 2011). Similarly, Nesteruk, Helmstetter, Gramescu, Siyam, and Price (2015) identified that a diverse group of second-generation immigrants sometimes feel their “ethnicity does not count” (p. 478), especially depending upon their skin tone and immediate social context. Some racial and ethnic minorities in the study did not want to be identified ethnically by others (e.g., Indian youth) because they witnessed or experienced negative stereotypes and discrimination due to their ethnic and racial identities.

Identifying as an American was one potential mechanism of escaping from ethnic and racial stereotypes for the youth in Nesteruk and colleagues’ study. Ethnically identifying was different for white children of immigrants, however, because they can more easily shed their ethnic heritage and assimilate into white mainstream culture (Nesteruk et al., 2015). While ethnicity mattered for some of the racially white participants, their ethnicity was more important in the context of family (what their

family would do together, eat, and languages spoken at home; Nesteruk et al., 2015). Thus, the degree to which an individual amplifies or places less importance on his/her ethnic identity in the context of and in relation to another culture (in this case the United States), is often a unique negotiation for the second-generation (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005).

Identities of the second generation are complicated (Jones & Erving, 2015). Many second-generation youth express their challenges living in between two cultures and identities, as some of them struggle to maintain a commitment to both cultures (Awokoya, 2012; Butterfield, 2004; Feliciano, 2009; Lopez, 2002; Nesteruk et al., 2015; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; Waters, 1994). The second generation do not hold the same views of their parents, nor “do they really share [the worldview] of ‘mainstream’ Americans” either (Kasinitz et al., 2004, p. 12). Several participants in Nesteruk et al.’s (2015) study expressed their continuous struggle with “determining who they are” because they did not feel that they “fully belong to either their heritage culture or to the U.S. culture” (p. 476). In many ways, managing ethnic identity conflicts are the result of conflicting norms in the communities and families of the second-generation (Giguère, Lalonde, & Lou, 2010; Nesteruk et al., 2015). On the other hand, family and a coethnic community and circle of friends often facilitate a sense of ethnic identity for the second-generation (Nesteruk et al., 2015; Vickerman, 2002). Vickerman (2002) asserted some West Indian second-generation youth have strong ties to their West Indian culture, others do not, and there are others who are somewhere in between. The degree to which the second generation is exposed to and engages with (on a continual basis) their ethnic

culture, largely shapes their ethnic identity choices (Giguère et al., 2010; Joseph & Hunter, 2011; Nesteruk et al., 2015; Vickerman, 2002).

Previous studies have suggested the ways in which the second generation identify is fluid and not the same across individuals. On one end of the spectrum, some identify with one culture/ethnicity and those on the other end identify with both cultures/ethnicities. In the middle lies a bicultural existence, in which many of the second-generation demonstrate an ongoing struggle to cohesively integrate both cultures and identities in a way that makes sense to them (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Nesteruk et al., 2015).

Factors Shaping Identity Negotiations

Several factors, such as parents, community, gender, and SES shape the racial and ethnic identity choices of second-generation West Indians (Butterfield, 2004; Kasinitz et al., 2004; Vickerman, 2002; Waters, 1994). Butterfield (2004) asserted West Indian youth demonstrate the saliency of their racial and ethnic identities based on their audience (i.e., community, family, friends), racial and ethnic composition of their schools and neighborhoods, and gender. These factors can largely impact the self-conceptions and expressions of the second-generation (Kiang, Yip, & Fuligni, 2008).

Vickerman (2002) argued parents are the primary means by which West Indian culture translates to the second-generation. For instance, in Jones and Erving's (2015) study, the cultural traditions a second-generation Barbadian participant learned in their home, influenced their ethnic identity. Parents demonstrate transnational connections to their children by sending remittances, making phone calls and emails, and traveling to the West Indies (Vickerman, 2002). Parents sometimes send their children to live with

relatives in their homeland (anywhere from a period of a few weeks to a few years) as a way to avoid dangers in the neighborhood, instill the culture into their child, meet family, or when they lose childcare (Kasinitz et al., 2004; Vickerman, 2002). Sending their children and maintain a connection to the Caribbean helps to foster and sustain ethnic, cultural, and familial ties (Kasinitz et al., 2004; Vickerman, 2002).

A maintenance of culture is particularly in the role of the mother and part of parenting practices. For instance, Muruthi, Bermúdez, Bush, McCoy, and Stinson (2016) found Afro-Caribbean mothers “[maintain] the Caribbean way” in their parenting practices by informing their child where their family is from and about the culture, maintaining an authoritative position, and transmitting cultural values such as hard work, education, and family. Kasinitz et al. (2004) argued that based on child rearing and familial practices, “transnational parents will produce transnational children” (p. 6). Some parents feel challenged and limited in their parenting practices because the messages and norms in the United States sometimes conflict with their own, especially in the area of child discipline; thus, they encounter competing values and fear their children may become too “Americanized” (Muruthi et al., 2016). The fear of *Americanization* is rooted in parents’ perceptions and experiences of racial discrimination, which they want their children to ideally avoid (Joseph & Hunter, 2011; Muruthi et al., 2016).

The intersection of gender, race, and ethnicity differ for men and women and shape how they navigate daily life. Men are more likely to participate in “pan-ethnic coalitions” (i.e., identify as Black; Butterfield, 2004, p. 94) to find solidarity and cope with the racialized and gendered struggles they experience, such as policing and racial profiling (Lopez, 2002). Socializing with native and immigrant Black men may increase

the likelihood that Afro-Caribbean men will identify racially and connect with African American men who can resonate with their gendered and racialized experiences (Lopez, 2002). In contrast, women are more likely to integrate their race, ethnicity, and gender as they recognize the overlap in these identities based on their experiences (Butterfield, 2004; Lopez, 2002). The women in Butterfield's study expressed frustrations about the contradictions of the traditional (both racially and ethnically) gender roles enacted, where they had to be submissive and independent, with education as the key to securing independence (Butterfield, 2004). The women felt that men did not receive the same gendered messages or expectations at home or in school.

Socioeconomic background and racial composition of neighborhoods are also important factors in racial and ethnic identifications of the second-generation (Jones & Erving, 2015). Butterfield (2004) found there was a mix of middle and working-class individuals with a salient ethnic identity. On the one hand, Waters (1994) found middle class West Indians tended to identify ethnically, while poor and working-class youth were more likely to identify as Black Americans. On the other hand, Jones and Erving (2015) found second-generation West Indians with higher incomes were more likely to identify racially than ethnically, and they were more likely to work in fields with predominantly white coworkers. Another aspect of SES is reflected in education. Jones and Erving further asserted Afro-Caribbeans who were college educated were more likely to identify ethnically. Feliciano (2009) also found this to be true.

It is not clear why these differences exist, but educational background and ethnic and racial composition of one's residential neighborhood may be an added layer. Feliciano (2009) is one of the few scholars to suggest educational attainment shapes

ethnic identities. Feliciano argued that regardless of how one identified in adolescence, the more education one obtained (i.e., attended college) the more likely they were to adopt a hyphenated ethnic identification in adulthood. This suggests there are likely factors and experiences in the higher education context that may further ethnic identity exploration and attachment. Further, those who lived in predominantly African American neighborhoods and were from lower-income backgrounds generally adopted an African American identity because of the same-race peer connections and shared experiences (Waters, 1999). If an individual's neighborhood, regardless of class, has a critical mass of Afro-Caribbeans or African Americans, the second-generation are subsequently socialized among their ethnically similar or racially similar peers and were more likely to adopt an ethnic identity (Butterfield, 2004; Feliciano, 2009; Jones & Erving, 2015; Kasinitz et al., 2004; Tsai & Fuligni, 2011; Vickerman, 1999).

Black Immigrants in Higher Education

The growing research on Black immigrants in higher education has demonstrated how ethnic, racial, native, and generational identities and culture shape collegiate outcomes, while simultaneously challenging monolithic ideas of Blackness (e.g., Byrd et al., 2014; Charles et al., 2015; Fries-Britt et al., 2014a; Griffin, del Pilar, McIntosh, & Griffin, 2012; Griffin & McIntosh, 2015; Malcolm & Mendoza, 2014; Massey et al., 2007; A. A. Thomas, 2014). As research on Black immigrant students continues to grow, general focus remains on college access, achievement, and racialized encounters. There is less understanding of the factors and dynamics facilitating Black immigrants' success, or what shapes their collegiate experiences both socially and academically (George Mwangi & Fries-Britt, 2015).

College Access

Prior research has suggested Black immigrant students have higher rates of college access compared to their African American counterparts (Bennett & Lutz, 2009; Erisman & Looney, 2007; Hagy & Staniec, 2002; Haynie, 2002; Massey et al., 2007). Some researchers have discovered Black immigrants, ages 18 to 19, represent approximately 13% of the total Black population, but are overrepresented in college (Bennett & Lutz, 2009; Erisman & Looney, 2007; Massey et al., 2007). Based on data from the 1999 National Longitudinal Survey of Freshmen (NLSF), Massey et al. (2007) found the enrollment rates of Black immigrants nearly doubled (36%) at selective institutions and tripled (41%) at Ivy League institutions. Additionally, Bennett and Lutz (2009) found Black immigrants in their study had higher enrollment rates and were approximately 4 times more likely to attend highly selective institutions compared to native Blacks. Black immigrants' enrollment rates compared to their overall population size raises questions about their ability to gain access to college, particularly at selective institutions. While some research points to culture as a source of Black immigrants' success, especially academically (George Mwangi et al., 2017; Kao, 2004), there is evidence to indicate that social and cultural capital help to facilitate their educational access and success (Bennett & Lutz, 2009; Butterfield, 2006; Griffin et al., 2012; Haynie, 2002).

Defining and understanding the impact of capital. Researchers have determined cultural and social capital correlate with college access and academic achievement (Cabrera & La Nasa, 2000; Kao & Thompson, 2003; Lan Gao, 2008; Lareau, 1987; Perna & Titus, 2005; McDonough, 2004). Bourdieu (1986) defined *cultural*

capital as the acquisition of knowledge and practices that have particular social value. For example, cultural capital can be information about higher education or academic support and guidance that college-educated parents pass on to their children (Kao & Thompson, 2003; Laureu, 1987; Sullivan, 2001). Such information allows the student to navigate the college search and choice process more easily or do so more informed (Cabrera & La Nasa, 2000).

Bourdieu (1986) defined *social capital* as the networks of people beyond family (such as neighbors, community members, etc.) who exchange and leverage a combination of resources (material and intellectual) with the aim of supporting and advancing members of their networks (Thomas, 2009). An example of social capital is when a family receives information from a family friend about local educational resources for their children. Sharing of and access to information between networks can better position the children in those families to leverage the information that benefits them academically and in their college pursuits (Haynie, 2002; Kao & Thompson, 2003; Park, 2012; Perna & Titus, 2005). Scholars have found some Black immigrants have access to cultural and social capital which facilitate their access to higher education (Bennett & Lutz, 2009; Griffin et al., 2012; Haynie, 2002; Massey et al., 2007). The forms and combination of capital that Black immigrant families possess matter for their children's educational trajectory and success (Butterfield, 2006; Capps et al., 2012; Charles, Torres, & Brunn, 2008; Feliciano, 2005; Hernandez, 2012).

Cultural capital. Esteemed forms of capital are often linked to members of society with higher incomes and social class standing, which is often the result of capital circulating amongst a particular community (Dumais, 2002). Thus, those outside of that

community are not always exposed or gain access to such capital (Dumais, 2002). For instance, some Black immigrant youth come from families with particular socioeconomic (income and education) patterns such as two-parent homes, college educated parents (many of whom have advanced degrees), and parents with job training skills (Anderson, 2015; Bennett & Lutz, 2009; Kent, 2007). These socioeconomic patterns can translate into higher SES and mobility for Black immigrant families (Kao & Thompson, 2003; Massey et al., 2007).

Parental income and education can shape students' access to cultural capital, in the form of getting help with college applications and private high-school attendance (Massey et al., 2007; Williamson, 2010). For instance, African students are more likely to attend private high schools, which may be due to their SES (Bennett & Lutz, 2009; Massey et al., 2007). Students are more likely to receive college-going messages and support at private or well-resourced high schools, which provides better access to higher education (Bergerson, 2009; Cabrera, Burkum, & La Nasa, 2003; Lareau, 1987; McDonough, 2004; Zhou & Kim, 2006).

For some Black immigrant students, the contribution and pooling together of time, money, and other resources can also better position them for success (Griffin et al., 2012). Familial socioeconomic resources allow Black immigrants to place their children into college preparation programs, teach them math or reading, move into better school districts, and receive other forms of support (Griffin et al., 2012; Kao, 2004). The combination of socioeconomic and family cultural capital among many Black immigrant families can be converted into means that facilitate how their youth enter and approach

education, and specifically college (Haynie, 2002; Kao & Thompson, 2003; Massey et al., 2007).

Relatedly, multiple studies highlight the role and importance of immigrant parents' educational expectations in their children's goals, achievement, and success (Adeniji-Neill, 2011; Glick & White, 2004; Griffin et al., 2012; Kao & Tienda, 1998; Lopez, 2002; Ogbu & Simons, 1998; Raleigh & Kao, 2010; Yamamoto & Holloway, 2010). In their review of the literature on parental expectations and student achievement, Yamamoto and Holloway (2010) note that the value parents' place on education and achievement is translated in their communication of academic expectations to their children. Moreover, high parental expectations often translate into students' internalizing these expectations as cultural norms and are ultimately connected to parents' involvement. Several have found the connection between high/strong parental expectations and immigrant students' achievement, particularly for Asian and Black immigrant students (George Mwangi et al., 2017; Glick & White, 2004; Kao, 2004; Ogbu & Simons, 1998; Park, 2012; Zhou & Kim, 2006). Glick and White (2004) and Keller and Tillman (2008) found first-generation Black immigrant youth were subject to higher educational expectations from their parents as compared to the expectations from the parents of their second and third-plus generation counterparts. Parental expectations around education and family support can function as cultural capital, which can translate into tools for educational success (Anderson, 2015; Erisman & Looney, 2007; Fisher, 2005; Haynie, 2002; Kao, 2004; Massey et al., 2007; Muruthi et al., 2016).

Social capital. Research has demonstrated how Black immigrants use their social networks in the home, at work, in schools, and in their neighborhoods to better position

their children for academic success. For many immigrants, ethnic enclaves provide access to certain forms of social capital that can influence aspirations, habitus, and educational access for their children (Erisman & Looney, 2007; Haynie, 2002; Logan et al., 2002; Park, 2012). An ethnic enclave is a “residential concentration” of an ethnic group, usually in a city, in which people exchange information and social and economic resources (Logan et al., 2002, p. 300). Enclaves are generally comprised of individuals from low-income groups who help each other get jobs (i.e., network hiring), maintain cultural norms and customs, provide educational support, and help each other integrate into American society (Logan et al., 2002; Haynie, 2002; Park, 2012; Waters, 1999).

Social networks in ethnic enclaves can expose students to information and resources that better assist immigrants in their educational pathways and position them for academic success (Haynie, 2002; Park, 2012). According to Park (2012), Chinese and Korean American students use “ethnic economies” (p. 624) to actualize their educational aspirations. Specifically, Korean American students’ involvement in religion (i.e., churches) fostered and extended their social relationships, which exposed them to SAT preparation options from other church members. Social relationships (at religious services) coupled with structural institutions (SAT prep classes) helped to actualize Korean American students’ aspirations (Park, 2012). Similarly, Butterfield’s (2006) work illustrates the combination of cultural and social capital in promoting academic success among second-generation West Indians. Middle-class West Indian families used their networks (social capital) and resources to not only put their children in various programs but also exposed them to different things such as museums and trips, further expanding their cultural capital. Low-income West Indian students talked to others in their

community about different schools and colleges and gained information that way. Tapping into the social and cultural capital around them, immigrants can better assist their children in achieving academic success.

Differences in capital across Black immigrant groups. The difference in capital across various Black immigrant groups are in large part due to the selective nature of immigration (Feliciano, 2005). Since the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, immigrants have selectively migrated (i.e., if they had the means, support and will), and the government has selectively chose who has obtained entry (i.e., those of a certain race, education, or occupation background, etc.; Bauer & Thompson, 2004; Ewing, 2012; Feliciano, 2005; Rogers, 2006). Policies and practices allowing the migration of highly educated and skilled immigrants, particularly from East Asia and West Africa (Anderson, 2015; Feliciano, 2005) can yield different starting points (Lynch, 2015) for their children (McDonough, 2004; Perna & Titus, 2005).

Consequently, African students are more likely to come from two-parent, highly educated homes where the parents or family members have advanced degrees, better positioning them for educational success (Adeniji-Neill, 2011; Anderson, 2015; Byrd et al., 2014; Erisman & Looney, 2007; Haynie, 2002; Kent, 2007; Massey et al., 2007; Thomas, 2012). In contrast, Black immigrants from non-English speaking countries, such as Haiti and the Dominican Republic, are more likely to be lower income, have lower levels of education, have less English-language proficiency, and have refugee status, which pose may multiple challenges to their access and success in education (Erisman & Looney, 2007; Hernandez, 2012; Kent, 2007; Thomas, 2012).

Afro-Caribbeans are uniquely situated in the conversation about immigrant and native Blacks. They tend to be a blended group of class and education statuses because many of the post 1965 Afro-Caribbean immigrants came through the family preference system, allowing for a diverse group (Jones, 2008; Rogers, 2006). They are generally more likely to be high school educated, come with job skills, and be from working class backgrounds than African immigrants (Anderson, 2015; Jones, 2008; Rogers, 2006). Therefore, the amalgamation of Black immigrants' experiences paints an incomplete picture because across ethnic groups and families, access to (or limited access to) capital differs, which uniquely shape their children's educational pathways and success.

College Achievement

Researchers have examined factors explaining the relative academic achievement of Black immigrants compared to native-Black students (Barnett et al., 2012; Byrd et al., 2014; Conger, Schwartz, & Stiefel, 2011; Fisher, 2005; Jenkins, Harburg, Weissberg, & Donnelly, 2004). At the collegiate level, Black immigrants tend to have higher grade point averages (GPAs), SAT scores, and math scores compared to scores of their native Black peers (Barnett et al., 2012; Byrd et al., 2014; Massey et al., 2007). Byrd et al. (2014) investigated the impact of background factors on the performance of Black students from different ethnic backgrounds who graduated college in 6 years. Overall, African and Afro-Caribbean students had higher end of college GPAs than the GPAs of native Black students. They found skin color, gender, race of precollege friend group, educational attainment of parents, degree of neighborhood and school segregation, high school GPA, and major to have a significant impact on performance. Interestingly, students who majored in science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) and have

darker skin reported the highest levels of performance burden (the influence of others' perceptions on a student's performance) and had lower GPAs; most of these students were African.

Performance burden, teacher perceptions, and stereotypes of students (Byrd et al., 2014), can be harmful and further contribute to intra-racial tensions among native and immigrant Black students (Awokoya, 2012; Burrell, Fleming, Fredericks, & Moore, 2015). Burrell et al. (2015) discovered that faculty at a Historically Black College and University (HBCU) held native Black males to lower expectations, while holding international Black males to higher expectations. Although both groups felt this was a challenge to their success, it also points to differential treatment, which can shape how native-born and immigrant students subsequently perceive and treat one another. Similarly, 1.5- and second-generation Nigerian students in Awokoya's (2012) study discussed teachers' comments on the perceived behavioral differences between Nigerian and African American students, leading many African American students to be resentful of their Nigerian peers. Teacher's higher expectations and differential treatment of Nigerian students as compared to native-born Black students led many Nigerian students to feel tokenized (seen as a representative of their social identity group), and increased pressure to perform a certain way in terms of race, ethnicity, and academics.

Some Black immigrants use stereotypes as a source of motivation to succeed (Deaux et al., 2007; Griffin et al., 2015). Research has suggested native-born and immigrant Black students' responded differently across ethnicity and nativity to the stereotypes they encounter. For example, Deaux et al. (2007) found first-generation immigrants' levels of performance increased after being exposed to stereotypes, whereas

the second-generation's performance declined. This suggests that stereotype threat does not necessarily apply to some Black immigrants, and it is likely connected to their perceptions of their racial identity (Deaux et al., 2007; Griffin et al., 2015). That is, Black immigrants who are less connected to their racial identity, tend to disregard or downplay racial stereotypes (Deaux et al., 2007; Griffin et al., 2015; Joseph et al., 2013).

Conversely, majority of the second-generation students in Griffin et al.'s (2015) study confronted stereotypes in the classroom and felt compelled to work hard to prove others wrong. The second-generation were more likely to perceive a negative campus climate than their first-generation peers (Griffin et al., 2015).

Experiences on Campus

Campus racial climate can have differing effects across diverse groups of students regardless of identity but in different ways (Harper & Hurtado, 2007). Campus racial climate is a multidimensional framework outlining how internal and external dimensions interconnect to impact the campus environment (Hurtado, 1992; Hurtado, Alvarez, Guillermo-Wann, Cuellar, Arellano, 2012; Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pederson, & Allen, 1998). This framework is comprised of four dimensions: (a) historical dimension (legacy of exclusion and inclusion), (b) compositional dimension (structural diversity on campus), (c) psychological dimension (perceptions and attitudes of race relations), and (d) behavioral dimension (nature of interactions). How students respond to campus climate also differs across groups (Ancis et al., 2000; Harper & Hurtado, 2007). Numerous studies have found that compared to perceptions and experiences of other racial and ethnic groups, Black students are more likely to perceive *and* experience a negative campus racial climate (Ancis et al., 2000; Cabrera, Nora, Terenzini, Pascarella,

& Hagedorn, 1999; Fries-Britt et al., 2010; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado, 1992; Rankin & Reason, 2005; Solórzano et al., 2000). Furthermore, Black students often report racial incidents in which their faculty and peers treat them differently (Allen, 1992; Ancis et al., 2000; Fries-Britt & Turner, 2002; Fries-Britt et al., 2010). Cabrera et al. (1999) found that even though white and Black students expressed perceptions of discrimination and prejudice, perceptions are likely to be more intense and have the biggest impact on Black students' commitment to the university.

While Black immigrants face similar racialized encounters, they are less likely to report racialized incidents and have a different perception of campus climate (Byrd et al., 2014; Fries-Britt et al., 2014a; Griffin et al., 2015; Thomas, 2014). Griffin et al. (2015) examined the perceptions of campus racial climate among immigrant and native-born Black students. They found both groups noted a lack of campus diversity (compositional element of campus climate), but immigrant students were less likely to perceive racial discrimination, especially those of the first-generation.

How students perceive the campus is often related to how they engage on campus (Allen, 1992). Much like the differences in perceptions of campus climate, there are generational differences in how Black immigrants engage on campus. In terms of navigating relationships and inter/intra-racial interactions, the second-generation typically articulate their navigation of not being "Black enough" or not being "ethnic/immigrant enough" (Awokoya, 2012; Griffin et al., 2015; Griffin & McIntosh, 2015). Afro-Caribbean international students (ACIS) in Malcolm and Mendoza's (2014) study primarily found community among other Caribbean and Black international students. ACIS also made connections with second-generation Afro-Caribbean students based on

their shared Caribbean heritage, but this was generally prompted by racialized encounters in which they could connect and support one another.

The choice of engagement for Black immigrant students depended on the extent to which their racial and ethnic identities were salient. Griffin and McIntosh (2015) highlighted the complexity in how Black immigrant students negotiate campus involvement. Race mattered, especially on a predominantly white campus (PWC) and for those seeking to learn more about their racial identity (Griffin & McIntosh, 2015). Ethnicity also mattered, but the second- and 2.5-generation students had moments of internal and external identity conflict around their ethnic background, in which their peers did not see them as fully or authentically representing their ethnic background due to their nativity. Students negotiated their involvement based on their racial and ethnic identities along with their other identities (such as religion and other interests). Griffin and McIntosh's study emphasized the importance of ethnicity and nativity in the engagement decisions of Black immigrant groups in connection with the meaning they place on these particular identities and what options of engagement and interaction they believe is feasible and important for them.

The Quality of Black Students' Relationships in College

There is considerable research that has established the value and impact of student-faculty interactions on students' development and experiences (e.g., Astin, 1993; Cress, 2008; Komarraju, Musulkin, & Bhattacharya, 2010; Kuh & Hu, 2001; Mayhew et al., 2016; Tinto, 1993; Ullah & Wilson, 2007). Formal interactions in the classroom or informal interactions outside of the classroom can lead to meaningful relationships (Saenz, Ngai, & Hurtado, 2007), and impact students' academic achievement,

persistence, retention, and satisfaction with college (Braxton, 2000; Cole, 2007, 2010; Lundberg & Schreiner, 2004; Strayhorn & Terrell, 2007; Tinto, 1993; Ullah & Wilson, 2007). Unfortunately, some of the literature has illustrated that Black students are more likely to report negative interactions with faculty, which can have negative consequences on their educational outcomes (Allen, 1992; Cress, 2008; Fries-Britt & Turner, 2002; Hurtado et al., 2012; Kim & Sax, 2009; Strayhorn & Terrell, 2007). On the other hand, when Black students have positive relationships with faculty it can often lead to mentoring relationships and improved academic and social outcomes (Grant & Simmons, 2008; Griffin, Perez, Holmes, & Mayo, 2010; Jacobi, 1991; Lee, 1999; Moore & Toliver, 2010; Palmer & Gasman, 2008; Palmer, Maramba, & Holmes, 2011).

While student-faculty relationships are important, research also shows that peer interactions are a critical aspect of the collegiate experience and students' personal development (Bowman & Park, 2014, 2015; Cress, 2008; Evans et al., 2010; Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002; Jones & Abes, 2013; Mayhew et al., 2016; Rankin & Reason, 2005; Saenz et al., 2007). Research has demonstrated differences in the quality of Black students' relationships with same-race peers compared to different race peers (Allen, 1992; Bowman & Park, 2014, 2015; Fries-Britt & Turner, 2002; Gurin et al., 2002; Locks, Hurtado, Bowman, & Oseguera, 2008). Although there is very little research on similar ethnic peer relationships for Black immigrant students, there is some evidence to show the importance of such interactions (Griffin & McIntosh, 2015; Kim, 2014; Malcolm & Mendoza, 2014). While relationships with peers and faculty are more commonly studied, Black students' relationships with staff/administrators and family are

understudied. This section highlights the themes present in the literature on the quality of Black students' relationships with faculty or staff, peers, and family while in college.

Faculty and Staff Relationships

There are some discrepancies in the literature documenting the frequency with which Black students interact with faculty (Cole, 2010; Cress, 2008; Hurtado et al., 2011; Kim & Sax, 2009; Lundberg & Schreiner, 2004). Kim and Sax (2009), Lundberg and Schreiner (2004), and others (Kuh & Hu, 2001; Suarez-Balcazar, Orellana-Damacela, Portillo, Rowan, & Andrews-Guillen, 2003) found Black students at predominantly white research universities reported more faculty interaction than their white, Asian, and Latino peers. Conversely, in Hurtado et al.'s study (2011), first-year biomedical and bioscience Black students at PWIs were less likely to have frequent interactions with faculty compared to their white peers. Cole (2010) found no difference in the frequency of faculty mentoring relationships for Asian, Latino, and Black students. Despite the varied frequencies of student-faculty interaction for Black students, there are notable differences across the findings mentioned, especially on the type of institutional context (PWI/HBCU) and faculty contact (formal, in-class, outside-of-class, informal, or mentoring).

Hurtado et al. (2011) found differences in the frequency of faculty interaction for Black students at PWIs and HCBUs; Black students at HBCUs reported more faculty interaction. The difference is likely because there are more Black faculty at HBCUs than at PWIs, so students have access to and may feel more comfortable approaching faculty (Fries-Britt & Turner, 2002). The context at HBCUs provides a different and more welcoming environment for Black students, compared to the context of large, research

PWIs (Allen, 1992; Fries-Britt & Turner, 2002; Hurtado et al., 2011; McCoy, Luedke, Winkle-Wagner, 2017; Moore & Toliver, 2010). Palmer and Gasman (2008) articulated how faculty and staff at HBCUs engage in supportive relationships with students that shape the campus climate and cultivate social capital for Black students. Social capital comes in the form of connections and relationships with faculty and staff across campus. The capital students received translates into their persistence and retention (Palmer & Gasman, 2008).

Some Black students at PWIs may express “a sigh of relief” (Moore & Toliver, 2010, p. 937) when they have or connect with a Black faculty member. An expression of relief from Black students is largely because faculty of color tend to be underrepresented on PWCs (Park, 2009). Scholars have noted students often desire more faculty of color on campus to form connections with faculty who look like them and may have had similar experiences (Moore & Toliver, 2010; Park, 2009). Having a faculty member of the same race can have positive effects on students’ retention and experience (Campbell & Campbell, 2007; Lee, 1999; Schwitzer, Griffin, Ancis, & Thomas, 1999). Black faculty connect with Black students based on shared racial experiences, such as encountering and responding to racial microaggressions and racial prejudice (Moore & Toliver, 2010; Reddick, 2011).

While frequent student-faculty interactions tend to lead to positive interactions and relationships (e.g., mentoring), underrepresented students can also have positive, infrequent interactions. Infrequent interaction is not necessarily insignificant because they can have an impact on a student at a certain moment in time or during a critical incident (Schreiner, Noel, Anderson, & Cantwell, 2011). Underperforming students in Schreiner

et al.'s (2011) study acknowledged a connection with faculty and staff because they made a difference during a difficult time in students' lives. Evidence has suggested the connection students make with faculty tends to be significant and shape students' experiences beyond the frequency of interaction.

The quality of interactions between students and faculty is often dependent upon the attitudes and behaviors of faculty. For students of color in particular, positive relationships with faculty were often described as supportive, encouraging, caring, and open because faculty were approachable, accessible, provided opportunities (internship or research), appropriately challenged them, respectful, listened, and connected with students (Cress, 2008; Komarraju et al., 2010; Lundberg & Schreiner, 2004; McCoy et al., 2017; Moore & Toliver, 2010; Schreiner et al., 2011). When students believed faculty members were approachable and willing to be engaged inside and outside of the classroom, there was a stronger likelihood that students made regular and frequent contact with faculty (Komarraju et al., 2010). This is especially true for Black students when some of them perceive that Black faculty will have their best interest in mind without really knowing the faculty member (Moore & Toliver, 2010).

Black students in Guiffrida's (2005a) study described supportive faculty as "student-centered." Furthermore, Black students noted positive interactions with faculty, but majority of the faculty students referred to are African American. These faculty members showed support for students by "going above and beyond" (Guiffrida, 2005a, p. 708), through comprehensive advising (addressed personal and academic related needs), advocacy and support, and higher expectations and motivation. These aspects helped to provide students with a net of support and faculty who make themselves available to

them. Guiffrida used the term “othermothering,” which reflects “expanded relationships” beyond mentoring. In fact, othermothering has existed in the Black community dating back to slavery and post slavery where members of the community would assist mothers with childcare and schooling duties to support and uplift the Black community (Guiffrida, 2005a). Positive attributes and behaviors of faculty, especially Black faculty, point to the ways in which Black students can connect and thrive on their campuses.

Another kind of relationship that makes a difference is mentoring. Mentoring is generally understood as a developmental relationship (Kram, 1988) between a senior person (in this case faculty) and a junior person (a student), in which the junior person receives guidance, support, and coaching (Crisp & Cruz, 2009; Strayhorn & Saddler, 2009). Faculty mentoring relationships can contribute to Black students’ academic and social engagement, research opportunities, and graduate school guidance (McCoy et al., 2017; Palmer & Gasman, 2008; Schreiner et al. 2011). Mentoring relationships can also shape personal development, academic self-concept, learning, persistence, better adjustment, career aspirations, satisfaction with college (Anglin & Wade, 2007; Cole, 2010; Kuh & Hu, 2001; Lampion, 1993; Lundberg & Schreiner, 2004; Strayhorn & Saddler, 2009; Strayhorn & Terrell, 2010; Tinto, 1993) and facilitate positive interactions with diverse peers (Saenz et al., 2007). Strayhorn and Terrell (2007) found first- and second-year Black students who interacted more frequently with faculty developed mentoring relationships, compared to Black students who did not.

Research has also established that too often Black students report negative interactions with faculty, which are associated with negative consequences. Overwhelmingly studies demonstrate that Black students at PWIs are more likely to

report instances of chilly racial climates, isolation, alienation, invisibility/super-visibility (speaking on behalf of one's race; Davis et al., 2004), needing to prove oneself academically, racial prejudice, and discrimination (Allen, 1992; Cole 2010; Davis et al., 2004; Guiffrida, 2005a; Lundberg & Schreiner, 2004; Rankin & Reason, 2005; Solórzano et al., 2000). In some instances, Black students are dissatisfied in their interactions with faculty. Allen (1992) found Black students had less favorable interactions with faculty at PWIs. Negative experiences can contribute to academic and social challenges, or to students' attrition from academic majors or institutions (Allen, 1992; Guiffrida, 2005b; McCoy et al., 2017; Solórzano et al., 2000).

Even in the face of less satisfying interactions with faculty, some Black students and students of color possibly overcompensate by trying to meet or exceed faculty expectations (Lundberg & Schreiner, 2004). Lundberg and Schreiner (2004) learned African American and Native American students had slightly fewer satisfying relationships with faculty and were more likely to work harder in class to meet faculty expectations and improve the quality of their interactions with faculty. Also, African Americans and Puerto Ricans were more likely to work harder on assignments due to faculty feedback. Fries-Britt et al. (2010) detailed the experiences of Black students in physics who reported being discouraged by faculty to pursue science or overlooked, despite doing well in their science courses. Although Black students shared instances of faculty being nice and encouraging, too often disparaging comments and glares resulted in students having a qualitatively different experience (Allen, 1992; Fries-Britt & Turner, 2002; Fries-Britt et al., 2010).

Additionally, in a comparison of the impact of student-faculty interactions on GPA for African American, Latino, and Asian students, Cole (2010) found African American students' GPAs were most negatively affected due to their negative interactions with peers and faculty. Despite Black students' tendency to have a greater frequency of contact with faculty, frequency of interaction in some instances is insufficient and may reflect the efforts students put in to try and get faculty's attention (Lundberg & Schreiner, 2004). These results suggest negative interactions with faculty can have an impact on how African American students perform academically.

Student-staff relations. While there is considerable work on interactions between students and faculty, there is less on student and staff (i.e., student affairs administrators) relations. Many of the recommendations in studies about students' experiences note the critical importance of faculty and staff collaboration to improve campus experiences for students and the need for representation of staff of color, especially at PWIs (Bensimon, 2007; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado et al., 1998; Schreiner et al., 2011). In the limited literature, students of color highlight the importance of the support and individual attention they receive from staff and administrators (Allen, 1992; Bensimon, 2007; Fries-Britt & Turner, 2002; Schreiner et al., 2011). A Black student in Schreiner et al.'s (2011) study expressed how impactful it was when her advisor remembered her name despite having a lot of advisees at a large university. The care and attention that many staff can and do provide is significant especially when underrepresented students often articulate differential treatment on campus (Suarez et al., 2003).

Peer Relationships

Peers are critical to students' "quality of life" (Allen, 1992, p. 40) and outcomes in college (Antonio, 2001; Astin, 1993; Harper & Quaye, 2009; Tinto, 1993). Whether formal in-class interactions or informal out-of-class interactions, peer relationships can influence personal development, transition into college, involvement, sense of belonging, adjustment, academic performance, and career aspirations (Astin, 1993; Anglin & Wade, 2007; Evans et al., 2010; Fischer, 2007; Gurin et al., 2002; Harper & Quaye, 2009; Locks et al., 2008). Like most students, Black students "develop best in environments where they feel valued, protected, accepted, and socially connected" (Allen, 1992, p. 39). Themes in the literature highlight the benefits and challenges in same-race and cross-race relationships for Black students. Also, there are certain distinctions in the quality and role of peer relationships depending upon institutional context, specifically HBCUs or PWIs (Allen, 1992; Fries-Britt & Turner, 2002; Locks et al., 2008).

Same race. There is ample evidence in the higher education literature highlighting the chilly racial climates of PWIs (Harper & Hurtado, 2007). Black students at PWIs generally report higher perceptions of racial discrimination, prejudice, and microaggressions (subtle verbal and non-verbal slights; Fischer, 2007; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Solórzano et al., 2000). Same-race peer relationships are one critical aspect that provides support and a safe space for Black students to cope with negative campus racial climates (Bowman & Park, 2014; Fries-Britt & Turner, 2002; Park, 2013; Solórzano et al., 2000). Such relationships are also associated with student outcomes such as satisfaction and adjustment (Anglin & Wade, 2007; Fischer, 2007; Strayhorn & Terrell, 2007).

Allen's (1992) seminal study explores the academic achievement, involvement, and career aspirations of Black students at PWIs and HBCUs. He noted that a combination of personal and institutional characteristics contributes to Black students' success. Allen stated, "extensive network of friends, numerous social outlets, and supportive relationships" (p. 40) were significant factors in the achievement, involvement, and aspirations of Black students at both PWIs and HBCUs. Black peers help one another to feel connected, engaged, and accepted (Allen, 1992; Fries-Britt & Turner, 2002). Social relationships provided boosts in self-confidence and self-esteem, feelings of comfort, sense of belonging, and empowerment and thus contributed to a higher probability of student success (Allen, 1992). Allen also noted racial composition was a significant factor in the quality of relationships for Black students and availability for same-race friendships.

Others found similar instances where Black students created or joined social and cultural networks as a way to "stick together" with same-race peers for a sense of belonging, security, empowerment, and maintaining one's racial and ethnic identity (Fisher & Hartmann, 1995; Guiffrida, 2003; Museus, 2008). Social interactions broadly play an important role in student experiences, but the relationships cultivated through student organizations and involvement is also documented in the literature. For instance, Museus (2008) and Guiffrida (2003) stressed the significance of predominantly African American student organizations such as Greek-letter fraternity and sororities, religious groups, race or ethnic groups, or advocacy groups (e.g., NAACP). Such organizations contribute to the involvement, integration, and persistence of Black students (Allen, Epps, & Haniff, 1991; Museus, 2008).

Same-race interactions and groups are also an important site of cultural navigation (Anglin & Wade, 2007; Fisher & Hartmann, 1995; Harper & Quaye, 2007; Museus, 2008; Porter & Dean, 2015; Solórzano et al., 2000; Tatum, 2010). Same-race groups also serve as a physical and social space in which Black students experience cultural familiarity, validation, support, and a place to express themselves in an authentic way (Anglin & Wade, 2007; Museus, 2008). Students can speak authentically, for example using slang without code switching (speaking in a manner more acceptable in the mainstream culture) and not feel like they are being judged (Guiffrida, 2003). Moreover, predominantly Black student spaces serve as safe places where students connect with those who are more likely to understand their challenging experiences with racial discrimination (Guiffrida, 2003; Museus, 2008; Solórzano et al., 2000).

For Black immigrant students, same-race relationships are also important for how they navigate a racialized campus climate (Fries-Britt et al., 2014a; Griffin & McIntosh, 2015; Malcolm & Mendoza, 2014). Black immigrants learn strategies from their African American peers on how to overcome racial discrimination (Fries-Britt et al., 2014a; Griffin & McIntosh, 2015; Kim, 2014; Malcolm & Mendoza, 2014). Griffin and McIntosh (2015) noted how same-race interpersonal relationships helped Black immigrant students feel less isolated, especially in their transition to a predominantly white college environment. Results from Charles et al.'s study (2015) on Black students at elite institutions shows that being Black is important to their group membership but there are variations of the impact of race on self-perceptions and social relationships. Across subgroups, Black monoracial multigenerational students scored the highest on the racial centrality scale, followed by second-generation and first-generation immigrant

Black students. Mixed-race students, especially those with one white parent had the lowest score. The findings from these studies illustrate the connections native-born and immigrant Black people can often make as a result of their shared racial identity, experiences, and social contexts (Charles et al., 2015).

While there are benefits to same-race relationships, there are also some challenges. Both native-born and immigrant Blacks note they sometimes do not feel “Black enough” in predominantly Black spaces (Awokoya, 2012; Guiffrida, 2003). Bentley-Edwards and Chapman-Hilliard (2015) stressed the importance and influence of precollege home and school environments and relationships, which is a strong indicator of the racial and ethnic composition of friendships Black native and immigrant students will likely develop in college (Charles et al., 2007; Massey et al., 2007; Saenz et al., 2007). For students who come from a predominantly Black context, they are more likely to feel more comfortable around other Black students and desire such community once they get to college (Bentley-Edwards & Chapman-Hilliard, 2015). Some Black students in Guiffrida’s (2003) study discussed their lack of comfort around Black students because they were socialized in predominantly white spaces before college.

Relatedly, some Black immigrants not only lived in predominantly white precollege environments (Massey et al., 2007), but were also socialized with particular negative messages about native Blacks; thus, their lack of exposure or limited understanding of some African American culture can result in some anxiety or uncertainty in how to engage in predominantly Black spaces and groups (Awokoya, 2012; Joseph & Hunter, 2011). Additionally, same-ethnic connections can be a challenge, especially for second and 2.5 generation youth in which first-generation co-ethnics

question their authenticity (Griffin & McIntosh, 2015; Joseph & Hunter, 2011; Malcolm & Mendoza, 2014).

