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How Parental Roles Affect the Development of Caribbean College Students

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UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI

HOW PARENTAL ROLES AFFECT THE DEVELOPMENT OF CARIBBEAN
COLLEGE STUDENTS

By
Seantée C. Campbell

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Faculty
of the University of Miami
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Education

Coral Gables, Florida

May 2018

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COLLEGE STUDENTS

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How Parental Roles Affect the Development
of Caribbean College Students

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The purpose of this qualitative study was to investigate how parental roles affect the development of Caribbean college students in the United States. Five student development theories informed the framework for this study: Chickering and Reisser's Seven Vectors of Development, Phinney's Model of Ethnic Identity Development, Baxter Magolda's Theory of Self-Authorship, Diana Baumrind's Prototypical Descriptions of Four Parenting Styles, and the theory of emerging adulthood. Data were collected using a one-on-one, semi-structured interview format designed to assess student perceptions of their development in college and their relationship with parents. Interviews were conducted via phone, FaceTime, AudioTime and Skype interviews. Thematic analysis was used to identify common themes in students' experiences regarding the influence parental involvement had on their development. The resulting themes included: (1) Adulthood (2) Independence (3) Identity, and (4) Relationship with Parents. A composite vignette was constructed to describe the overarching experiences that participants reported. The results demonstrated that there are limitations in the application of the five aforementioned student development models when applied to Caribbean college students. In particular, each theory neglected the cultural context of collectivism that affects

college student development. Recommendations for how these theories could be altered to better address and encapsulate the particular developmental trends and obstacles of Caribbean students are offered. Implications of study results for postsecondary institutions are discussed.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The role of parents has become increasingly important in understanding factors that affect how a college student develops. For the purposes of this study, “development” was defined as students proceeding along Chickering and Reisser’s Seven Vectors of Development (1993), which include developing competence, managing emotions, moving through autonomy toward interdependence, developing mature interpersonal relationships, establishing identity, developing purpose, and developing integrity. In examining the specific correlation between parental roles and college student development, studies have shown the importance of parents maintaining supportive involvement instead of intervening and establishing adult-to-adult relationships with college-age children (Cullaty, 2011). Studies have also revealed the importance of parents relinquishing necessary control and allowing students to develop responsibility (Cullaty, 2011).

Although the college environment is one in which students can practice self-governance, individuate from parents, and direct their own lifestyles, parental interventions threaten to inhibit this development (Cullaty, 2011). However, research has found that parental participation patterns, and the impact of these patterns, may differ by ethnicity (Cullaty, 2011). Future research is necessary to precisely study different ethnic groups of college students with regard to parental relationships and the subsequent effects of these relationships (Cullaty, 2011). Despite the expressed need for the conception of such studies, virtually no research has examined how the role of parents affects the development of Caribbean college students, defined as students who are from the

Caribbean and/or American students who are of first or second-generation Caribbean origin (McGuire & Ikpa, 2008).

It is important to note that while most Caribbean nations are primarily made of up racially Black people, there is a significant population of non-Black persons. In Jamaica, Belize, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Haiti and Trinidad and Tobago - the nations from which the participants of this study originated - there are noteworthy populations of people who identify racially as mulatto or mixed, East Indian, Black East-Indian, Chinese, Black-Chinese, Mestizo, Creole, Mayan, Garifuna, Mennonite, White, Asian, and mixed African/East-Indian (CIA, 2012). In Jamaica there are 92.1% Black people, 6.1% racially mixed people, 0.8% East Indian people, 0.4% of people who identify as Other, and 0.7% of people who identify as unspecified (CIA, 2012). In Puerto Rico 75.8% of individuals identify as White, 12.4% identify as Black or African American, 8.5% identify as Other (which includes American Indian, Alaskan Native, Native Hawaiian, and other Pacific Islander) and 3.3% identify as racially mixed (CIA, 2012).

Problem Statement

Studies have shown that there are a growing number of Caribbean immigrants represented in colleges and universities in the U.S. The number of Caribbean students has grown particularly in the most selective colleges and universities (Massey et al., 2007). Massey et al. (2007) argue that there are several possible explanations for this phenomenon, including: 1) college admissions officers might target immigrants for recruitment because they perceive Caribbean students as motivated, driven and prone to success, (2) because college admissions officers believe Caribbean students earn better grades or score higher on tests, and (3) because researchers have found that White

observers view Black immigrants as less hostile, more polite, more considerate, and easier to get along with. Massey et al. (2007) also deduced that among the most selective colleges and universities in the U.S., immigrants made up 36% of Black students, 24% at the least selective institutions, and that of African Americans attending Ivy League schools, 41% were of immigrant origin (meaning that at least one parent was born abroad).