Cross race. Research highlights the educational outcomes and benefits associated with cross-racial interaction (CRI) between students (Antonio, 2001; Bowman & Park, 2014, 2015; Chang, Astin, & Kim, 2004; Gurin et al., 2002; Hurtado et al., 2012; Locks et al., 2008). Cross-race interaction is positively associated with learning (Hurtado et al., 2012), satisfaction with college (Bowman & Park, 2015), getting along with someone of a different race (Bowman & Park, 2015), cross cultural awareness and commitment to racial understanding (Antonio, 2001), academic and cognitive skills (Gurin et al., 2002), sense of belonging (Locks et al., 2008), and intellectual, social, and civic development (Chang et al., 2004).

Gains in these educational outcomes and others are true for student groups of different racial backgrounds (Gurin et al., 2002; Harper & Hurtado, 2007); however, there are differential impacts of CRI for different racial/ethnic groups (Antonio, 2001; Chang et al., 2004; Harper & Hurtado, 2007). On the one hand, students of color are more likely to engage in CRIs, compared to whites, which is likely because students of color are a numerical minority in higher education (Chang et al., 2004; Locks et al., 2008). On the other hand, students of color are more likely to perceive racial prejudice and discrimination on campus despite having more diverse interactions (Harper & Hurtado, 2007); this is true even in instances where the diversity level on campus is considered high (Chang et al., 2004). Chang et al. (2004) found African American students are less likely to have cross-racial dining, dating, and studying interactions, regardless of the diversity level of the institution. The unevenness of cross racial

interactions may suggest that even though Black students may have more opportunities to engage with diverse peers, due to levels of numerical diversity, they may have certain perceptions of the campus climate (Antonio, 2001; Chang et al., 2004).

The discrepancy in the frequency of students of color interacting with diverse peers and their negative perceptions points to two things. One, limited research examines interaction separately from relationships (e.g., Bowman & Park, 2014, 2015). In their study, Bowman and Park (2015) concluded CRI was more frequent and is significantly and positively associated with educational outcomes than interracial friendships (IRF), which was not associated with any outcome. The authors also point out that CRI overall provides more consistent and stronger benefits than IRF in terms of educational outcomes. Two, studies generally have a composite sample of students of color and do not disaggregate, and students are not generally asked about the racial and ethnic composition of their friend groups and interactions (Bowman & Park, 2015). Without more nuance in the study of interaction and composition of friend groups, it is a bit difficult to truly understand the quality of CRIs and friendship for Black students.

Although there are several quantitative studies that examine cross-racial student interactions, the general focus is on the frequency, predictors, and impact of interaction on educational outcomes (Bowman & Park, 2014; Park, 2009; Saenz et al., 2007). Additionally, many of the studies are based on cross-sectional data, capturing one point in time. Studies clearly show what contributes to CRI and its importance, but there is less information about the quality of interactions (Antonio, 2001). For instance, Saenz et al. (2007) found for Black students, precollege interactions with diverse peers, faculty who take an interest in them, and more time spent socializing increases their likelihood of

positive diverse interactions in college. Understanding that precollege factors plays a role is important because early experiences shapes students' tolerance for diverse engagement (Bentley-Edwards & Chapman-Hilliard, 2015; Locks et al., 2008).

There is considerable information noting the challenges and negative impact of CRIs, especially between Black and white students (e.g., Allen, 1992; Allen et al., 1991; Antonio, 2001; Bowman & Park, 2014; Chang et al., 2004; Fleming, 1985; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Holmes, Ebbers, Robinson, & Mugenda, 2000; Solórzano et al., 2000). It appears Black students perceive more challenges to CRIs. Black students perceive and experience more race-related incidents of differential treatment (harassment, prejudice) than any other group (Ancis et al., 2000; Harper & Hurtdo, 2007; Suarez-Balcazar et al., 2003). Studies on diversity on campus, interracial interactions, and campus climate found that while Black and white students note the importance of interracial connections on campus, but Black students were more likely to acknowledge that race negatively affects these connections, compared to white students (Bowman & Park, 2014; Rankin & Reason, 2005).

When diverse groups are put together with little education or guidance around multiculturalism and cross-racial understanding, interactions can be harmful or limiting (Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Rankin & Reason, 2005). Black students can spend considerable energy in combating racial stereotypes and educating white peers about racial issues (Fries-Britt & Turner, 2002). For example, Fries-Britt and Griffin (2007) found high-achieving Black students encountered and challenged negative stereotypes reflecting anti-affirmative action sentiments from peers. Additionally, in their investigation of the frequency and characteristics of racial prejudice and discrimination,

Swim, Hyers, Cohen, Fitzgerland, and Bylsma (2003) found staring, verbal expressions, poor service, and interpersonal offenses were experienced by at least half of their African American student sample. To cope and manage the challenges of CRIs, many Black students find solace in affinity groups or support from other sources (Fries-Britt & Turner, 2002; Porter & Dean, 2015; Solórzano et al., 2000). While the research shows the many benefits of CRIs, there are also challenges, which point to the differential impact of CRI for different student groups.

Family

Despite the limited literature on the role of family in Black students' collegiate experiences, quite a few researchers documented the importance and influence of family support in Black students' success (e.g., Bonner, 2001; Cabrera et al., 1999; Guiffrida, 2005b; Herndon & Hirt, 2004; Knight, Norton, Bentley, & Dixon, 2004; Moore, 2006; Williamson, 2010). Black students discussed the importance of the emotional, psychological, and financial support and encouragement they receive from family, which often contributes to their persistence and retention in college (Cabrera et al., 1999; Guiffrida, 2005b; Herndon & Hirt, 2004; Moore, 2006; Williamson, 2010). Family members are influential in Black students' collegiate experience (Bonner, 2001; Guiffrida, 2005b; Herndon & Hirt, 2004; Kim, 2014; Williamson, 2010). Herndon and Hirt (2004) and Guiffrida (2005b) found family was a significant motivating factor, and source of encouragement and support for Black students at PWIs.

The consistency of family support for Black students was also rooted in familial values and expectations around education (Guiffrida, 2005b; Haynie, 2002; Herndon & Hirt, 2004; Williamson, 2010). Guiffrida (2005b) found families of high achievers placed

such a high value on education, that students' families would not tell them about issues at home to not distract students from their academics. Similarly, Williamson (2010) articulated the Black male STEM students in his study were strongly influenced by their families' educational values. Black students' families, both immigrant and native families, instilled education as a value (Williamson, 2010).

Additionally, students relied on familial encouragement and support to overcome challenges they faced in terms of racial tensions, academics, competing priorities, and finances (Guiffrida, 2005b; Herndon & Hirt, 2004; Williamson, 2010). Families can help students cope with challenges in school related to cultural differences and adjustment issues and provide a sense of familiarity in a new context (Guiffrida, 2005b; Haynie, 2002; Thomas, 2009). Black students in many instances will turn to peers when they have social conflicts, particularly with their white peers (Fries-Britt & Turner, 2002; Solórzano et al., 2000), but they will also seek guidance from family (Guiffrida, 2005; Kim, 2014; Williamson, 2010).

Family can help shape Black students' academic and career goals as well. Moore (2006) and Williamson (2010) examined factors that influence Black male STEM students and found that family was a significant factor in shaping the STEM motivations and career pursuits of Black males. The encouragement they received from family on their choice of major and career options, helped to guide their decisions, affirm their choices, and provided direction and career support (Bonner, 2001; Blackmon & Thomas, 2014; Moore, 2006).

The importance Black students place on the emotional, financial, and academic support they receive in college further solidifies their values and sacrifices in pursuing a

degree (Guiffrida, 2005; Thomas, 2009; Williamson, 2010). In some instances, students viewed their families' sacrifices as a source of motivation to succeed not only for themselves but also their families (Guiffrida, 2005; Haynie, 2002; Thomas, 2009). While this is true of both native and immigrant Black students, the sacrifices of immigrant students' families differed because they were in connection to their family's recent migration to the United States (Butterfield, 2006; Haynie, 2002; Thomas, 2009).

While family can be a major asset to students' success, they can also hinder students' achievements and persistence (Bonner, 2001; Guiffrida, 2005b; Herndon & Hirt, 2004). Some Black students have more family responsibilities depending on their family structure, status, or situation, such as caring for a sibling, parents, or contribute financially, pulling students away from academic and social opportunities (Guiffrida, 2005b). In a study of high and low achieving Black students and "leavers" (those who stopped or dropped out), Guiffrida (2005b) asserted the main difference in the family relationships of Black students was their perceptions of support and responsibilities. Leavers and low achievers perceived less or did not receive adequate emotional and financial support from family, leading to challenges in their ability to manage competing priorities.

Further, a family's ability to provide support (financial, emotional, and academic) depended upon their SES; generally, those with higher SES backgrounds were able to receive more support in all areas (Herndon & Hirt, 2004). In some cases, students leave the institution because they are not able to balance multiple personal and familial responsibilities (Guiffrida, 2005b). In other cases, students' perceptions of their

responsibilities led to self-imposed pressures that drew them away from the campus physically and mentally (Guiffrida, 2005b; Walker & Satterwhite, 2002).

Typically, *family* narrowly refers to parents and siblings, but can include grandparents, cousins, aunts, and church or community members who are important to students (Herndon & Hirt, 2004). Herndon and Hirt (2004) referred to extended members as fictive kin for Black students because they are just as important as blood relatives to the students' overall support and success in college. Specific to immigrants, intergenerational relationships can also be situated in "transnational extended-family networks" (Foner, 2009, p. 2) with families in the United States maintaining strong connections with family abroad. Transnational networks can potentially extend students' networks of support beyond national borders, which can be points of strain and difficulty, but also serve as a positive influence on students' academic experiences and cultural identities (Foner, 2009; Haynie, 2002; Rong & Brown, 2002). Regardless of who constitutes as family, it is evident that these relationships are important to students' success in college.

Summary of Literature Review

The literature outlined in this chapter sheds light on the power and significance of interpersonal relationships in the lives of native and immigrant Black students, and in particular Afro-Caribbean students. Interpersonal relationships at home and at school inform how Afro-Caribbeans navigate and understand their racial and ethnic identities. In the higher education context, Afro-Caribbeans and Black immigrants' experiences and academic success are shaped by their precollege relationships (family, friends, and social networks). These same relationships also shape Afro-Caribbeans' understandings of how

to navigate racial encounters. Yet, there is less information about the impact of their relationships, especially with faculty and staff. Thus, Afro-Caribbeans may be navigating and responding to others' expectations of how to perform personally, academically, and socially. These bodies of literature begin to form a composite of how Afro-Caribbeans may be experiencing college.

There are gaps in understanding how second-generation Afro-Caribbeans understand their identities and navigate their relationships on and off-campus. Since interpersonal relationships can lead to so many benefits, and challenges, for Black students, there is uncertainty of what those benefits and challenges are for this specific group of Black students. Understanding the quality of their relationships can give more insight into not only who they are, but also what their collegiate experiences are like.

Theoretical Framework

To investigate identity salience and its connection to relationships, I chose a theoretical framework that acknowledges multiple identities, views identity as relational, and embedded in a communicative perspective (Hecht, 1993; Jung & Hecht, 2004). By placing identity in the context of communication and at the center of analysis, this approach allows for a deeper understanding of how the relationships of second-generation Afro-Caribbean students may affect their self-perceptions and college experiences.

The historical underpinnings of CTI draw from culturally historic views of identity and build upon various bodies of identity research (Hecht, 1993; Hecht et al., 1993; Hecht et al., 2003; Hecht, Warren, Jung, & Krieger, 2005; Jung & Hecht, 2004). Hecht et al. (2005) outlined that CTI stems from African perspectives of holistic and

interdependence of being, Confucian philosophy of collectivity, and Greek perspective of polarity, in which one is “defined in opposition” (Hecht et al., 2005, p. 259). These intercultural perspectives help to demonstrate that culture strongly influences the understanding, multiplicity, and fluidity of identity. Communication theory of identity is also more widely understood from modern and postmodern theories of identity. Specifically, CTI is grounded in two foundational identity theories: identity theory (IT) and social identity theory (SIT; Hecht, 1984, 1993; Hecht et al., 2005). These theories are similar in that they focus on how individual behaviors and social structures (rules, laws, and institutions) socially and mutually construct the “self” (that is, who one is; Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995). However, each theory offers a different explanation of how that occurs.

Identity theory is rooted in Mead’s (1934) research on the theory of symbolic interaction (Burke & Stets, 2009; Hecht et al., 2005; Hogg et al., 1995). Mead emphasized the relationship between the self and society (Hecht et al., 2005), which is embedded in social roles and expressed through behaviors (Stryker, 1980). From an IT perspective, identity is communicated as a social role (i.e., social behaviors). Therefore, people understand who they are based on their interactions with others (Hogg et al., 1995, Stryker, 1980; Stryker & Burke, 2000). Communication theory of identity slightly differs from IT in that social roles are the enactment of identity, and identity can be redefined through enacted social roles (Hecht et al., 2005). Identity theory serves as the basis for larger and varied bodies of identity research that place more of an emphasis on the individual, their social roles, and consequences of their behaviors (Hogg et al., 1995; Stryker & Burke, 2000).

Relatedly, SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) is a social psychological perspective of identity development based on group memberships (Hecht et al., 2005; Hogg et al., 1995). The basic premise of the theory asserts that social categories or groups (i.e., race, nationality, etc.) can provide a sense of belonging (group membership) that is connected to a person's self-concept (Hogg et al., 1995; Tajfel, 1982). Each group varies in importance to the individual (i.e., salience) and its existence is further reinforced by the evaluation of an outside group. SIT is broad and has an emphasis on social contexts and groups that influence individual and intergroup behavior (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Communication theory of identity bridges SIT and IT with a focus on groups and social roles as the basis for the formation and expression of identity (Hecht et al., 2005).

Hecht et al. (1993) conducted a cultural analysis of African American identity and communication in which the CTI emerged. In their book, they used an interpretive approach to explore ethnic identity, culture, communication styles, social structures, symbols, and context from the perspectives of the African American community. They found that the labels and meanings that the African American sample in their study used reflected not only a personal aspect of identity but also a collective or communal aspect in that they viewed themselves in relation to their ancestors and pressures of mainstream American society. The culmination of their research yielded CTI as a framework for exploring the lived experiences, identity, and culture of African Americans from their perspective and to better understand intercultural communication between groups (e.g., between African Americans and white Americans). Their work contributes to the culturally sensitive theoretical perspectives of examining different ethnic groups in their own cultural context (Hecht et al., 2003). The authors encouraged further application and

testing of CTI to widen the understanding and view of identity from the individual to interpersonal interactions.

Communication theory of identity provides an *interpretive approach* to understanding how identity is a communicative process (Hecht et al., 1993). Traditional theories of identity rooted in psychology, sociology, and anthropology tend to focus on the individual, social relationships, or societal roles. Building upon these perspectives, Hecht (1984, 1993) developed CTI to focus more on the transaction of messages between individuals, their relationships, and their roles that can lead someone to enact an identity in certain ways. Relatedly, identity is more than a byproduct of interactions. Communication theory of identity articulates that identity and communication jointly influence one another through an on-going process (Jung & Hecht, 2004).

In CTI, there are several localities of identity that unify “the individual (self), communication, relationships, and society” (Jung & Hecht, 2004, p. 266). These localities are summarized into four “frames of identity” (Hecht, 1993; Hecht et al., 1993; Jung & Hecht, 2004): (a) personal, (b) enacted, (c) relational, and (d) communal.

The *personal frame* is the self-perceptions and self-concept of the individual’s characteristics and traits cultivated as feelings and sense of being (Jung & Hecht, 2004). Essentially, it is how a person typically defines him/herself in various encounters (Hecht, 1993). According to Hecht (1993), there is a working assumption that there are multiple understandings of the self that are ordered and can shift based on context, which inform the personal frame of identity.

The *enacted frame* is the performativity or expression of identity (Jung & Hecht, 2004). It is not merely *what* people do to show their identities to others, but the acting out

is the identity in and of itself. Identities are forms of social interaction and they are experienced through how one communicates, both verbally and non-verbally, with others and the social world (i.e., systems; Jung & Hecht, 2004). “Not all messages are about identity, but identity is part of all messages” (Hecht, 1993, p. 79). Characteristics of the enactment frame illustrate identities as ongoing, conducted in actions and symbols, and situated in an identity salience hierarchy (Hecht, 1993).

The *relational frame* focuses on “relational aspects,” in which identities exist in connection to, and as a function of, social relationships (Hecht, 1993, p. 80). The relational frame comprises four levels (Jung & Hecht, 2004). In Level 1, the individual internalizes other’s views of himself/herself and consequently develops an identity, also known as an “ascribed relational identity” (Jung & Hecht, 2004, p. 266). A relational identity is similar to psychological models in which early messages about who one is are internalized to comprise early understandings of a particular identity (Cross, 1991; Phinney, 1990). In Level 2, individuals identify because of their relationships with others and consequently, their identity depends on relationships. For example, one is a colleague because they have coworkers, a brother/sister because they have siblings, or a parent because they have a child. Level 3 elaborates on Level 2 where identities exist because of other identities (Jung & Hecht, 2004). In this level, individuals have multiple and intersecting relationships and identities. For example, an individual can be a mother, sister, doctor, and church member. Although the individual may not be performing duties of all identities at the same time, they embody all identities simultaneously; thus, multiple, relational, identities coexist. In Level 4, “the relationship, itself, [is an] identity” (Jung & Hecht, 2004, p. 267). The most common example is that married couples can

establish an identity of their own. Therefore, identity and relationships are mutually connected and constructed. It is important to note that these levels are not linear or progressive but demonstrate different aspects in the relational frame.

Finally, the fourth frame is *communal*, concerning a collective or group identity such as a sorority; given that its identity as a group is under the banner of the name of the sorority. Unlike the previous three frames that center the individual or interpersonal relationships, the communal frame centers a group collectively. The group or community establishes a set of identities that are jointly maintained and taught to new members of the group (Hecht, 1993).

Because CTI reflects multiple identities, it is “a multi-layered construct” (Wadsworth, Hecht, & Jung, 2008). In particular, the frames of identities can stand alone or interconnect at any given time. Jung and Hecht (2004) studied “identity gaps” to examine the differences between or contradictions between the frames of identity. There is the personal-enacted identity gap, in which the individual perceives themselves a certain way but expresses themselves in another way. This identity dissonance can arise when the individual suppresses certain aspects of oneself to fit into a given situation (Wadsworth et al., 2008). There is also the personal-relational gap. This gap occurs when “other people perceive the individual to be different from the way the individual sees him/herself” (Wadsworth et al., 2008, p. 68). This is likely to happen when people rely on stereotypes or limited information about others in social interactions (Wadsworth et al., 2008).

The basic premise of CTI moves beyond the development of identity and examines how identity is maintained, demonstrated, and transformed (Hecht, 1993). This theory connects salience, relationships, and communication to provide a *discursive*

perspective of identity (Hecht, 1993). It also illustrates how and why identity is inherently a social process and less of an individual process. Because these frames generally function at the individual and interpersonal levels (Wadsworth et al., 2008), I also examined whether the personal-enacted and the personal-relational identity gaps are present in participants' narratives. The focus and analysis of identity frames and identity gaps helped to illuminate the role of identity in communication and social relationships (Jung & Hecht, 2004).

As Jung and Hecht (2004) articulated, if there are issues of identity, then there will be issues of communication reflected in communication outcomes. Jung and Hecht identifies three outcomes in their study. The *communication satisfaction* outcome is the degree of "emotional response" based on whether an individual's "inner standards are reinforced in communication" (Jung & Hecht, 2004, p. 270). Thus, there is a smaller identity gap when someone is satisfied with the communication of their identity and it is accurately reinforced. The outcome of *feeling understood* is when an individual believes the meanings they convey about who they are successfully shared (Jung & Hecht, 2004). In other words, the degree of misunderstanding of one's identity by others. The "conversational appropriateness and effectiveness" (Jung & Hecht, 2004, p. 270) outcome is when messages and behavior communicated in a certain situation, fit the context of that situation. If an individual misreads others' appraisals of their identity, they may believe that how his/her identity was communicated was possibly not appropriate for the context.

I focused on the three frames (personal, enacted, and relational) and the identity gaps, which addressed individual experiences given the design of my study and my

emphasis on individuals' narratives (Wadsworth et al., 2008). For this study, CTI provided an "interpretive perspective" that is distinct (Hecht et al., 1993, p. 15). By focusing on the four frames and the identity gaps, this theoretical framework allowed me to be attuned to the implications of "interpersonal and intercultural communication" (Wadsworth et al., 2008, p. 68) and relationships for second-generation West Indian students.

The CTI poses a couple limitations that could influence what and how data are interpreted in this study. The intention of the communal frame warrants a group analysis (Hecht et al., 1993; Wadsworth et al., 2008). This study focused on the individual and their relationships and did not focus on a collective. However, the results of this study suggest the communal frame can be extended to consider how individuals perceive the group and group norms of which they are a part. Further discussion of this limitation is addressed in context of the findings in Chapter 6.

Additionally, there is no singular definition of communication; it is broadly understood as verbal and no-verbal messages. It was important for me as the researcher to encourage participants to describe their interactions in as much detail as possible to try and get a sense of various forms of communication. Additionally, Hecht et al.'s (1993) assumptions serve as the underpinnings of the theory. It is possible that the assumptions in and of themselves are limited and influenced by a certain cultural perspective, thus potentially excluding other assumptions that exist and shape how I understand, use, and interpret the frames. Despite these limitations, CTI provided a communicative perspective with which to understand identity that differs from the traditional perspectives used in higher education and student affairs research. The use of this theory

in my work illuminated how second-generation West Indian students communicate who they perceive themselves to be within and across their different relationships and informs the work of educators and scholars with this population.

Chapter 3: Methods

The study explored the experiences of second-generation West Indian⁹ college students from Boston, MA, and how their identities shaped their relationships with faculty or staff, peers, and family while in college. This study addressed the following research questions:

- How do second-generation West Indian college students communicate their racial and ethnic identities?
- What types of messages do second-generation West Indian students receive about their racial and ethnic identities from faculty or staff, peers, and family while in college?
- How do second-generation West Indian students enact their racial and ethnic identities in their relationships with faculty or staff, peers, and family while in college?

This chapter includes an outline of the methodology and methods for the study and consists of four sections. The first section is a description and rationale for the use of qualitative methodology to guide this work, specifically focusing on narrative inquiry. In the second section, I articulate my positionality, and how my identities, worldview, and background inform my decisions and the research process. In the third section, I outline the details about the research setting, participant recruitment strategies, demographic

⁹ I will use West Indian, Caribbean, and Afro-Caribbean interchangeably throughout this chapter to refer to Black people from the English-speaking, Anglophone Caribbean. I also use West Indian more consistently in this chapter and the remainder of the study because participants referred to themselves, their family, and/or community as West Indian and did not commonly use Afro-Caribbean. I use this term to honor their identity choices.

profile of participants, data collection methods, and analysis procedures. I also discuss the steps I used to ensure validation and trustworthiness of the data and analyses. Finally, in the fourth section, I conclude with a discussion of the scope and limitations of the study.

Methodology

A researcher should choose a qualitative approach to unpack the complexities of an issue, to “hear silenced voices” (Creswell, 2013, p. 48). A qualitative researcher should consider contexts and interpersonal dynamics that cannot be captured through traditional quantitative methods (Creswell, 2013). Qualitative methodology generally appeals to researchers who aim to center communities who are generally excluded or exploited in research, such as people of color, the LGBTQ community, and women (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). For these same reasons, I chose a qualitative methodology, specifically narrative inquiry, to study Afro-Caribbeans.

Narrative Inquiry

Narrative inquiry is the collection and analysis of stories about the lived and told experiences of people’s lives (Chase, 2011; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Josselson, 2011; Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007; Riessman, 1993). Narrative research is applied differently depending upon the discipline and methodological approach. Due to its various applications, narrative research includes a mixture of approaches with which to understand human experiences (Chase, 2011; Josselson, 2011). The central features of narrative inquiry include the following: collecting stories through multiple sources of data (interviews, observations, and other elements); collaborating between the researcher and participant(s); capturing the meaning people make of their experiences; and paying

attention to the context(s) in which the story was told (Chase, 2011; Creswell, 2013; Josselson, 2011; Riessman, 2008).

Although some of these elements overlap with other qualitative methods, such as ethnography and phenomenology, the unique boundaries that define narrative inquiry allow the researcher to center individuals' stories, identities, and experiences (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Creswell and Poth (2018) noted, "Narrative stories tell of individual experiences, and they may shed light on the identities of individuals and how they see themselves" (p. 69). By centering the concept of experience, the aim of narrative inquiry is to contextualize the narrator's experiences (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Josselson, 2011). It is the researcher's role to identify how the narrator made meaning of their experiences and situate that meaning in the larger context of the phenomena under study (Riessman, 1993).

From a narrative inquiry perspective, the stories people share are a process of storytelling, reflection, *and* performance (Cortazzi, 1993; Riessman, 1993). Storytelling involves the storyteller selectively sharing memories and moments of their lives. Simultaneously, storytellers link parts of their experience to other experiences to give structure and meaning to the stories in their lives (i.e., reflection; Josselson, 2011; Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007). The process of storytelling is also a performance based on how, why, and to whom the story is told (Josselson, 2011; Riessman, 1993). Thus, narratives are not merely facts or stories, but a way of creating meaning between the storyteller and audience (Josselson, 2011). Consequently, narrative representations and the identities presented through those narratives can vary depending upon the audience and context (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007; Josselson, 2011; Riessman, 1993).

Given the focus of this study is on the identities and relationships of second-generation Afro-Caribbean college students, narrative inquiry is the best approach with which to address the research questions. Attending to the narratives of second-generation Afro-Caribbean students allowed me to seek and identify the connections between their identities, stories, and relationships. A narrative approach also granted me an understanding of how participants made meaning of their experiences while in college. Although other qualitative methods can be used to collect this information, narrative inquiry allowed me to capture their stories with attention to the context of time, relationships, and the college context using the three-dimensional space approach (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). The application of this methodology is further explained in the methods section.

Epistemology

The choice to use a qualitative methodology, and specifically narrative inquiry, for this study is grounded in my epistemological stance. Epistemology refers to the assumptions about how knowledge is created and disseminated (Creswell, 2013; Glesne, 2011; Jones, Torres, & Arminio, 2014). Interactions between people yield interpretations of the meaning one makes of the world (Mertens, 2010), also referred to as social constructions. From this perspective, I adopt a social constructionist epistemology. Social constructionists believe one's reality of the world is not only developed in the mind of the individual, but also in that person's social context and past experiences (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Glesne, 2011). Constructionists consider "the perspectives of several members of the same social group about some phenomena [which] can begin to say

something about cultural patterns of thought and action for that group” (Glesne, 2011, p. 8).

As a social constructionist, I recognize the experiences people have “are historically and culturally specific” (Burr, 2015, p. 4). Thus, how people come to understand the ways of the world is relative to the culture and time in which they live (Burr, 2015). The degree of relativity in understanding one’s reality gives space for me as the researcher to be open to and be a part of the narrative participants share. Moreover, social constructionists are most concerned with interactions (Burr, 2015).

Constructionists wonder, what role do interactions play in the construction of knowledge? (Burr, 2015). Interactions help to inform social processes and ways of understanding (Burr, 2015). For this reason, it is critical for me as the researcher to center relationships in this study to better understand the role and impact of Afro-Caribbean students’ interactions in their collegiate experiences. Additionally, a social constructionist perspective fits with narrative inquiry and the topic of study because it granted me, as the researcher, the space to empower participants to describe their multiple experiences and realities.

Positionality

I agree with Riessman’s (1993) perspective that “the construction of any work always bears the mark of the person who created it” (p. v). My identities and experiences informed the development of this study, and as the researcher, I serve as the research instrument through which data are interpreted (Creswell, 2013; Chavez, 2008). Therefore, it is critical to be aware of my biases and address my position in terms of my identities, worldviews, and background, because all of these factors can affect how I collect,

interpret, and present the data (Chavez, 2008; Glesne, 2011). Positionality, also referred to as *reflexivity* (Riessman, 2008), is the researcher's consideration of their "sense of self" in relation to the participants, the phenomenon, and contexts under study (Chavez, 2008; Glesne, 2011; Riessman, 2008). The act of reflexivity facilitates a better understanding of the intricacies in researching one's culture and social identity groups (Merriam, 2001).

Reflexivity

Social identities reflect diverse social statuses that inherently encompass dimensions of power and privilege (Jones et al., 2014). My identities as a Black, second-generation Jamaican woman who grew up in Boston, largely informed my decision to conduct this study. My identities as a Christian, PhD candidate, administrator, a young adult, and the researcher also informed my researcher position. The first list of identities positions me as an insider, and the latter identities, as an outsider (Chavez, 2008; De Andrade, 2000). An awareness of my identities, and by extension dimensions of privilege and power, and my assumptions and values, is critical because biases connected to my experiences can show up in the research process.

Growing up, I often struggled to navigate my racial and ethnic identity. When I was a child, my parents told me, "You are Jamerican." At the time, I did not fully understand what that meant, other than the fact that I was born in America to parents who were born in Jamaica. The term "Jamerican" signaled to me that I was not or could not be considered Jamaican because I was not born in Jamaica, did not have a Jamaican accent, and could not speak patois, despite understanding patois. I internalized from my parents, family, and friends that nativity, language, and accent were "official" markers of a full

Jamaican identity. I felt slighted and less-than because I wanted to be just like my parents—Jamaican. Yet, this designation indicated that I was not fully American either. My parents talked to my brothers and me about Black Americans in ways that signaled that we were not Black Americans or African American. They often questioned the negative representations of African Americans on television or assumed that some African Americans' unemployment status was due to idleness. I eventually realized that my parents did not consider me as African American, not simply because of nativity—my siblings and I were born in the United States—but because of perceived differences in values and culture. My parents and families' comments and perceptions of what it meant to be a Black American appeared to be embedded in real or imagined differences in values, attitudes, and behaviors based on media representations and their interactions at work or on the street.

Interactions with my African American peers in middle school and high school helped me to make better sense of racial similarities and ethnic differences. My friends engaged in activities that I did not, such as discussing Black American history, cooking soul food, and playing the card game Spades, which led me to believe their actions were due to ethnic cultural differences. My Black American peers also helped me to be more aware of my race; I did not receive many messages about my racial identity at home, and my parents generally did not discuss race. For example, I learned that we faced similar racialized encounters. My friends and I were followed around in the store as if we were thieves, and white people looked at us differently, especially when we were in groups.

Several of my friends in middle school were Black Americans, but once I got to high school, my friends consisted mostly of first- and second-generation Black and

Latinx immigrant youth from Nigeria, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Ghana. As I reflect, my friends were so ethnically diverse likely due to the compositional diversity in my high school specifically, and the Boston area generally. I developed a stronger affinity for my Jamaican ethnicity and Caribbean background by being in an ethnically diverse high school environment. My friends and I talked about our families, cultural traditions and perspectives, music, and food, among other things. These discussions and interactions generally highlighted the shared and differing aspects of our ethnic backgrounds. Our stories also highlighted what held meaning and importance to us in terms of our culture. Spaces and events in Boston furthered my ethnic identity exploration and expression. For example, my family, friends, and I regularly attended the annual Boston Caribbean Carnival, which showcases West Indian culture through food, music, costumes, and cultural traditions. We would dine at Caribbean restaurants in our neighborhood. Being in these spaces among other Caribbean people, was important for us.

Now, I understand that I learned more about who I was in the context of my relationships, and my family played a unique role in cultivating my ethnic identity. My native Black peers fostered and helped me to understand my racial identity; my Black immigrant peers affirmed my ethnic identity. Within and across the context of my relationships, I learned about, wrestled with, and explored my racial and ethnic identities.

When I started college, my relationships and experiences compelled me to reconsider and center my racial identity. Even though the college I attended was only 20 minutes away from home, I moved into a predominantly white environment. I experienced culture shock, because my family's neighborhood was predominantly Black,

with many immigrant families, particularly from Haiti and Jamaica. In college, I searched for ways to get involved and make connections. Most of the students of color gravitated to one another based on racial minority status. There was the African, Latino, Asian and Native American (ALANA) student organization, but I did not feel that it was a good fit; the organization did not appear to me to be inclusive of my immigrant background and identity. I also did not identify with the term “African American” in the way that I felt I needed to fit into the organization.

Despite attending a small PWI, I was able to find community among students of color, and to my surprise, most of them were Black immigrant students. In my 18-year-old mind, I simply did not think I would meet many other Black immigrants, mainly because the institution was predominantly white and very small. When I attended summer orientation, I was relieved to meet a Black woman from New Jersey whose parents were from Jamaica. We had an almost immediate connection and sense of comfort due to our shared ethnic background and race, and we became roommates. I made connections with white and non-white peers, but eventually developed close friendships with several first- and second-generation Black immigrant and Latinx students hailing from Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Haiti, and Bermuda. I felt the most comfortable and authentic with this group. These relationships reminded me of the ones I had in high school; I could comfortably make cultural references to which my friends would relate.

In larger groups or classes, my Black identity became more salient. I was often the only one, or one of a few students of color in class and on campus generally. When I walked into my classes, I looked around the room for a Black or Brown face so that I did

not feel alone. My sociology courses helped me to explore my Black identity in larger societal contexts. Many of my sociology courses had discussions centered on race, racism, and racial disparities, challenging me to think about my experiences as a Black, Jamaican woman in the United States. Sophomore year, I became a resident assistant and was one of only a few students of color on staff. Fortunately, my resident director, who was an African American woman, became my mentor. She left by my junior year, but a new Black woman, who is 2.5-generation¹⁰ Jamaican, arrived. She often cooked traditional Jamaican dishes, such as ackee¹¹ and saltfish or jerk chicken, and invited me over for dinner. It was important for me to see and connect with others in positions of authority who looked like me and shared a similar ethnic identity. These administrators supported me in a myriad of ways, especially during the challenges I encountered when my peers viewed me as militant and authoritative in my role as a resident assistant. I believe this reaction was rooted in perceptions related to my race and gender, such as tropes about the angry Black woman (Harris-Perry, 2011).

I also had to navigate the visibility of my race and the invisibility of my ethnicity inside and outside of the classroom. It was like a chameleon effect, where I was one way with my predominantly white professors and classmates, and another way with African American friends and staff members and another way with Black immigrant friends and staff members. It is difficult to truly articulate how and why I felt that I needed to act differently in different spaces and with different groups. As I think about it now, I guess I

¹⁰ Her mother is Jamaican, and her father is American.

¹¹ Ackee is the national fruit in Jamaica (Mitchell, Webster, & Ahmad, 2008)

never truly felt “Black enough” “Jamaican enough” or “good enough” with the people around me. The constant navigation of questioning my authenticity was exhausting.

Several years after college, I had an experience as a higher education professional that led me to critically reflect on how and why I navigated my experiences in the ways that I did. My colleagues and I developed a 1-day conference for women of color. We gathered undergraduates to explore their multiple identities as women of color and leaders. As a facilitator for the affinity group for Black women, I listened to several women discuss the challenges of being Black, but not fully resonating with the experiences and culture of their African American counterparts. In the context of the PWI where I worked, these young women felt that they were primarily seen as (Black) racial beings by faculty and staff, who overlooked their ethnic and immigrant backgrounds. Their narratives immediately reminded me of my experiences in college, and the similar internal struggles I encountered. Some of the women asked for a space where Black students with an immigrant background could further connect about how their experiences and perspectives somewhat differ from their native Black peers.

The narratives of the students at the conference reflected a silencing and overshadowing effect that was impacting these women. The exchange in the affinity group compelled me to think about the importance of acknowledging and affirming students’ ethnicities specifically, and identities holistically, in my approach and practices. I wondered about their experiences, and the role staff and faculty play in further marginalizing this group. These young women highlighted for me how and why it was important for educators to consider multiple identities in their work.

Insider status. According to Chavez (2008), “insiderness” (p. 476) is based on the degree of closeness or distance one has to the community in the study. An insider is a researcher who shares multiple identities with their participants *and* socializes in the same community (Banks, 1998). I inhabit an insider status, via my identities as a Black woman, Jamaican, and Bostonian. My narrative and positionality illustrate my motivations for engaging in this work, and my “turn to narrative inquiry” (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 17). Truth be told, this work allowed me to not only understand the collegiate experiences of U.S.-born Afro-Caribbean college students in Boston, but also gain insight into my own narrative and how my experiences in college shaped who I am today (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007; Ollerenshaw & Creswell, 2002).

Before engaging in the interviews, I did not assume I would immediately bond with the participants because of shared identities and background. Nor did I over-identify or over-rely on my shared identities with some of the participants to build rapport. Just because my participants shared some of the same identities did not mean they will have the same experiences. Some of them did appear comfortable with me. Patrice invited me into her home, and I happened to meet her grandmother, and she asked me about my ethnic identity. Another participant, Charlene, asked me if I had similar experiences on racial encounters or strict Caribbean parents. Therefore, it is the duty of insiders to be aware of the ways in which they share similarities with their participants and the ways they are not like them (Chavez, 2008). Additionally, insiders need to know which of their identities may facilitate and complicate the research process (Chavez, 2008). I used my insider status to be transparent in articulating my connection to the research.

Outsider status. I am an outsider due to my researcher positionality. I am also an outsider because I am a PhD candidate, administrator, and despite “looking young,” I am older than the traditional-age college student. I recognize my privileged social identities: I am Christian, heterosexual, highly educated, and temporarily able-bodied. I encountered one participant who identified as gay and spoke about some challenges in navigating heteronormativity. Given my outsider status as heterosexual, she may have withheld details about her experiences related to her gay identity or how her gay identity intersects with her race and ethnicity. Together, my outsider identities may have led participants to perceive that we are different and respond by not sharing certain aspects of their story or curtailing their perspectives based on their assumptions about me (Chavez, 2008). I attempted to be aware of the possibilities of my insider-outsider status shifting throughout the research process, and how it impacted participants’ responses. For this reason, I incorporated analytic memoing as a strategy to reflect and increase the reliability of the study, which I discuss in the validation section.

Methods

This section outlines the settings, sampling, and recruitment methods. Then, I detail the data collection and analysis strategies. This chapter concludes with a discussion about the validation strategies employed to ensure accuracy of findings and rigor, along with the scope and limitations of the research.

Setting

I conducted this study in Boston, MA, inclusive of the Greater Boston and Metro Boston areas (e.g., Cambridge, Framingham, Newton, Quincy, and Waltham; Greater Boston Convention & Visitor’s Bureau, 2017; see Appendix A).

Sampling. According to Patton (2002), sampling strategies should be chosen to fit the purpose of the study, research questions, and limitations. These elements are also important in choosing the sample size. The methodology and analytic approach for this study required great attention to each narrator’s story, detail, and organization; thus, a small sample size was appropriate (Riessman, 2005; Sandelowski, 1995). A smaller sample allowed me to collect and present a “richly textured understanding of [Afro-Caribbean students’] experiences” (Sandelowski, 1995, p. 183). I used a combination of purposeful sampling strategies as suggested by Patton (2002) to identify seven participants for this study. Specifically, I used criterion and snowball sampling approaches (Patton, 2002).

Criterion sampling involves choosing participants based on specified characteristics (Patton, 2002). For this study, participants were selected based on the following criterion:

- Identified as Black and of Afro-Caribbean descent,
- Born in the US, but both parents were born in the Anglophone Caribbean (second-generation status),
- Attended high school in Boston,
- Currently attended or recently graduated from a 4-year PWI in Boston,
- Completed at least two semesters of college, and
- At least 18 years old.

These criterion point to the specific focus of the study and intended population in that race, ethnicity, and generation status are the primary characteristics. It was important to choose students whose parents are from the Anglophone Caribbean because parents are

known to strongly influence how ethnic and racial identity is cultivated among youth (Feliciano, 2009; Joseph & Hunter, 2011; Waters, 1999). Extant research shows that Caribbean youth are likely to live in two-parent households (Anderson, 2015; Erisman & Looney, 2007; Hernandez, 2012; Massey et al., 2007), but in this study, only three out of the seven participants grew up with both parents who were married. Regardless, all participants spoke of their parents' presence and cultural practices shaping their ethnic self-perceptions. Across the Anglophone Caribbean, there are significant populations of Chinese and Indian Caribbeans (Hu-DeHart & López, 2008), thus the racial and descent distinction (Black and Afro-Caribbean) was important to the focus of this study. For the context of this study, Afro-Caribbean/West Indian refers to the Anglophone Caribbean islands of Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Aruba, the Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Montserrat, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago, Turks and Caicos, and the US Virgin Islands (Caribbean Community, 2001; Meditz & Hanratty, 1989; Morgan-Trostle & Zheng, 2016). In other bodies of literature, West Indies and Afro-Caribbean can include additional islands such as Haiti and the Dominican Republic. The seemingly disparate West Indian countries listed have much in common despite their differences (Meditz & Hanratty, 1989; Rogers, 2006; Waters, 1999). They are all independent, majority Black nations with a shared history of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade and economic trade system. These nations view themselves as distinct from Latin America (Meditz & Hanratty, 1989; Morgan-Trostle & Zheng, 2016; Rogers, 2006; Waters, 1999). People living in these countries primarily speak English or a broken, Creole English such as patois. French- or Spanish-speaking

Caribbean islands are not included “to eliminate the potentially confounding effect of foreign language” (Rogers, 2006, p. 256).

Boston is an important context in this study, given its history and connection to Black immigrant migration. It was important to find participants who lived in Boston and would be able to speak to if and how the Boston area played a role in their racial and ethnic identity formation and experiences. The reason for choosing high school attendance as the time-period criteria is because it is generally when identity exploration and cultural socialization begins (Butterfield, 2004; Feliciano, 2009; Phinney, 1990; Wilson, 2011). Also, studies have highlighted that the high school context can have a significant impact on Afro-Caribbeans’ racial and ethnic identities due to the composition of their friendship groups and the overall student body (Butterfield 2004, 2006; Lopez, 2002; Waters, 1999). All participants grew up in Boston, Greater Boston, or Metro Boston. However, two participants lived in Boston proper, but attended K-12 schools in the suburbs of Boston, and one participant lived and attended school in Greater Boston.

Snowball sampling aided my variation and recruitment efforts in that I identified participants by asking my networks to recommend others that fit the study criterion and would contribute to the study (Patton, 2002). I also asked participants for recommendations from their friends and classmates. A combination of sampling strategies was necessary to yield “information-rich cases—cases from which one can learn a great deal. . . and therefore worthy of in-depth study” (Patton, 2002, p. 242).

Recruitment. I used several approaches to recruit participants for this study. Because I spent my formative years in Boston, I developed a wide network throughout the area, giving me access to key informants who connected me with participants

(Chavez, 2008). I disseminated three rounds of recruitment emails to professional, social, familial, and Caribbean networks in the Boston area. I asked family and friends to share the information with their college-age children and networks. For example, my mother and father reached out to their friends to ask if they knew anyone in college who could participate in the study. I asked a few high school friends if they knew anyone. I also sent emails to Caribbean-based and Black-affiliated college student organizations, and local Caribbean associations such as the Jamaican Diaspora in Massachusetts and Boston Carnival Village (2019). I sent the recruitment materials to colleagues and higher education professionals who worked directly with race and ethnically based student groups (such as professionals in a multicultural office or those involved with student activities) at some of the local colleges and universities in Boston. I also sent recruitment emails and directed social media posts toward Caribbean and Black student organizations (BSOs) at PWIs in Boston if their information was readily available from Google searches and the institution's website.

The initial recruitment email (see Appendix B) contained details about the purpose of the research. It included information about the sampling criterion, components of the study, my contact information, a link connecting to the consent form (see Appendix C), and a demographic questionnaire (see Appendix D). Ten days after the initial recruitment email was sent, I sent the first follow-up email (see Appendix E). After a week, I sent a second follow-up email to all the same networks (see Appendix F). I used social media platforms, like Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter to post information about my study (see Appendix G for a sample post) and asked friends to repost the recruitment posting on their social media accounts. I followed up with any inquiries and suggestions I

received from individuals inquiring for more information or to see if they fit the criterion of the study.

Previous studies on Black immigrants tended to focus on students at elite and highly selective institutions (e.g., Barnett et al., 2012; Byrd et al., 2014; Haynie, 2002; Massey et al., 2007). In this study, I sought to add to the literature about the experiences of Afro-Caribbean students attending more inclusive and moderately selective institutions. Therefore, I especially targeted institutions that fit Carnegie's Undergraduate Profile Classifications (Indiana University Center for Postsecondary Research, 2016) of inclusive and moderately selective (see Appendix H). I also made every effort to target the state institutions, which provide a more affordable four-year option to students. The list was further narrowed down to those in the boundaries of Boston, Greater Boston, and Metro Boston. Institutional classifications were a composite of degrees offered, SAT/ACT scores, percentage of full-time and part-time students, traditional age students, and other factors (Indiana University Center for Postsecondary Research, 2016). Selective colleges are those with a selective admissions process and are approximately "in the middle two-fifths of baccalaureate institutions" (Indiana University Center for Postsecondary Research, 2016, n.p). Examples of selective institutions are University of Massachusetts Boston, Suffolk University, and Regis College. Inclusive institutions did not report test score data and are moderately selective in their admissions (Indiana University Center for Postsecondary Research, 2016). Examples of these institutions include Curry College, Fisher College, and Eastern Nazarene College.

Recruitment efforts yielded seven participants, six women and one man. For a summary of participant characteristics (see Table 1). Participants were asked to list three

identities they think about often. Some common identities were first-generation college student (FGCS), Black, and woman/female. For race, five wrote Black and two wrote African American but the latter preferred the term Black when asked about the term African American, noting that they are used to using the term from other demographic forms they generally complete. For ethnicity, most wrote Jamaican or Trinidadian, while

Table 1

Participant Demographic Information

<i>Pseudonym</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Mother's Birth Country</i>	<i>Father's Birth Country</i>	<i>Type of College Attending</i>	<i>Academic Status</i>	<i>Age</i>
<i>Sandra</i>	Female	Barbados	Barbados	Small, private liberal arts	Graduated May 2018	22
<i>Charlene</i>	Female	Jamaica	Jamaica	Medium-size, private, Research I	Rising Junior	20
<i>Maxine</i>	Female	Jamaica	Jamaica	Small, private liberal arts	Rising Junior	20
<i>Patrice</i>	Female	Trinidad	Jamaica	Large, private, liberal arts	Rising Junior	19
<i>Tessann</i>	Female	Jamaica	Jamaica	Large, public, Research I	Rising Senior	21
<i>O'Dane</i>	Male	Jamaica	Jamaica	Small, public, liberal arts	Rising Sophomore	18

<i>Alexia</i>	Female	Jamaica	Jamaica	Medium-size, public, Research	Rising Sophomore	19
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two wrote Afro-Caribbean, and one identified as Bajan-American. There were two sophomores, three juniors, one senior, and one recent graduate¹². Each participant consented to and participated in two semi-structured, in-person, video, or phone interviews.

Data Collection

Creswell’s (2013) approach informs the data collection strategies for this study. Data were collected in three stages. In the first stage, participants completed a preliminary demographic questionnaire that was accessed through a link in the recruitment emails and posts. The purpose of the questionnaire was twofold: to limit the chances of interviewing someone who does not meet the study criterion and to gather demographic information before the interview. The questionnaire included a consent form outlining the purpose and general procedures of the study, their rights as a participant, details about incentives, and a request for their consent.

I used the University of Maryland Qualtrics Survey software for the demographic questionnaire. It included questions such as how participants identify in terms of race, ethnicity, and gender; age; high school attended; country of birth; college or university they currently attend; and mother’s and father’s country of birth. To determine

¹² This participant was a recent graduate because recruitment began in April of 2018. The participant was interviewed in May, 11 days after her commencement.

participants' racial and ethnic identity salience (Sellers et al., 1997; Stryker, 1980), there was a question asking students to "list three identities you think about most often."

Allowing respondents to write their top three identities also helped me to understand how they personally identify, without limiting them to pre-defined multiple-choice options. I looked for words related to race and ethnicity or a panethnicity (for example, West Indian, Black, African American, and Caribbean American; Feliciano, 2009; Joseph & Hunter, 2011; Waters, 1999).

Questionnaires were reviewed for eligibility. Those respondents who fit the participant criterion were invited to participate in the in-person and follow-up online interviews. Each participant was offered a \$25 Amazon e-gift card as an incentive to participate. This gift card was only given to participants at the end of completing both interviews. Having two interviews with participants provided more data with which to construct my findings, further clarified the phenomena under study, and allowed me to gain in-depth understanding of their experiences (Patton, 2002).

Stages 2 and 3 of data collection were the interviews. Prior to the start of each interview, participants were briefed about the general format of the interview. They were informed that I would ask open-ended questions related to their childhood, high school experiences, identities, and relationships, and that I would take notes intermittently throughout the conversation (Rogan & de Kock, 2005). At the beginning of the first in-person interview, participants were given the option to choose their own pseudonym to further provide agency, confidentiality, and involvement in the research process (Cortazzi, 1993; Riessman, 2000). A key feature of narrative inquiry is to conduct the study in a "natural setting" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Glesne, 2011). Participants

were given the option to choose where they want to meet for the interviews. We met in places like Panera Bread, Starbucks, a local coffee shop, a participant's home, and my parent's home. I made sure to select a location based on its convenience for the participant.

The first step to conducting an interview is building rapport (Glesne, 2011). Rapport is a demonstration of genuine care and serves an instrumental purpose in qualitative research to foster a connection, harmony, and genuine involvement of participants (Glesne, 2011; Jones et al., 2014). As an insider, my identities and experiences can provide me with insights that allow me to build rapport with participants (Chavez, 2008; Creswell, 2013; Glesne, 2011; Jones et al., 2014). One way I attempted to build rapport at the beginning of the interview was to explain my reason for conducting the study. I tried to make participants comfortable by asking if they needed anything such as water and reminding them that we could take a break at any time. I attempted to not share much about myself prior to the first interview because I did not want my story to influence participants' narratives.

The first (in-person) interview questions (see Appendix I) focused on participants' racial and ethnic identities, their understanding of these identities when they were growing up, their family relationships (who they lived with, interacted with most), and their close friendships in high school. I focused on gaining a sense of the personal, relational, and enacted aspects of participants' identities (Jung & Hecht, 2004). The first set of interviews, on average, lasted approximately 46 minutes. Each first interview was conducted in-person, except for one participant, Alexia, who was abroad in Europe. I

conducted the interview via WhatsApp video call. At the end of the first interviews, I asked participants to schedule the follow-up interview.

The second interview constitutes Stage 3 in the data collection process. The second interviews also took place in-person except for Alexia. By the time she returned to Boston, I was unable to fly back, so we conducted the interview via phone call. I decided to send participants the interview questions before the second interview. Initially, and rightfully so, participants seemed to struggle a bit when answering the questions. I believe participants were not used to critically thinking about or articulating their identities and experiences in this way. I also received feedback from a colleague, who also engaged in narrative inquiry and provided her participants the questions ahead of time. Participants expressed to me after the second interview that having the questions beforehand was helpful in guiding their thinking.

The interview followed a semi-structured protocol (see Appendix J) to allow participants flexibility to tell their stories and lasted on average about 60 minutes. In addition, I asked any follow-up questions I had from the first interview, such as getting more detail about a childhood story, or an explanation about their interest in the study that they referenced in the first interview, or getting them to expound on their interests and experiences in college. The second interview focused on participants' experiences in college, specifically self-perceptions of identity, friendships and peer interactions, and faculty and staff interactions. During the interviews, when possible, I made note of nonverbal elements such as gestures, facial expressions, and body language, which cannot be captured in the audio-recording or transcription process. Notes on non-verbal elements also served as a supplemental form of data used for analysis (Riessman, 2008). I

memoed between interviews to capture my thoughts, questions, surprises, what I noticed or did not notice, critiques of my interview approach, any assumptions, and themes of what I observed across a few participants (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Glesne, 2011). For example, an early theme after the first round of interviews concerned how participants were raised. I wrote:

A theme across the interviews is this idea of ‘how I was raised’; students don’t really know how to explain it but understand that how they were raised is different than how their peers (from other backgrounds) were raised and *they attribute their upbringing to their parents culture.*

I used the memos for later analytic and reflective purposes. All interviews were audio recorded for later transcription and analysis.

Data Analysis

In narrative inquiry, the analytic process is a constant negotiation from beginning to end (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). There are several ways for engaging in the analysis for narrative inquiry research (Creswell, 2013). I employed hand coding and open coding methods “to immerse [myself] in the [analysis of the] data and discover what concepts [the narratives] have to offer” (Glesne, 2011, p. 195).

Data analysis occurred in four stages. In Stage 1, after I cleaned¹³ all the transcripts, I printed the transcripts with a 2-inch margin on the right-hand side of each page. I read each transcript to gain a preliminary understanding of what the participants said in their narratives. After I read each participant’s transcript, I wrote a summary of

¹³ Cleaning a transcript involved listening to the recording while reading the transcript for accuracy and fixing any errors.

what stood out to me overall. For example, I wrote about what stood out on Sandra's desire to educate people around her about diversity and specifically ethnic differences. Alexia identified strongly with her Black identity and believed her Jamaican identity made her feel different and special. These formative thoughts captured in my memos set the foundation for the subsequent writing of the narratives. Saldaña (2016) noted, "The interweaving of participant quotes with researcher comments simulates a dialogic exchange resulting in cumulative and transformative insights" (p. 74). Through the coding and memoing process, a co-constructed narrative is produced, which is an aim of narrative inquiry (Cortazzi, 1993; Creswell, 2013). I memoed throughout the analysis process.

For Stage 2, I read the transcripts a second time. As I read them, I wrote notes (i.e., codes) in the right margin for the purposes of later identifying patterns and making meaning within and across narratives (Saldaña, 2016). This initial coding process was inductive coding (codes emerge from the data). The types of codes used were descriptive coding (basic labels), in vivo coding (quotes as codes), and process coding (uses gerunds to show conceptual action in data; Saldaña, 2016). Some examples of codes that emerged were family migration story, "duality," ethnic representations and symbols, racial conflict, and "they just didn't understand."

In Stage 3, I went through the transcript a third time. I underlined compelling phrases and words, while simultaneously listening to the recording to hear what participants said and how they said things, being mindful of pauses, laughs, inflections, and so on. As I underlined, I made notes in the right margin of key words that jumped out to characterize the underlined phrases and words. By reading the transcripts and listening

to the recording, I sought to understand and listen for the story (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). I typed the codes into Microsoft OneNote and created tabs for each participant to keep track of the codes in their narratives. After reading and reviewing the transcripts and codes, I reached a point where new codes no longer emerged. I condensed similar codes in order (Glesne, 2011).

Finally, in Stage 4, I developed categorical codes in OneNote by grouping similarly coded data into categories because they shared comparable characteristics, referred to as pattern coding (Saldaña, 2015), to then develop broader themes (Clandinin, Pushor, & Orr, 2007). During coding, I wrote analytic memos to capture thoughts, ideas, and potential biases about how I made sense of the data and to reflect on the research process (Saldaña, 2015).

Although questions were generally asked to participants in a relatively chronological manner during the interviews, narratives were re-storied based on what emerged from the data as compelling and important. I examined the combined codes to understand the complete story. I wondered what the codes said about the participants generally and their experiences specifically. While reviewing the comprehensive pattern codes for each participant, I re-storied their narratives, looking from their past to their present to develop a cohesive and holistic narrative form that gave a sense of who the participant was and is. I reviewed my analytic memos from the beginning of the data collection process through the analytic process to see how my thoughts about the research evolved. I noted preliminary themes, questioned my research insight, questioned what I believed the participants meant by what they said and made sense of the combined codes.

Reading the transcripts along with my memos adds a discursive element often found in narrative research that highlights the interactive involvement of the researcher (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007). The fluidity of narrative inquiry allowed me to deeply reflect on participants' narratives and engage in "open-ended explorations of meaning" (Saldaña, 2016, p. 159). According to Clandinin and Connelly (2000), the process of analysis in narrative inquiry is not necessarily a series of steps because people do not live out their lives in a series of steps. Rather, analysis is more complex and fluid. During this process of data analysis, I was also attuned to any broader contexts (Riessman, 2008), especially beyond the campus setting, such as Boston, their specific neighborhood in Boston, or their parents' country of origin. Considering if and how such contexts come up may play a role in participants' identity formation and experiences. Together, the codes and memos formed the narrative of each participant detailed in the next chapter.

Validation

Various terms are used to encompass the strategies of achieving rigor in qualitative research, such as *trustworthiness* and *credibility* (Jones et al., 2014; Mertens, 2015), but for this work I use the term *validation* (Creswell, 2013). Validation is the attempt of assessing the "accuracy" of the findings, as best described by the researcher and the participants" (Creswell, 2013, p. 250). Creswell (2013) articulated that validation is viewed as a process. From this perspective, I sought to focus on the process of ensuring that I was attuned to and accurately reflected the narratives of participants.

To increase the validation of the study, I used memoing, member checking, and peer debriefing strategies. Memoing can be used as supplemental data collection and as a

validation tool (Glesne, 2011; S. R. Jones et al., 2014). A memo is a “reflective field log” (Glesne, 2011, p. 189) in which I wrote down notes after each interview about the narratives and my initial reactions. First, I memoed as part of my data collection strategy and incorporated my memos during the analysis process. Second, I sent participants a summary of their narrative on what I believe they shared. The reasons for allowing the narrators to review the summary of their narratives are to keep their voices central in the study, maintain that they are the authors of their own stories, further the co-construction element inherent in narrative inquiry, and maintain the ability to claim and construct their own identities and lives (Creswell, 2013; Jones et al., 2014; Riessman, 2008). Then, I sent a summary of the themes across the narratives to each of the participants, asking for their edits and feedback on both. Six participants responded, agreeing to the summary of their narratives and the themes. One participant provided clarity on a specific detail about her parents. Next, I identified a colleague who has expertise in student affairs, race and ethnicity research (specifically on Afro-Caribbeans), and qualitative research methods. I sent a summary of the themes, along with a brief purpose statement and the research questions, to my peer debriefer for review. We held two phone calls to review the themes and for him to ask questions of me to seek clarity. When prompted, I summarized data points to back up the reasoning behind each theme.

Scope and Limitations

Some critiques of qualitative methodologies involve a smaller sample sizes, limitations of generalizability, and potential researcher biases (i.e., lack of objectivity; Mertens, 2015). My intent is not to generalize the findings, but to explore and illuminate the circumstances second-generation Afro-Caribbean college students experience, and a

smaller sample size allowed me to do that (Creswell, 2013; Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007). From the data, it is my hope that the findings are transferable to similar cases that may share similar participant characteristics, focus of the study, and context (Mertens, 2015). Thus, this study is in the scope of qualitative work.

As with any research project, there are limitations in this study. One limitation is that most of the participants represent Jamaica, thus there is less diverse representation from some of the other Anglophone islands. Each country has its own unique history, but more important, each family from these countries has its own unique migration story, which may not be captured. Due to time and resource constraints (and possibly lack of availability), it is difficult to achieve maximum variation at the level of having every country represented. Another limitation was my recruitment strategy that relied on my networks and informants. It yielded students from immigrant backgrounds based on who I was able to contact to invite to participate in the study.

Finally, there are many ways to study students' collegiate experiences and identities. This study focuses on race, ethnicity, generation status, and relationships, but the questions asked and what participants shared may not highlight other important aspects of their college experiences, such as gender, religion, SES, sexual orientation, campus involvement, academic performance, career goals and aspirations, and post college plans. There are several other dimensions to consider when studying students' college experiences. This study focuses on a few of them to shed light on the ways in which race, ethnicity, generation status, and relationships come together in the lives of Afro-Caribbean students. Readers may expect this study to focus more on issues of immigration given the participants' connection to immigration through their parents.

However, this study centered on how the second generation navigates interactions between their immigrant families and their immediate community, to understand how they make sense of messages communicated in and across these groups about who *they are* or *are not*.

Chapter 4: Narratives

This chapter is a presentation of the narratives from the seven participants in this study. The purpose of this narrative inquiry was to better understand the experiences of U.S.-born West Indian college students from Boston and consider how their identities shape and are shaped by their relationships while in college. Over the course of two interviews, participants detailed their upbringing, K-12 experiences, and transition into college. The narratives reflect how participants made meaning of their identities throughout their lives and in connection to their relationships with family, peers, faculty, and staff while in college.

In this chapter I introduce the seven participants: Charlene, Sandra, Tessann, Maxine, Alexia, Patrice, and O'Dane. Their narratives reveal how they navigated the liminality of their status as second-generation West Indian immigrants. Liminality refers to the ambiguity, or in-betweenness, related to identity construction and maintenance (sometimes referred to as third-space (Bhabha & Rutherford, 2006) or borderlands (Anzaldúa, 1987; Beech, 2011)). This liminality reflects an ongoing “dialogue between self and others” (Beech, 2011, p. 285) and how they made sense of racial and ethnic messages they received in relation to who they perceived themselves to be. The narratives begin with details about their pre-college lives as a backdrop to the subsequent overview of their identity shifts and experiences in college. Sharing participants’ narratives provide an introduction to their experiences and what they are like, which sets the stage for the emergent themes across narratives later presented in Chapter 5.

Charlene

Charlene grew up in a two-parent household and is the youngest of three sisters. Charlene was 20 years old, and her sisters, Charmaine and Kerry-Ann, were 23 and 26 years-old. Charlene's parents, Beverly and Egbert, migrated from Jamaica between the late 1980s and 1990. They met and married in Boston. Beverly was a stay-at-home mother and did not return to work, and Egbert was a residential supervisor at a mental health institution.

Charlene and her family lived in three different Boston neighborhoods before settling in West Roxbury, which Charlene described as “quiet ... middle-class, white, [and] older.” Charlene noticed that many of her neighbors did not have children her age with whom she could interact. West Roxbury's “suburban vibe” (City of Boston, 2019a, para. 1), provides a different atmosphere in the city, compared to surrounding neighborhoods, and direct access to Downtown Boston. Although Charlene lived in West Roxbury, she and her family spent much of their time with family and friends who lived in the adjacent Hyde Park neighborhood. Like West Roxbury, Hyde Park provides a “suburban environment” but with a vibrant “business district” (City of Boston, 2019a, para. 2) and is about 50% Black and 20% Latino (Statistical Atlas, 2018c).

Charlene considered Hyde Park the neighborhood she “grew up in” because she spent most of her time there and developed many close relationships with residents. She participated in extracurricular activities and attended summer programs at the YMCA in Hyde Park. From her time spent in Hyde Park, she developed relationships with racially and ethnically similar peers. Charlene was aware of her Black identity, but it was not as salient for her compared to her ethnicity because she was in a community where most

people looked like her. Her family also attended a Seventh Day Adventist church in Hyde Park, where most of the members were Jamaican. Charlene viewed the church members as family because “they were like [her] family and shared the same values as [her] family.”

One important value in her family was education. Charlene portrayed Boston as a city with “a lot of opportunities. . . access to a lot of [academic] resources. . . pretty diverse [and]. . . a well-rounded-city.” Her parents moved where their family could access the best public schools and academic resources. Charlene explained, “education was very important to her [mother]. . . so [Beverly] was the one who went out of her way to find different resources.” Beverly enrolled her daughters into several academic enrichment and STEM summer programs at local schools and colleges. Due to Charlene’s regular academic involvement, she emphasized education throughout her narrative. She said, “Academics literally shaped my entire childhood growing up. That was the only thing that [my mother] thought that would get me by in life.” Because of Charlene’s success in STEM-related programs, she developed an interest in mathematics.

Charlene attended an ethnically diverse public high school in Boston, outside of her neighborhood. The school was diverse in terms of race and ethnicity, but most students had a similar socioeconomic background in that they grew up in working class and low-income families. Charlene said, “At the end of the day, because we were all from the Boston area, I do think we shared a similar economic status, very basic values. . . . Education was important to us.” She interacted with white and Asian students, but her closest friends were “mainly Caribbean and Black.” Her friends were like her in that they listened to Caribbean music such as reggae and soca and “were all going through the

struggle of living in a Black, Caribbean household.” They contended with strict parents who did not let them go to parties and emphasized the importance of education. Having close relationships with other West Indians fostered a salient ethnic identity for Charlene.

College Context: “Your Identities Matter”

Charlene was always aware of her Black identity prior to college, but her Jamaican identity was more salient. She grew up in neighborhoods and attended schools where majority of the people looked like her and many of them were first and second-generation Black immigrants who embraced their individual ethnic identities, including Guyanese, Antiguan, Trinidadian, and Haitian. Charlene’s understanding of her ethnic identity remained relatively unchanged once she went to college and she centered her ethnicity through her on-campus involvement in Caribbean-based student organizations. However, her perspective on her Black identity shifted. Being in a predominantly white environment, and the challenges of being a racial minority FGCS and mathematics major, compelled Charlene to reconsider the role race played in her overall experience.

At the time of her interview, Charlene was a junior and lived on campus at Suburban University. Suburban is a medium-size, private, Research I doctoral university in Greater Boston (Indiana University Center for Postsecondary Research, 2016). Charlene described Suburban as a PWI, with many students from middle and upper middle-class families, some of whom are not the first in their families to attend college.

When Charlene started to college, it was important to her to find peers with similar interests and cultural background. Since Charlene participated in step¹⁴ in high

¹⁴ Step is an art form using the body as an instrument to create sounds and rhythms through claps, stomping, and spoken word (Step Afrika!, 2013).

school, she joined the campus step team in college as “an outlet. . . to meet new people.” Charlene also participated in the Caribbean Student Alliance (CSA) and Caribbean Dance Team (CDT) “to explore [her] Caribbean identity a little more.” Her involvement in the Caribbean organizations demonstrated to others that her Jamaican ethnicity is important to her. She said:

Being involved in Caribbean-centered events, whether it’s parties, planning a conference. . . being on the dance team. . . . I guess just being involved is definitely how I show that [being Jamaican is] important to me. And making friends who are Caribbean as well, or who are Jamaican as well. . . having a little Caribbean circle, I guess, where we can all relate and be ourselves.

Charlene learned more about Caribbean culture, built relationships with other Caribbean peers, and shared her Caribbean background and knowledge with the campus. Charlene found spaces and groups on campus where she could relate culturally, which reinforced the salience of her Caribbean identity.

Charlene noticed tensions among native-born Caribbean and U.S.-born Caribbean students in the CSA, which impacted her degree of involvement with that group’s executive board. She observed attitudes of “superiority” and “entitlement” among the first-generation Caribbeans:

[The tension between first and second-generation Caribbeans on campus] hasn’t affected me personally. . . . Well, I guess low key, it has. I do see myself picking and choosing what events I am a part of. So yea, I’m a part of the [executive board for CSA]. . . . I guess I’m not that involved. . . . I do what I’m supposed to do. . . . I feel like there’s other people in other positions that take more ownership

because they were probably born in the Caribbean. . . or more in touch with their Caribbean identity. . . . It's whatever.

Charlene underestimated how much the within-group tensions influenced her participation and decisions in a negative way. She stepped back and let the first-generation Caribbean students take the lead for different events. Charlene did not want to challenge or overstep the first-generation because she believed "they [were] more knowledgeable" due to their nativity status. Charlene argued that within-group debates in CSA created an unwelcoming atmosphere for second-generation students like her, but she did not believe she had the power to change anything.

Charlene had another challenging, yet different, experience in the classroom, which led her to reconsider the role and importance of race in her life. Charlene never struggled in math, but her upper-level math courses that spring semester were difficult. She developed an overwhelming feeling of inadequacy, which she realized was connected to her racial identity.

I say my identity means much more in the classroom, [because]. . . I guess, coming from like a high school where your race didn't really matter, or your identity didn't really matter, to a college where it suddenly matters. . . . When people were teaching me, I always got it, especially when it came to math. So, being in college and not understanding and seeking out for help. . . and that wasn't working. . . I feel like being the only Black person in my classes took a toll, subconsciously took a toll on me. . . . I think it was just more of like an internal struggle for me. . . . It's not an explicit like, you are Black, and you cannot perform, you know what I mean? But it's like, it's just ingrained in the

culture of PWIs, I think, which makes it very hard to navigate. . . the school in all aspects, like academically, mentally, socially. At least for me.

Prior to college, Charlene did not believe that her identities mattered in the classroom. Once she transitioned to a PWI, she focused on the one thing that separated her from her peers: her race. She received help with math but still struggled with the assumptions that her peers may judge her for struggling with the material. She internalized the fear of what her peers may think of her and it made it difficult for her to navigate school. Charlene's fears, unfortunately, led to a decline in her academic performance. She wondered if other Black students on campus had similar feelings of inadequacy related to being the only Black person in their classes. She shared her feelings with her Black Caribbean friends on campus, who were in different majors. They expressed similar feelings and challenges. Charlene assumed their feelings were not coincidences. Charlene asserted that being a minoritized student at Suburban University can have a negative impact on how one perceived themselves in relation to the majority student population.

Telling her mother Beverly about the feelings of inadequacy and its connection to being Black was a challenge for Charlene. Her older sisters, Charmaine and Kerry-Ann related to and empathized with Charlene's challenges, but Beverly did not fully understand. Beverly did not go to college and was socialized in Jamaica where there is less focus on racism and racial consciousness related to racial discrimination (Shaw-Taylor, 2007). Because Charlene did not face overt racial discrimination, Beverly could not fully understand the role of race in Charlene's experience. Beverly told Charlene she was "not working hard enough" and that she was "giving up." Charlene suggested her mother minimized the role and impact of race because of Beverly's desire to assimilate.

Beverly believed race cannot and should not be a factor as to whether someone succeeds; rather, she believed individual merit is the main ingredient of success. However, Beverly's message is contrary to her other messages related to race. She told her children there will be "many odds against them" because they are Black in America and to "speak proper" English to earn other's respect. Charlene recognized that Beverly's views on race and limited knowledge about college in the United States lessened her empathy for Charlene's challenges and experiences as a Black FGCS.

Charlene's understanding of her experiences in college helped her to maintain her ethnic identity and center her racial identity in new ways. Prior to college, Charlene intentionally surrounded herself with other Black immigrants, which reinforced how she viewed herself. Although she found a Black Caribbean peer group in college, the PWC had a negative impact on how she believed people perceived her because of her race. She assumed that if she did poorly academically her white peers may think she is fulfilling negative stereotypes about Black people. She realized that she should be more aware of her racial identity. She explained, "My identity was the only thing that I could use to explain how I was feeling." Her experiences in college were pivotal in recognizing that her race matters in her interactions with others and how she should perceive herself.

Sandra

Sandra grew up in a two-parent household with her older brother, Benji. Sandra was 22 years old and Benji was 28 years old. In the 1980s, Sandra's father, Ron, and mother, Sonja, met and married in Barbados. A few days after their wedding, Ron moved to the United States and Sonja joined him shortly thereafter. Ron and Sonja lived in New

York City for a brief period before moving to Somerville, a suburb in the Greater Boston area. Sonja was a sales associate and Ron was a chef at a university.

Once Sonja gave birth to Sandra, the family moved to Medford, Massachusetts, a suburb northwest of Boston, where they lived on the second floor of a two-family-style home for the past 22 years. Many houses in Medford are two family, but there are large detached single-family houses that Sandra compared to the size of a two-family house. Sandra described Medford as “mostly Irish, Italian, predominantly white.” Medford’s population is 74% white; Black people represent about 9% (Data USA, 2019c).

Although Sandra and her family lived in Medford, they spent most of their time in adjacent suburbs. Sandra explained, “It’s interesting because I never really grew up in Medford. My parents mainly stayed in Somerville and Cambridge because most of their friends [were there]. . . . I didn’t really spend much time [in Medford] until I went to middle school.” Sandra and Benji attended a predominantly Latino and Black elementary school in Cambridge, Massachusetts, but transitioned to predominantly white middle and high schools in Medford. Cambridge offered a vibrant commercial district, distinct educational institutions, public transit, and diverse cultural events such as the annual Cambridge Carnival¹⁵, held in September.

Sandra and her family were also active in an Episcopalian church in Cambridge. Sandra’s church had a large Bajan population. Her mother found the church when she first moved to Massachusetts. Sonja became a Sunday school teacher and developed “her own community” in the church. Benji sometimes read scriptures at church, and Sandra

¹⁵ Carnival is an annual Trinidad-style Carnival that showcases costumes, music, food, and other aspects of West Indian culture (Boston Carnival Village, 2019).

danced in the church's dance ministry. Sandra and Benji were also baptized at the church. Sandra considered many members of the church and Cambridge community as part of her family.

Sandra learned a lot about Bajan culture from her church community and family. Sandra's parents shared about Bajan culture through food, music, stories, and art. She saw Barbados flags in the family car, in the home, at Caribbean festivals and parties, and other places, which are prominent markers of Bajan culture. Sandra also visited Barbados regularly as a child. She explained, "every two years we go to Barbados. [My parents] try to make sure I know where I came from." On her trips to Barbados, she learned about her parents' upbringing by visiting extended family and seeing the houses where her parents used to live. Sandra incorporated aspects of Bajan culture into her life in various ways such as talking about her culture and upbringing to her friends and sharing Bajan music, dances, and food with her white boyfriend. Sandra's high school friends were also second-generation immigrants from Bolivia, El Salvador, and Haiti; one friend was biracial (Black and white). She believed her friends were more understanding and aware of her Bajan identity because they were also racial and ethnic minorities.

Despite her salient ethnic identity, Sandra did not talk about her Bajan ethnicity with people outside of her family and close friends. She assumed that her peers in high school would not care that "[she is] from Barbados." Her assumptions stemmed from her experiences in predominantly white schools and neighborhoods. She described students as segregating themselves along ethnic and racial lines in the cafeteria and in their friend groups. Because she was a racial minority in school, she was aware of her Black identity

based on her interactions with others. Sandra explained, “I just identified with how people saw me. I was just a Black female.”

“Embracing More of my Identity” in College

Although Sandra’s Bajan identity was salient prior to college, she became more comfortable expressing her ethnicity to others throughout her collegiate experience. Her classes and friendships helped her to share her ethnic identity. Simultaneously, her activism and her relationships with staff compelled her to explore and embrace her Black identity. Her interactions in college led her to view her racial identity in new ways.

Sandra is a FGCS. She graduated in May 2018 with her bachelor’s in social work from Bridgeway College. Bridgeway is a small, liberal arts, predominantly white college in Boston. It is classified as a private, Master’s II university (Indiana University Center for Postsecondary Research, 2016). Bridgeway is about 20 minutes away from Sandra’s home. Sandra lived on campus her first 2 years but commuted the last 2 years due to the cost of housing.

In her first year of college, Sandra participated in her first “lie down for a Black Lives Matter” protest. She noticed that the white people on the sidelines shared their dissenting opinions with her and the other protestors. Witnessing the white counter protestors made Sandra more aware of how some people perceived and treated Black people. She shared:

We would get up and we would walk through the colleges [in the area]. Some of [the colleges] actually locked their gates because they didn’t want us to walk through their schools, and some of them prohibited us from just walking through their campus. Even if you went there, they weren’t letting you in. There was one

school where a couple white males brought signs out. They took the time to write out signs saying, “You guys asked for it,” and “All lives matter.” It opened my eyes a lot to the fact that people really aren’t accepting of Black people just because of how they look rather than judging them on their personality or their character or the actions they do.

Sandra recognized that some white people hold negative views about Black people because they are Black. She believed that the white males from the protest and white people generally “just didn’t care. . . [and] didn’t understand.”

She also experienced race-related conflicts with her white roommates. Sandra was “pretty emotional” about the Black Lives Matter protest, but her roommates did not seem to understand her emotions. Despite having a good relationship with her roommates, Sandra noticed that “there was a disconnect” that she was not aware of “until [she] lived with a white person.” She did not recall specific details of her interactions with them but realized that her and her roommates shared different perspectives around race and racial issues. Following her participation in the protest and the responses from white people and her roommates, Sandra vowed to be prouder of her Black identity despite negative perceptions about Black people.

Sandra found community among a small group of diverse students on campus through her classes and campus involvement, who identified with the LGBTQ, Latinx, and Black communities. They shared similar perspectives about racial and social justice issues, and Sandra considered them to be family. She stated, “we had to have each other’s backs in the [campus] community.” Her friends were also social work majors and often talked about the oppression of minority groups. Her community provided her the space to

further explore her Black identity by talking about the issues of being a minoritized student on campus. Her friends also supported and encouraged Sandra to express her Bajan identity. Sandra's friends spoke about "where they came from" and encouraged Sandra to do the same.

Sandra also connected with a couple of Black staff members on campus who empowered her to embrace her Black identity. Sandra received support from Domonic, a Black male and senior-level administrator at Bridgeway College. Sandra viewed Domonic as a father figure because he checked on her regularly, had an open-door policy, and was present at campus events. He gave her his business card and said that she can stop by his office if she ever needed anything. He attended town hall meetings where students of color expressed their frustrations about the racial issues on campus. Sandra said that Domonic "made it a priority to talk to the students of color because it was a [PWI]" and "tried to make [students] comfortable" because he knows it may have been a challenging experience.

At some of the multicultural events on campus during her senior year, Sandra met Melissa , a Black woman and the multicultural director and advisor of the BSO. Melissa was actively involved with the students of color and provided advice and encouragement. Sandra described Melissa's positive influence:

She [gives] advice on life, Black pride, Black excellence, loving yourself, and loving your skin and knowing that we're all in this together like we don't have to compete with each other and that there's strength in numbers. She definitely talked a lot about being proud of who you are and where you come from. . . . She was so passionate. . . . She cared about [us] so much.

Sandra enjoyed and benefited from the empowering messages and programs Melissa presented to students. Sandra developed a connection with Melissa, which allowed her to embrace her Black identity more and share about her Bajan identity with her friends and peers. Sandra attended some of the different group discussions BSO held that covered topics such as natural hair or Afro-Caribbeans/Afro-Latinas. Domonic and Melissa “gave [students of color] a voice” on campus.

In addition to friends and college administrators, Sandra’s social work assignments motivated her to “be more vocal” about her ethnicity. Through research for her class assignments, Sandra wrote about her family, their background, and how her story shaped who she is. Sandra’s professors promoted identity exploration as part of their training to become social workers.

By graduation, Sandra viewed her Bajan identity as significant to her overall sense of self. She shared:

I would identify first with being Afro-Caribbean just because. . . . I feel like there’s more aspects of me with identifying as Afro-Caribbean. . . . I had the Bajan flag on my [graduation] cap. And I [wrote on it], “I did this for my ancestors,” because my parents didn’t have the opportunities I had. . . . I started to love my Bajan culture more [throughout] college. And I think [my Bajan identity] was very important [because] society can group populations so much and don’t look at the unique characteristics or the places we come from. So, that made me want to project [being Bajan] even more. . . . I feel I identify more with that, but I still definitely identify with being Black and being proud about it.

Sandra focused more on her Bajan identity than her Black identity because her ethnicity was more salient to her, but her racial identity was still important to her self-perception. Experiencing racial tension in college compelled Sandra to center her racial identity and its importance in her life. The importance of her racial identity was evident in her advocacy, such as attending on-campus forums, speaking out about the race-related issues on campus, and confronting faculty and administration about racial microaggressions. Sandra considered her racial identity in ways she did not before college. She also realized that expressing her Bajan identity was a process throughout her college career. By the end of college, she believed that while her racial identity increased in importance to her, her ethnicity best defined who she is.

Tessann

Tessann and her younger sister, Mitzy, grew up in a single-parent household in Dorchester, Massachusetts. Being the largest and “most diverse neighborhood” in Boston (City of Boston, 2019a), Dorchester provided a diversity of cultural backgrounds. Many of Tessann’s neighbors were Latino and Black families, hailing from Haiti, other parts of the Caribbean, and Cape Verde¹⁶. Tessann rarely played outside in her neighborhood because her mother, Angie, warned her of crime activity. Tessann did not feel afraid in her neighborhood but understood that she should be mindful of her surroundings.

After a few shootings occurred near their house, Angie decided to move her family to the adjacent neighborhood of Roxbury when Tessann was about 7 years old. Considered “the heart of Black culture in Boston,” Roxbury contains businesses and

¹⁶ Cape Verde, also known as Cabo Verde, is a nation off the northwest coast of Africa. Cape Verdeans have African and Portuguese heritage (Central Intelligence Agency, 2019).

artistic outlets by and for its predominantly Black and Latino population (City of Boston, 2019b, para. 1). Many of Tessann's neighbors in Roxbury were Black and Latino Caribbeans. Angie, Tessann, and Mitzy lived in Roxbury for a few years, then moved to the city of Brockton, located south of Boston. Brockton is diverse, with a significant share of Portuguese, French Creole, and Greek speakers (Data USA, 2019a). By the time they moved to Brockton, Tessann was a senior in high school.

Although Tessann grew up in Boston, her mother and father met in New York City and had Tessann when they were 18 and 19 years old. They did not remain together once Tessann was born. Tessann's father, Trevor, emigrated from Jamaica to New York City when he was 18 years old. For the first nine years of Tessann's life, she spent her summers in New York City with Trevor, but lived with her mother full-time in Boston. Tessann's mother Angie emigrated from Jamaica in the mid-1980s when she was about 6 years old, with her younger brother and father. Angie's father opened a Jamaican restaurant in Dorchester. Angie's father passed away when Tessann was young and the family did not keep the restaurant.

When Tessann was 9 years old, she lived in Jamaica for about four to six months. Angie planned to move the family to Georgia and wanted to organize her affairs without her children around. She sent Tessann and Mitzy, who was 5-and-a-half years old at the time, to live with Angie's mother, Yvonne, and Angie's sister, Marion, in Montego Bay, Jamaica. Living in Jamaica, Tessann became more aware of her American identity and embraced her Jamaican identity. Tessann and Mitzy attended a private school in Jamaica, which exposed her to other children who asked questions about her identity:

It was really interesting ‘cause we were obviously very American, and the kids were very Jamaican. We definitely stood out the entire time. They didn’t understand why we talked the way we did. They asked, “Where’d you come from? Why are you here?” . . . We didn’t really fit in at all. We were the only American children in the entire school.

The Jamaican children perceived Tessann as different from them—as the foreigner “with an accent.” However, Tessann did not see the Jamaican children as vastly different from her and her sister because, as she said, “we still have aspects of Jamaican culture in our home [in the U.S]. So, it wasn’t all foreign to us. We knew the food. We understood Jamaican patios. We just couldn’t speak it ourselves to blend in.” She became more aware of, what she termed, “American-isms”: language, accent, and behaviors deemed culturally American. Because the students pointed her out for being different, the transition to living in Jamaica was challenging.

Tessann reflected on her experience and reasoned that visiting and living in Jamaica helped her to embrace her ethnic identity. In the United States, she thought her ethnic background made her different from her peers based on the food she ate and her mother’s accent. She shared that being Jamaican:

wasn’t as important to me until I realized that it should be important to me. . . . I just thought about it as something that made me different, which is why I wasn’t really trying to focus on that part. I just thought it was interesting. . . . Then, I had those two different experiences [visiting and living] in Jamaica. . . . Then, I could compare and contrast. . . . I think that was a defining moment. I was probably 10

or so when I realized that this part of me was something that I should explore more and be more involved with.

Tessann's time living in Jamaica shaped her Jamaican and American identities in ways she understood were important to who she is now. As a child, she wanted to fit in with her U.S. peers and Jamaican peers, but she once she grew older and better understood her Jamaican and American identities and drew from different aspects of Jamaican and American cultures that made sense for her.

Throughout her K-12 education, Tessann attended two small predominantly white private schools in a suburb outside of Roxbury. At her first school, Tessann was one of seven students of color the first year she started. Tessann wished there were more students of color in the school to relate to her racial minority status. Her high school administrators promoted the school as a progressive, anti-racist, and safe environment. However, Tessann believed they fell short of what they purported due to her alienating and tokenizing experiences. She maintained that the teachers failed to acknowledge their white privilege and how it influenced their interactions with students of color. While she appreciated the attempts some teachers made to focus on diversity, it was difficult to have conversations about race with very few teachers and students of color present.

Tessann made friends with the few students of color in her school, particularly those in the grades behind her because subsequent classes were more diverse. A few of her friends were white and the others were Ethiopian, Vietnamese, and Latino. She and her friends talked about their backgrounds and made efforts to learn about each other. Tessann told her close friends about her ethnic background but did not mention her

ethnicity to her peers in school. She focused more on her racial identity within her friend group because her friends did not have a Caribbean background.

Being Second Generation in College

Because of her experiences in a small school environment, Tessann intentionally applied to large universities to increase her chances of connecting with more students of color in college. While her Black and Jamaican identities were salient prior to college, Tessann believed that her Black identity was more salient in the K-12 context and her Jamaican identity was more salient at home. Prior to college, Tessann also struggled to integrate her Jamaican and American identities. She perceived that Jamaican and American cultural norms were sometimes different and conflicted with each other. Although her Jamaican identity was less likely to be salient in her high school environment, her college environment provided a new space and group with whom she could interact and further explore her identities simultaneously. She especially made connections with similar students who could relate to her identities as Black, Jamaican, and second generation.

Tessann was a fourth-year sociology major, with a minor in African American studies. She lives on campus at Northeast Regional University. Northeast Regional is a large, public, PWI, demarcated as a Research I doctoral university in Massachusetts (Indiana University Center for Postsecondary Research, 2016). Tessann's college courses deepened her self-awareness by prompting her to critically think about her background and identities. Two of her courses focused on the history of Caribbeans and African Americans and the current state of these groups in the United States. Learning more about Black people in the United States and the Caribbean led her to think about others'

perceptions of Black people generally. Her classes showed her how much she did not know. She did not feel comfortable being unaware of matters “related to [her] identity” any longer. Tessann appreciated learning the status and positioning of Black people in the world and thought about what it means for her to be a Black, Jamaican, second generation, gay, woman in the United States.

At times in college, she struggled to integrate her ethnic and racial identities because she believed she needed to act differently with her predominantly white and her LGBTQ groups of friends. Tessann’s friends compelled her to rethink how she shows up in different groups. She connected with other second-generation Caribbean college students where she identified and presented herself in ways that felt authentic to her. With her second-generation friends, she did not have to explain or switch any aspects of who she is because they related to her Caribbean and Black identities. She also joined the Caribbean Student Organization (CSO) because she thought it “was really cool” that there “were communities specifically for Caribbean people within the [Black communities] on campus.” She explained:

Finding people you have things in common with; that you can’t really talk about as easily with your other friends even if they are also Black. They’re not going to know Beres Hammond¹⁷, they’re not going to know Sanchez¹⁸ or things like that. . . . It made me think about being Jamaican more because I was meeting more Jamaican people, or just Caribbean people in general.

¹⁷ Hammond is a famous Jamaican “soulful reggae” artist of the 1990s (VP Records Music Group, 2018)

¹⁸ Sanchez is a famous Jamaican reggae artist of the late 1990s and early 2000s (Sanchezmusic, 2010)

Tessann found more in common with Black Caribbean students because they knew more about aspects of Jamaican or West Indian culture as compared to Black American students. Her peers in high school were not Caribbean and meeting more Caribbean peers in college prompted Tessann to think more about her Jamaican identity.

Tessann took advantage of the size of the population at Northeast Regional and cultivated diverse groups of friends who “kind of represent[ed] different parts of [her],” with similar interests and identities. One group was “quirky, weird” and predominantly white, with a few students of color, but she was the only Black person in this group. They initially connected because they lived in the same residence hall area and went to dorm parties, movies, smoked, and hung out together. She did not give detail as to why she named this group weird and quirky. Tessann called the second group the “social justice warrior group,” which was comprised of mostly LGBTQ students. They went to parties together, watched tv, and had in-depth conversations about “human rights. . . talked about ableism a lot, transphobia, homophobia, [and] racism.” The third group was the “[Black] Caribbean group,” who were “obviously very aware of. . . Caribbean culture, so [she did not] feel weird [talking about Caribbean culture] around them.” Tessann and her Caribbean friends participated in CSO, went to parties, hung out, and talked about different aspects of Caribbean culture.

For Tessann, being second generation is “like an ongoing balancing act.” She identified the balancing act of being second generation as an ongoing tension, by proving her Jamaicanness to native-born Jamaicans or selectively sharing aspects about her ethnic identity with the quirky and social justice group. Although each peer group reflected Tessann’s different identities and interests, she believed that she could not integrate all

aspects of herself into these different groups. She selectively talked about her ethnic background and racial issues with the quirky group because they could not relate and rarely made an effort to understand her identities or experiences. She explained that her “quirky group” of friends are “kind of in a bubble. They’re very sheltered people, which is kind of hard sometimes because they just don’t understand things. Even if they want to, they just can’t.” By the end of our interview, Tessann questioned her decision to remain a part of the quirky group because she did not feel fully accepted around them, possibly because she was the only Black person. Her social justice group was more open, diverse, and culturally aware. She showed them Caribbean dances, such as whining¹⁹, that some people do when listening to reggae music. Tessann was most comfortable with the Black Caribbean group because she did not “feel weird” and they were “on the same page a lot of the time” about being Black and Caribbean.

Maxine

Maxine is the youngest of five children. She has three sisters and one brother. Naomi is the eldest and she was 34 years old. Ruth and Sarah were 28 and 27 years old. Noah was 23 years old, and Maxine was 20 years old. Maxine is close with her siblings. She goes to them for advice, and they “stick up for each other” when they get into disagreements with their parents.

Maxine’s father, Donovan, and her mother, Charmaine, emigrated from Jamaica to the United States in the 1980s, when they were about 19 and 17 years old, respectively.

¹⁹ Whining is a dance in which one gyrates their hips in a circular motion, often done to Caribbean music (Crichlow, 2017)

They married in 1989 and gave birth to Naomi that same year. Maxine did not mention whether her father worked, but Charmaine was a reverend.

Maxine and her immediate family lived in Dorchester, MA, where Maxine predominantly grew up around Black families. Donovan has 12 siblings and all of them immigrated to Boston. Since Maxine have aunts and uncles that live in Boston, Maxine spent time in other neighborhoods besides her own. Some of Maxine's relatives lived in Hyde Park. Maxine's immediate and extended family spent many holidays and dinners together, such as cookouts for the 4th of July and Thanksgiving dinner. Because Maxine grew up in a Christian household, Easter and Christmas were "a huge thing" and important in her family. For Easter, they went to church together, after which they ate dinner at one of their family member's house. They also traveled regularly together to Jamaica in the summers to visit relatives. Maxine never felt alone because she spent a lot of time with her immediate and extended family in Boston and Jamaica.

Maxine thought that patois²⁰, food, and reggae music were important characteristics of Jamaican culture. She often asked her parents to define patois words to further understand the language. Her favorite aspect about Jamaican culture was "eating hella good food" at family gatherings. She also listened to different music genres but considered herself "an old soul in Caribbean music. . . and liked [Jamaican artists such as] Beres Hammond," who she learned about from her father. Maxine believed her parent's childrearing practices were also cultural. She had to do things such as "make [her] bed," do the dishes, spend most of her time in the house and not outside, and take her shoes off at the door. She felt that her parents were unnecessarily strict, because she

²⁰ Patois is considered broken/Creole English specific to Jamaica (Mair, 2003)

could not attend sleepovers with friends and expected to be home immediately after school. She believed other Caribbean parents had the same practices.

Although Maxine's said Jamaican identity is salient, most of her peers did not generally know that she was Jamaican. Maxine attended predominantly white schools from K-12 in the suburbs of Boston through the METCO²¹ program. Her high school was in Columbia²², a suburb, on the northwest edge of Boston with a majority white population. Maxine told her white classmates that she's Black without mentioning her ethnicity. In previous encounters, when she told people she is Jamaican they made stereotypical remarks:

I never really told anybody I was Jamaican, because every time I said it, they [said] "Oh, my God, yeah, mon." I'm like, Okay, I can't do that every time. So I just [said], "Oh, yeah, I'm Black." . . . I don't think a lot of people knew my parents were immigrants. I don't think they knew I was first gen[eration-American]. . . . Everyone was like, "Where are you from?" I'm like, "Oh, Jamaica." "Oh, do you smoke weed?" I'm like, "okay, I'm asthmatic, but whatever." So that was kind of just annoying to always have to be like, "Don't do that."

To avoid potential reactions, Maxine did not disclose her ethnic background to her white peers in school.

²¹ The Metropolitan Council for Educational Opportunity (METCO; 2019) program is an integration (i.e., desegregation) program that started in 1966, where children of color (between kindergarten and 10th grade) travel from inner-city Boston to suburban public schools (Metco Inc., 2019).

²² A pseudonym used to preserve the anonymity of the location and the school

Maxine maintained that her peers in Columbia perceived her differently than her peers in Boston. Her neighborhood peers told her she “sounded white” because of the way she spoke and where she went to school. Maxine compared her encounters with white peers in the suburbs and predominantly Black peers in Boston:

Oh, yeah. I definitely thought I was Black at school, and when I came to Boston, I was the whitest white chick that you could ever have, just because I was around white people all day. . . .I definitely missed out on something growing up in Boston, going to school wise. . . . ‘Cause when I get to Columbia, I’m just seen as Black, so I’m automatically going to be the Black person. But I get to Boston, there’s so many Black people, so when they actually talk to me, they’re just like, “Oh, you’re low-key white.” I’m like, “Okay, bye.”

Maxine was more likely identified by her race at her predominantly white high school. When she was in Boston around other Black people, they perceived her as “acting white” because of where she went to school and the way she spoke.

Finding a Sense of Belonging in College

Maxine was always aware of her Black and Jamaican identities prior to college. Once she got to college, she was able to find a friends with whom she could relate based on her racial and ethnic identities. Prior to college, she was more likely to connect with friends because she was a racial minority and desired to connect with other racial minorities. In college, however, she intentionally connected with Black immigrants from the Caribbean and countries in Africa who could relate to her race and ethnicity, allowing her to intergrate both identities.

Maxine was a FGCS at Eastern University. Eastern is a small, private, liberal arts institution in central Massachusetts, located approximately 1 hour from Boston.

According to Carnegie Classification (Indiana University Center for Postsecondary Research, 2016), Eastern is a Master's II university. She lived on campus and was a third-year history major, with a double minor in education and political science. She was also a student athlete and was on the track team.

When applying to colleges, Maxine desired a diverse faculty, staff, and student body due to the lack of diversity in her K-12 experience. Once she arrived to Eastern as a new student, she noticed more students of color compared to her high school, giving her a sense of "pride and happiness." She said, "It's good to see people of color getting their education and [a scholarship]." Although there were comparably more students of color at Eastern than her high school, diversity was still lacking, especially among the faculty. Maxine did not see "any Black teachers." As a rising junior, she never had a Black faculty member.

Maxine wanted to get involved to network with the students of color on campus, so she joined the Multicultural Student Organization (MSO). She felt a sense of belonging as a member of MSO. She shared:

So it's like a group for minorities and we meet every Thursday. And I ran for [the community outreach position] and got it. . . . So I feel like I belong there, and like my friend group, I feel like I belong. And being an athlete. . . I'm a part of that sense of group. So yeah, I belong.

Maxine became friends with some of the students in MSO. For her friends that were not in MSO, she encouraged them to join. Maxine felt welcomed and heard as member in

MSO. She shared, “when I talk, I feel like everyone else was listening and could actually relate to what I’m going through.” She felt heard and seen in this group, and even took on a leadership role as part of the executive board for the following semester.

MSO and her close friends on campus provide Maxine with support and a community. They do homework together, have family dinners, study, share stories about their families, and often discuss their frustrations about their racialized experiences on campus. For instance, they lamented how Black students’ dorm parties were more likely to be shut down than white students’ parties and that they felt Black students were disproportionately over policed. Most of her friends are Black and/or immigrants whose backgrounds are Ghanaian, Senegalese, Cuban, Haitian, Dominican, Columbian, and Puerto Rican. She enjoys connecting with her friends about their shared immigrant backgrounds and made fun of the stories they heard from their parents about growing up in another country. Her friends allowed her to share more of who she was, both racially and ethnically.

Alexia

Alexia grew up with her older sister, Michelle, and their mother, Norma. Alexia knew little about her mother or father’s migration story. She remembered that her mother emigrated from Jamaica to the United States in her twenties, and her father, Winston, emigrated from Jamaica as a child.

Alexia did not feel as connected to Jamaican culture because her mother and father did not regularly engage in some Jamaican cultural practices. Norma and Winston rarely spoke patois or with a Jamaican accent, which Alexia assumed was because they lived in the United States for most of their lives. Norma cooked some Jamaican dishes,

but most of Alexia's exposure to Jamaican people and aspects of Jamaican culture, such as music and language, was from family gatherings and attending the annual Boston Carnival²³ (2019). Alexia did not recall ever visiting Jamaica.

Alexia grew up in Roxbury with her mother and Michelle and often visited her father who lived in nearby Dorchester. Roxbury was the center for African Americans who migrated from the South in the 1940s and 1950s (Boston Planning & Development Agency, 2019). Since then, Roxbury has become more diverse with Black, Latino, and Asian immigrant residents, but remains the center for Black culture in the City (Boston Planning & Development Agency, 2019).

Alexia assumed people outside of her neighborhood have a certain and skewed view of Boston. She shared, "The Boston I grew up in, I feel like that's not what a lot of other people think of when they think of Boston. . . like Boston Harbor and all that stuff." When Alexia thought of Boston, she thought of it simply as home. It was a place where she lived among many Black and Latino families in her Roxbury neighborhood. She explained that people who are familiar with Roxbury have a negative perception:

A lot of people would say they are afraid to walk around [Roxbury]. . . . I said I was gonna walk to Dudley Station and [my friend] told me not to get shot and I was like, "I've lived here for 19 years and that's not something I'm afraid of."

While some perceived Roxbury as unsafe based on what they heard about the area, Alexia's familiarity with the neighborhood contributed to her sense of safety.

²³ Carnival is a cultural event, connected to Trinidad and Tobago history, showcasing Caribbean culture with a parade, costumes, food, and music (Boston Carnival Village, 2000).

Alexia was also aware of her racial identity prior to high school. She learned from her mother that as a Black person, Alexia must work twice as hard because other people may get more opportunities based on their race. She did not understand the need to work harder due to her race until she went to high school. She noticed some of the white and Asian students received more scholarships and college acceptances than she did, despite having similar academic credentials. She said, “That’s when I realized it. . . . I guess it wasn’t fair to me but it made sense going off of what I learned previously [from my mother].”

In high school, Alexia developed a stronger attachment to her racial identity because she felt empowered by her peers. During freshman year, Alexia noticed other Black girls in school wearing their hair in natural styles. Seeing Black girls wearing their natural hair empowered Alexia to change the way she styled her hair. She explained, “That’s when I was, I guess. . . . I don’t know the identity of Black. . . . I really owned it, I guess. . . . I felt like, ‘Why can’t I do it?’ So, I just did it.” Alexia decided to stop wearing weaves and wore her hair naturally in an afro.

The racial and ethnic diversity in her high school, and in Boston generally, made Alexia comfortable sharing her ethnic identity with others. In her high school, there was flag day, a time for students to showcase their ethnic backgrounds. On flag day, Alexia learned about the ethnicity of many of her peers. Once she noticed some of her peers were also from the Caribbean, she approached them to talk about their respective backgrounds.

Despite limited cultural engagement in her home or abroad in Jamaica, Alexia was aware of her Jamaican identity and believed it is a part of who she is. Her Jamaican

identity represents growing up with her mom making “a lot of Jamaican food all the time” and going to family gatherings with reggae music playing and carrying a Jamaican flag on flag day to let others know she is Jamaican. Alexia knew that being Jamaican was a part of her life because her culture was reflected in the things she did and observed in her home growing up around Jamaican parents and family members. She noted, “I would tell [my friends] I’m Jamaican because, since I go home to my Jamaican mom every day, it’s kind of hard to ignore it.”

Indifference About Identity in College

Alexia was 19 years old and a second-year psychology major. She was a commuter student and lived approximately 15 minutes from Beantown University in Boston. Beantown is a medium-size, public, Research II doctoral university (High Research Activity; Indiana University Center for Postsecondary Research, 2016). Alexia’s transition to a PWI heightened her awareness of her Black identity. Although Beantown University is predominantly white, the institution is more racially diverse relative to many of the colleges in the Boston area. Alexia thought about her race more because she was the only Black person in a few of her classes. She also thought more about her gender because she was one of few women in her classes. Despite being the only Black woman in some of her classes, it was important to her to speak up and to make her presence known.

Though Alexia was always aware of her Black and Jamaican identities prior to college, her Jamaican identity was less salient in college. At her predominantly Black and Latino high school, Alexia felt more comfortable sharing her ethnic identity. Her perspective on her Black identity was heightened as she transitioned to a predominantly

white college. Alexia connected with a few Black immigrant women on campus but expressed indifference about her limited discussions about her ethnic background. College engendered an opposite effect, whereby she thought more about her racial identity and less about her Jamaican identity.

Alexia talked about her ethnicity to relate with other Black immigrant students on campus. Alexia shared, “[My Jamaican identity] helped more in making us friends because we would talk about some Jamaican stuff, and that would just help us find something to talk about.” For example, she mentioned her Jamaican background to Raquel, who was also second-generation Jamaican, and they eventually became friends. She added that she asked Black students on campus about their ethnicity but not white students: “If they’re white, I’m not as inclined to ask where they’re from. . . . If they’re Black, I’d assume they’re not just American. I’m interested in where other [Black] people are from and happy to let them know where I’m from.”

While Alexia generally assumes that the Black people she will encounter in Boston will likely be immigrants, she assumed one of her Black peers was African American but was unsure of the reason of her assumption. Alexia met a dark-skinned woman, Belle, who was from Honduras. Before speaking with Belle, Alexia assumed Belle was African American. Alexia admitted that she did not know there were dark-skinned people from Honduras, because she likely assumed that Hondurans have a lighter skin tone. Alexia met two other women from Haiti and Uganda. When she initially met these women, she learned about their ethnic backgrounds and shared her ethnic background as well.

Alexia believed her Jamaican identity does not “play a part in [her] college experience.” Outside of initially sharing her ethnic background and making cultural connections with her peers, Alexia believed her Jamaican identity was not important to who she was in college because “identity hasn’t come up” in her conversations regularly with others. Beyond the initial acknowledgment and discussion of cultural similarities with her Black immigrant friends, she did not continue to talk about her ethnic background unless it came up in conversation:

I guess it doesn’t really matter to me that much, but I just think it’s weird. In high school it would come up all the time, but now that I’m in college it hasn’t come up at all, or maybe one time. . . . I’m just kind of indifferent about it.

She acknowledged her Jamaican identity a part of who she is and simultaneously minimized its importance in her college experience. Alexia recognized:

Because there were more white people [in college] and less Black people [in college], [my Jamaican] didn’t really, I guess, come up. [Peers in college] just ask where you’re from in Boston, not really where your family is from. . . when I was in high school there was a lot more Black people, so then instead of just where you’re from in Boston they want to know where your family is from.

Being around more Black people in high school made Alexia more aware of her Jamaican identity, while being around predominantly white people on campus made her more aware of her racial identity. Because her ethnicity did not generally come up in conversations or class discussions in college, she did not mention it to others unless it was a way for her to make a connection with other Black immigrants she encountered.

Patrice

Patrice grew up with her grandmother, Mima, her mother, Sharon, and her two brothers, Patrick and Kerwin. Patrick and Kerwin moved out once they were older and started families of their own. Patrice described her grandmother as the “head of the family” and household; she was also the oldest of eight children. At age 25, with two children of her own, Mima emigrated by herself from Trinidad to Boston for a nanny/cleaning job. Mima came to the United States because her family was very poor in Trinidad. She worked and sent money back to Trinidad to help more than 15 family members migrate to the United States.

Mima was about 18 years old when she gave birth to Sharon in Trinidad. Sharon immigrated to the United States from Trinidad when she was 8 years old. Sharon grew up in Boston and attended the same high school that Patrice eventually attended. After high school, Sharon moved back to Trinidad for about 10 months because she did not have plans to go to college and returned home. In Trinidad, Sharon met Patrick and Kerwin’s father, got married to him, and returned to the United States while pregnant with Patrick.

Patrice has a different father from Patrick and Kerwin. Patrice’s father, Wayne, is from Jamaica. Patrice said, “I wasn’t raised Jamaican ... there are differences but overall, it’s not that different...[in terms] of culture.” She believed Jamaicans and Trinidadians share values, such as the importance of education. Patrice did not grow up with her father and did not know much about him. She knew that as a teenager in Jamaica he did well in track. Though he did not accept it, he received a track scholarship from a college in Texas. He eventually migrated to the United States on his own without the help of family.

Patrice reconnected with her father a couple months before our interview to work toward building a relationship with him.

Patrice lived with her family on the second floor of a three-family house in the Roslindale neighborhood. She described her neighborhood as a quiet, predominantly Black and Brown area. Roslindale's population includes immigrants from Latin America, the Caribbean, and the Middle East (Global Boston, 2019). The neighborhood offered a diverse population and small businesses representing different ethnicities such as Greek and Latino, coupled with the Arnold Arboretum (City of Boston, 2019a). Patrice's family often frequented a Caribbean restaurant around the corner from their house and sometimes hosted birthday parties for her and her nieces in the backyard. She also traveled to her uncle and aunts' houses in Hyde Park and Dorchester to play with her cousins.

Patrice learned a lot about Trinidadian culture and heritage from her immediate and extended family and members of the Caribbean community in Boston. The members of her Caribbean community were primarily Trinidadians and were involved with the Local Trinidadian Association²⁴. The Association was an integral part in Mima and Sharon's transition to Boston when they migrated from Trinidad, providing them a sense of community and shared resources. A major aspect of the Association was participating in the annual Boston Carnival (2019). Patrice's connection to the members of the Association and what the members of the association did for Carnival was a staple in her life. She said:

²⁴ Local Caribbean associations provide support to recent and settled immigrants (CHA, 2014).

My family used to be a big part of [the Local Trinidadian Association] who had a band²⁵ in the Caribbean [Carnival], so that was our mas camp²⁶. All my life, I've spent growing up in that mas camp, with those people, their families and their kids. So, I [was not just around] blood family, I really branched out in the Caribbean community. . . . The Caribbean community's like family.

Through the Association, Patrice made costumes, distributed them to parade participants for Boston Carnival (2019), and she also wore a costume in the Carnival parade every year. Patrice attended Carnival every year and never missed a year until the summer she went to her college's first-year orientation. The Caribbean community and family were important entities of cultural identity that conveyed the importance of Patrice's ethnicity.

Patrice never visited Trinidad but did not believe she was "missing out." In her opinion, she did not need to visit Trinidad to authentically claim a Trinidadian ethnicity. From her perspective, her family (inclusive of the Caribbean community) was the primary and adequate connection to her love and understanding of Trinidadian culture.

Ethnicity was salient to how Patrice identified, but she received conflicting and, at times contentious, messages about race from family. Some members of Patrice's family and the Caribbean community purported stereotypes about African Americans such that they were "troublemakers" or that dark-skinned people are inferior or less attractive.

Mima had a contentious relationship with Patrice's father, Wayne, who is a dark-skinned Jamaican man. Mima's feelings about Wayne were not simply about his skin tone but

²⁵ A band is an organized group of people making culturally colorful costumes to be worn by parade participants, alongside trucks playing music, in the parade on Carnival day.

²⁶ Mas is short for masquerade. A mas camp is a location (the Local Association) where they make and distribute the costumes for Carnival (Personal Communication, 2018).

related to his absence as a father. Patrice equated the feelings about him to skin color especially when her brothers teased her by calling her Jamaican because her father is Jamaican. She said she hated when her brother teased her “because [she] didn’t want to be seen as Jamaican. They created this picture in [her] head that being Jamaican meant being a deadbeat, [and] being like [her] father.” She initially internalized the negative messages based on his skin color, but later understood her family saw him negatively because he was not a present father. These early messages about dark-skin initially influenced Patrice’s perceptions about being Black.

Other’s perceptions of Patrice also influenced her understanding of race and ethnicity. Some people (mostly Black people) often asked Patrice, “What are you?” or “What are you mixed with?” Her general response was, “Oh, I get it. I’m Trinidadian.” Patrice believed these questions from her Black peers were because of her curly, black hair resembling a 3a/3b curl pattern and caramel skin color. Her response to the question about mixed heritage signaled to others that her ethnic background influenced her phenotype. Mima’s parents were multi-ethnic; her father was Venezuelan, and her mother was Trinidadian Indian²⁷, and Sharon’s father was Trinidadian Indian. Patrice’s background was multi-ethnic, and her family was in Trinidad for at least two generations. Patrice viewed herself as Black because she is multi-ethnic, and her father is Black. However, questions about her identity based on her appearance, in addition to her perceptions of cultural differences, convinced Patrice that she does not seem to fit a certain image or archetype of a Black/African American person because she appears multiracial.

²⁷ Trinidad has a large Indian population (Hu-DeHart & López, 2008)

Being Black in College

Patrice's view of her Trinidadian identity remained unchanged in college; however, her perspective on her Black identity shifted. Her observations of and encounters of inter-racial conflict between white students and students of color helped her realize that her Black identity should be important to how she navigated her experiences and self-perceptions.

Patrice was 19 years old and a FGCS. She was a third-year health science major and lives on campus at Capital University (CU) in Boston. Capital is a large, private, Research I doctoral university (Indiana University Center for Postsecondary Research, 2016), located about 15 minutes away from Patrice's home.

Patrice started college in August of 2016, and by November Donald Trump was elected as President of the United States. Patrice shared, "When I got to [CU], that's the first time I ever experienced racism." She assumed she would easily adjust to a PWI because her white peers in high school were "culturally aware" and not "sheltered." However, she encountered racial micro and macro aggressions, tokenism, and witnessed other racist incidents across campus. For example, a white student posted a racist caption on Snapchat, which received a lot of attention on campus. Patrice described an incident with a white faculty member:

I wasn't do[ing] well in [my bio] class in the beginning. Then the professor [said], "You might as well just drop the class. You're not going to do well anyways." So [the professor] had a conference with the [white female] student before me. . . . [The white student] was doing worse than I was in the class, and [the professor said to the white student] "Well, did you do this, that and that? . . . [Try] this with

your notes? Did you try making a study guide?” [The professor] didn’t pitch none of those ideas to me. . . . And I couldn’t say anything because she was my professor. . . . She has the power to do whatever she wants to my grade and not get caught. . . . I just told her, “Well, I’m not withdrawing from your class.”

Patrice recognized that she was treated differently and assumed it was due to her race. Her “personal anger” toward the professor fueled her to work harder and do well in the class.

Patrice asserted that the faculty at CU were generally “horrible” based on her negative interactions with some faculty members and stories she heard from her peers. She heard that a few faculty members act insensitively toward students of color such as touching a woman of color’s hair. She sometimes confronted faculty and explained to them why they cannot say or do certain things to people of color because it is insensitive.

Despite these challenges, Patrice developed close relationships with some faculty in her major. She participated in admissions related events and enjoyed talking to prospective students. In turn, she received faculty invitations to conferences and assistance with admissions events. Her participation in her program’s events not only improved her experiences, they also changed the environment in the program.

Patrice found the transition to a PWI “hard both ways,” as it relates to interacting with white people and interacting with other Black students. Patrice was aware of racial issues on campus and in society generally, but her views on how to address them differed from some of her peers. Patrice also perceived the Black students in her program as tending to have more radical stances on racial issues and race relations. Patrice said, “Based on the things they described, I think that they don’t think I’m as radical. Because

there are a handful of Black girls in the [program] who are very radical.” From Patrice’s perspective, her radical Black peers tend to make things harder for Black people because she believed they have a “personal vendetta against white people,” which is counter to a collective effort in racial progress.

One way that Patrice connected with students of color was through on-campus student organizations. Patrice participated in organizations related to her interest in service learning, her academics, and her identities. She joined the Black student group to connect with other Black students and she joined the CSO to find Caribbean students. During our interview, she admitted her involvement in the Black student group was a way to connect with upperclassman and gain some popularity on campus. Her involvement with the Caribbean student group was a way for her to express her culture, but she also believed the organization was not doing enough to spread awareness about Caribbean culture and wanted to make the Caribbean student presence more known. Taking one step toward her goal, Patrice will be on the executive-board at the start of her junior year.

Patrice’s friendships and involvement exposed her to Black and Brown students with different ethnic backgrounds, and state and regional differences that contribute to the heterogeneity of Black people. The different groups and relationships she sought out also provided her with a safe space to express her ethnic and racial identities. Through her interactions with white peers, racialized encounters, and her friendships and involvement opportunities in college, she developed a more nuanced understanding of not only race and ethnicity as it relates to Black people, but also a nuanced understanding of her own race and ethnicity in that both are salient but she embraced them separately.

O'Dane

O'Dane grew up in a single-parent household with his older brother, O'Neil. O'Dane was 18 years old and O'Neil was 27 years old. Growing up, O'Dane spent a lot of time with his mother, Karene, while O'Neil, as a teenager, branched off to “do his own thing.” Karene was in her twenties when she migrated from Jamaica to the United States in the late 1990s. She came to Boston because her older sister Patsy and older brother, Paul, already settled in the city. Although O'Dane knew his father, he did not grow up with him, and did not share anything about him other than the fact that he is from Jamaica.

O'Dane grew up in the Hyde Park neighborhood and liked living there. He believed the people in his neighborhood were welcoming. He considered Hyde Park to be safer than the adjacent neighborhoods of Mattapan and Dorchester. He assumed the surrounding neighborhoods had a lot of crime and that the people were “rowdy.” Regarded as a suburban environment in the city, Hyde Park has the Neponset River running through it along with many small shops and restaurants (Boston Planning & Development Agency, 2019; Culture Trip, 2019). Hyde Park's residents are socioeconomically and racially diverse and parallels the diversity across the city in that about 28% of its residents are foreign-born compared to the overall foreign-born share of 27% in Boston (Boston Planning & Development Agency Research Division, 2017).

O'Dane enjoyed his childhood, playing basketball and other games with some of the kids in the neighborhood. Most of his neighbors were Black, many of whom were Haitian and African American. The racial makeup of O'Dane's neighbors mirrors the overall population in Hyde Park: 45% of Hyde Park residents are Black/African

American (Boston Planning & Development Agency, 2017). Because of his engagement with the Haitian kids and their families, he learned about their culture, such as their language, food, and flags, among other things. O'Dane's neighborhood exposed him to both similarities and differences across Caribbean and Black cultures. In addition to the cultural markers of food, music, and language, O'Dane connected his Jamaican identity to the beliefs and behaviors he learned from family and other West Indian families in his neighborhood. When O'Dane was 13 years old, his family moved to a three-family house in the Dorchester neighborhood with his aunt, Patsy. They lived in South Dorchester, which is similar to Hyde Park in that more than half the population are people of color (Mattos, 2019).

O'Dane developed a strong connection to his Jamaican ethnicity and background early on. He engaged in his culture by eating Jamaican cuisine, listening to reggae music, learning, and understanding patois, attending Caribbean festivals, and visiting family annually in Jamaica. O'Dane "[felt] Jamaican" when he was around his family. He explained, "when I'm around my brother or [my cousin], I feel Jamaican. Or when I'm around my parents or my family, I feel Jamaican, because my family talks to me in patois. They don't talk to me in English." Hearing patois and a Jamaican accent was a distinct cultural marker for O'Dane. His ability to understand and sometimes speak patois further reinforced his Jamaican ethnic identity.

O'Dane was proud of his Jamaican ethnicity because it helped defined him. He explained, "I wouldn't be who I am today if it wasn't for my background and the people I grew up around, the culture I grew up around. 'Cause literally your culture and your background make you who you are." O'Dane best understood who he is in relation to his

family. His self-perception is not simply because they are family in the traditional sense of the word (i.e., mother, son, brother, aunt, etc.), but because his family is Jamaican, and their culture informs the things they say and do. Therefore, O’Dane internalized his identity in relation to who his family is—as Jamaicans—and how they defined themselves through their cultural expressions and practices.

As a Black man, O’Dane encountered particular stereotypes about Black boys and men and admitted his concerns on how others may perceive him and his friends based on their race and gender. His concern stemmed from the instances of police brutality and killings of Black men reported in the media. He grew up in the time of Trayvon Martin’s death in 2012: the 17-year-old, Black teen in Florida, who was shot and killed by a vigilante who erroneously perceived Trayvon as a threat because he was wearing a hoodie. O’Dane was 12 years-old in 2012. He spoke with his male friends in middle school and high school about how they could be perceived as a threat like Trayvon Martin because they also wear hoodies. He did not want others to see him as a threat. He believed that he and his friends “dress[ed] the same as everybody else, but [they’re] not criminals or anything. They’re just like regular people.” O’Dane and his friends wondered if people would “act ignorant toward them” based on the stereotype that Black men threatening.

O’Dane attended Boston Public Schools throughout his K-12 experience and generally kept a small group of friends, especially in middle and high school, who were mostly West Indian. They shared similar interests such as basketball and a love for music. Growing up, he wanted to be a musician and was inspired by the old-school reggae music he listened to with his mother. Reflecting on his educational experiences, he appreciated

the rules in high school. The teachers and staff emphasized the importance of college, which helped him to focus on school and pursue higher education.

Feeling Different in College

O'Dane was a FGCS. He was a second-year student, living on campus and majoring in management at Mass State College. Mass State is a small, public, liberal arts, Master's I university (Indiana University Center for Postsecondary Research, 2016), about 40 minutes outside of Boston.

O'Dane's experiences during his first year in college highlighted his perception of "feeling different." He entered college with a salient Jamaican identity, and his perspective on his Black identity changed. O'Dane did not always consider what it means for him to be from Boston because he grew up around people who shared his race, culture, and regional background (i.e., growing up in Boston). Once he went to a predominantly white college with people from outside of Boston, he considered the role and significance of race and region in his new campus environment and what it means for him to be a Black, Jamaican man from Boston.

The transition to college was a culture shock for O'Dane. He met people from other parts of Massachusetts, from up and down the East Coast, and from the continental United States. For the first time in his life, he encountered overt racism and ignorance at school. He heard "white students using the n-word normally." For example, he recalled:

This white girl was talking to me and my friend. She was talking about her fish. She says, "Yeah, I have a fish. That's my n-word." We were just looking at her crazy. Like, "Did you just say that to us?" I used to go to a high school with a lot of African American and Hispanic people, so if I would hear that around [them],

it'd be normal. But I feel like as soon as I stepped into [college], I had to be more aware of that word. . . . So when she said that around us, I just got so uncomfortable.

O'Dane connected this incident to his experiences growing up in Boston. Hearing the n-word among communities of color was normal for him, but experiencing a white person saying the word suggested he was no longer at home. Also, he shared that he never encountered racism in Boston and was shocked after this encounter. He became more aware of how different college can be, even though he is not far from home. This incident left him questioning why she said the N-word and what other white peers may feel comfortable doing around him.

As he continued to reflect on his first year in college, O'Dane realized his PWC had an impact on how he viewed himself and how his peers and teachers possibly perceive him. O'Dane shared:

Every time I left my [residence hall] room, I felt different. Every time I went back to school after being in Boston, I just felt different. I know people [in college], they're gonna treat me differently. They're gonna look at me differently, opposed to being [in Dorchester] with just people like me, where I wasn't different at all.

O'Dane developed an unsettling feeling about being different because his campus environment did not reflect his reality at home, where majority of the people he interacted with looked like him. His new awareness of being different gave him a new perspective on his racial identity and the need to be more aware of his race in new environments where he is not the majority.

O'Dane was proud to share his Jamaican ethnicity with others on campus. He described how he shows others that he is Jamaican:

I have a [Jamaican] flag in my room. I play a lot of my [reggae] music for [my white peers] 'cause then they be like, "I don't even understand what they're saying man. I can't understand this music." I was like, "Yeah, but you like it though." . . . Or I would warm up my food from home and then my roommate would be like, "Man, this smells incredible, man!" And I'm like, "Yeah, it's food. This is what good food tastes like" . . . I would give [Bryan, my roommate] some and he'd just go nuts.

Playing reggae music, displaying a Jamaican flag, and sharing his Jamaican food, he signaled to others that his ethnicity is important to him. Some of his peers, primarily his white peers, were unfamiliar with aspects of Jamaican culture such as the music and food. He held his ethnic background with high esteem because he said, "but you like it [the music]" and "this is what good food tastes like," hinting that his peers' reactions about his culture fed into his ego and ethnic pride.

O'Dane's narrative highlighted a theme of "feel[ing] different." O'Dane was most aware of being different when he was at school because he was in a predominantly white environment. While his Jamaican ethnicity was salient to him, his campus environment made him rethink how others, especially his peers, may perceive him based on his Black racial identity. His feelings of difference were connected to public perceptions about his race and ethnicity, in which he encountered negative views about his Blackness and encountered favorable views about his Jamaican ethnicity.

Summary of Chapter

Several similarities and differences developed across participants narratives. A similarity across participants' experiences were their connections in and across Boston. Each participant had experiences in different parts of Boston, and they all had family and/or a Caribbean enclave with which to connect and further learn about and be exposed to their West Indian background. Their ethnic communities generally participated in some of the same activities, such as attending church, attending annual Caribbean Carnivals, and patronizing local Caribbean restaurants. These communities and activities illustrate the influence and impact Caribbean communities, and the visibility of Caribbeans in Greater Boston.

Participants' experiences diverge in relation to Boston depending on their relationships, involvement, where they grew up, or went to school. Specifically, participants who went to school and/or lived in a predominantly white environment were more likely to be aware of and consider their race in addition to their ethnicity. This was evident in Sandra, Maxine, and Tessann's experiences. In their predominantly white environments, they were less likely to talk about and share their ethnicity and simply identify with their race. Yet, they still sought out friendships with students of color most of whom had an immigrant background. In comparison, the participants who grew up in predominantly Black neighborhoods and schools were more likely to have a salient ethnicity and less likely to consider their race (Charlene, O'Dane, and Patrice). Because they generally interacted with people who looked like them and shared the same ethnic background or an immigrant background, they were more likely to engage in discussions and cultural practices related to their ethnic cultures. Participants' experiences were not

confined to just one neighborhood or suburb, but they visited and lived in several places in Greater Boston throughout their lives.

Most participants ethnicities were important to their sense of self and experiences in college except for Alexia. Participants who perceived their ethnicity as important found ways to express their salience through class assignments, taking course electives telling faculty and staff, telling friends, joining CSOs, intentionally seeking friends with a Caribbean or Black immigrant background, and discussing their ethnic background with others. Although Alexia acknowledged her Jamaican identity, and connected with black immigrants on campus, she did not see the need to voluntarily share her Jamaican identity with people unless it came up. The other participants were more likely to voluntarily shared about their ethnicities with others.

Considering how participants perceived themselves and how they were perceived by others begins to construct a backdrop of how participants may be experiencing college. Place and relationships were important contexts in framing and understanding participants views of themselves. The composition of people in a place shaped how a participant may be perceived, how they may perceive themselves, and how they may perceive others based on their identities. When participants transitioned to a different place, (i.e., from high school to college) they considered themselves in a new way because of their environment and interactions.

Chapter 5: Findings

This chapter includes an outline of the findings that emerged from a thematic analysis of the seven participant narratives. The research questions guiding this study are:

1. How do second-generation West Indian²⁸ college students communicate their racial and ethnic identities?
2. What types of messages do second-generation West Indian students receive about their racial and ethnic identities from faculty or staff, peers, and family while in college?
3. How do second-generation West Indian students enact their racial and ethnic identities in their relationships with faculty or staff, peers, and family while in college?

To address the study's research questions, in this chapter I present five themes: (a) Proving Cultural Authenticity, (b) Defining a West Indian Identity, (c) Differences Exist but Race Still Matters, (d) Homophily in Friendships, and (e) Representation Matters: Faculty and Staff Relationships. The first two themes highlight how and why participants communicate their ethnic identities in the ways that they do, particularly within the context of their predominantly Black and Brown, immigrant neighborhoods across Boston, prior to college. The latter three themes illustrate how and why participants' racial and ethnic identities shape and are shaped by their relationships with peers and

²⁸ I will use West Indian and Caribbean interchangeably throughout this chapter to refer to Black people from the English-speaking/Anglophone Caribbean. I also use West Indian more consistently in the findings chapter because participants referred to themselves, their family, and/or community as West Indian and did not commonly use Afro-Caribbean. I use this term to honor their identity choices.

faculty or staff. In particular, the last three themes draw attention to the increased attention and salience participants gave to their racial identities and racial context.

Across the findings, there is a shift away from the context of Boston and the focus on ethnicity, toward the centrality of navigating race, predominantly white campuses, and racial identity. The following five sections detail how participants responded to and made meaning of messages from family, peers, and faculty or staff related to race, ethnicity, and second-generation, as well as immigrant, identities. Participants were familiar with their predominantly Black and Brown neighborhoods and Caribbean households, which contrasted with their extant ideas of self once they entered their predominantly white campuses. For most of the participants, navigating race and racial identity became central to their experience in college because their predominantly white environments compelled them to develop a new understanding of who they were. The chapter concludes with a summary articulating the story across the themes.

Proving Cultural Authenticity

All seven participants articulated their parents and families' emphasis on the importance of learning about and adopting West Indian cultural norms. First-generation family members and peers questioned some of the participants' cultural authenticity, despite participants' knowledge about West Indian practices and developing a salient ethnic identity. I use the term *cultural authenticity* to refer to one's ability to display sound evidence of cultural knowledge, understanding, and practices (e.g., language, accent, music, and ethnic foods from that culture) to others inside and outside their ethnic group. Cultural authenticity manifested through messages about nativity and language.

Tessann, O'Dane, Alexia, and Charlene internalized the belief that they needed to prove they were culturally authentic. Cultural authenticity did not show up in Sandra and Patrice's narratives. It is important to note that Sandra is Bajan²⁹ and Patrice is Trinidadian, while the other participants are Jamaican, suggesting that the Jamaican participants in this study were more likely to affirm their cultural authenticity. There was no data to indicate the reasons for the differences between the Jamaican and Bajan and Trinidadian participants.

Tessann encountered native Jamaicans and family members who questioned her authenticity due to her nationality as American and inability to speak Jamaican patois³⁰, even though she could understand it. I interviewed Tessann 2 days after she returned from a 2-week vacation in Jamaica. She stayed in Montego Bay, Jamaica, with her mother's friend, Andrea, who had two daughters, Katrina and Toni-Ann. Katrina and Toni-Ann made fun of and quizzed Tessann's patois comprehension and skills. Tessann recalled:

[Andrea's] kids swore that I couldn't understand patois at all, and I had to prove to them that I could, which is really annoying because I shouldn't have to prove that. They [said] "Oh, you're not Jamaican. You're American. You can't speak patois. You don't understand it." But I do. I don't speak it, but I do understand it. They [tried] to get me to say certain things in patois and they just laughed, which, they weren't trying to be mean or anything. . . . It made me extra aware of how I sound around them and how I sound when I try to speak patois. So [they said],

²⁹ Bajan refers to people from Barbados.

³⁰ Broken/Creole English specific to Jamaica (Mair, 2003)

“Oh yeah, it sounds a little off” I think it’s fine. But things like that, me having to prove my Jamaican-ness to Jamaican-born people.

Tessann expressed her frustration of needing to prove her understanding of patois to rightfully claim a Jamaican identity. She believed Katrina and Toni-Ann’s comments and testing were a direct challenge to her Jamaican identity. Tessann’s word choice of needing to prove her “Jamaican-ness to Jamaican-born people” demonstrated that she viewed herself as Jamaican but some native-born Jamaicans did not consider her Jamaican due to her nativity and inability to adequately speak patois.

The questioning of Tessann’s cultural authenticity resulted in her feeling self-conscious. Tessann’s aunt and uncles also made fun of her inability to speak patois and pointed out her American accent as something that made her different from them. The scrutiny of Tessann’s speech and accent indicated that if she did not do certain things deemed as culturally Jamaican, Tessann claimed, Jamaicans “would point it out, [and say], ‘You’re pretty American because you don’t do’” certain cultural things. Tessann’s encounters suggested being authentically Jamaican means that one must be able to speak patois and be born in Jamaica.

Family members also made fun of participants’ U.S. nationality to convey participants were not Jamaican. O’Dane noted, “my cousin [Shawn] used to call me [a yankee] all the time. He still calls me that. . . . I’m different. I’m not that.” *Yankee* is a term Jamaicans use to refer to Americans. O’Dane interpreted the term as mockery of his nationality and a challenge to his Jamaican identity because his ethnicity was important to him. O’Dane believed he was different from Americans because of his family and background. He explained:

Sometimes I look at myself as different. . . . I feel like [it's] really important that people need to know. . . [your background makes you who you are]. . . your family. . . wherever they come from that's what's gonna [shape] you. Especially if you grew up around your family the majority of your life, that's who you gonna be.

O'Dane viewed himself as different from Americans because his family is Jamaican, and he learned Jamaican cultural norms that shaped who he is. To be called a yankee suggested O'Dane was different from his family, but he did not see himself as different from them.

Connected to his perception of being different, O'Dane wanted to be perceived as authentically Jamaican by his college peers. Sometimes he told his peers he was born in Jamaica. When I inquired further about his reason for lying, he shared:

They can't say I'm wrong 'cause they don't have no proof that I'm wrong. . . . I did it 'cause I'm a funny person. . . . They would honestly believe me 'cause I could speak the language. . . . Some people come in my room, they would see [the Jamaican] flag. . . . I try to surround myself with Jamaican people as well. . . . But some people knew I was lying. Some people didn't though. . . . People couldn't tell me that I wasn't born there.

O'Dane believed his actions, such as speaking patois, hanging out with other Jamaican students, and having a flag in his room, signaled to his peers that he was authentically Jamaican. He wanted to demonstrate to his peers that he was different from them. He also understood his peers likely would not challenge his Jamaican identity and authenticity in

the same way his cousin or family could because his peers did not share the same background as him, and some did not know the truth about his nativity.

Charlene encountered intra-ethnic tensions when native-born Caribbean students in the CSA questioned the cultural authenticity of second-generation Caribbeans and asserted a superior attitude because of their foreign-born status. Charlene explained:

There's a deeper tension between Caribbeans that weren't born in Jamaica [or the Caribbean]. . . . I feel like there's a lot of "We're better" debates on campus. . . . So, like, what it means to be Caribbean. I just feel like there's a lot of back and forth between who's more authentic within the Caribbean community. . . . So within the CSA. . . a lot of Caribbeans don't feel comfortable being a part of the organization because of [the tension]. I just feel like there's a lot of entitlement, especially if you were born there or you seem to be more knowledgeable of your cultural identity than others. There's like an "I'm better than you," [attitude], which makes it unwelcoming to a lot of Caribbeans who didn't necessarily have the chance to explore that identity before coming to college.

Charlene's peers used their nationality to position themselves as different from, and presumably more authentic than, the second-generation students who were born in the United States. Charlene believed the first-generation Caribbean students' entitlement compelled second-generation Caribbean students to feel they as though they were not "in-touch with their Caribbean identity." Despite Charlene's salient Jamaican ethnic identity, she internalized the messages from the first-generation executive board members, leading her to withdraw. She allowed others to represent the Caribbean organization as she minimized her involvement with the event planning.

Tessann, O'Dane, Charlene, and Alexia learned that to be authentically Jamaican meant speaking and understanding patois, with a Jamaican accent, and being born in Jamaica. Proving Cultural Authenticity indicated perceptions of difference. Participants internalized these definitions of authenticity, resulting in feelings of self-consciousness or the need to prove oneself, sometimes withdrawing from the group, or feeling disconnected. While participants grappled with the messages and perceptions of authenticity, they believed they were Jamaican due to their ethnic heritage and the extent of their exposure to and decision to embrace Jamaican and Caribbean culture. However, when family and native-born Caribbeans challenged the participants' ethnicity, it was difficult for participants to feel fully accepted. Participants wanted to be viewed as authentically Caribbean, like the first-generation Caribbean students, and wanted to present themselves as different from native U.S.-born peers. Regardless if participants performed various cultural norms, others questioned their cultural authenticity due to their U.S. nationality and accents. The dynamics between the first- and second generations illustrated that generation status matters in interactions with one another.

Defining a West Indian Identity

While some participants confronted messages about cultural authenticity, all seven participants used their knowledge of cultural norms to communicate and enact their ethnic identities. Participants learned and adopted cultural practices, beliefs, and values from their families, which informed their ethnic identities. Cultural norms consisted of listening to stories about migration and way of life in the homeland; learning about important values, such as education and religion; traveling to the West Indies; listening, understanding, and learning the language and dialect of their parents; eating traditional

cultural dishes; and listening to Caribbean music. This theme outlines three strategies participants used to define their West Indian ethnicity: how they were raised, connecting with their parents' homeland, and understanding the language and accent of their families.

“How I Was Raised”

All seven participants suggested that how they were raised represented their unique, West Indian upbringing, especially in comparison to non-West Indians. Each participant said, “how I was raised,” or some variation of the phrase, to explain their ethnicity and behaviors. For example, Alexia believed she acted differently than her European boyfriend because of her adoption of her mother's behaviors and attitude:

I feel like I do certain things because I'm Jamaican. . . . Because of the way I was raised with my mom, sometimes I act a little bit differently. . . . My boyfriend is white and he's from Europe, so I feel like the way we act is, like, completely different. Sometimes, when we go out, I feel like he's a lot more shy than I am. I'm not afraid to speak up to the employee at the store or ask for something in a restaurant if I see the waiter walking by, so I just feel like that's because I'm Jamaican.

Alexia believed her upbringing in a Jamaican household shaped her behaviors. She suggested her observations and adoption of her mother's behaviors, such as “speaking up,” were cultural traits because her European boyfriend behaved differently. While “speaking up” may not be specific to one culture, Alexia's internalization of her behavior, as it was similar to her mother's behaviors, shaped her understanding of what she considered to be Jamaican.

Similarly, Sandra described how her parents instilled in her cultural practices that shaped her Bajan ethnic identity growing up:

I feel like I was born in Barbados just by how I was raised. . . . I was raised on Bajan music and Christian music. . . . We go to a couple festivals [in Boston], and every [other] year we go to Barbados. . . . I'm always saying I'm a proud Bajan, [because I] embrace the food, the music, the art, every aspect of the culture. I think I always try to incorporate [Bajan culture] into my life in some way, whether it's school or just who I hang out with or the music I listen to, how I dance and what type of dances I like to do or just [my approach to] social work in general. I take one piece of Barbados and I keep it with me.

Regular and repeated exposure to Bajan culture through music, food, art, interactions with Bajan people in Greater Boston, and traveling to Barbados cultivated Sandra's ethnic identity. Sandra also attended festivals "in the Roxbury-Dorchester area in Boston. . . where most Bajans live[d] or Caribbean people in general." Some of the festivals and Caribbean events were dinners, parties, and a time to dance because, according to Sandra, "Bajans love to dance." She expressed her ethnicity and cultural pride by incorporating aspects of her culture into what she did and shared about her culture with her peers in college. Sandra identified that because of her upbringing and connection to Bajans in Boston and in Barbados, she learned about Bajan culture and embraced cultural norms.

Patrice talked to her friends in college about how she was raised to articulate her ethnicity and why it's important to her:

I talk a lot about how I was raised, just about certain things I do and do not do. Talk a lot about food. I mean, when you're in college, all you do is talk about

food, because you're starving all the time. . . . I bring them—You know Only One? The Jamaican restaurant?—I bring them there all the time. I bring them to Ali's Roti Shop. I show them where all the best [Caribbean] food places are in Boston. So when I see them go there, I'm like, "You couldn't tell me we was going? I brought you there."

Patrice used stories about how she was raised and Caribbean restaurants she was familiar with in Boston to demonstrate her ethnic identity to her friends. Another example Patrice used to articulate how she was raised was her habit of drinking tea every morning. She laughed as she shared the example because her best friend in college, Jeanette, adopted the same behavior. She said, "Jeanette drinks tea every morning. It's so funny. [My friends] have picked up things from me that are not just food related but just the way we carry ourselves or do certain things."

The consistency in which participants spoke about how they were raised reflects how they understood and enacted their ethnic identities. They understood their ethnic identity in relation to their families and what they did together. How Alexia, Sandra, and Patrice were raised manifested in what they ate, their attitudes, habits, routines, and interests. The Boston context also played a role in contributing to participants' upbringing because they had access to ethnic enclaves, festivals, and restaurants that served as cultural sites and provided groups outside of the home that further reinforced their cultural background.

Homeland

Participants expressed a personal belief that they were from the same country as their parents. The belief in their direct connection was evident in their reference to their

parents' nation as "home" or telling others they are "from" that country. When participants said they were from Barbados, for example, they were aware that they were not Caribbean nationals; however, the idea of being "from" the Caribbean validated their ethnic identities and their perceived direct connections to places abroad.

Sandra felt a connection to Barbados, particularly because her family traveled there every other year to visit family. During her trips she learned more about her parents' upbringing and they showed her where they used to live. She expressed that her parents made sure she and her brother "know where they came from." Sandra's awareness of current events in Barbados further illustrated her personal connection to the island:

[On] Facebook, I'll share events that's happening around, not even just negative things that's affecting me and showing people why it's affecting me, but also positive things. Recently, Barbados had their first female prime minister, so I definitely shared that. I let people know we're making changes, and I'm proud of that.

Sandra used her social media to share current events and convey her pride in Barbados. Additionally, Sandra expressed a sense of ownership in the political progress in Barbados, using the pronoun "we" to describe her pride in the political changes in Barbados. She believed current events in Barbados impacted her, demonstrating her connection to not only the culture but also the island and Bajan people who live there and Bajan migrants.

Charlene rarely visited Jamaica but referred to it as home. She shared:

So I've been to Jamaica twice, technically, once that I can remember. I went with my Dad. . . . I spent time with family there, which is pretty nice. So, like, that's another way that I got in tune with the culture. . . . I don't spend that much time with family back home, though. Most of my family is in Jamaica, and we don't go back that often.

Visiting Jamaica was a way for Charlene to further learn about her ethnic background. She referenced Jamaica as "home," signaling a personal connection to the island, especially since she had family there.

In contrast, Patrice never visited Trinidad, but felt a personal connection to the island because of her family and involvement in Carnival³¹ and cultural practices. She shared:

[The] stories that I hear about Trinidad [Carnival], the only difference is the weather. So, we can't do certain things [in Boston] because of the weather, but other than that, I have Carnival [in Boston]. It's definitely a totally different experience to Trinidad, but because I've even traveled [to Montreal and Atlanta] for Carnival, I don't really feel like I'm missing anything. So yeah, I wasn't born in Trinidad but. . . as a child [born to a Trinidadian parent]. . . . So, my grandmother [migrated to the United States], not just for her own kids who were born in Trinidad but for her [grand]children, who she knew wasn't gonna be born in Trinidad, for her children who she knew were going to [have] their lives [in the

³¹ Carnival is a cultural event, connected to Trinidad and Tobago history, showcasing Caribbean culture with a parade, costumes, food, and music (Boston Carnival Village, 2019).

United States]. So, I feel like, I'm always reminded: don't forget where you come from. Don't forget how you were raised.

Patrice used Carnival as a point of reference for her connection to Trinidad, but more importantly, Trinidadian culture. She saw the connection between how she was raised and knowing where she "came from" (i.e., her background and heritage). Although Patrice never traveled to Trinidad, Patrice's participation in Carnival, in various cities, including Boston, reinforced her cultural identity and maintained its importance in her life. For Patrice, her family's nativity and background sufficiently connected her to the island of Trinidad.

Participants' perceptions of homeland shed light on how they viewed their ethnic identities. Regardless of their U.S. nationality, some participants claimed their parents' homeland as their own. Participants' views of their personal connections to homeland suggest a connection to an immigrant identity. They viewed themselves as being from somewhere other than, or in addition to, the United States.

Language and Accent

All participants identified language and accent as key characteristics of their background, which also informed their ethnic identities. Participants felt further connected to their ethnic identities and immigrant backgrounds if they had the ability to speak their parents' language, speak with a Caribbean accent, or understand when their family spoke in a West Indian dialect. Although participants' families spoke English because they were from English-speaking nations, each Anglophone country has a language and an accent that is distinct and unique (Nero, 2000). West Indians' dialect and accents illustrate immigrant identity.

All seven participants admitted they could not speak their parents' native language, but they could understand their families' dialect and accents. The five Jamaican participants' families spoke patois, while the Trinidadian and Bajan participants' families spoke with a different dialect, referred to as *broken English*. All the participants referred to their families' tendency to speak with an accent.

I asked Maxine how her family communicated to her what it means to be Jamaican. Part of her understanding about being Jamaican stemmed from the ability to speak and understand patois. She shared:

Yeah, so I can pick [up patois], so I can know what people are saying. Like, pear [in the United States] is a fruit, but [in Jamaica] it's [an] avocado, [so] avocado [in Jamaica] is a pear. I learned that 2 years ago over the phone. I was like, "I need to know what this means." So then that's how I learned. It was just through asking questions.

Maxine wanted to know what Jamaicans were saying when they spoke patois. When she encountered a word that she did not understand, she asked her parents to translate. She felt compelled to know patois to further connect with Jamaicans and her ethnic identity. She continued to ask her parents about unfamiliar patois words and phrases while she was away at college to remain connected to her family and culture.

Similarly, Patrice noted the language her family spoke at home was different than what her friends knew and understood. She explained when she talked to her friends in college about certain foods, they did not understand the terms she used:

I know people [on campus] aren't going to understand some of the things I say. . . . There are certain things that I would say [at home] that I wouldn't say [when I

am on campus], because [my friends] wouldn't really understand what it means. . . . At school, people say "avocado." At home I say "zabuca." They don't know what zabuca means when I'm at school. Even my friends who claim to be Jamaican, Bajan, whatever. But they're not in tune with their culture the way I'm in tune with my culture. They're like, "Wait, what?" I'm like, "You don't know what zabuca is?"

While many people know what an avocado is, Patrice's Trinidadian family had a different term for it. Patrice recognized that although some of her friends were Caribbean, they may not have known some of the Caribbean words used to describe some things. Because of their lack of understanding, Patrice perceived her Caribbean friends as less connected to their cultures.

When participants did not hear their parents speak patois or with an accent, they believed they were somewhat disconnected from their culture and at a disadvantage. Alexia believed she was missing out on a closer connection to her culture because her mother and father rarely spoke with a Jamaican accent or patois. She expressed:

Being Jamaican and with my mom living in America for so long, her accent isn't as strong as it used to be, and sometimes I miss it because. . . I know she's Jamaican, and I know we're Jamaicans, so I want to hear the Jamaican accent and not really an American accent, because with dad, I don't hear the accent at all sometimes, only when he's talking to my mom, and it's still not even that thick.

Alexia did not speak patois nor with an accent. Hearing her parents speak patois and with an accent helped her to feel further connected to her culture. Because she did not hear

patois among her parents, she missed out on that characteristic and experiences related to her ethnicity.

In comparison, when Sandra listened to and understood her parents' accents and their broken English³², she felt more connected to her Bajan identity. She explained:

I think another way I embrace Bajan culture is my parents speak broken English, and it literally took me a couple years ago to realize that some of my friends [in college] can't understand my parents, just because I've been raised around hearing them with a strong accent. . . . Especially when they're not in the greatest mood, they speak really fast. I never realized that when my parents ask my friends things, they have no idea what they're saying, because I just think it's normal English to me. I think that's a difference between me and my friends and a way that I can identify myself more [with] being an Afro-Caribbean girl in a group of my friends, the fact that my parents speak differently. Even though it's English, I'm still proud that they speak that way. I'm still proud that I can still hear their accent even though they've been here for so long.

Sandra's parents' accent was a clear indication that her family was different from her non-West Indian friends' families. Because her parents retained their accent after living in the United States for a few decades, Sandra believed she could draw from her parents' language and accent to connect with her Bajan identity. Her parents' accents and her ability to understand it was a source of ethnic pride and a tangible cultural connection for Sandra.

³² Broken English is "A combination of the phonology, morphology, and syntax of West African and other ethnic languages, with the largest contribution to the lexicon coming from British English." (Nero, 2000, p. 486).

Participants' connection to their parents' language and accents through their interactions was important to them feeling connected to their culture. The ability to understand their families' language and accent helped them to further associate with their ethnic identity. The concept of cultural authenticity complements this theme in that participants perceived themselves as culturally authentic in their ability to understand their families' language and accents. However, native-West Indians may not perceive participants as culturally authentic for their language comprehension, but for their language skills, thus comprehension may not be enough to make participants culturally authentic in the eyes of first-generation West Indians. Regardless, participants desired to understand and be exposed to Caribbean language and accents, demonstrating that their ethnic identities were important to them.

Participants developed significance around cultural behaviors and attitudes, their parents' homelands, and their comprehension and exposure to West Indian languages and accents. Explaining how they were raised, posting on Facebook about their parents' homelands, speaking patois in the presence of their non-West Indian peers, or asking their parents to translate were all strategies to communicate, enact, and maintain the salience of their ethnicity. While many of these strategies were developed prior to college, participants used them in their interactions with their peers and families once they went to college.

Differences Exist, but Race Still Matters

While ethnicity was important to participants, race also mattered, in different ways. Because race tends to be a more visible identity, participants were used to or became familiar with peers, faculty, and staff pointing out race in subtle and explicit

ways, compelling participants to consider the ways race and racial encounters shaped their identities and experiences in college. The third theme details participants' perceptions about the differences that exist between them and African Americans³³; Black people and white people; and West Indians and Americans, especially white Americans.

What It Means to Be Black

Participants received messages from their parents about the differences between them and African Americans and Black and white people, which shaped their ethnic and racial identities. Racialized encounters in college further shaped how participants viewed their racial identities and racial status and influenced their perceptions of others.

Participants viewed their West Indian ethnicity as distinct from their race (i.e., being Black), delineating the relatedness and differences between being Black and being African American. Participants' experiences and perspectives shed light on the complexity of the racialized component of ethnicity.

Prior to college, race was salient for Sandra, Tessann, Maxine, and Alexia, and less salient for O'Dane, Patrice, and Charlene. The former group attended predominantly white schools for K-12, except for Alexia, who went to school with predominantly African Americans. They spoke about the racial microaggressions they encountered, which made them aware of their race at a young age. For example, Tessann recalled when she was 8 years old, a white girl said to her, "I don't like brownies," referring to Tessann. It was not until Tessann told her mother about the encounter when she realized

³³ Throughout this chapter I will use Black American and African American interchangeably to refer to persons of African descent whose family have been in the United States for three generations or more.

it was about her skin color. O'Dane, Patrice, and Charlene grew up in predominantly Black and Brown immigrant neighborhoods and schools and were aware of their race, but less likely to think about how their race shaped their experiences because many of their peers and neighbors looked like them, thus, their racial identity was less salient than their ethnic identity. Once all participants went to college, however, their PWC environments were new contexts where they encountered diverse groups and racialized incidents.

O'Dane became more aware of his race and racial issues due to the racial composition and racist incidents on his college campus. His observation of his campus environment led him to consider what it meant for him to be Black and in college.

When I first went to college, I made a lot of sense of [what it means to be Black] because . . . I see a lot of people I went to high school with, what they did after high school, that's when I realized, like, wow, I've been granted with an opportunity that is very limited I would say for my skin, a person of color. But I went to [high] school with a lot of African Americans. A lot of African Americans I went to school with didn't take the same route that I took. I'm not saying college is the best route to take, I'm just saying it's sometimes the easier route, sometimes the best route because you can never know where you're gonna end up.

O'Dane's reflections implied that being in college was a matter of choice and "an opportunity," albeit limited, for Black people and other people of color. He viewed himself differently from some of the African Americans from his high school in that he went to college and some of them did not. He viewed education as an opportunity granted to him instead of education as a human right. His choice in using "African American"

instead of “Black” or “person of color” suggests his perception of an ethnic difference. He perceived African American to be different from yet connected to being Black because he recognized there were few Black people on his campus and that some of his African American peers did not go to college.

In addition to his racially minoritized status on campus, O’Dane’s encounters in his first year of college revealed race matters to how he viewed himself and others. He discussed what it was like transitioning from inner-city Boston to a PWI in a predominantly white area of Massachusetts and experiencing racism:

A lot of ignorance. A lot of white people using the n-word normally. I remember this one white girl was talking to me and my friend. She was like, “Yeah, I have a fish. That’s my n-word.” We were just looking at her crazy, like, “Did you just say that to us?” I used to go to a high school with a lot of African American and Hispanic people, so if I would hear that around those people, it’d be normal. But I feel like as soon as I stepped into that world, I had to be more aware of that word. So when she said that around us, I just got so uncomfortable. . . . That was just different. I’ve never experienced that before in my life. We were telling her, “You’re not allowed to say that. You can’t say that.” She was acting like, “Why? Everybody says it. I have friends who say it.” Yea, but. . . . It’s just different. When you have to explain that to somebody. Certain people are just really that ignorant.

O’Dane’s encounters with racism showed him that he should be more aware of race in his interactions with others. He never had such an experience and it opened his eyes to the fact that race mattered, and his race mattered to him. He believed he stepped into another

“world” when he went to college because there were fewer people who looked like him compared to his Dorchester neighborhood in Boston. After he shared that story, I asked him how such incidents in college led him to think about his racial and ethnic identities, and he explained he “felt different” every time he left his residence hall, or when he went back to campus after going home to Boston. He knew white people on his campus would “treat [him] differently. . . and look at [him] differently.” O’Dane felt different because he was a Black person in a PWC environment, and he was more aware of his race and that race mattered in that space.

Similarly, Charlene became more aware of her race and the importance of race in her interactions. She questioned if attending a PWI inherently comes with stigmas and a sense of discomfort, especially for racially minoritized students:

So I always knew that I was Black, and. . . Caribbean, and I always knew that was a factor in my life, and that odds, according to my Mom, were against me, but I’ve never really had experiences that capitalized on that, until college. I still haven’t had any, like, stereotypical racist experiences. . . . I feel like my [Black] identity means much more in college, like, especially in the classroom. . . . I feel it’s just more difficult to handle, subconsciously. Just walking around at a PWI, knowing that you are not a white person, is very difficult to handle. . . . [It] makes it very hard to relate, for me personally, and very hard for me to like branch out into a friend group that’s not Black or people of color. Which is why I say my identity means much more in the classroom. Like, you’re the only person of color; you’re the only black person; you’re the only Caribbean person. It’s, like, intimidating. . . . Coming from a high school where your race didn’t really matter,

or your identity didn't really matter, to a college where it suddenly matters. It's not an explicit, like, you are Black, and you cannot perform. You know what I mean? But it's like, it's just ingrained in the culture of PWIs, which makes it very hard to navigate. . . . It's just that with [Black] identity, challenges come.

Charlene was always aware of her race and ethnicity and that Black people may face discrimination, but she never had such encounters. Although she said she did not encounter anything racist, she questioned if her white peers held a negative view of her based on stereotypes about Black people. Charlene considered her racial identity more through the lens of being a racial minority and how she might be perceived. In college, she became more aware of what made her different from many of her peers: their race. For O'Dane and Charlene they reconsidered their views of their racial identity and questioned how their white peers might perceive them because they were Black. Prior to college they were in predominantly Black and Brown environments, which reflected to them what they saw in themselves: people with whom they could relate and feel comfortable.

On the other hand, Maxine attended PWIs for her entire educational career and was aware of her race because of her interactions in schools from K-12. She shared instances where she sought comfort in the company of peers of color at her predominantly white schools. She purported her race was more of a physical characteristic that did not fully indicate who she was: "Jamaican. That's more of who I am. Black is just what everyone else sees on first glimpse. Jamaican is like, 'Oh, this is how you were born. This is how you were raised.' You're just brought up like, 'That's me.'" Maxine was used to being the only Black person in some of her classes her entire

educational career. Her race was a physical characteristic with which she was familiar and by which she was notably identified, especially from her white peers. Being Jamaican meant something to her and implied characteristics about her upbringing and what she was like.

The direct and indirect messages participants received about race in college not only shaped how they viewed themselves but also shaped how they viewed members outside of their ethnic group. Sandra, Maxine, and Tessann's college experiences reinforced for them that race mattered to who they were because they had negative racial encounters while attending predominantly white K-12 schools in the suburbs of Boston. For example, Sandra's experience after a Black Lives Matter protest her first year of college changed how she viewed herself and white people:

I participated in a lie down. . . . [Then] we would walk through the [nearby] colleges. There was one school where a couple white males brought signs out. They took the time to write out signs saying, "You guys asked for it," and "All lives matter." It opened my eyes a lot to the fact that people really aren't accepting of Black people just because of how they look rather than judging them on their personality or their character or the actions they do. . . . I've had some situations regarding roommates. All my roommates [in college] were white, and there was a disconnect that I haven't noticed before until I lived with a white person that they just didn't understand where I was coming from. After the walk, I was pretty emotional. They just didn't care. I think that situation, my roommates, and just seeing how there can be such a disconnect even with people you get

along with, I think really sparked the fact that I need to be proud of where I'm from and who I am.

Sandra realized that some white people might perceive her in a certain way simply because she was Black. Once she realized some white people might perceive her negatively because of her race, she viewed white people differently. Her perspective of her racial identity and white people shifted, influencing her behaviors for who and why she decided to build relationships with on campus and how she portrayed herself to them. She sought out connections with primarily people of color and proudly shared her ethnic and racial identity by talking about her ethnic background, family, and racial issues that concerned her.

O'Dane, Charlene, Maxine, and Sandra's experiences in college led them to view race and their racial identity in new ways. Their perspectives on race shifted in that they began or continued to realize that whether their race was important to them, it mattered in their interactions with others and how others might view them. While they still held their ethnicity as important, race played a major role in their experiences, especially once they were in college. They were also aware of stereotypes about Black people and felt pressured to meet or dispel others' expectations of them, whether they agreed with those expectations.

What It Means to be African American

Participants learned from their families about the differences between West Indians and African Americans. Five out of the seven participants did not identify as African American because they viewed African American as a distinct ethnic group. Participants believed there were certain behaviors and attitudes they held that were

different from some of the behaviors and attitudes of some African Americans. What it means to be African American points to characteristics such as history, heritage, food, music, and language but also how each group understands and navigates racial issues and racism.

Participants articulated their understanding of what it means to be African American by identifying what African Americans may not do. They suggested African Americans are different from West Indians because they may not eat the same foods, listen to the same music, or speak the same language or with the same accent. However, what cemented participants understanding of what it means to be African American was how they defined African American and perceived differences in behaviors and attitudes.

Patrice articulated being Trinidadian made her “different” from African Americans. She explained:

I wouldn't say that I'm African American. I would say, like you said, I'm Afro-Caribbean, but somebody whose parents were born and raised in the South, their grandparents, their grandparents' parents, nah, they're African American, but I think I'm different.

Patrice argued family heritage is the reason why she did not identify as African American. Based on her definition, her ethnicity was Trinidadian because her mother and grandmother were from Trinidad.

Patrice also learned her family held certain ideas about African Americans that further solidified why she viewed African Americans as different from Trinidadians. She explained:

To my grandmother, an [African] American is those who go to Carnival and cause trouble. The people who shoot, fight, all that other foolishness at Carnival, she labels those as [African] Americans. She's like, "They're not real Trinidadians. They're not real West Indians." Period. Because real West Indians know you don't go out to Carnival and do that. . . . Carnival is supposed to be the opposite of that. Carnival is supposed to be what links up those two people who might have a beef or Carnival is supposed to be, like, what neutralizes whatever hard situation that you have. . . . Carnival's not supposed to be about fighting, shooting, pulling up on somebody randomly. [My grandmother] labels them as [African] Americans.

Patrice perceived African Americans were the attendees at Carnival who started trouble, fights, or altercations. If some of the attendees at Carnival were Trinidadian and West Indian and participated in an altercation, then they must not be "real" or authentic West Indians because they should know the unwritten rules of Carnival. Given Patrice's grandmother's assessment, if attendees' behaviors are not in alignment with culturally sanctioned behaviors, then they must be African American. Patrice adopted this stereotype about African Americans based on the behaviors of a small select group because they were acting different from what she believed to be how West Indians should behave at Carnival.

Charlene also did not identify as African American due to negative stereotypes and her understanding of what African American means. Charlene explained:

I don't like being identified as African American because I'm not from Africa.

Even though I know what the term means. . . . So I didn't like identifying as that,

I preferred Black or Jamaican. Also growing up, I think very slick comments were made in my household that kinda looked down upon darker skin. Very subtle, but I realized it. . . . After I grew up, actually in college, last year, my Mom always jokes, “Oh, you used to be really light when you were younger. I don’t know what happened. It must be sin.” It’s a joke, but it’s very subtle. So darker skin. . . was looked down upon, and I feel like I grew up with that mentality for a long time that, “I’m not dark skin, and I’m better” I think the term just made me feel uncomfortable. I guess I didn’t really know. Like, there’s no concrete reason. It just rubbed me the wrong way growing up even though not all African Americans have a darker skin complexion. It just had like a negative connotation growing up for me.

Charlene disassociated from the label African American because of negative stereotypes she heard about dark-skin people that she attached to African Americans. This line of thinking is also reflective of colorism³⁴, in which when lighter skinned people are perceived more favorably than darker skinned people. Thus, she viewed herself more favorably based on her skin tone and people’s treatment (e.g., her mother) of her because she was lighter. Her mother’s subtle comments about Charlene’s darker skin and sin associates darker skinned people with committing transgressions. Charlene internalized negative comments about dark skin people (despite different hues in the African American community) and developed a negative perception of African Americans.

³⁴ Colorism is a color stratification system that privileges lighter skin people over darker skin people in different aspects of life such as relationships, media, housing, and other systems (Hunter, 2007).

Patrice and Charlene received negative messages about behaviors and skin color stereotypically and generally attached to African Americans, despite identifying racially as Black. They did not relate to or connect with the label African American growing up because of what they believed the label meant. Patrice and Charlene's families maintained that stereotypes about Black people are more reflective of African Americans and not necessarily Black people generally. The beliefs shared in their families reflect a desire to not be associated with people in the same racial category.

A few participants also articulated the differences in how African Americans navigate the racialized component of their ethnicity compared to West Indians. Tessann explained how the use of the n-word is different for African Americans than for Jamaicans:

Things that [African Americans] say that I don't really say because I didn't really hear it growing up, like the n-word. I don't really care if Black people use it, but I don't use it because it was just never really [used] around me. Jamaicans have used it, but they don't really use it in the way that Black Americans do. I don't really know why, but they don't just throw it around as much. I didn't grow up using it, but I do have Black friends that do use it that are American.

Tessann understood that many African Americans' reclamation of the n-word is accepted. The use of the n-word marked a contextual difference between African Americans and Jamaicans. The history of the n-word in the United States was historically and continues to relate to race, racism, and anti-Blackness as a tool of white supremacy (Bonilla-Silva, 2001). Jamaicans socialized in Jamaica grew up in predominantly Black communities; thus, their context, understanding, and use of the n-word is likely different. The

difference is the ways in which Jamaicans and African Americans have encountered and employed the n-word.

In Tessann's example, African Americans are not simply different based on ethnicity but in how they navigate and express the racialized component of their ethnicity by reclaiming a word that was and is used to oppress them. The racial context in the United States for African Americans differs from the racial context in Jamaica, influencing how each group navigates race and racial issues (Waters, 1999). Given the hostile racial climate and history in the United States, there are differences in perceptions and engagement around issues of race and racism for African Americans and West Indians.

Relatedly, O'Dane's Jamaican family context likely informed his perspective on racial issues based on his response to a conversation among a group of African American students on campus. O'Dane attended a meeting with a predominantly BSO in which the group discussed racial issues on campus. He explained:

Yeah, there's racial problems going on, but you've got to realize that we're living in a world where it's supposed to be against us. I feel people act more surprised. They're like, "Yeah, I understand that." I'm not too startled. . . . Sometimes people call me crazy for this, but whenever stuff happens in the media about a crazy racial problem—I just feel like history repeats itself. This type of stuff is gonna happen for years and years and years and years. . . . I just don't see a change happening. . . . It's gonna get better, but I don't see a complete, 360 change. Sometimes, I feel like there's a lot of African Americans that want to be dominant rather than want to be equal to other races. That's what drives me away

from discussions like that because I don't like to be a part of stuff like that. Yea, the other races, like the white race, is more dominant than the Black race is, and they're acting more dominant. . . . I feel like people don't realize that's the problem. Now there's a lot of Black people who want to be more dominant than other races, where it shouldn't be like that. Everybody should just want equality, you know?

O'Dane grasped that the racial issues, on campus and in the United States broadly, negatively impact Black people. Yet, his views on the response to racial issues differed from his African American peers. He did not clarify what he believed should happen. He perceived that some African Americans argue that change will happen, and for it to occur, African Americans need to become the dominant racial group. Since he disagreed with African Americans' perceptions on the matter, he disengaged from the conversation. Despite a shared racial identity, O'Dane and his African American peers' responses to racial issues illustrated the differences in how both perceive race and the racialized component of their ethnicity. O'Dane had a different response because he viewed his racial identity as separate from his ethnic identity. African Americans did not have the same choice to differentiate their race from ethnicity in that they have historically been viewed primarily as a racial group compared to West Indians, who tend to be viewed as an ethnic group racially similar to African Americans (Waters, 1999).

Participants identified behaviors and attitudes that were a part of or not a part of their cultures, which informed their decisions not to ascribe to an African American identity. Participants argued their upbringing in a Caribbean household made them culturally different from their African American peers. Beyond cultural differences in

food, music, and language, there are clear differences in how both groups regarded race. Also, racist ideologies likely inform participants' perspectives in that they attach certain judgments to behaviors they believed to be African American culture based on negative stereotypes. Therefore, the label of African American did not capture their cultures and their senses of self. West Indians' and African Americans' experiences of racialization have shaped their perspectives on race and racial issues.

What It Means to Be American

In addition to the complex layer of the racialized component of ethnicity, participants articulated what it means to be American, which connected to their views on race and immigrant status. All participants were born in the United States, and their nationality was American. Four participants did not view themselves as American but each for a different reason. Some African Americans do not consider themselves American or do not believe that white people view them as American because of a predominant view that American equates whiteness and that African Americans are often treated like second-class citizens (Hecht et al., 2003; Omi, & Winant, 2014; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). Participants did not consider themselves American because they felt more connected to their second-generation status and immigrant backgrounds due to their upbringing in West Indian households. Participants occasionally made the distinction between white or Black Americans but generally referred to white Americans.

For example, Maxine stated, "I'm Black and I'm Jamaican. Because I was born here, I'm technically American, but I don't want that." When I asked her why she does not identify as American, she said because the United States acts foolish. She didn't expand on her statement but went on to talk about her observation of white children

doing things in their home that she could not do in her Jamaican home, such as walk into the house with her shoes on or having a tantrum in the middle of the grocery store. Her story suggested she likely viewed white people as Americans and that Americans are fundamentally different from West Indians.

Charlene unenthusiastically acknowledged her American identity but argued her upbringing in a Jamaican household best reflected who she was. She shared when she was younger, she assumed “American” meant someone who is white, rich, and educated, which did not describe her family,

I mean, I can claim to be an American now, but that’s also an identity that I didn’t want to accept, because the culture in my household wasn’t American culture, and my parents weren’t from America. I just felt like I couldn’t really relate to American culture at all. Like, in [my] household, it was strictly Jamaican culture and Jamaican food. You know what I mean? I didn’t see myself being a part of an American identity, which is why I didn’t like claim that for myself. But I guess now, ‘cause I was born in America, I do accept it now, but growing up, I didn’t. I didn’t consider myself to be an American.

Charlene believed the things she did at home, her parents’ heritage, language, accents, and food were different than what Americans did or experienced in their households. She perceived the culture in her Jamaican home was different than that of an American household and chose not to ascribe to an American identity. However, she acknowledged American as a nationality because she was born in the United States and reluctantly accepted that identity.

Like Charlene, O'Dane also accepted his American nationality but did not identify as American based on his understanding of what it means to be Jamaican and his immigrant background. O'Dane stated he and his Black Caribbean friends prefer to identify ethnically, stating, "If people ask me, 'What are you?' I don't say 'I'm Black.' I say 'I'm Jamaican.' Or [my friends] say they're Haitian. They don't say, 'Yeah, I'm American.' Nobody says, 'I'm American.'" When asked why he did not say he is American, he added,

I just don't think I'm American. I'm an American but I just—That's just [not] who I think I am. I know I'm Jamaican. I just know I'm not an American because when a Jamaican calls you an American, I feel, like, it's just sort of disrespectful.

O'Dane did not view himself as American because of the messages he received at home about his Jamaican background. He internalized that what he did with his family was different from Americans.

Although O'Dane initially insisted that he is not American, he recognized he inevitably adopted American cultural practices and subsequently recognized his American identity, saying:

I feel like I'm 50/50 sometimes. It depends on who I'm around. Or what I'm doing. Because we do a lot of American stuff and don't realize it. Like playing basketball. Or I like to paintball too, [which are] American thing[s], rather than play soccer. . . or cricket³⁵ So our activities are just so different than [Jamaicans].

When I'm around my brother or Kadeem or when I'm around my parents or my

³⁵ Cricket is a sport that was developed in England. The game consists of two teams take turns batting and bowling to score runs (Topend Sports, 2008).

family, I feel Jamaican because they talk to me in patois. They don't talk to me in English. When I'm around people who talk to me in straight English, that's when I feel like I'm an American. Because even when I'm around my Haitian friends, we always make jokes about how their parents talk, but you can't really do that around people who don't share that similar background to you.

Depending on who he was with, O'Dane was more aware of his American or Jamaican identity, illustrating the contextual nature of identity. The activities he engaged in makes him feel American, while his interactions with family made him feel Jamaican. In this case, language and accent demonstrated how O'Dane's identity was contextual based on his audience, and he navigated between both identities and cultures. His navigation of both identities and cultures was a key characteristic of his status as second generation. Navigating between both identities, O'Dane was not always aware when one identity was more salient than another. He adopted cultural practices from Jamaican and American cultures but chose to identify with his Jamaican identity when asked "What are you?" because being Jamaican was more important to him.

This third theme highlighted the nuance in participants' navigation of their identities as West Indian, Black, and second generation. Participants' ideologies about what it means to be Black, African American, and American intersected and are complex. Each identity—Black, African American, and American—connected to beliefs rooted in racism. Participants consciously and unconsciously relied on stereotypes about African Americans and Black and white people to articulate their understandings of the differences between groups. Regardless of the differences, participants acknowledged

that race was the thread that reinforced the distinctions and similarities across groups and was woven into the fabric of their experiences in college.

Homophily in Friendships

The previous three themes focused on participants' perceptions of who they were, who they were like, and who they were unlike. The latter two themes are a shift toward explicitly exploring participants' relationships with their college peers and faculty or staff. This theme addresses how participants enacted their identities based on who they chose as friends and why.

Participants felt most comfortable in their friendships with other second-generation, Black, immigrant peers from the Caribbean and Africa. Friendships were the ideal relationships where participants exhibited integrated racial, ethnic, and second-generation identities. Homophily is the best explanation for the composition and quality of participants' friendships. Homophily is the concept that people are more likely to interact with others they perceive as similar to them "along sociodemographic dimensions" than with people who they perceive as dissimilar (McPherson, Popielarz, & Drobnic, 1992, p. 154). The data revealed in high school, participants were more likely to have West Indian friends if they attended a predominantly Black or Brown high school in Boston. Participants who attended predominantly white high schools outside of Boston had racially and ethnically diverse friends (Black, Latino, Asian, and white), but their friends were mostly students of color.

Regardless of the type of high school they attended, participants associated with other Black, second-generation, West Indian and African students in college because they referenced ethnic, racial, and/or immigrant identities as important factors that connected

them. For five of the seven participants' immigrant backgrounds (i.e., first or second generation) *and* race were most important in shaping their social interactions. Four out of the five, expressed ethnicity was also an important factor. For Alexia, race was primarily important in her friendships, and her close friends happened to have an immigrant background (first- and second-generation African and West Indian), while Sandra's friends were all in the same major and were racially and ethnically diverse.

Connecting With Ethnically Similar and Black Immigrant Peers

Participants developed friendships with other Black immigrant students on campus. They were more likely to find their friends through CSOs, in classes, or through other forms of involvement on campus (e.g., a bridge or mentoring program). Connecting with Black, immigrant students provided a sense of familiarity and relatability. Charlene shared she felt most comfortable around other Black immigrant students. She explained:

I am a person who relates more to people who look like me or who share the same identity as me. So going into [college] I looked for those type of people subconsciously, you know? And because my whole circle is people that I can relate to and because that is my personality, it's very hard for me to branch out to make friends that don't look like me and that do not share the same identity as me. My circle is small. . . . I'm really close to four people. [They are] Haitian, Trinidadian, African, and Black. We really [talk] about what it means to be a person of color on campus and how that makes us feel. We listen to a lot of Caribbean music, just engaging in cultural aspects of our identity, whether it's music, dancing, or food.

Charlene's intention to seek out friendships with people whom she perceived as similar to her lied in her assumption that her peers who were Black immigrants would likely view and express their identities in similar ways. She found her friends in the CSO, Caribbean dance group, and her summer bridge program. She found friends who happened to not only share the same sociodemographics in terms of race, ethnicity, class, and FGCS but shared the same interests related to identity and culture. Charlene also believed she connected best with people who were similar because her campus was majority white, from affluent families, and not the first in their families to go to college.

Similarly, Maxine felt a sense of belonging on her PWC due to her predominantly Black, first- and second-generation immigrant friends. Her close friends in college represented Ghana, Senegal, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, and Columbia. Despite some cultural differences, Maxine identified similarities among them because she understood her friends' stories about their family and upbringing from an immigrant perspective:

I think we're all different. Because if we share a story about what happened in our childhood, we can all kind of relate. They'll say, "My parents will always be like, 'I walked two miles from and to [wherever]'" And I'm like, "I know you didn't." My friend Paul will be like, "Yeah, my dad said he had to walk a day and a half." And I'm like, "It doesn't add up." But we'll laugh about that stuff and then we just know that we're born and raised different.

When Maxine and her friends shared stories about how their parents described their upbringing abroad, they related to each other's stories. The stories reflected similar experiences. The connection between Maxine and her friends not only lied in the retelling

of their parents' stories but in the similarities of the details, humor, and assumed hyperbole in their immigrant parents' stories. Maxine also compared her and her friends' upbringing to those of native-born students, especially white students.

Maxine believed immigrant parents' stories illustrated an experience and perspective that is likely different from U.S.-born parents and U.S.-born students who might not relate. She went on to say, "So when I would have a clash morally with a white person, I know I wouldn't have to clash morally with [my friends] because I know they were taught the same thing." Maxine assumed that because her friends had immigrant backgrounds, they had similar morals based on stories they shared about their upbringing. Maxine also provided an example to illustrate similar practices between her and her Ghanaian roommate, Nana. For example, they both took off their shoes before entering the dorm room. Maxine's comments suggested what she encountered with her Black immigrant friends paralleled her experiences and shaped their attitudes and behaviors differently compared to her white peers. Maxine purported an immigrant connection existed between her and her peers.

While other participants generally noted similarities with their friends based on ethnicity and race, Tessann felt the closest to second-generation, Black, West Indian peers. Her desire to be around ethnically similar peers motivated her to join the CSO:

There wasn't really a specific reason. I just thought [CSO] was closer to home with me. Obviously, I identify as Black, and I've been to [CSO] events as well. . . . It was just I identified more with the Caribbean, because they're Black and they're Caribbean, and so am I. I just like naturally gravitated towards that. It's not like I chose [CSO] over the [BSA]. It was just kind of how it worked out. I

make certain references and if I'm around a bunch of people in [CSO], they're going to get what I'm talking about, so that was really good.

Tessann's gravitation toward racially and ethnically similar peers illustrates the principle of homophily. Because Tessann presumed her peers in CSO likely ascribed to a salient Black and Caribbean identity, she believed they could relate to each other about various aspects of their Caribbean *and* Black identities. In CSO, Tessann integrated her racial, ethnic, and second-generation identities in community with those who shared the same identities.

Tessann added that meeting second-generation, West Indian students in college provided more opportunities to explore her Jamaican ethnicity and connect with similar peers:

I'm glad I went to such a big school because there are so many different little communities that you can make and. . . finding people that you have things in common with that you can't really talk about as easily with your other friends. Even if they are also Black, they're not going to know Beres Hammond. They're not going to know Sanchez. [College] made me think about being Jamaican more because I was meeting more Jamaican people, Caribbean people. Being second-generation, we still have the Americanisms and then have the Caribbean background. It's just, navigating those two and trying to make them work well together. Because sometimes certain things might clash. So, it's kind of like an ongoing balancing act, almost. The people who are also Caribbean and Black, we understand very well what we're saying, so it's like we're on the same page a lot of the time.

Tessann noted the ethnic difference between her African American and Caribbean friends. Her Black, non-Caribbean friends might not know reggae artists, such as Beres Hammond and Sanchez, and that is something that made them different from her, despite a shared racial identity. Although she could connect with anyone in the Caribbean community based on shared culture, she experienced an affinity with other second-generation Caribbean students because they could relate to her based on race, ethnicity, and generation status. They were likely familiar with the “twoness” of the American and Caribbean sides of who they are, which is different from, for example, an African American or first-generation, West Indian student. Tessann also had other friend groups who were predominantly white or racially and ethnically mixed, but it was among her Black, second-generation, Caribbean friends where she felt the most comfortable.

Charlene, Maxine, and Tessann developed relatively homogenous friend groups. It was the participants’ abilities to articulate and resonate with cultural knowledges and practices that allowed them to claim an authentic ethnic identities and immigrant mindsets, which connected them to their immigrant peers. In their friend groups, there was some diversity of ethnicity, race, and generation status. It was important to them to have their friends not only mirror their racial identity but also their ethnic and/or immigrant identities because these identities were important to how they viewed themselves in a space where they were the minority.

Connecting With Black, Racially Similar Peers

While ethnicity, immigrant background, and generation status were important in shaping the friendships of some participants, race was most important for all seven participants. Racial homophily informed participants’ social engagement decisions and

friendships because they expressed the challenges in being a racially minoritized person on a PWC. All the participants had racially and ethnically diverse friends who were white, Latinx, and mixed race, except for Charlene and O'Dane who had West Indian and/or African friends. Most participants' friends were predominantly Black.

Participants did not always know their friends' immigrant backgrounds initially if they met outside of a Caribbean student group, but once they learned about their friends' backgrounds, they felt more connected. Alexia admitted she approached peers in her class whom she perceived as Black because she felt more comfortable connecting with others racially. Alexia said:

In my first semester, I met a girl named Tiffany, and she was from Honduras.

She's really nice. I didn't know Honduran people were darker. I thought she was Black at first, and then she told me she was Honduran. It was just interesting to know that she was from there, not just Black like I assumed at first.

Race influenced Alexia's decision to approach Tiffany because she perceived Tiffany as racially similar to her. Alexia also assumed Tiffany was African American, although she did not explain why she assumed an African American identity. Once they connected, she learned Tiffany also had an immigrant background, furthering a racial and immigrant connection.

Connecting based on race worked for Alexia but was not as successful for O'Dane and Patrice. O'Dane and Patrice discussed the challenges fitting into predominantly African American groups. One of the reasons they did not feel that they fit in was because they perceived and approached racial issues differently from their same-

race peers. O'Dane and Patrice initially presumed because they shared a racial identity with African Americans, they would fit in with their racially similar peers.

O'Dane did not develop close connections with some of the African American men on his campus. He attended a meeting with a Black male student group on campus and discussed his reactions to the meeting:

I did go to a few [Black Men Collective] meetings, but I wasn't the real social type like that. I wouldn't want to go to those types of meetings and actually sit down and talk to people about the racial problems that's going on in politics.

'Cause that's not me. It was just a lot of African American people complaining so much about what's going on. I feel like sometimes people are not appreciating that like, yea, you're an African American male, but you have to think about the change that has happened. We're even given the opportunity to go to college. Not that I'm saying all the stuff that's going on is right, it's still wrong. But I feel like people push it to an extent where it doesn't have to be. They had another group [similar to the Black Men Collective], but the women version of it. I went to a few of those meetings. . . with a few friends because a lot of people would go and I didn't like them either. It was just a lot of African American people complaining so much about what's going on rather than appreciating what's going on.

While O'Dane agreed that there are racial problems in the United States, he held a different perspective on racial issues compared to his African American peers based on what he observed in the meetings. He viewed his African American peers as complaining and not appreciating their opportunities as Black people to attend college. O'Dane's family and background likely informed his perspective in that the common immigrant

narrative is that they sacrificed and migrated to the United States to access better opportunities for their families. A traditional immigrant sentiment around sacrifice underlines O'Dane's perspective that for him to be in college is the fruit of his parents' sacrifice (George et al., 2017; Haynie, 2002). By sitting around and talking about the racial issues, he believed it stirred up more strife between the Black and white communities than there already is. His African American peers had a different perspective in that even though they were in college, racial incidents continued to occur on campus where Black people were called the n-word and Black students were underrepresented, among other issues.

Patrice faced a similar situation in that she did not connect with some of the Black women in her major because of her interactions with them. Patrice explained:

Something that's different between me and other Black girls in the [College of Health Sciences]—they haven't said this to me out loud—but based on the things that they described, they don't think I'm as radical. There are a handful of Black girls. . . who are very radical, like the "Black radicals." They're making things harder than what they should be. It's like, you're not just fighting for other Black people. You just have a personal vendetta against white people. When they see me talking to [a] faculty member, they're like, "What you talking to [Professor Becks] for?" [They] always got something to say. [The Black girls] ask me questions about the way [white] professors treat me, and they also ask me about how come I don't do certain things or how come I didn't go to this rally or how come I'm not at that protest, and things like that. If I don't go to a rally or protest it's because I got something else to do. Not because I don't believe in the cause.

Patrice perceived herself as different from some of the Black women in her program because she considered them to be radical in their approach to race-related matters. In Patrice's opinion, "Black radicals" are Black people who overdo it when addressing racial issues or white people. According to Patrice, they "comment on every little thing a white person does. They always have something to say." Patrice also argued her Black peers were being judgmental because they questioned her lack of participation in protests and connects with the faculty, which she interpreted as them questioning her commitment to Black issues.

While Patrice understood that racial issues exist, she believed her peers complained about the racial issues on campus and she did something about it. She became involved in admissions events, working closely with the faculty, and confronting them when they said or did something insensitive or inappropriate. For example, she told a white faculty member that they should not say certain things to a Black student and that they should not touch a Black girl's hair. Patrice admitted working with the faculty has made "things harder in [her] peer circle."

Like O'Dane, Patrice's perspective on how to approach racial issues likely stems from her family's immigrant background and views on racial issues in that some immigrants tend to believe they simply need to work hard to avoid racial issues and achieve the American Dream. In Patrice's view, Black radicals focused too much on racist incidents, which could be distracting and disadvantageous. Patrice and O'Dane attempted to connect with their African American peers but perceived their African American peers were radical or complained about racial issues, instead of doing something about them or being appreciative.

Under the surface of their differences in opinion with their African American peers lies divergent perspectives about how each group believes Black people should show up and interact with white people. From Patrice and O'Dane's perspectives, they thought that they should focus more on personally working hard to overcome racial issues and intervening when necessary with an individual, while the African American students they encountered in the meeting projected a more proactive and direct approach of addressing issues such as protesting, rallying, etc. Generally, racist ideologies that Black people have consciously and subconsciously bought into informed intra-racial divisions that made it more challenging for participants and their peers to view and approach racial issues in similar ways.

Representation Matters: Faculty and Staff Relationships

This theme highlights the interactions and relationships, or lack thereof, participants had with faculty and staff on their campuses. Engagement with faculty and staff included brief interactions in class or office hours to regular communication and establishing relationships. In some cases, participants did not make the distinction between faculty or staff and tended to have more relationships with faculty due to in-class interactions.

Patterns Across Relationships

This first section is an overview of the patterns across the types of relationships participants had with faculty and staff on their campuses. Five of the participants preferred to connect with Black faculty and staff based on their shared racially/ethnically minoritized status on campus, but the opportunities to connect with Black faculty or staff were limited for most of them due to the underrepresentation of Black faculty or staff.

Additionally, all seven participants had superficial or primarily academic-related interactions with white faculty and staff. There were two participants who did not believe they needed to have a close relationship with faculty or staff.

Closer to Black faculty and staff. Sandra's experiences with faculty and staff on her campus tended to differ based on race. Sandra developed close relationships with Black staff. For example, she described her close relationships with Domonic, a Black, male, senior administrator and Melissa, the director of the multicultural office and advisor of the BSO:

[Domonic] was a father for me on campus. He checked up on me a lot. He always had his door open saying, "You can come in whenever you want" He gave me his card, so if I had to call him about something, he was there. He always went to the student events after hours. And [Melissa] definitely talked a lot about being proud of who you are and where you come from. I feel like my pride of where I came from is a lot from the things that she would say. She was so passionate about [her work]. She cared about [us] so much.

Domonic and Melissa made themselves available to Sandra and other students of color to connect and relate based on shared racialized experiences. This was important to Sandra because she found staff who cared about her wellbeing and sense of belonging, especially as a student of color at a PWI. They created space for her to share her thoughts and concerns. Sandra's close relationships with Black staff also stirred her pride in her racial and ethnic identities in that she was encouraged to express who she was.

Sandra also developed close relationships with some women of color professors. She explained:

[And the women] professors of color, they've always checked up on me, and that's something I didn't really have in [high school]. Whereas the professors [in college]

because the [college] was so small, they would come up to you and ask how you're doing. If they saw you tired, [they asked], "Do you need coffee? I can get you a coffee. Do you want to sit down? Have a little rest? Do you want to come to my office, and you can talk about anything that's going on with you?" There's actually a professor who's Bajan as well, so I connected with her. And they became role models for me as well, the fact that they were professors.

Sandra considered these women of color faculty to be role models because she could see herself in them and aspire to be like them, in that they were professional women of color. These faculty members provided support to Sandra that she had not experienced before. It was important to her to see herself represented (racially) on campus, not just in the student body but also among the faculty and administration.

Similarly, Maxine developed close relationships with several Black staff on her campus: the Dean of Students, the advisor for the MSO, her resident hall director, and members of the dining hall staff. The Black staff supported Maxine in terms of meeting her requests for spicier, seasoned food, concerns about classes, and her interests. Maxine attended predominantly white schools from K-16, where she witnessed white students saying racist things in class, and the white teacher did not intervene. Maxine was often one of few Black students in her classes, which likely informed her desire to connect with Black staff. Maxine shared she had not have a Latino or Black professor during her college experience thus far. When I asked if she were to have a professor of color in her

major would she want to connect with that person, she said, “Oh, we’d be best friends.” Her response further signaled her desire to connect with Black staff and faculty in college.

Tessann shared a similar perspective on connecting with racially and ethnically similar faculty. In her first year of college, she connected with a Black, Caribbean, woman professor at her institution. She shared:

And I don’t talk to this teacher anymore, but she taught Black women in the Caribbean, which was an awesome class. That was amazing. Yeah, so we got along really well, too, outside of class and in class. I don’t really know what she’s doing right now, but yeah, when we knew each other it was—she was cool, and she was Caribbean herself, so that was cool. I would talk about [my Jamaican identity] with [my Caribbean professor].

Tessann believed it was important to let faculty know about her ethnicity, particularly those with whom she had a relationship, because her racial and ethnic identities were important to who she was.

Unlike Sandra, Maxine, and Tessann, Patrice had close relationships with racially diverse faculty. Patrice shared many of her relationships with faculty were in her health sciences program. She stated:

A majority of [the faculty] work in the [school of health sciences]. I have one faculty mentor who works in the [social work department]. For the classes that I took in the [department of arts and humanities], I was really close with a couple of them. One of my old philosophy professors, a couple of my old bio professors.

I'm, like, really cool. I'm really good with faculty. So I have a few close, personal relationships.

Patrice developed several close relationships with faculty through her involvement opportunities on campus and in classes. Her connection to the faculty members outside of her program were through a mentoring program that Patrice was a part of since her first year.

Participants' close relationships with faculty and staff provided them with support and comfort. Faculty and staff encouraged students to express themselves. In most cases, students also felt comfortable sharing their ethnic backgrounds with faculty because these identities were important to how they viewed themselves. For example, Patrice noted it was important for faculty or staff to know she was culturally different from their peers. She described her general conversation with faculty about her Trinidadian background:

When I tell them very general things about [Trinidad], like curry, roti, Carnival. They're like, "Oh." I have to mention those things for them to really think about, well, what country is that? I mean, I talk to them about the way I was raised sometimes, and some of the things I do [and] don't do that white students at this school do. That just kind of shows the difference, not only in my culture, in my race, but in my culture of people, and our morals, and our values, in comparison to the morals and values of white people.

Patrice explained her cultural background to faculty because she wanted them to understand who she was and how her background informed her attitudes and behaviors. In addition to highlighting her ethnic background, Patrice also wanted to demonstrate to faculty that there is a racial and ethnic difference; because she was Black and Trinidadian

she was not like white students. Her articulation of a cultural difference with white students illustrated the racialized component of her ethnic identity and perceptions.

Superficial interactions with white faculty or staff. In contrast to the close relationships participants established with Black faculty and staff, participants largely had superficial and surface-level connections with white faculty and staff that centered around courses and academic-related opportunities. All participants had predominantly white faculty members in their classes. Alexia described her neutral connection with her math professor from interactions in class and office hours:

My math teacher from last semester—I would go to his office hours like every week, and then at the end he asked me to be a grader for one of his classes. Well, one time while I was in his office hours, he was telling me about how much he loves cats and how he’s been to Australia.

Alexia simply shared about one instance where the professor talked briefly about his interests. She did not share much about herself with her math professor. She viewed their relationship as a transaction in that he was the professor; she was the student; and she needed help with math. She later acknowledged that going to the professor’s office hours on a regular basis opened the door for him to offer her the grading opportunity.

Like Alexia, Charlene did not share much about herself in her interactions with faculty and only went to them when she needed help. Charlene explained:

I wouldn’t say that I have a close relationship with any faculty members. I can think of two people, my [calculus] 2 professor. I had her freshman year, my first semester. I did well in her class. Her teaching style fit my learning style. But in terms of talking to her on a deeper level besides opportunities and jobs, summer

jobs or—during the semester, academically, I don't think our relationship went above that. Another person. . . is my advisor. I did talk to him a little bit about struggling in math and wondering if math was really for me, but to be honest, I usually don't go deeper than academics with most of my teachers.

Charlene struggled to identify faculty with whom she had a connection. She did not see the need to connect with faculty relationally. Of the two faculty members she could think of, she mentioned two people with whom she had a neutral connection and were able to assist her with academic challenges or academic-related opportunities.

Participants rarely talked about their personal experiences or ethnic backgrounds with white faculty and staff but if someone asked them, then they would share. For example, Maxine did not talk about her ethnicity with faculty unless they “express[ed] interest,” then she would “speak up.” If she happened to mention her ethnicity to some faculty or staff, they asked a few questions such as “Oh, are you born there?” and “Have you visited [Jamaica]?” Maxine said, “It's nice to know that they wanna know something about me,” but if faculty or staff did not ask, then she “wouldn't really go there” or simply say “yeah, I'm Jamaican.”

Participants rarely spoke about negative interactions with faculty, but two participants discussed challenging interactions they had with some white faculty members. Patrice described an incident where she was not doing well in her biology class. She went to the professor's office hours to talk about her difficulty with the material. The professor suggested Patrice should drop the course because she was “not going to do well anyways.” Patrice also noted right before this meeting, the professor met with a white woman who was also doing poorly in the class and performing worse than

Patrice. The professor gave an array of suggestions on how to improve for the white woman, such as taking notes and study guides. Patrice did not receive any suggestions and was told to drop the class. Patrice recognized she was treated differently than the white student and pointed out that race was the main difference between her and the other student. Patrice shared her frustration about the incident:

And I couldn't say anything because she was my professor, and she has the power to do whatever she wants to my grade, and not get caught. I was like, "Well, I'm not withdrawing from your class." And I ended up doing well in that class, only because I had a vendetta towards her. So my personal anger towards her really made me do well in that class. Had I not had that personal anger, I probably wouldn't have done so well. I'm going to be honest.

Patrice used her anger about how the professor treated her as fuel to perform better in the professor's class. She felt she had something to prove to the professor.

Sandra had an encounter where the professor repeatedly mixed up the names of the five Black women in the class. One day, Sandra met with the professor to voice her concern that he only mixes up the names of the Black women and the professor initially said that she was "overreacting." Sandra admitted:

He's a professor, so [I was] kind of nervous sharing my concerns to him. We were pretty upset that he was only doing that to the Black girls in class. And then he did admit that he groups people based on like their skin color and their hair color, so, like, he mixes people's names up by that. And it just escalated to the director of the social work program, but it was just the fact that he wasn't listening to our concern, wasn't understanding that that's a problem for us. Like, you can't call us

someone else's name just because we have the same skin color. We're our own person. So that was a hard moment.

Like Patrice, Sandra recognized she was treated differently because of her race. Despite her apprehensions and the professor's response to her feelings, Sandra knew she needed to stand up for herself. Sandra later noted this incident was one of many racial incidents on campus throughout her time in college.

No desire for a connection. While some participants developed relationships and connections with faculty or staff, a couple participants expressed they did not see the need to build relationships with faculty or staff. Having a relationship with faculty or staff suggested a deeper connection, and O'Dane and Charlene did not wish to be vulnerable. I asked O'Dane if he made connections with faculty or staff on campus and he responded, "Not really. I'm not [that] type of person. I would talk to my professors. . . and the staff. . . when I'm there [or in the moment]. But when that class is over, I don't really wanna talk to [them] anymore." I also asked if his faculty knew that he was Jamaican and he said, "No. They really don't know. I didn't really talk to my professors that much. If it wasn't in class or little jokes we would make in class, other than that, not really."

O'Dane viewed his interaction with faculty as primarily academic and confined to the classroom. If he had difficulty in a class, those were the only instances where he sought faculty for their help. Similarly, Charlene and Alexia only sought faculty for their help with academics and did not share anything about themselves with the faculty. Fostering relationships with faculty was not important for these participants.

Reasons for Relationships with Faculty or Staff

Participants' interacted frequently and developed connections with faculty or staff based on interpersonal and campus environment dynamics. Participants' reasons for choosing to develop or avoid relationships with faculty or staff comprised three categories: racial closeness and community, racial campus climate and observations, and cultural norms.

Perceptions of racial closeness and relatability. Participants who formed relationships with Black faculty or staff perceived a sense of closeness, community, and shared racial understanding from Black and Brown faculty. For example, Sandra felt her relationships with Black faculty and staff were the most important and impactful for her because they supported her needs, encouraged her identity development, and listened to her concerns on racial issues on campus. Sandra explained, "the professors of color recognized that you should be proud of who you are just from the experiences that they've gone through. There weren't many [faculty of color] as I wish there were." Sandra noted the limited number of professors of color were primarily the ones to discuss race in their classes and encourage Black students to be "proud of being Black."

Additionally, Black faculty and staff made an effort to connect with Black students by making themselves available, talking with students regularly, and "supported [students] in every way possible," as Sandra experienced with her Black faculty or staff. As a result of her connections with Black faculty and staff, Sandra gained role models, mentors, support, and a sense of empowerment. She considered women of color faculty as role models because they are women of color and she could see herself in them.

Similarly, Maxine's frequent interactions with Black staff who regularly conversed and checked in with her allowed her to develop close relationships. She also wanted to see people of color who "made it," suggesting that she desired to see Black professionals to whom she could relate. She went on to explain that connecting with Black faculty or staff on her campus was "just [a] habit. I [have] to get to know this person. I don't really care to know the [white staff], but I'll get to know this person." Although she did not elaborate on why her behavior was a habit, she assumed they could associate with the experiences of being Black on a PWC. While Sandra's relationships were more likely the result of faculty or staff reaching out, Maxine's relationships were the result of her reaching out.

Racial campus climate. Racial campus climate compelled participants to seek relationships with Black faculty or staff or avoid connecting with white faculty. Signs of climate issues in participants' narratives included personal encounters and stories of friends' experiences with racism, microaggressions, and tokenism in their interactions with white faculty or staff and peers. Patrice generally perceived the faculty and administration at her institution as "horrible" because they did "not stand up for students of color." She heard stories from peers about instances of tokenism in class and professors failing to address controversial statements about race from white students. Although Patrice held this view of faculty and administration at her school, she was still willing to form relationships with faculty and staff who developed an interest in her. She used her faculty or staff relationships as teachable moments for white faculty or staff and shared information about her and her background.

Climate issues also complicated Sandra's relationships with faculty and administration. Sandra noted there was tension on campus between the faculty and administration and racial conflict. By her junior year, she noticed some of the women of color faculty and Melissa left the institution. There was an incident in which a faculty member of color left the institution and filed a racial discrimination lawsuit, and two professors filed a religious discrimination lawsuit. Although some of the women faculty and staff of color left the institution, they maintained contact with Sandra. Sandra argued that her continued relationship with the women "shows how persistent women of color are and how determined they are to help others and bring other women up and not compete with them, even though society always thinks we do." Sandra viewed her relationships with faculty and staff of color as a positive trait of the women and internalized their relationship as an investment in her success to contribute to the uplift of women of color. Simultaneously, Sandra had conflicts with some of the white administrators because she believed they ignored the concerns students of color had about racial issues on campus.

Race and cultural norms. Another reason participants did not connect with white faculty is a lack of comfort with white faculty or staff. Charlene believed white faculty could not relate to her. She said, "I think it's a matter of just not being comfortable. There's not a lot of people of color in terms of faculty, and I just don't feel comfortable going to [white faculty] about my identity when they can't relate." Charlene further expressed white faculty or staff could not relate to her because of their difference in race but perceived that faculty or staff of color could to relate to her.

One consequence of bad interactions or lack of relationships with white faculty was participants' mistrust of faculty. Maxine admitted, "I don't trust the professors, I just go in that class to get that A and then walk out." When I asked why she does not trust the faculty, she simply said, "I can't be bothered." She did not desire to connect with white faculty "unless they can offer [her] something. Like a job." Maxine's mistrust likely stemmed from past experiences with white teachers, faculty, and staff she encountered throughout her K-16 experiences.

Finally, cultural norms also informed participants' decisions whether to connect with faculty or staff. Charlene attributed her lack of connection with faculty to her culture. She shared:

I think that's just because that's just how I was raised. I don't really go into detail about my personal life or stuff like that with faculty. So it's mainly on an academic level. I think I usually stick to my friends and people close to my age who kind of understand me a little bit better, or like I've built some sense of trust with.

Charlene did not believe she needed to develop a personal relationship with faculty or staff because of her perception about how she was raised. She was raised to keep personal matters among her family and those close to her. Like Charlene, O'Dane did not foster a relationship with faculty because he did not believe it was important.

When participants had a close connection with faculty or staff, they shared their ethnic background with them because they felt it was important for faculty to know. If there were no relationship with faculty or staff, sharing their background was less important. However, participants believed faculty and staff should know ethnic

differences exist. For example, O'Dane asserted faculty or staff should know about ethnic diversity in the Black community to better inform their engagements with students. He expressed:

I think [faculty or staff] should know that we come from a different background. . . . I just feel like they should see where their students come from. . . to actually see how their students act, because if professors ask sometimes, 'Where you guys from?' 'Where are your parents from?' I feel like they'd get a better understanding of how to treat each student, how to work with each student, because some students may want more assistance than others.

O'Dane believed faculty or staff should get to know their students, but he did not consider that informing his faculty know about his ethnicity would contribute to their awareness about different Black ethnic groups.

Similarly, Alexia believed her white faculty did not care as much about ethnic differences among Black students. She stated:

Now that I think about it, in college I guess you have Irish people and I feel like the white teachers acknowledge that these students are Irish, but then if you have a Jamaican or a Trinidadian student, They don't bring it up that much or they don't really care as much, I feel like.

Alexia acknowledged that in addition to race, ethnicity did matter in her interactions with faculty. Without an awareness of ethnic differences, some groups can be overlooked.

Tessann summarized her thoughts about faculty or staff acknowledging ethnic differences in the Black community in this way:

We're not all the same. . . . In a lot of conversations about Black people, there's always that concept of the Black community, as if there's just one hive Black community, and there isn't. There are so many different kinds of Black people. Black people in Africa, their culture is very different from Black American culture, and their culture is different from Caribbean-American culture. Also, there are different cultures in Africa, too. . . . Even within the Caribbean islands themselves—Jamaicans and Trinidadians are very different. Jamaicans and Barbadians are different . . . But to certain people who overlook these things, we would all just seem the same. . . . I think just bearing that in mind . . . is really important whenever you're interacting with someone who identifies as Black, or identifies as Caribbean, African, [etc.], it matters. The differences . . . shouldn't divide us, obviously, but it's something that you have to think about when interacting with other people. You have to consider how they are different . . . consider their backgrounds. . . . Try to know where these people are coming from so that your interactions are as healthy as possible. If you are aware of these differences, that gives you more knowledge of people. . . . We're not social reclusive. We have to interact with [each other], so we should act accordingly.

The reasons participants shared about why they did or did not build relationships with faculty or staff shaped their levels of engagement. Their rationale for whether they connected with Black faculty or staff, faculty or staff of color, or white faculty or staff shaped their willingness to seek connections and to share about their backgrounds, identities, and experiences. Race was a central aspect in their reasons for interacting with faculty and staff because participants acknowledged race mattered in their experiences.

Therefore, representation of Black faculty and staff also matters to participants and their experiences in college.

Summary of Chapter

The five themes presented in this chapter—Proving Cultural Authenticity, Defining West Indian Identity, Differences Exist but Race Still Matters, Homophily in Friendships, and Representation Matters: Faculty and Staff Relationships—offer a better understanding of how participants viewed themselves, communicated who they were to others, and whether their relationships reflected who they viewed themselves to be. Participants encountered various and conflicting messages about their race, ethnicity, and generation status, which compelled them to respond differently depending upon their audience and context. While members of the first-generation challenged participants' ethnic identities, the first-generation also affirmed participants' ethnicities especially in comparison to their native-born counterparts. The shift from and contrast between participants' neighborhoods (i.e., pre-college environment) to predominantly white campuses contributed to a difference in how participants perceived themselves. In college, participants contended with the racialized component of their ethnicity in struggling to manage how they were viewed as Black and West Indian. Friendships provided the optimal space and relationship in which participants most easily navigated their racial, ethnic and immigrant status identities. In contrast to their friendships, participants minimally shared about themselves outside of close relationships with Black faculty or staff. The different relationships participants had, reflect the various ways in which they communicated and understood who they are in relation to others and their immediate context. Therefore, the shifts in the racial composition of their environments,

coupled with the types of messages they received, demonstrates the connection between relationships, context, and identities.

Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusion

This concluding chapter begins with an overview of the study, including the background, summary of the literature review, and methods. Next is a discussion of the findings in relation to the body of literature on second-generation, Black, immigrant college students and the theoretical framework, CTI. Following is an outline of implications for future research, theory, and practice. The chapter concludes with a final reflection and summary.

Overview of the Study

The purpose of this study was to explore the experiences of second-generation West Indian college students in Boston and consider how their identities shape and are shaped by their relationships with faculty/staff, peers, and family while in college. This study addressed the following three research questions:

1. How do second-generation West Indian college students communicate the salience of their racial and ethnic identities?
2. What types of messages do second-generation West Indian students receive about their racial and ethnic identities from faculty/staff, peers, and family while in college?
3. How are second-generation West Indian students enacting their racial and ethnic identities in their relationships with faculty/staff, peers, and family while in college?

Background and Problem Statement

This study is inspired by my personal narrative. As a second-generation Jamaican woman growing up in Boston, my Jamaican ethnicity was salient to me. Growing up

around the customs, languages, and cultures of my Jamaican family and other Black immigrants reinforced my ethnic identity and pride. I transitioned from my predominantly Black immigrant neighborhood to a PWI 20 minutes away from home. While attending a predominantly white college in Boston, my interactions and relationships compelled me to develop a greater awareness and salience of my Black racial identity. My experiences in college led me to consider what it means to be Black *and* West Indian for college students. Further, I wondered how growing up and going to college in Boston shapes students' experiences with their racial and ethnic identities.

Although my identities inspired my turning to this work, the data and research on Black immigrants informed the development of this study. Population data reveal that between 1980 and 2016, the number of Black immigrants in the United States (primarily from Africa and the Caribbean) increased fivefold, from 816,000 to over 4.1 million (Anderson & Lopéz, 2018). In 2016, Black immigrants and their children comprised approximately 18% of the 40 million Black people in the United States; of this percentage, 8% were second generation (Anderson & Lopéz, 2018). Furthermore, as this study was concerned with this population in college, it must be noted that 20% of Afro-Caribbeans ages 25 and older have a bachelor's degree, compared to 19% of native Black Americans (Anderson, 2015; Erisman & Looney, 2007). In comparison, 35% of Africans have a bachelor's degree, and they are more likely than Afro-Caribbeans and native Black Americans to have advanced degrees (Anderson, 2015; Erisman & Looney, 2007). Afro-Caribbeans are situated in a unique position relative to their native and immigrant Black counterparts, yet, little is known about what contributes to the differences in attainment rates or the collegiate experiences of ethnic subgroups.

Despite this growing population and their representation in higher education, there is limited consideration in scholarship and practice of the ethnic identities of Black students and whether their ethnic or national identities or immigrant generation status are important to them. While recent scholarship sheds light on the academic performance, social adjustments, and the impact of multiple identities (race, ethnicity, nationality, and generation status) in the collegiate experiences of Black immigrants (e.g., Blum, 2015; Byrd et al., 2014; Deaux et al., 2007; Fries-Britt et al., 2014a, 2014b; George Mwangi et al., 2017; Griffin & McIntosh, 2015; Malcolm & Mendoza, 2014; Massey et al., 2007), some of the research focused primarily on African students (e.g., Awokoya, 2012; De Walt, 2011; Rivers, 2012). Overlooking ethnicity and generation status further limits educators' awareness of diverse subgroups and how these identities may shape students' collegiate experiences (George Mwangi et al., 2017; George Mwangi & Fries-Britt, 2015; Griffin & McIntosh, 2015; Rong & Brown, 2002). Despite the diversity among Black people, and Black immigrants specifically, Black collegians are often portrayed as a monolith in higher education research. Collapsing Black students into one category based on their race can result assumptions and lead to false conclusions that miss culture, behaviors, and attitudes (Blum, 2015; Bryce-LaPorte, 1972; George Mwangi, 2014; George Mwangi & English, 2017).

Compared to Africans, Afro-Caribbeans receive less attention in the higher education literature, despite making up 49% of the Black immigrant population in the United States (Anderson & Lopéz, 2018). Still, in the extant literature about this population, the focus is on the first generation, rather than the second generation (Lopez, 2002; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Rong & Brown, 2002). Despite being born in the United

States, second-generation West Indians' tend to develop strong ethnic and racial identities, but the communication of those identities can shift based on context and with whom they interact (Butterfield, 2004, 2006; Feliciano, 2009; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Waters, 1994).

The relationships and interactions of the second generation are important factors to study because relationships are a central part of the collegiate experience (Evans et al., 2010; Jones & Abes, 2013; Wilson, 2011). The research has demonstrated the racial and ethnic identities of the second generation are often challenged or reinforced in their relationships with others (Butterfield, 2004, 2006; Feliciano, 2009; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Waters, 1994). Therefore, the consistency of their racial and ethnic identities is constantly contested (Butterfield, 2004, 2006). Connecting Afro-Caribbean students' identities to their relationships in college illustrates the role these identities play in students' experiences across different relationships. Ultimately, relationships serve as "the bridge" between understanding who students are and how they experience college (Allen, 1992, p. 39).

This study explores the role and impact of regional context. Almost 95% of Afro-Caribbeans, live in the North and Southeast regions of the United States (Anderson & Lopéz, 2018), but study samples are narrowly drawn from populations in New York and Florida (e.g., Butterfield, 2004; Deaux et al., 2007; Waters, 1999). There is limited research about the experiences of Afro-Caribbeans in other major metropolitan areas.

One example of a city with a large concentration of Black immigrants is Boston. Boston is one of the oldest cities in the United States with a dynamic combination of early colonial and modern-day immigrant history (Miletsky & Gonzalez, 2018; Schuster

& Ciurczak, 2018; Stefon, et al., 2019). Boston's early immigrant populations were English, Irish, Italian, and Jewish immigrants (Global Boston, 2019; Stefon et al., 2019). Boston, then dominated by European whites, witnessed a steady stream of African Americans migrating from the South in the 1900s (Miletsky & Gonzalez, 2018; Stefon et al., 2019), and around the same time period hundreds of Black Caribbeans arrived in Boston (Showers Johnson, 2006). Boston's demographics continued to shift into the 21st century, with large concentrations of people from Haiti, Cape Verde, Jamaica, Nigeria, and Trinidad and Tobago (Ciurczak et al., 2019), leading Boston to become Number 6 of the 50 largest and most diverse cities in the United States by 2017 (Schuster & Ciurczak, 2018).

Despite its diverse population, Boston has a reputation of being a predominantly white city, marked by racial issues, segregation, and social and racial inequities (Ciurczak et al., 2019; Johnson, 2017; Mattos, 2019). Boston's history of immigration and growing diverse demographics, coupled with its murky and complicated reputation on racism, presents a unique context to consider race and ethnicity, specifically for second-generation West Indian college students from Boston and attending colleges in Boston and throughout Massachusetts.

Summary of Literature Review

A review of the literature on first-generation Afro-Caribbeans generally conveyed patterns of assimilation, integration, and racial and ethnic identification. Researchers discovered first-generation Afro-Caribbeans typically demonstrated segmented assimilation, in which they held onto their ethnic identities and practices while adopting some U.S. economic behaviors (e.g., "network hiring," helping family and friends get

jobs where they work; Waters, 1999, p. 5). Their segmented incorporation contributed to modest social mobility compared to African Americans (Butcher, 1994; Model, 2008; Waters, 1999). Other people's (e.g., employers, peers, co-workers) favorable perceptions of Afro-Caribbeans, in contrast to native-born Black people, have also undergirded Afro-Caribbeans' social mobility (Model, 2008; Vickerman, 2001; Waters, 1999). The combination of social mobility and favorable perceptions from others are benefits of segmented assimilation and shape Afro-Caribbeans' integration into U.S. society (Model, 2008; Vickerman, 2001; Waters, 1999).

Despite some positive social mobility, first-generation Afro-Caribbeans have confronted interpersonal racism, as they become more integrated and "American" over time, given their shared racial status with African Americans (Bryce-LaPorte, 1972; Foner, 2001, 2009; Hall & Carter, 2006; Model, 2008; Rogers, 2006; Vickerman, 1999; Waters, 1999). Regardless of Afro-Caribbeans segmented assimilation, racial barriers can impact their integration and mobility (Hall & Carter, 2006; Rogers, 2006; Waters, 1999). Research also has suggested that while first-generation Afro-Caribbeans hold salient ethnic identities, which inform their responses to a racial identity, race, and racism (Alfred, 2003; Jones & Erving, 2015; Rogers, 2006; Vickerman, 1999; Waters, 1999), over time they develop a salient racial identity and similar racial perspectives relative to their Black, native-born counterparts (Benson, 2009).

Unlike the identity negotiations of the first generation, research has suggested there are several factors informing the identity development and negotiation of second-generation Afro-Caribbean immigrants. The identification of the second-generation challenges the "either/or proposition" (Butterfield, 2004, p. 75) of racial and ethnic

identity typically associated with the first generation (Feliciano, 2009; Hall & Carter, 2006; Rumbaut, 1994). The second generation take cues from the first generation on ethnic identity (Waters, 1994). Afro-Caribbean, second-generation youth combine messages from the first generation with the cues they receive from their (Black and non-Black) peers about racial identity (Butterfield, 2004; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; Waters, 1994). Navigating two cultures can lead the second generation to develop strong racial and ethnic identities or an increased salience of one identity more than the other (Awokoya, 2012; Butterfield, 2004; Feliciano, 2009; Lopez, 2002; Nesteruk et al., 2015; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; Waters, 1994). In the middle of the identity spectrum lies a bicultural existence, in which many of the second generation demonstrate an ongoing struggle to cohesively integrate both cultures and identities (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Nesteruk et al., 2015). Other identities and factors, such as gender, parents, community, SES, educational background, and the ethnic and racial composition of one's neighborhood, can shape the second generation's identity negotiations (Butterfield, 2004; Lopez, 2002; Waters, 1994).

The body of literature on Black immigrants in higher education also informs this study to give context to what their experiences may be like in postsecondary education. Increasingly, research has demonstrated how Black immigrants' ethnic and racial, nativity, and generational identities shape their collegiate outcomes while simultaneously challenging monolithic ideas of Blackness (e.g., Byrd et al., 2014; Charles et al., 2015; Fries-Britt et al., 2014a; Griffin et al., 2012; Griffin & McIntosh, 2015; Malcolm & Mendoza, 2014; Massey et al., 2007; Thomas, 2014). The general focus of the research on Black immigrants centers on college access, achievement, and racialized encounters

(Barnett et al., 2012; Bennett & Lutz, 2009; Byrd et al., 2014; Erisman & Looney, 2007; Fries-Britt et al., 2014a; Hagy & Staniec, 2002; Haynie, 2002; Massey et al., 2007).

Studies have further revealed that social³⁶ and cultural capital³⁷ significantly impact the educational access and outcomes of Black immigrants (Bennett & Lutz, 2009; Haynie, 2002; Massey et al., 2007). Black immigrants, particularly African immigrants, are more likely to have access to certain forms of capital, such as educated parents and better resourced high schools, which contribute to the likelihood of them attending elite and selective institutions and their academic performance in college (Bennett & Lutz, 2009; Kent, 2007; Massey et al., 2007). There are also differences in the extent and forms of capital to which Black students have access. Afro-Caribbeans tend to have less access to valued forms of capital compared to Africans, and African Americans tend to have less access compared to their immigrant counterparts (Bennett & Lutz, 2009; Haynie, 2002; Massey et al., 2007).

Research on Black immigrant students' involvement has demonstrated that how Black students perceive campus environments influences how they engage on campus (Griffin & McIntosh, 2015; Malcolm & Mendoza, 2014). Like their African American peers, Black immigrant students encounter racialized incidents on campus (Fries-Britt et al., 2014a; Griffin et al., 2015). Relatedly, the choice of engagement opportunities depend on the extent to which their racial and ethnic identities are salient, how they are received by organizations, and the opportunities available to them (Griffin & McIntosh, 2015).

³⁶ Bourdieu (1986) defines *social capital* as the networks of people beyond family (such as neighbors, community members, etc.) who exchange and leverage a combination of resources (material and intellectual) with the aim of supporting and advancing members of their networks (A. A. Thomas, 2009).

³⁷ Bourdieu (1986) defines *cultural capital* as the acquisition of knowledge and practices that have particular social value.

Black immigrant students' engagement on campus is often the bridge between their perceptions of the environment, how they view themselves, and how they are viewed by others.

Focusing on Black students generally, there are studies that highlight how U.S.-born and immigrant Black students' experiences on campus are a reflection of the quality of their relationships on campus. Research on Black students' relationships with peers, faculty and staff has revealed Black students are more likely to have closer relationships with Black peers, faculty/staff, and people of color due to shared racialized experiences (Allen, 1992; Anglin & Wade, 2007; Campbell & Campbell, 2007; Fries-Britt & Turner, 2002; Griffin & McIntosh, 2015; Guiffrida, 2005a; Malcolm & Mendoza, 2014; Moore & Toliver, 2010; Park, 2013; Reddick, 2011). Black students tend to experience challenges in cross-racial (specifically white and Black) peer-to-peer relationships (Allen, 1992; Allen et al., 1991; Antonio, 2001; Bowman & Park, 2014; Chang et al., 2004; Fleming, 1985; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Holmes et al., 2000; Solórzano et al., 2000).

Regarding relationships with faculty and staff, Black students' relationships with faculty are well documented in the literature (e.g., Braxton, 2000; Cole, 2010; Kim & Sax, 2009; Lundberg & Schreiner, 2004) compared to their relationships with staff (e.g., Bensimon, 2007; Schreiner et al., 2011). Studies have revealed that Black students can obtain several benefits from their relationship with, such as academic and professional opportunities and social and academic improvements (McCoy et al., 2017; Palmer & Gasman, 2008; Schreiner et al. 2011). There are also some challenges Black students face in their interactions with faculty, such as negative interactions, less satisfying relationships with faculty, discouragement (Allen, 1992; Cress, 2008; Fries-Britt &

Turner, 2002; Hurtado et al., 2011; Kim & Sax, 2009; Lundberg & Schreiner, 2004). The limited research on native-born and immigrant Black students' relationships with staff revealed that staff provide psychosocial support to students through individual attention and care of personal matters (Schreiner et al. 2011).

Familial relationships are also important for Black students' experiences in college because family provide emotional, psychological, and financial support and encouragement that is different from peers, faculty, and staff (Cabrera et al., 1999; Guiffrida, 2005b; Herndon & Hirt, 2004; Moore, 2006; Williamson, 2010). Additionally, Black students rely on familial encouragement, motivation, and support to overcome racial tensions, academics, competing priorities, and financial challenges in college (Guiffrida, 2005b; Herndon & Hirt, 2004; Williamson, 2010). While family are an asset, they can also impose challenges, burdens, and additional responsibilities on Black students (such as caring for a sibling, parents, or contribute financially), pulling students away from academic and social opportunities (Guiffrida, 2005b; Herndon & Hirt, 2004). The literature sheds light on the significance of identities and the power and role of relationships at home and in educational settings in the lives of native and immigrant Black students.

The confluence of literature and data on Black immigrants in the Northeast, first- and second-generation Afro-Caribbeans, Black immigrants in higher education, and identity development in college points to a gap in the understanding of the experiences of second-generation West Indian college students in Boston. The gaps in the literature on second-generation West Indians provide an opportunity to consider the differences and disparities related to issues of access, retention, and other educational outcomes. Also,

there is less information about the role and impact of second-generation Black students' relationships, especially with faculty and staff. Understanding the quality of their relationships can give added insight into who they are and what their collegiate experiences are like.

Theoretical Framework

To investigate identity salience and its connection to relationships, I chose a theoretical framework that acknowledges multiple identities, views identity as relational, and is embedded in a communicative perspective (Hecht, 1993; Jung & Hecht, 2004). The CTI states that an individual's identities are based on relationships and understood (by self and others) through various forms of communication (Jung & Hecht, 2004). By placing identity and relationships at the center of analysis and in the context of communication, this theoretical framework allows for a deeper examination of how the relationships of second-generation West Indian students may affect their self-perceptions and college experiences. From the perspective of CTI, the findings in this study reveal how participants communicated their identities to others and their self-perceptions in relation to those with whom they interact. In the discussion section, I consider the findings through the lens of CTI.

Summary of Methods

The study's research questions guided the decision to use a qualitative methodology; specifically, a narrative inquiry approach was used to capture and explore West Indian college students' stories, or narratives (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Narrative inquiry is the collection and analysis of stories about the lived and told experiences of people's lives (Chase, 2011; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Josselson,

2011; Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007; Riessman, 1993). Attending to the narratives of second-generation West Indian students was useful in identifying the connections between the contexts of participants' identities and relationships and illuminate how participants make meaning of their experiences (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

A combination of criterion and snowball sampling strategies (Patton, 2002) were used to recruit participants for this study. Criterion sampling involved choosing participants based on the following criterion: identified as Black and of Afro-Caribbean descent; born in the United States but both parents (married or single) were born in the Anglophone Caribbean³⁸ (second-generation status); attended high school in Boston/Greater Boston/Metro Boston; attended a 4-year, PWI in Boston; had completed at least two semesters of college; and was at least 18 years old. Snowball sampling strategies included reaching out to professional and familial networks for recommendations about individuals and groups who fit the study criterion (Patton, 2002). Networks included professionals working in higher education institutions in Boston, colleagues who knew other professionals working in Boston, and family members still living in Boston who may have known of people with college-age children. I also asked research participants for recommendations of their peers who may be interested in participating in the study and fit the criteria.

Recruitment e-mails were sent to colleagues, friends, and family members, along with messages sent through social media platforms (Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter). I

³⁸ For the context of this study, Afro-Caribbean refers to the Anglophone Caribbean islands of Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Aruba, the Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Montserrat, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago, Turks and Caicos, and the U.S. Virgin Islands (CariCom, 2017; Meditz & Hanratty, 1989; Morgan-Trostle & Zheng, 2016).

also sent recruitment emails and directed social media posts to Caribbean and BSOs at PWIs in Boston if their information was readily available from Google searches and the institution's website. The recruitment messages provided a summary of the study's purpose, detail about the sample criterion, and a link to a demographic questionnaire that captured initial demographic information. After participants completed the questionnaire, I sent an email to them to schedule the first interview.

Recruitment efforts yielded seven participants, six women and one man, representing Jamaica, Trinidad, and Barbados. There were two sophomores, three juniors, one senior, and one recent graduate³⁹. Each person participated in two semi-structured, in-person interviews that were audio recorded and later transcribed by a professional transcription service. A small sample size allowed me to collect and present a "richly textured understanding of [West Indian students'] experiences" (Sandelowski, 1995, p. 183).

I used line-by-line and hand coding methods to analyze the data. Data analysis occurred in three stages. In Stage 1, after I cleaned⁴⁰ all the transcripts, I read each transcript to gain a preliminary understanding of what the participants were saying in their narratives. During the initial read, I wrote down notes (i.e., codes) in the right margin of the transcripts for the purposes of later identifying patterns in and across narratives (Saldaña, 2015). I then typed the codes into Microsoft OneNote and created tabs for each participant to keep track of the codes in their narratives. In Stage 2, I

³⁹ This participant was a recent graduate because recruitment began in April of 2018. The participant was interviewed in May, 11 days after her commencement.

⁴⁰ Cleaning a transcript involved listening to the recording while reading the transcript for accuracy and fixing any errors.

underlined compelling phrases and words while simultaneously listening to the recording to hear what participants said and how they said things, being mindful of pauses, laughs, inflections, etc. As I underlined, I made notes in the right margin of key words that jumped out to characterize the underlined phrases and words. By reading the transcripts and listening to the recording, I sought to understand and listen for the story (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). In Stage 3, I developed categorical codes by grouping similarly coded data into categories because they shared comparable characteristics (Saldaña, 2015). Concurrently, during the process of coding, I wrote analytic memos to capture thoughts, ideas, and potential biases about how I am making sense of the data and to reflect on the research process (Saldaña, 2015).

To increase trustworthiness of the study, I used member checking and peer debriefing strategies. First, I sent participants a summary of their narratives. Then, I sent a summary of the themes across the narratives to each of the participants, asking for their edits and feedback on both. Six participants responded, agreeing to the summary of their narratives and the themes. One participant provided clarity on a specific detail about her parents. Next, I identified a colleague who had expertise in student affairs, race and ethnicity research (specifically focusing on Afro-Caribbeans), and qualitative research methods. I sent a summary of the themes, along with a brief purpose statement and the research questions, to a peer for review. We held two phone calls to review the themes and for him to ask clarifying questions. I summarized data points to back up the reasoning behind each theme.

Although participants were generally asked questions in the interview chronologically or categorically, narratives were written based on what emerged to paint

a broad picture of who the participant is. Chapter 4 has a re-presentation of each participants' narrative in a cohesive and holistic narrative form. The data analysis also included a thematic analysis of all the narratives, resulting in five themes (which is discussed in Chapter 5). The following is a discussion of the findings in relation to the theoretical framework guiding this study.

Discussion

This study contributes to the limited, but growing, research in higher education on Black immigrants, and it highlights the importance of considering ethnicity, nativity, and generation status among Black student populations (Daoud et al., 2018; George Mwangi et al., 2017; George Mwangi & Fries-Britt, 2015; Griffin & McIntosh, 2015; Kim, 2014; Malcolm & Mendoza; 2014). Previous studies examining the experiences of Black immigrant collegians have revealed these students negotiate certain cultural, educational, and social adjustments based on their multiple identities (i.e., ethnicity, race, nativity, generation status; Awokoya, 2012; Butterfield, 2006; Deaux et al., 2007; Fries-Britt et al., 2014a, 2014b; George Mwangi et al., 2017; Kim, 2014; Malcolm & Mendoza; 2014). This study adds to the conversation on identity negotiations and adds nuance to how these students communicate and express their racial and ethnic identities.

While recent studies shed light on the diversity in the Black community, few explore specific ethnic subgroups (Awokoya, 2012; George Mwangi & Fries-Britt, 2015; Malcolm & Mendoza; 2014). This study explored West Indian collegians as a subgroup given that 49% of Black immigrants in the United States are from the Caribbean (Anderson & López, 2018), and West Indians receive less attention in the higher education literature compared to Africans. This study provides a closer look into some of

the distinct ethnic characteristics that shape West Indians students' identities and experiences such as food, music, West Indian enclaves in Boston, and language.

The most distinctive feature of this study, compared to extant studies on Black immigrants generally, and Afro-Caribbeans specifically, is the focus on second-generation immigrants. Few studies on Black immigrant populations consider generation status and how this dimension of identity impacts students' experiences (Awokoya, 2012; Griffin & McIntosh, 2015). For example, second-generation West Indians tend to develop strong ethnic and racial identities (Butterfield, 2004; Kasinitz et al., 2004; Lopez, 2002; Waters, 1994), unlike their first-generation counterparts who tend to have strong ethnic identities and less salient racial identities (Benson, 2006; Vickerman, 1999; Waters, 1999). This study confirms the strong racial and ethnic identities that the second generation tend to hold (Awokoya, 2012; Butterfield, 2004; Waters, 1994) but adds to the extant perspectives on identity in that depending upon their precollege environments across Boston (i.e., living in an ethnic enclave and going to school with other Black immigrants), participants were more likely to have a more salient ethnic identity prior to college and develop a stronger racial ethnic identity when transitioning to the predominantly white environment on their college campuses. The new and different college contexts provided added opportunities where the second generation experienced challenges and affirmations to their racial and ethnic identities in their relationships with others (Butterfield, 2004, 2006; Feliciano, 2009; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Waters, 1994). Because second-generation West Indians' communication of their identity may shift based on audience, this study explored identity and relationships in college and, to a smaller extent, in the context of neighborhoods.

The context of this study is also an important contribution of this study. Context is an added layer because research demonstrates the impact of social context on the lived experiences of immigrants (Logan et al., 2002; Park, 2012), college students (Evans et al., 2010; Jones & Abes, 2013), and even the second generation (Awokoya, 2012; Butterfield, 2004; Waters, 1994). Previous studies on Afro-Caribbeans have tended to focus on this population in New York and Florida (e.g., Butterfield, 2004; Deaux et al., 2007; Sutton & Chaney, 1987; Waters, 1999), despite that the majority of Afro-Caribbeans/West Indians span the North and Southeast regions of the United States (Anderson & López, 2018). A contribution of this study is the inclusion of a different regional perspective: Boston, MA. This study examined the Boston context, given the size of Black immigrants and the ethnic enclaves in the city. Participants' narratives illustrated the importance and impact of the ethnic enclaves in which they engaged and from which benefitted, especially prior to college. From Caribbean associations to Caribbean events and large family networks spread across the Boston metropolitan area, participants' Caribbean identities were developed and reinforced continually. While the Boston area played more of a formative role in participants' experiences, participants drew from their ethnic communities while in college and exposed their friends to their ethnic communities when possible, such as visiting local restaurants.

My choice to focus this study on the identities of second generation, West Indian, and Black college students from Boston illustrates that the cross-sections of identity and context cannot be overlooked as the United States generally and higher education broadly grow more diverse. This study advances the conversation to consider the role and impact of generation status on Black immigrants' collegiate experiences. The following

discussion directly engages the research questions and how the themes of this study further support this argument.

Addressing the Research Questions

The findings in this study address the research questions in that they provide insight into the collegiate experiences of second-generation West Indian college students from Boston. The first research question was: How do second-generation West Indian college students communicate the salience of their racial and ethnic identities? The theme, *Defining West Indian Identity*, was participants ways of articulating and affirming their cultural norms and ethnicity to others (i.e., peers, faculty, and staff). Participants generally communicated their ethnicity in three ways: telling stories about their upbringing in a Caribbean households and ethnic enclaves in Boston, holding personal beliefs that they are from the Caribbean, and speaking or understanding their families' languages and accents. How participants articulated their ethnicities to others addresses the first research question in that the meaning they attached to their West Indian identities and how they communicated that meaning to others was a reflection of what mattered to them.

Participants developed meaning around the cultural practices and beliefs they learned and adopted from their families, such as stories about migration and ways of life in the homeland; valuing education and religion; traveling to the West Indies and participating in Caribbean events in Boston; listening, understanding, and learning the language and dialect of their parents; eating traditional cultural dishes; and listening to Caribbean music. The cultural beliefs and practices participants learned validated their ethnic identities and, in turn, they used the characteristics and practices to communicate

their identities to others, further reinforcing their ethnic identities. These strategies of communicating what constitutes their West Indian identity demonstrates participants' efforts of going beyond naming their ethnicities and referencing various aspects of their cultures and ethnicities to communicate to others who they are and why their identity is important to them.

The second research question was: What types of messages do second-generation West Indian students receive about their racial and ethnic identities from faculty/staff, peers, and family while in college? Two themes address the types of messages participants received. The first is Proving Cultural Authenticity. I use the term *cultural authenticity* to refer to one's ability to display sound evidence of cultural knowledge, understanding, and practices (e.g., language, accent, music, and ethnic foods from that culture) to others inside and possibly outside their ethnic group. Cultural authenticity manifested through messages about language and nativity, but this only applied to the Jamaican participants. Participants received distinct messages from first-generation family members and first-generation peers about being culturally authentic. Messages related to participants' cultural authenticity challenged the perceptions of their ethnic identities. Participants learned that to be authentically Jamaican meant speaking and understanding patois with a Jamaican accent and being born in Jamaica. Proving Cultural Authenticity suggested perceptions of differences between the first and second generation. Messages of authenticity illustrate that generation status matters in interactions between the first and second generation, particularly for Jamaicans.

The second theme that addresses the second research question on types of messages is Differences Exist but Race Still Matters. This theme reflects participants'

perceptions about the differences between Black people and white people, West Indians and African Americans⁴¹; and West Indians and Americans, especially white Americans. Participants contended that regardless of these differences, race still mattered in their lived experiences and how people interacted with them. Ethnicity was important to participants, and race also mattered, because peers, faculty, and staff conveyed racial messages in subtle and explicit ways: through tokenism, microaggressions, intra-racial and inter-ethnic tensions, and the lack of awareness of ethnicities and generation statuses differences among Black people. The different messages participants received across their interactions in college and with family compelled participants to consider the ways race and racial encounters shaped their identities and experiences in college.

The final research question is: How are second-generation West Indian students enacting their racial and ethnic identities in their relationships with faculty/staff, peers, and family while in college? The final two themes address how participants enacted their identities in their relationships, particularly with friends and faculty and staff. The first theme addressing the final research question is Homophily in Friendships. This theme reflected participants' friendships with other second-generation, Black, immigrant peers from the Caribbean and Africa because they related best with those who were most like them, but they sometimes struggled to connect with racially similar, African American peers. The makeup of participants' friend groups reflects the principle of homophily in that people often interact with others they perceive to have similar social identities as them (McPherson et al., 1992). Their friendships were the ideal relationships where

⁴¹ Throughout this chapter I use Black American and African American interchangeably to refer to persons of African descent whose family have been in the United States for three generations or more.

participants exhibited integrated racial, ethnic, and second-generation identities.

Enactment of identity was reflected in their actions and the symbols they possessed, such as performing in a cultural show as a member of the CSO, exchanging stories with their friends about their parents' upbringing abroad, and wearing clothing with reference to West Indian culture (e.g., O'Dane wore a shirt with a colloquial Jamaican phrase on it).

Finally, the theme Representation Matters: Relationships with Faculty and Staff reflects how participants showed up in their relationships, or lack thereof, with faculty and staff. Specifically, participants tended to develop closer relationships with Black faculty and staff and to have superficial interactions with white faculty and staff based on perceptions that they likely had shared racialized experiences similar to Black faculty and staff because they were in predominantly white settings. How participants enacted their ethnic and racial identities in their interactions with faculty and staff addresses the third research question in that the perceptions they held about and quality of these relationships shaped how they enacted their identities. When they perceived little to no connection with faculty, participants kept their interactions with faculty related to academic matters. When participants perceived a close relationship, they opened up. Therefore, the closer the connection with the faculty or staff, the more likely participants were going to talk about their racial identities, and especially their ethnic identities, but a lack of connection meant that there was less of a likelihood they would discuss their identities, which gives insight into the reasons for how second-generation West Indians may show up in their interactions with faculty and staff. This study sheds light on the second generation's communication of their racial and ethnic identities and the connection to the types of

messages they received in their relationships with others and how those messages could influence the enactments of their identities.

Understanding the Themes Through the Communication Theory of Identity

Framework and Extant Literature

To further engage with the themes of this study, I now turn to view the themes in relation to the extant literature and theoretical framework guiding this study. The use of a social psychological lens in this study extends identity research in higher education by centering the salience and maintenance of racial and ethnic identity. Specifically, communication CTI is used to better understand how identity is a social and communicative process (Hecht 1993; Hecht et al., 1993; Hecht et al., 2003). The CTI examines how identity is maintained, demonstrated, and transformed through interactions and relationships (Hecht, 1993; Hecht et al., 1993).

There are four frames that comprise CTI: (a) personal, (b) enacted, (c) relational, and (d) communal (Hecht, 1993; Hecht et al., 1993; Jung & Hecht, 2004). The frames represent localities of identity with which to understand the individual in connection with their interactions and roles (Jung & Hecht, 2004). The frames can stand alone, or two or more can work together, contradict, or overlap each other, illustrating the fluidity of identity (Jung & Hecht, 2004). These frames help to demonstrate “that identity is inherently communicative and social” (Jung & Hecht, 2004, p. 270). The *personal frame* is the self-perceptions and self-concept of the individual’s characteristics and traits on how they typically define themselves in various encounters (Hecht, 1993). The *enacted frame* is the performativity or expression of identity: what people do and how they act to demonstrate their identities to others (Jung & Hecht, 2004). In the *relational frame*,

identities exist in relation to and the role of social relationships (Hecht, 1993, p. 80). The relational frame consists of four levels (Jung & Hecht, 2004). In Level 1, the individual internalizes other's views of themselves and consequently develops an "ascribed relational identity" (Jung & Hecht, 2004, p. 266). In Level 2, individuals identify through their relationships with others and their identity depends on relationships to others (e.g., an individual is a brother or sister because they have siblings). Level 3 elaborates on Level 2, where identities exist because of other identities; thus, there are multiple and intersecting relationships and identities (e.g., a woman can be a mother, daughter, and CEO; Jung & Hecht, 2004). In Level 4, the relationship is an identity, such as a married couple (Jung & Hecht, 2004). The fourth frame is the *communal frame*, concerning a collective or group identity such as a sorority, given that its identity as a group is under the banner of the name of the sorority. This frame centers identity in the group, and not the individual and focuses on what behaviors and principles bind the group together (Hecht, 1993).

Defining a West Indian Identity. Participants communicated their ethnicities through stories about their upbringings, claiming ownership of their parents' homelands, and understanding the languages and accents of their West Indian families. The ways in which second-generation West Indian college students from Boston articulated their ethnic identities affirmed their sense of self. How participants communicated their identities gave context for understanding their backgrounds, what was important to them, and informed how they might show up in their interactions with others. Participants discussed that they let others know their ethnic identities were important to them by telling stories about their upbringings in Caribbean households and ethnic communities in

Boston, expressing that they were from the Caribbean (suggesting that they have connections and heritage to a place abroad), and speaking the dialect, with an accent, or articulating their understanding of their families' languages. Because their cultures mattered to them, they made an effort to communicate their culture to those with whom they engaged and who expressed interest in knowing.

This theme is consistent with the literature in how the second generation tend to present themselves in their interactions with others in that how they expressed themselves depended on who they are talking to (Butterfield, 2004; Jones & Erving, 2015; Waters, 1994). Butterfield (2004) and others noted second-generation West Indians point to Caribbean cultural norms and practices because their ethnicities are invisible identities. When they engage with non-West Indians, they tend to explain more about West Indian culture to that person, compared to someone who is familiar with West Indian culture (Butterfield, 2004). Jones and Erving (2015) noted for the second generation, ethnic identity choices reflected their participants' cultural practices, referencing cultural music and norms in their homes. The second generation often find ways to assert their ethnic identities because their ethnicity is not always readily apparent to others (Butterfield, 2004; Jones & Erving, 2015; Lopez, 2002). Asserting their ethnic identity is especially apparent in their peer relationships and school contexts, where peers and teachers may be unaware of their ethnic backgrounds (Butterfield, 2004; Lopez, 2002; Feliciano, 2009; Waters, 1994).

Second-generation West Indians who tend to share and explain their ethnic background to others indicates an issue of visibility. Second-generation West Indians are not seen for their ethnic identities, which matter to them—conversely, they are often seen

for their racial identity or assumed to identify as African American (Butterfield, 2004; Waters, 1994)—and actively communicate their ethnic identity to others to make the invisible, visible. This theme of defining West Indian identity also supports the literature in that relationships (e.g., with family and peers) and social contexts of the second-generation usually shape the degree to which their racial and ethnic identities are salient (Butterfield, 2004; Charles et al., 2015; Feliciano, 2009; Hall & Carter, 2006; Rong & Brown, 2002; Waters, 1999) and shape how they communicate their identities (Butterfield, 2004).

From the perspective of CTI, the personal frame of identity reflects how participants viewed themselves. The things that they did with their families and ethnic communities informed who they are. Cultural engagement informed their identities and illustrated the relational frame of CTI in that participants generally viewed themselves and their ethnic identities in connection to their relationships with their families and ethnic communities. The basis of their West Indian identities is their kinship; they are the child of West Indian immigrant parents and relatives of West Indians. The enactment frame also captures the ways in which participants communicated their identity through their dress, groups they chose to get involved with, music they listened to and other culturally relevant behaviors. In alignment with previous studies (Awokoya, 2012; Butterfield, 2004; Joseph & Hunter, 2011; Waters, 1994), the second generation continuously point back to their parents' homeland and cultural norms in the home, such as sending remittances abroad, listening to Caribbean music, and hearing the language of their parents' spoken in the home, as factors that contribute to who they are as second generation and West Indian.

Proving Cultural Authenticity. The second-generation participants in this study faced challenges to their authenticity. Participants discussed their experiences with cultural authenticity and the need to prove, generally through language, that they held a genuine connection to their parents' homelands. I use the term cultural authenticity to refer to one's ability to display sound evidence of cultural knowledge, understanding, and practices (such as language, accent, and eating ethnic foods from that culture) to others inside and outside their ethnic group.

Specifically, the Jamaican participants faced challenges from first-generation family members and first-generation peers on campus largely when trying to be involved in Caribbean-based student organizations. This theme of cultural authenticity is consistent with Awokoya's (2012) findings of acceptance issues for 1.5⁴² and second-generation Nigerians. She found peer acceptance was an issue for her participants, and she used the term *ethnic authenticity*. Participants in Awokoya's study were often perceived as either not Black or African "enough" or "too" African. However, unlike Awokoya's findings and Guiffrida (2003) in which their participants sometimes did not feel "Black enough" in predominantly Black spaces, participants in this study did not express such sentiments. One reason for the contrast in perceptions may be due to the fact that participants in this study found racially and ethnically similar friend groups to be a part of which integrated and mirrored some of their salient identities.

In this study and Awokoya's (2012) work, authenticity showed up in the same ways: questioning of birthplace, cultural familiarity, and language. There is a slight

⁴² An individual who migrates to the United States before the age of 12 is considered 1.5 generation because the early part of their socialization occurs in their home country and the latter in their new host country (Rumbaut, 2004).

departure in this theme of authenticity and Awokoya's in that first-generation family *and* peers questioned the authenticity of participants in this study, compared to just peers in Awokoya's. This study and Awokoya's illustrate that the questioning of the authenticity of the second generation can come from in and outside of one's ethnic group and is rooted in markers of ethnic identity related to nativity, language, and cultural knowledge. Griffin and McIntosh (2015) also found some second-generation participants were questioned about their ethnicity and authenticity. Other scholars also point to issues of feeling accepted with either the home culture or mainstream American culture (e.g., Butterfield, 2004; Nesteruk et al., 2015; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; Waters, 1994). Participants in this study (similar to other studies Awokoya, 2012; Griffin & McIntosh, 2015) internalized these challenges of authenticity, resulting in feelings of self-consciousness, evoking feelings of difference, needing to prove oneself, sometimes withdrawing from the group, or feeling disconnected.

The dynamics between the first and second generations illustrate that generation status matters in their interactions with one another because nativity (i.e., question of being too American or not authentically West Indian) was used as a defining characteristic and boundary of ethnicity. Related to nativity is language in that it was articulated to the second generation that language connected to nativity and constitutes and authentic ethnic identity. The notion of language related to cultural authenticity, especially for Black immigrants from English-speaking countries, adds a new layer of complexity when considering the identities and authenticity of second-generation West Indians. Butterfield (2004) and data from this study suggest that second-generation youth may try to fit in by speaking the language or with an accent to others within-group.

Participants' challenges with cultural authenticity reflect a personal-relational identity gap based on the CTI framework. Identity gaps in CTI occur when others view the individual as different from how the individual perceives his/herself (Wadsworth et al., 2008). When a participant's ethnic identity was challenged, for example by a member of the first generation, the participant experienced an identity gap. Identity gaps likely happen when people rely on stereotypes about others in social interactions or narrow views of people from that group or culture (Wadsworth et al., 2008). Participants viewed themselves as authentically West Indian, but some native-born West Indian's questioned participant's cultural authenticity, and by extension their ethnic identity. In contrast to how participants viewed themselves, the first-generation generally defined participants as American. When participants experienced an identity gap, they resisted labels from in or outside of their ethnic group. They refused to be called American. They disagreed with their family members, attempted to show their authenticity by speaking with an accent or ignored those who questioned their authenticity.

The identity gap perspective in the CTI provides a look at the internal and external dimensions of identity. Prior scholarship on second-generation navigation of identity tends to focus on internal dynamics and perceptions of one's identity (Butterfield, 2004; Lopez, 2002; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; Waters, 1999). The CTI allows us to consider how the external (i.e., people and relationships) play a role in shaping the identity of others. The data from this study suggest that identity gaps can influence participants' self-perceptions to the extent that they felt self-conscious and resisted labels that do not fit with their self-perceptions when their ethnicity was called into question.

Differences Exist but Race Still Matters. Participants asserted that there are differences between Black people and white people; West Indians and African Americans; and West Indians and Americans, especially white Americans. Yet, race transcends the groups differences in the role it plays in each groups' lived experiences, especially in the lives of Black people. Participants highlighted how they are different from African Americans in terms of culture, music, and food; different from Americans because of their immigrant background; and different from white people because they are Black. This theme of differences and race is consistent with the extant scholarship on Black immigrants' understanding of their cultural differences in relation to the power and impact of race on their collegiate experiences (Anglin & Wade, 2007; George Mwangi & Fries-Britt, 2015; Griffin & McIntosh, 2015; Malcolm & Mendoza, 2014).

The literature demonstrates that first and second-generation Black immigrants perceive and respond to racial incidents and campus racial climate issues differently based on their understanding of race and perception of their racial identity (Anglin & Wade, 2007; Benson, 2006; Fries-Britt et al., 2004a; George Mwangi & Fries-Britt, 2015; Griffin et al., 2015; Griffin & McIntosh, 2015; Malcolm & Mendoza, 2014). Based on the findings from their study, Fries-Britt et al. (2014a) developed the LRUSC conceptual model to illustrate how racialized encounters prompt foreign-born Black students to move from an unexamined racial identity to an examined racial identity. The model accounts for racial understandings that Black immigrants bring from their homeland. When Black immigrants experience a racialized encounter where it is evident that race matters, they are compelled to reassess their previous beliefs and the level of importance they placed on race and racial identity. Cumulative racialized encounters often lead first-

generation Black immigrants to develop a stronger racial consciousness and subsequent Black identity (Anglin & Wade, 2007; Benson, 2006; Fries-Britt et al., 2004a; Malcolm & Mendoza, 2014). The LRUSC model provides an explanation for how Black immigrants tend to view and navigate race differently from their native-born Black counterparts.

In contrast, second-generation Black immigrants tend to develop strong ethnic and racial identities (Butterfield, 2004; Lopez, 2002; Jones & Erving, 2015) and have a stronger racial salience and awareness of racialized incidents (Anglin & Wade, 2007); thus race tends to matter to their self-concept and educational experiences (Deaux et al., 2007; Lopez, 2002). For example, Griffin and McIntosh (2015) highlighted the complexity in how Black immigrant students negotiate campus involvement. Ethnicity and race mattered, but the extent to which these identities were salient and connected with their involvement choices depended upon generation status. Griffin and McIntosh found that same-race connections were important for first and second-generation Black students in their transition to a PWC due to perceptions of shared racialized experiences and finding people who looked similar to them. Also, when second-generation West Indians reject an American identity, their rejection reflects a tendency to view themselves as an immigrant (primarily ethnically identify) which is similar to how many first-generation immigrants identify (Deaux, 2006; Deaux et al., 2007; Hall & Carter, 2006; Warner, 2012; Waters, 1999). Consistent with extant literature, data from this study illustrate that the meanings participants have on race, ethnicity, and generation status informs their opinions of themselves and others. This theme adds further insight of what

participants think about the differences and similarities between Black people and white people, West Indians and African Americans; and West Indians and white Americans.

According to CTI, how a participant generally defined or viewed themselves racially and ethnically (personal identity frame) was sometimes in conflict with or parallel to perceptions about African Americans and Americans (relational frame). For instance, participants viewed themselves as racially similar to African Americans, racially different from white Americans and ethnically different from both groups, reflecting the relational frame of identity. From the perspective of CTI, identity is more than a byproduct of interactions (Jung & Hecht, 2004). Rather, identity and communication jointly influence one another through an on-going process (Jung & Hecht, 2004). Their relational positioning to each group dictated their negative and positive perceptions and connections to other groups. Stereotypes are a powerful contributor to participants' perceptions of African Americans because participants held negative perceptions of their same-race peers that was informed by a communal perspective of African Americans.

Homophily in Friendships. Participants engaged in homophilous friendships in which majority of their close friends were Black, second-generation immigrants. The likelihood of having friends on campus who are racially and ethnically similar and second-generation may be related to the location of Boston and the representation of Black immigrants along the east coast (Anderson, 2015). Some of the participants' friends were from Boston and other places such as Western Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey. Bentley-Edwards and Chapman-Hilliard (2015) stress the importance and influence of precollege home and school environments and relationships, which is a

strong indicator of the racial and ethnic composition of friendships Black native and immigrant students will likely develop in college (Charles et al., 2007; Massey et al., 2007; Saenz et al., 2007). Participants in this study were more likely to have West Indian friends prior to college because of the racial and ethnic composition of their high schools and neighborhoods in Boston.

Some literature found instances where Black students created or joined social and cultural networks as a way to “stick together” with same-race peers for a sense of belonging, security, empowerment, and maintaining one’s racial and ethnic identity (Fisher & Hartmann, 1995; Guiffrida, 2003; Museus, 2008). Same-race interactions and groups can serve as an important site of cultural navigation (Anglin & Wade, 2007; Fisher & Hartmann, 1995; Harper & Quaye, 2007; Museus, 2008; Porter & Dean, 2015; Solórzano et al., 2000; Tatum, 2010). Although there is limited literature that explores the composition of second-generation West Indians’ friend groups, there is some literature suggesting that their choice of involvement and social connections tend to be along racial and ethnic lines (Griffin & McIntosh, 2015; Malcolm & Mendoza, 2014).

Afro-Caribbean international students in Malcolm and Mendoza’s (2014) study generally sought community among other Caribbean and Black international students. ACIS also made connections with second-generation Afro-Caribbean students based on their shared Caribbean heritage, but this was generally prompted by racialized encounters in which they could connect and support one another. On the other hand, when participants in this study attempted to make connections with their racially similar, African American peers there was a disconnect between how to address race-related issues on and off-campus. Malcolm and Mendoza also found that ACIS expected to

connect with African American peers based on shared racial identity and racial positioning but had difficulty in relating to African Americans' racialized experiences in the United States. Because they could not relate, ACIS avoided African American groups such as the Black student association and pursued individual connections with African Americans. Data from this study support Malcolm and Mendoza's findings, even though their study was on first-generation/international Afro-Caribbeans. Participants in this study perceived African Americans as different from them and had difficulty relating on racial perspectives. However, some participants did have friendships with African American peers at their institution, but rarely participated in BSOs and tended to gravitate toward ethnic-based student organizations and friends.

Same-race (and similar ethnic) groups also serve as a physical and social space in which immigrant and native-born Black students experience cultural familiarity, validation, support, and a place to express themselves in an authentic way (Anglin & Wade, 2007; Museus, 2008). Participants' friendships mirrored their racial, ethnic, and second-generation status identities. Participants used these friend groups to further explore who they are based on how others perceive and define them. CTI is concerned with how identities are redefined and expressed relationally. Having friends who are similar to them allowed participants to mutually construct their identities in their relationships (Hecht, 1993). Consequently, the identity of the individuals in the friendship becomes a function of the relationship and connected to the identity of that friendship. Participants spoke directly to how their friendships reflect who they are and what they do that is tied to their cultural background. While other friendships with diverse peers would still be important, that friendship would have a different meaning and identity attached to

it based on the shared identities among those in the group. This is most explicit in Tessann's three different friend groups in which her identities were most integrated in her Caribbean friend group, and less integrated and shared with her predominantly white and LGBTQ friend groups.

Representation Matters: Faculty and Staff Relationships. Like their native-born Black peers (e.g., Moore & Toliver, 2010; Reddick, 2011), second-generation West Indian college students prefer to connect with Black faculty and staff because racial representation mattered in their relationships with college personnel. Having Black faculty and staff with whom they could relate about racialized experiences on and off-campus were important for participants in this study. Black faculty and staff were also more likely to make an effort to connect with second-generation West Indian students by asking them how they are doing, offering to speak outside of class or one-on-one, and made themselves available to discuss challenges that participants may be facing. In contrast, second-generation West Indian students were less likely to have a close relationship with white faculty or staff because they perceived that white faculty and staff may not care about them, did not offer to connect outside of class, or participants assumed that there may not be a connection due to differences in racial identity.

This study supports findings from other studies demonstrating that having a faculty member of the same race can have positive effects on students' experiences (Campbell & Campbell, 2007; Lee, 1999; Schwitzer et al., 1999). Participants in this study talked about the close relationships they built with Black faculty and staff where they felt comfortable talking about their lives generally (beyond academics) and shared about their ethnicity and background. Particularly, when there were campus racial climate

issues, participants felt more supported by Black faculty and staff than white faculty and staff. Black faculty and staff provided spaces for students to share their feelings about the campus climate, they related to participants' experiences about how they navigated campus climate issues, and they simply listened. Black faculty and staff who made an effort to engage with the participants, participants were more likely to perceive a close connection and positive relationship. The white faculty and staff who engaged less frequently with participants, participants perceived less of a connection.

Extant scholarship demonstrates that the quality of interactions between students and faculty is often dependent upon the attitudes and behaviors of faculty (Cress, 2008; Komarraju et al., 2010; Lundberg & Schreiner, 2004; McCoy et al., 2017; Moore & Toliver, 2010; Schreiner et al., 2011). For students of color, positive relationships with faculty and staff were often described in the research as supportive, encouraging, caring, knowing their name, open to answering questions, approachable and accessible, providing opportunities (internship or research), appropriately challenging them, respectful, listens, and seeks to connect with them (Cress, 2008; Komarraju et al., 2010; Lundberg & Schreiner, 2004; McCoy et al., 2017; Moore & Toliver, 2010; Schreiner et al., 2011). Participants in this study provided examples in which the faculty and staff they connected with demonstrated support and connection in similar ways noted in the literature. Also consistent with the literature, when participants in this study perceived faculty members were approachable and willing to be engaged inside and outside of the classroom, there was a stronger likelihood that students made regular and frequent contact with faculty (Komarraju et al., 2010). The likelihood of approaching and forging a connection with faculty is especially true for Black students when they perceive that

Black faculty will have their best interest in mind without really knowing the faculty member (Moore & Toliver, 2010).

While this study confirms the extant literature on faculty-student relationships, it adds to the literature on student-staff relationships. Participants in this study established relationships with student organization advisors, senior level administrators, athletic trainers, and dining staff, in addition to faculty. The second-generation West Indians in this study established connections with these individuals for similar reasons outlined in the literature: the staff were approachable and accessible, listened to them, had frequent interactions, responded to their requests for assistance, most identified as Black (or a person of color), empathized with students' challenges in navigating racial conflicts, and demonstrated a sense of care. In addition to factors identified in the extant literature, the staff provided other factors of support and connection such as hold space (informally and formally) for students to talk about their identities in relation to those around them and in the context of the campus climate, offered to buy a student coffee and sit with them, related to student's concern about the lack of seasoning on dining food based on the assumption that cafeteria food is bland, and shared a similar ethnic identity (and related to one another based on shared ethnicity). Like Guiffrida's (2005a) findings about Black faculty, staff (and in some cases faculty) in this study went "above and beyond" what was necessary or expected of them to connect and support the participants in this study. Black students in Guiffrida's (2005a) study described supportive faculty as "student-centered." Guiffrida found that Black Faculty showed support for students through comprehensive advising (addressed personal and academic related needs), advocacy and support, and higher expectations and motivation (Guiffrida, 2005a). Black faculty performed

“othermothering,” as Guiffrida called it, which extends student-faculty relationships beyond mentoring.

On the other hand, this study is consistent with the research documenting Black students’ negative and dissatisfying interactions with white faculty and staff (Allen, 1992; Cole 2010; Davis et al., 2004; Guiffrida, 2005a; Lundberg & Schreiner, 2004; McCoy et al., 2017; Rankin & Reason, 2005; Solórzano et al., 2000). Participants in this study encountered microaggressions, tokenism, and treated differently compared to their white peers. Although participants did have some positive interactions with white faculty and staff, the frequency was minimal and did not lead to a strong, positive relationship compared to the relationships with Black faculty and staff.

In the dynamic between participants and faculty or staff there was an interplay between the personal, relational, and enacted frames that shaped how, when, to whom, and whether participants shared about their salient identities (Hecht et al., 2002). Whether and how participants chose to talk about their racial identity largely depended on shared racial identity of the faculty or staff member. Whether and how participants shared about their ethnic identity depended upon the closeness of the relationship. Thus, the perception of the audience *and* the quality of relationship dictated the extent to which participants communicated their ethnic identity. Even though their ethnic identity was salient to them, the second-generation participants were less likely to share this identity if they did not perceive a close connection, which illustrates the importance of the relational and enactment frames of identity in understanding how participants communicate their identity to others. Therefore, some faculty and staff did not know that ethnicity is

important to some of the participants if participants did not communicate or express (i.e., enact) this part of their identity in their interaction with faculty and staff.

The findings from this study affirm the “contextual nature of identity” (Giguère et al., 2010, p. 16; e.g., Butterfield, 2004). Participants’ identity negotiations and expressions depended upon who they were around and their environment (i.e., predominantly Black or white spaces). Because CTI illustrates that identities are social in nature, it stands to reason that identity issues are communication issues (Jung & Hecht, 2004).

Implications

The findings from this study offer several implications for future research, theory, and practice. Implications are most applicable to matters concerning second-generation West Indian college students, but can also inform research and practice for racially, ethnically, and immigrant marginalized groups broadly. Recommendations for researchers, faculty, and staff are included in this section as well.

Theory and Future Research

Future theories and research should consider an ethno-racial perspective when studying Black people and other diverse groups. Findings from this study suggest that participants thought about and communicated their racial and ethnic identities simultaneously; making distinctions between the two was not necessarily important or possible for them because their identities tended to overlap. This study focused on a small subset of Black students but considering the ethnic identities of other Black students and other racial groups such as Asian Americans can highlight differences and nuance in experiences and identities. Torres-Saillant (2003) and Gallegos and Ferdman (2012)

purported an ethno-racial perspective when studying Latinx groups to advance the inclusion of Latinx in racial and ethnic identity work. An ethno-racial perspective in theory and research may also allow for the exploration of how individuals navigate the racialized component of his/her identity. Further, scholars rarely consider an ethno-racial perspective when studying Black students. Using an ethno-racial perspective to study Black students may be a more inclusive approach for persons with a salient ethnic identity. An ethno-racial perspective may also reveal important distinctions in groups when applied to the research. The application of an ethno-racial perspective can also be applied to the disaggregation of institutional and research data of different ethnic groups to further highlight distinctions in the representation of demography across institutions and datasets. This study offers some important distinctions of ethno-racial and generational status perspectives for further consideration in research and practice.

Additionally, the theoretical framework used in this study compliments the psychological perspective traditionally used in higher education research. The use of a social psychological perspective to explore the role and importance of identity in shaping college students' experiences advances the utility of social psychological perspectives to inform future higher education research. The CTI provides a framework for understanding the expressions and salience of racial and ethnic identity for second-generation West Indians in the context of relationships. CTI adds a layer of complexity to present understandings of identity (Hecht et al., 2002). Future theories and research in higher education should consider the use of social psychological theories, such as CTI and others (e.g., IT and SIT), to study students' experiences. Discussing the findings in relation to the theory further revealed how identity and relationships are mutually

connected and constructed. The application of CTI to the findings also illustrated that the frames of identity do not operation in silos, but in tandem or in contrast with one another (Hecht et al., 2003). Viewing identity from a communication perspective considers how an individual frames and expresses their identities, and how their identities are negotiated and defined relationally and communally (Hecht et al., 1993).

In future use and testing of CTI, researchers should consider an expansion of the communal frame from the group level to include the individual and interpersonal levels. A limitation of the theory is that the conception of the communal frame is to analyze a group or collective identity at the group level (i.e., exploring how individuals may perceive a group based on stereotypes and assumptions about that group (Hecht et al., 2002). It is useful to analyze and consider the “communal aspects of identity” (Hecht et al., 2003, p. 238) based on the other frames but extending this frame may provide greater utility and application. A multilevel perspective of the communal frame may provide additional insight into the overlap in and across frames, as seen in the four levels of the relational frame and across the four identity frames.

Further, since CTI focuses on the individual and interpersonal levels, it fails to account for structural dynamics that can shape the frames of identity. Data from this research suggests that there were structural elements such as racial campus climate and racism that impacted how they interacted with others and how they viewed themselves. The current frames within CTI do not account for these structural dimensions. Future use and expansion of this theory could include a structural element in which the four frames of identity sit within a larger structural context to account for systematic dimensions,

such as racism, sexism, and other oppressive systems, that impact identity and create identity gaps.

Future research should also consider the possibility that the second-generation possess an immigrant identity that is unique to them and their perspectives of a homeland that is a place other than the United States (i.e., parent's homeland). Participants in this study positioned themselves as immigrants through the ways that they communicated their ethnic identity in that they view their homeland is in the Caribbean. Participants in this study perceived themselves as similar to the first-generation, despite being born in the United States; staked personal claim to their parent's homeland, language, and accents; internalized the characteristics of their upbringing as inherently foreign; and placed importance on their ethnicity in their relationships; all of which, I argue, constitutes an immigrant identity.

Based on the findings in this study, the development of an immigrant identity is a consequence of the significance of participants' generation status and ethnicity. Extant scholarship often links ethnicity with immigrant identity, advancing the idea that an individual (i.e., first-generation immigrants) may identify more with their homeland than their host country, thus sustaining their ethnic and national connection (Deaux, 2006). Social (relationships) and spatial (Boston, their colleges, the West Indies, etc.) contexts are the places in which the second-generation develop their immigrant positioning (Deaux, 2006). The second-generation are not seen as having an immigrant perspective, but they tend to develop one based on their cultural upbringing. An immigrant identity is a perspective to explore in the research because the second-generation can have a "qualitatively different" (Rumbaut, 2004) perspective than their African American peers.

Also, student-staff relationships are understudied in higher education scholarship. Future research should explore the benefits and challenges resulting from students' relationships with staff (inclusive of student-affairs professionals) on campus. The data in this study illustrated that students established relationships or connections with faculty and staff members. This study also demonstrated that some of the benefits and challenges in student-staff relationships include a close connection to personnel on campus and a source of support or a failure to demonstrate concern for students' issues. Further understanding of staff's impact and role on students' experience can shape practice.

Finally, Boston proved to be a unique context to study. Boston has a rich context due to its history, immigrant populations, and composition of diverse neighborhoods. Since its founding and to this day, Boston neighborhoods are racially and ethnically segregated. Participants' noted how their neighborhoods reflect their culture and community, but also pointed out the neighborhoods and areas that do not reflect their background. The racial segregation of their neighborhoods played a role in the formation and maintenance of participants' racial and ethnic identities. Future research should consider Boston and other major cities to better understand how social and geographic areas contribute to the formation, maintenance, and shift of identities. Additionally, participants were able to stay close to home due to the availability and proximity of diverse institutional types across Boston and Massachusetts at large. Remaining connected to home possibly contributed to the maintenance of their ethnic identities, but it also prompted the reconsideration of their racial identity due to the predominantly white contexts on their campuses, even though they were close to home. Studying other metropolitan areas and how the structure and racial composition of those areas contribute

to the identities and experiences of Black immigrants or other immigrant populations in that area is an area to consider.

Practice

This study also leads to several implications for practice for faculty and staff (inclusive of student affairs professionals) in higher education, particularly those at PWIs. Faculty and staff should develop an understanding of the role and impact of students' multiple identities. While it is impossible for faculty and staff to know the specific multiple identities of all their students, they can gain a better understanding that multiple identities coexist in the lives of students, which may inform how students show up in the classroom and on campus. Multiple identity work is not new (e.g., Jones & Abes, 2013) and faculty and staff should take advantage of the resources and tools available to further their knowledge which can inform pedagogy, services, and the overall approach to working with students. For instance, Sandra, a participant in this study, described the close connection she made with a student affairs professional, Melissa, with regard to race, gender, and ethnicity. Melissa provided space to students to talk about their experiences, posted positive messages on social media about Black women, and specifically addressed the challenges in navigating campus and the world as a Black, woman, and a Black Caribbean woman. Sandra appreciated Melissa's creation of the space and ability to navigate complex conversations on multiple identities.

Connected to developing an understanding of multiple identities, faculty and staff should be more aware of ethnic diversity in racial groups. One aim of this study was to highlight the diversity in the Black community. Too often Black people are portrayed, and subsequently treated, as a monolith, which limits our understanding of any

differential experiences and impact of race ethnicity, and also generation status, across subgroups (Blum, 2015; George Mwangi, 2014; George Mwangi & Fries-Britt, 2015; Massey et al., 2007). Recognizing in group diversity can begin with the disaggregation of institutional and research data based on ethnicity, region, country, generation status, and even language, to assess and explore any differences across ethnic groups in terms of geography, culture, language, and backgrounds (George Mwangi & Fries-Britt, 2015). Faculty and staff should consider how might disaggregated data dispel or confirm any present assumptions about the student populations with whom they work. Are there more Black immigrant students on their campus than they realize? Are there more second-generation Black students in their classes than they are aware of? How can the data in their present studies be reexamined to consider ethnicity and generation status of the study sample? These questions and others can expand present perspective and approaches to the work of faculty and staff.

Further, data in this study suggest that white faculty (and staff) should make more effort to connect with students of color. Participants in this study perceived white faculty as not caring about connecting with them or did not understand their perspective. White faculty and staff should not rely on students reaching out to them, especially students of color who may be hesitant to reach out first due to uncertainties or a previous bad experience. White faculty and staff can make the effort to get to know their students, demonstrate an openness that they are approachable and seek to understand and connect with students of color. A few participants noted that their connections with faculty and staff occurred over time through repeated interactions where they talked less about academics and discussed more social and personal things such as interests and what they

did over the weekend. Developing a connection with diverse students also requires white faculty/staff to develop foundational cultural competency skills to engage with students of color.

According to some of the participants in this study, faculty should understand that students have a West Indian identity and background that is important to them and how they view themselves. Faculty and staff can invest in gathering stories about participants through interactions, class assignments, and activities to learn about their students and for their students to learn about them and their peers. Participants in this study were willing to share about their West Indian backgrounds when they had a connection with faculty and staff. They desired to share to illustrate there are differences about them specifically and in the Black community broadly. Recognizing within-group diversity may contribute to less faculty and staff assuming there is a monolithic Black experience and requesting their Black students to address such a claim. Faculty and staff should recognize their own ethnicities to help them develop an understanding that diverse ethnicities exist and considering their different identities can help them better relate to the diverse identities of others. The narratives in this study and the lens of CTI in this study illustrated that it is not just one's identification, it is the meaning one ascribes to that identification in their communication with others, that further shapes identity. Whether faculty or staff hold a salient ethnicity, acknowledging their ethnic identity may normalize the awareness of ethnicity among all racial groups.

Further, data from this study provide suggestions for student affairs professionals who work with race and ethnicity-based groups to engage with students around these identities more intentionally and explicitly. Asking students to share aspects of their

upbringing (such as family, customs, culture) that shape them into who they are now, can give insight into how students identify and the meanings they attach to certain identities. Asking students to also talk about where they grew up (such as neighborhood and schools) and how their communities shape their identities contributes to an understanding of the role and influence of pre-college environments. Data from this study illustrated that participants' upbringing and neighborhoods played a role in how they viewed themselves and their race and ethnicities when they arrived at college. Using these self-disclosure methods with students can help student affairs professionals understand the developmental arc, contexts, and perspectives of students that can provide greater knowledge for how students may show up in their interactions with others inside and outside of the classroom.

Another implication for practice includes the facilitation of intra-racial/intra-ethnic discussions. Data in this study pointed to intra-racial (between African American and West Indian students), cross-generational (between first and second-generation West Indians), and inter-ethnic tensions among Black students. Staff should facilitate events and discussions to help students understand where their assumptions, ideas and perspectives derive from and build a bridge of understanding in Black students on campus. Facilitating dialogue at the intersection of ethnicity, generational status, and nativity for Black students may also provide a better understanding of the similarities and differences in their perspectives and experiences.

A final implication for practice includes a continued examination and addressing of climate issues on campus. This study affirmed previous research (Bowman & Park, 2014; Fries-Britt et al., 2014a; Griffin & McIntosh, 2015; Harper & Hurtado, 2007;

Malcolm & Mendoza, 2014; Rankin & Reason, 2005) on the racial issues Black students tend to experience at PWIs. Administrators, staff, and faculty evaluate and develop diversity and inclusion initiatives to address identified climate issues. This study demonstrated that climate issues was one of the reasons participants sought out Black faculty/staff to connect with and were less likely to seek white faculty/staff. Coupled with the assessment of climate data, administration should capture ethnicity and immigrant generation status of its students, faculty, staff, and administration which can highlight how these identities inform climate perceptions (e.g., Griffin et al., 2015). Such information can provide greater insight into the layers of diversity on campus and begin to contextualize the cross-cultural dynamics on campus.

Conclusion

In a recent article in *The Washington Post*, Buyinza (2019) discussed the identity tensions that second-generation Black people sometimes experience internally, but also externally, like presidential candidate Kamala Harris (see Reston, 2019). Buyinza, a second-generation Ugandan, shared the same sentiments that I and my participants shared in this study; it's in the food we eat made by our families, it's in the music we listen to by Black immigrants, and it's in the stories our parents tell us about their upbringing abroad that compel us to embrace our immigrant roots. Our identities "[stretch] from the streets of [Uganda and the West Indies] to the streets of Boston" (Buyinza, 2019, para. 19). Therefore, there need[s] to be a conversation about the "narrow view of Blackness" (Buyinza, 2019, para. 12) and the "way we view Black people in the United States" (Buyinza, 2019, para. 8). This study takes a step into that complicated conversation.

This study contributes to the limited, yet growing, discussion in higher education scholarship on Black students' ethnic and generational status identities. Participants' narratives illustrate that they want to be seen for more than just their Blackness, but also for how they see themselves ethnically. Examining second-generation West Indian students' identities and relationships through the framework of CTI points out "what to look for and where to look" (Hecht et al., 1993, p. 165). This study adds to the knowledge about the second generation beyond simply navigating two cultures. Instead, the challenges participants in this study faced rested in their interactions with others, which further informed their identities and how they communicated who they are to others. The relational and contextual perspective of this study gave some insight into the experiences of second-generation West Indian students from Boston.

Analysis of the data also revealed that while Boston was an important context, Boston and its Caribbean community played more of a formative role and, to a lesser degree, a maintenance role in the ethnic identity of participants. By the time participants went to college, they already developed habits and mindsets related to their identities that they conveyed to others. In some cases, conveying their ethnic identity involved spending time with and talking to family, and visiting the Caribbean communities, restaurants, and events in Boston and bringing their friends with them to share that part of who they are.

This study also highlighted language and the power of an accent, especially for Black immigrant, English-speaking folks. Because West Indians have a distinct language and accent that is akin to English, they may be othered or overlooked, if they can turn their accents on and off. While some second-generation West Indians are less likely to

speaking their mother tongue or with an accent, language and accent is an important part of their ethnic identity, expression, and experiences.

A final thought is the role and impact of college. The college campus was the context in which participants' relationships and interactions further shaped their racial and ethnic identities. Participants found friends, student organizations, faculty, and staff with whom they could express and explore their identities. Relationships provided insight into how participants chose to respond to messages on their racial and ethnic identities. They made certain social and cultural adjustments based on how they perceived themselves, that may parallel or differ from their native-born and immigrant Black peers. This study gives a glimpse into how second-generation West Indian students might be experiencing their campus environments in Boston.

Appendices

Appendix A

List of Neighborhoods of Boston, and Greater/Metro Boston

Boston Neighborhoods	Metro Boston (cont.)	Greater Boston (cont.)
Allston	Revere	Reading
Back Bay	Saugus	Sharon
Bay Village	Weymouth	Somerville
Beacon Hill	Winthrop	Stoneham
Brighton	Greater Boston	Stoughton
Charlestown	Arlington	Wakefield
Chinatown	Avon	Walpole
Dorchester	Belmont	Waltham
Downtown	Braintree	Watertown
East Boston	Brockton	Wellesley
Fenway-Kenmore	Brookline	Weston
Hyde Park	Cambridge	Westwood
Jamaica Plain	Canton	Weymouth
Mattapan	Chelsea	Winchester
Mid-Dorchester	Dedham	Winthrop
Mission Hill	Dover	Wrentham
North End	Everett	
Roslindale	Foxborough	
Roxbury	Framingham	
South Boston	Holbrook	
South End	Malden	
West End	Medfield	
West Roxbury	Medford	
Metro Boston	Melrose	
Boston	Milton	
Braintree	Needham	
Chelsea	Newton	
Everett	Norfolk	
Hingham	North Reading	
Hull	Norwood	
Milton	Plainville	
Quincy	Randolph	

Sources: Boston Planning & Development Agency (2019), Greater Boston Convention & Visitors Bureau (2019)

Appendix B

Initial Recruitment Email

Dear _____,

My name is Shelvia English and I am a Ph.D. student in the Higher Education, Student Affairs, and International Education Policy program at the University of Maryland College Park. Under the supervision of my advisor, Dr. Kimberly Griffin, I am seeking participants for my dissertation research about the racial and ethnic identities and relationships of U.S.-born Afro-Caribbean college students in Boston. As a Black, woman born to Jamaican parents, I seek to understand and highlight the narratives of the children of Afro-Caribbean immigrants. I have a strong interest in this topic as it resonates with my personal experiences. I respectfully ask for your assistance in sharing this email with potential participants who:

- Self-identify as Black/African American and born in the United States,
- Both parents are from at least one of the following Anglophone islands: Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Aruba, the Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Montserrat, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago, Turks and Caicos, or the U.S. Virgin Islands,
- Attended high school in Boston,
- Are currently enrolled in a 4-year institution in Boston, Greater/Metro Boston area,
- Have completed at least two semesters in college and,
- At least 18 years old.

Participants will be asked to:

- Fill out a demographic survey;
- Invited to participate in a 60-75-minute one-on-one in-person interview,
- Invited to participate in a 75-90-minute follow-up in-person interview and,
- Review a summary of their transcript.

Participants will receive a \$25 Amazon E-Gift card for participating in the both interviews.

The risks of participating in the study are minimal. The interview will encourage participants to reflect on their identities and experiences. Participation is completely voluntary and participant information will be kept confidential.

Those interested in participating can click [HERE](#) where they will be directed to a consent form and a secure demographic form. Participants are welcome to email me at: senglis1@umd.edu. Thank you in advance for considering this request.

Best,
Shelvia English

Appendix C
Consent Form to Participate

Project Title	Exploring the Identities and Relationships of Second-Generation Afro-Caribbean College Students in Boston: A Narrative Inquiry
Purpose of the Study	This research is being conducted by Shelvia English at the University of Maryland, College Park. You are invited to participate in this research project because you identify as Black/African American, are U.S-born, both of your parents are from the Anglophone Caribbean, attended high school in Boston, currently enrolled in college in the metropolitan Boston area, completed two semesters in college. The purpose of this research project is to learn about the experiences of second-generation (U.S.-born) Afro-Caribbean college students in Boston.
Procedures	<p>The procedures involve completing a demographic form. Once eligibility is determined, respondents will be invited to participate in a 60-75-minute in-person interview. All in-person interviews will take place in a setting of the participants choosing and convenience. The second interview is approximately 75-90 minutes and is also in-person. Participants will receive a \$25 Amazon E-Gift for participating once interviews are completed. Both interviews will be audio-recorded. You will be asked to review a 2-3 page summary about your interview responses. Your participation is completely voluntary, and you may withdraw at any time for any reason. Please mark below for each statement indicating that you agree to participate in these procedures. After signing this informed consent form electronically, you will be directed to complete a demographic form.</p> <p>Yes No</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Participate in a 60-75 minute initial in-person interview</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Participate in a 75-90 minute follow-up in-person interview</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Review a summary of your interview transcript to ensure what you said was accurately captured</p>
Potential Risks and Discomforts	There may be some risks from participating in this research study. You may possibly feel uncomfortable reflecting on your identity and experiences with faculty/staff, peers, or family. I will not share personal identifiable information during the research process. In reporting of findings, I will use pseudonyms and other masking characteristics to maintain confidentiality.
Potential Benefits	There are no direct benefits from participating in this research. However, possible benefits include sharing your perspective to contribute to the broader understanding of professionals in higher education about students who share similar backgrounds and experiences as you. You may benefit from sharing about your

	experiences in a way that is reflective and cathartic. I hope that in the future, educators and people generally might benefit from this study through improved understanding of how U.S.-born Afro-Caribbean students navigate their identities and relationships while in college.
Confidentiality	Any potential loss of confidentiality will be minimized by storing all data in a secure password protected file that only the Principal Investigator, Shelvia English, will have access to. If you are selected to participate in the interviews, you will also be asked by the Principal Investigator to choose a pseudonym to be used throughout the interview process. Any identifiable information such as email address and name will not appear in interview data or in potential future reports, articles, and publications. The principal investigator is the only person with access to the survey responses, interview transcript and recordings. The interview data will be destroyed once it is no longer needed but not before a minimum of 5 years after data are collected.
Compensation	You will receive a <u>\$25 Amazon E-Gift card</u> for participating in the initial and follow-up in-person interviews. Because you are not receiving over \$100, only your name and email address will be collected to receive compensation.
Right to Withdraw and Questions	Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating at any time. If you decide not to participate in this study or if you stop participating at any time, you will not be penalized or lose any benefits to which you otherwise qualify. If you decide to stop taking part in the study, if you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or if you need to report an injury related to the research, please contact the principal investigator: Shelvia English 1103 Cole Activities Bldg. 4090 Union Dr. College Park, MD 20742 Senglis1@umd.edu 617-785-6360 <i>Dissertation Chair:</i> Dr. Kimberly Griffin, Associate Professor, Dissertation Chair Department of Counseling, Higher Education, and Special Education University of Maryland, College Park kgriff29@umd.edu
Participant Rights	If you have questions about your rights as a research participant or wish to report a research-related injury, please contact: University of Maryland College Park

	<p style="text-align: center;">Institutional Review Board Office 1204 Marie Mount Hall College Park, Maryland, 20742 E-mail: irb@umd.edu Telephone: 301-405-0678</p> <p>This research has been reviewed according to the University of Maryland, College Park IRB procedures for research involving human subjects.</p>
<p>Statement of Consent</p>	<p>Selecting “I Consent” below indicates that you are at least 18 years of age; you have read this consent form or have had it read to you; your questions have been answered to your satisfaction and you voluntarily agree to participate in this research study. Select “I Do Not Consent” if you do not agree to participate. If you have any questions or you are unsure, please select “I am Unsure, I have questions” and provide an email address where you can be contacted.</p> <p>If you select “I Consent” this serves as an electronic signature of your consent to participate in this research for the procedures listed above to which you selected “Yes” in the procedures section. After you provide consent you will be directed to complete a demographic questionnaire to provide the principal investigator with initial demographic and background information.</p> <p> <input type="checkbox"/> I Consent <input type="checkbox"/> I Do Not Consent <input type="checkbox"/> I am Unsure, I have questions. Please email me at: _____ </p>

Appendix D Demographic Form

Name

Email

Age

How do you define your race? _____

How do you define your ethnicity? _____

List three of your identities you think about most often.

Were you born in the United States?

If yes, what city and state?

Please list the high school you attended and the city and state it is in.

What college or university do you currently attend:

How many semesters have you completed?

What is your major?

What is your minor (if applicable)?

Are you the first person in your family/household to attend college?

What is your mother's country of origin?

What is your mother's highest level of education?

What is your father's country of origin?

What is your father's highest level of education?

If you would like to participate in a 60-75-minute in-person interview and a 75-900-minute follow-up interview please check yes below.

- Yes
- No

If Yes, please indicate what days you are available to participate in the first interview in the month of May 2018. The principal investigator will follow up

*Note: questions about parents is to capture parent nationality and students' first-generation college student status.

Appendix E
First Follow-Up Email for Recruitment

Dear _____,

I am following up about my previous email seeking participants for my dissertation study. As a reminder, my name is Shelvia English and I am a Ph.D. student in the Higher Education, Student Affairs, and International Education Policy program at the University of Maryland College Park. Under the supervision of Dr. Kimberly Griffin, I am seeking participants for my dissertation research about the racial and ethnic identities and relationships of U.S.-born Afro-Caribbean college students in Boston. As a Black, woman born to Jamaican parents, I seek to understand and highlight the narratives of the children of Afro-Caribbean immigrants.

I ask for your assistance in sharing this email with current college students who:

- Self-identify as Black/African American and born in the United States,
- Both parents are from at least one of the following Anglophone islands: Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Aruba, the Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Montserrat, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago, Turks and Caicos, or the U.S. Virgin Islands,
- Are currently enrolled in a 4-year institution in Boston or the Greater Boston/Metro area,
- Have completed at least two semesters in college and,
- At least 18 years old.

Participants will be asked to:

- Fill out a demographic survey;
- Invited to participate in a 90-minute one-on-one in-person interview,
- Invited to participate in a 60-minute follow-up online interview and,
- Review a summary of their transcript.

*Participants will receive a \$25 Amazon E-Gift card for participating in the in-person *and* online interviews.

The risks of participating in the study are minimal. The interview will allow participants to reflect on their experiences. Participation is completely voluntary and participant information will be kept confidential.

Those interested in participating can click [HERE](#) where they will receive an informed consent form and complete a secure demographic form. Participants are also welcome to email me at: senglis1@umd.edu

Thank you,
Shelvia English

Appendix F
Second Follow-Up Email for Recruitment

Hello,

This is another follow up to request your help in identifying potential participants for my dissertation research. Again, my name is Shelvia English and I am a Ph.D. student in the Higher Education, Student Affairs, and International Education Policy program at the University of Maryland College Park. This research is supervised by Dr. Kimberly Griffin. As a Black, woman born to Jamaican parents, I seek to understand and highlight the narratives of the children of Afro-Caribbean immigrants.

I am seeking individuals who:

- Self-identify as Black/African American and born in the United States,
- Both parents are from at least one of the following Anglophone islands: Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Aruba, the Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Montserrat, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago, Turks and Caicos, or the U.S. Virgin Islands,
- Are currently enrolled in a 4-year institution in Boston or the Greater Boston/Metro area,
- Have completed at least two semesters in college and,
- At least 18 years old.

Participants will be asked to:

- Fill out a demographic survey;
- Invited to participate in a 90-minute one-on-one in-person interview,
- Invited to participate in a 60-minute follow-up online interview and,
- Review a summary of their transcript.

*Participants will receive a \$25 Amazon E-Gift card for participating in the in-person *and* online interviews.

If you, or someone you know is interested, click [HERE](#) to be directed to a consent form, followed by a short demographic form. Feel free to email me if you have questions at: senglis1@umd.edu

Thank you so much for your time!

Best,

Shelvia English

Appendix G

Recruitment Flyer for Social Media

Hi!

As a part of my dissertation research for my Ph.D. program at the University of Maryland College Park, I seek to understand and highlight the narratives of the children of Afro-Caribbean immigrants. This research is supervised by Dr. Kimberly Griffin. I seek to understand and highlight the narratives of the children of Afro-Caribbean immigrants.

I am seeking individuals who:

- Self-identify as Black/African American and born in the United States,
- Both parents are from at least one of the following Anglophone islands: Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Aruba, the Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Montserrat, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago, Turks and Caicos, or the U.S. Virgin Islands,
- Are currently enrolled in a 4-year institution in Boston or the Greater Boston/Metro area,
- Have completed at least two semesters in college and,
- At least 18 years old.

Participants will be asked to:

- Fill out a demographic survey;
- Invited to participate in a 90-minute one-on-one in-person interview,
- Invited to participate in a 60-minute follow-up online interview and,
- Review a summary of their transcript.

*Participants will receive a \$25 Amazon E-Gift card for participating in the in-person *and* online interviews.

If you, or someone you know is interested, click [HERE](#) to be directed to a consent form, followed by a short demographic form. Feel free to email me if you have questions at: senglis1@umd.edu

Thank you so much for your time!
Shelvia

Appendix H
List of Collegiate Institutions to Target for Recruitment

Name	City	UGPROFILE2015
Curry College	Milton	6
Bay State College	Boston	7
Fisher College	Boston	7
Regis College	Weston	8
Lesley University	Cambridge	9
University of Massachusetts-Boston	Boston	9
University of Massachusetts-Lowell	Lowell	9
Benjamin Franklin Institute of Technology	Boston	10
Eastern Nazarene College	Quincy	10
ITT Technical Institute-Norwood-Norwood	Norwood	10
MGH Institute of Health Professions	Boston	10
Newbury College	Brookline	10
Pine Manor College	Chestnut Hill/Brookline	10
The Boston Conservatory	Boston	10
The New England Conservatory of Music	Boston	10
Wheelock College	Boston	10
Berklee College of Music	Boston	11
Boston Architectural College	Boston	11
Boston Baptist College	Boston	11
Mount Ida College	Newton	11
School of the Museum of Fine Arts-Boston	Boston	11
The New England Institute of Art	Brookline	11
Lasell College	Newton	12
MCPHS University	Boston	12
Framingham State University	Framingham	13
Massachusetts College of Art & Design	Boston	13
Suffolk University	Boston	13
Bridgewater State University	Bridgewater	13
Fitchburg State University	Fitchburg	13
Salem State University	Salem	13
University of Massachusetts-Dartmouth	Dartmouth	13
Westfield State University	Westfield	13
Massachusetts College of Art & Design	Westfield	13

UG Profile Code	2015 Undergraduate Profile Classification
6	4-year, medium full-time, inclusive, lower transfer-in
7	4-year, medium full-time, inclusive, higher transfer-in
8	4-year, medium full-time, selective, lower transfer-in
9	4-year, medium full-time, selective, higher transfer-in
10	4-year, full-time, inclusive, lower transfer-in
11	4-year, full-time, inclusive, higher transfer-in
12	4-year, full-time, selective, lower transfer-in
13	4-year, full-time, selective, higher transfer-in

Appendix I

Interview I Protocol

Interview Procedures Script

My name is Shelvia English. Thank you for taking the time to participate in my study on U.S-born Afro-Caribbean college students. This study will help to add to the growing research on this population and their experiences in college. It is also a project that is important to me - I was born here and my parents migrated here from Jamaica.

As noted in the consent form, this interview will be audio recorded. I will not ask you for any personal identifying information. I will be sure to mask your identity using pseudonyms and general descriptors when sharing information in my final report and any research I publish.

The interview will last approximately 60-75 minutes. The goal is to learn more about you and the identities that are important to you and why. I also hope to learn a little bit about your family background and where you grew up. Your participation is completely voluntary, and you may withdraw from the study at any time. Do you have any questions before we get started?

If you would like to choose a pseudonym that I can write down as a way to refer to you in my final paper, what will it be?

I will now turn on the audio recorder.

Interviewer:

Interviewee (pseudonym):

Date:

Time of Interview:

Place/Location:

Research questions for my reference:

- 4. How do second-generation West Indian college students communicate their racial and ethnic identities?**
- 5. What types of messages do second-generation West Indian students receive about their racial and ethnic identities from faculty or staff, peers, and family while in college?**
- 6. How do second-generation West Indian students enact their racial and ethnic identities in their relationships with faculty or staff, peers, and family while in college?**

Interview Questions:

Boston/Neighborhood (addresses context)

- When did your family move to Boston? And if you know, why did they decide to move to Boston?
- In what part of Boston do you live, and what was it like growing up there?

- Tell me about your neighbors, other families you grew up around, characteristics of your neighborhood such as local activities, ethnic/racial makeup of neighborhood, neighborhood events, etc.

Adolescence/High School

- Tell me about where you went to high school. What was it like to go to school there? Feel free to talk about the environment, teachers, peers, location, etc.
- Tell me about some of your closest friends from high school. What were they like? What did you all do together?
- How would you describe the identities of your closest friend group in high school?
- When you were in high school, how did you identify in terms of your race and ethnicity? What did those identities mean to you at that time? (adapted from Joseph & Hunter, 2011; *addresses Research Question 1*)
- What messages (verbal and nonverbal), if any, did you receive from your peers and friends in high school about what it means to be [ethnic identity term they used or from a specific country]? (*RQ2*)
- What messages (verbal and nonverbal), if any, did you receive from your peers and friends in high school about what it means to be Black? (*RQ2*)
- How did you respond to or view these messages? (*RQ3*)

Family

- Let's focus on your family for a moment. Tell me about your family.
 - Who did you grow up with? Who are the members of your family that you spent the most time with when you were growing up?
 - What are some of the things you did with your family?
 - What did those family things mean to you?
 - Did your parents ever share their migration story with you? What do you recall from their story?
- What messages (verbal and nonverbal), if any, did you receive from family about what it means to be [ethnic identity term they used or from a specific country]? (*RQ2*)
- What messages (verbal and nonverbal), if any, did you receive from family about what it means to be Black? (*RQ2*)
- How did you respond to these messages? (*RQ3*)

Salient Identities (addresses research question one)

- On your demographic questionnaire you listed [insert the three identities listed on questionnaire] as the three identities you think about most often – why did you choose these three identities?
 - What does (insert racial identity) mean to you?
 - What does (insert ethnic identity) mean to you?
- Why did you choose the specific terms you chose to define your race and ethnicity? How do these terms best reflect who you are, if at all? Or is there another term(s) you prefer?

- Focusing on just your racial and ethnic identities, talk about when you realized these identities became important to you and how you saw yourself.
- What are some ways that you let others know that your race and ethnicity are important to you?
 - Follow up question: are there certain things you say, do, think, or not do/say because of these identities?
- Is there anything else you would like to add? Or share about yourself and what we discussed?

Thank you for taking the time to meet and speak with me today to share more about who you are and your experiences. If you are still willing and able, I would like to schedule the follow up, in-person interview with you? The next interview is to further discuss your relationships with others, specifically faculty/staff and friends during your time in college.

Turn off recorder

Appendix J

Interview II Protocol

Thank you again for taking the time to participate in a second interview for my study on U.S-born Afro-Caribbean college students.

As noted in the consent form, this interview will be audio recorded. I will not ask you for any personal identifying information. I will be sure to mask your identity using the pseudonym you provide and general descriptors when sharing information in my final report and any research I publish.

This interview will last approximately 75-90 minutes. The goal is to ask any follow-up questions I may have from the first interview and to learn more about you in terms of your experiences in college with friends, faculty, and staff. Your participation is completely voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any time. Do you have any questions before we get started?

Interviewee (pseudonym):

Date:

Time of Interview:

I will now turn on the recorder

Research questions for my reference:

- 1. How do second-generation West Indian college students communicate their racial and ethnic identities?**
- 2. What types of messages do second-generation West Indian students receive about their racial and ethnic identities from faculty or staff, peers, and family while in college?**
- 3. How do second-generation West Indian students enact their racial and ethnic identities in their relationships with faculty or staff, peers, and family while in college?**

Interview Questions:

*Begin with any follow up or clarifying questions from first interview

College

- Why did you decide to go to college in Boston and why did you choose the college/university that you currently attend?
- What are your relationship(s) like with your family now that you are in college?
- How would you describe the campus culture/community?
- Tell me about thing(s) you are involved in or a part of at your school and why you chose to be a part of those activity(s).
- Once you got to college did you think about your racial and ethnic identities more often/or less often? If so, why do you think there was a difference?

- What does it mean to you to be a Caribbean identified college student on your campus?

Faculty/Staff

- What messages (verbal and nonverbal), if any, do you receive from faculty about what it means to be [ethnic identity term they used or from a specific country]? (RQ2)
 - Messages from staff
- What messages (verbal and nonverbal), if any, did you receive from faculty about what it means to be Black? (RQ2)
 - Messages from staff
- How do you respond to these messages? (RQ3)
- How do you think faculty and staff perceive you? How do you know about these perceptions? (RQ2)
- Can you tell me about any faculty or staff on campus that you have a close connection with? Who are they? What do they do? How did you connect with them?
- How, if at all, have you shared your racial and ethnic identities with your faculty? With staff? (RQ1)

Friends/Peer Interactions

- Tell me about your closest friend group (think about 3-6 friends you speak to/hang out with most often) in college. What are they like? What are some of your favorite things that you do with them?
 - What are some of their identities and backgrounds of your friends?
 - In what ways are your friends similar to you and in what ways are they different?
- What messages (verbal and nonverbal), if any, do you receive from friends and peers about what it means to be [ethnic identity term they used or from a specific country]? (RQ2)
- What messages (verbal and nonverbal), if any, did you receive from friends and peers about what it means to be Black? (RQ2)
- How do you respond to these messages? (RQ3)
- How, if at all, have you viewed and shared your racial identities in college with your friends?
 - With peers?
- Is there anything else you would like to share?

Thank you for taking the time to meet and speak with me today to share more about who you are and your experiences.

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