The millennium brought forth much research on the role of parents and the corresponding effects on college students. However, little of this research has targeted Caribbean college students, despite the growing presence of Caribbean students on college campuses. This type of research is imperative with regards to racial and/or ethnic minority college students because existing student development models and theories do not account for this complexity of psychosocial development (Casas & Pytluk, 1995). Additionally, student development models and theories characterize identity “in relationship to other groups, and, in particular, the dominant majority” (Casas & Pytluk, 1995, p. 166). Increased research focused particularly on ethnic identity development may lead to improved educational practices that will enrich student development and create strong, diverse campus environments (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). Visibility of growing populations of some ethnic groups on campuses calls attention to the need for a better understanding of students from different ethnic groups within one racial category, their respective culture, and their experiences (for example, Mexican, Guatemalan, and Chilean students largely viewed as Hispanic or of Latin descent) (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). Furthermore, some research suggests that parental roles vary by culture and that the consequences of these parental roles on

offspring development may also differ by culture (Steinberg, Mounts, Lamborn, & Dornbusch, 1991; Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992). Thus, it is crucial to take into consideration culture when understanding how parental roles affect college student development.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this qualitative study was to extend the limited research on how the role of parents affects the development of Caribbean college students. Using semi-structured interviews, the goal was to identify common themes across Caribbean students' perceptions of how they developed in college and how their parents affected their development. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 14 Caribbean college students. Thematic analysis was used to analyze the data, which is a widely used qualitative method of research that identifies, organizes, describes and reports themes found within a data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis is a useful method for examining the perspectives of different research participants, highlighting similarities and differences, and generating unanticipated insights (Braun & Clarke, 2006; King, 2004).

Caribbean college students. In a 2002 study centered on attachment, social support and college adjustment of Black students at PWIs (Primarily White Institutions), it was deduced that parental attachments were associated with all aspects of college adjustment (Hinderlie & Kenny, 2002). Moreover, 20% of the full-time college students interviewed for the study self-identified as Caribbean (Hinderlie & Kenny, 2002). Maternal attachment adds to the explanation of academic and personal-emotional adjustment, and paternal attachment adds significantly to the understanding of academic, personal-emotional adjustment and institutional attachment (Massey et al., 2007). These

findings demonstrate that just as is the case for White college students, relationships with parents heavily influence Caribbean college students' ability to adjust and thrive in the postsecondary setting. Studies such as that conducted by Massey et al. (2007) serve as testimony to the need for more research into the relationship between Caribbean students and their parents both prior to and after moving into the college environment.

The number of students from Latin America and the Caribbean increased more than 19% in 2014 and the quantity of these college students coming to the U.S. to study for shorter periods of time is increasing rapidly (Ross, 2015). 100,000 Strong in the Americas is an initiative that aims to bring 100,000 international college students from the Western Hemisphere to the U.S. for college by 2020 (Ross, 2015). As the Caribbean college student population is showing no signs of slowing in the U.S., it has become clear that more studies need to be aimed at this faction of students. Parental roles have been proven to heavily impact the development of American college students. Thus, it would behoove American higher education to also conduct studies on the parental roles experienced by students who were born in, or whose families originate from the Caribbean.

Massey et al. originally conducted a study in 2003 centered on Black immigrants and natives attending selective colleges and universities in the U.S. The research gathered proved that while immigrant origins are not necessarily favored in the admissions process, children from immigrant families exhibit traits and characteristics that are valued by U.S. college admissions committees (Massey et al., 2007). This finding raised the question of how Caribbean college students perceive the role(s) parents play in their postsecondary life, and if these perceptions of parents generate traits favored by colleges.

Supporting Theories and Conceptual Framework

There were several theories that laid the groundwork for the conceptual framework of this study. They included: (1) Chickering and Reisser's Seven Vectors of Development, (2) Phinney's Model of Ethnic Identity Development, (3) Baxter Magolda's Theory of Self-Authorship, (4) Baumrind's Prototypical Descriptions of Four Parenting Styles, and (5) Emerging Adulthood.

Chickering and Reisser's Seven Vectors of Development. In this study "development" was assessed using Chickering and Reisser's theory (1993), which contains the following seven vectors that contribute to the formation of identity: (1) Developing Competence (2) Managing Emotions (3) Moving Through Autonomy Towards Interdependence (4) Developing Mature Interpersonal Relationships (5) Establishing Identity (6) Developing Purpose, and (7) Developing Integrity (Chickering & Reisser, 1993).

Higabee and Dwindell (1996) posit that while Chickering and Reisser's theory (1993) was once written with the intent to address the developmental needs of traditional-age college students of the 1960s, that it is now equally pertinent to students of all ages. As is suggested by the title, Chickering and Reisser's Seven Vectors of College Student Development (1993) is comprised of seven paths college students take while developing in postsecondary education.

Overall, Chickering and Reisser's Seven Vectors of Development (1993) was crucial to this study because, as is posited by Higabee and Dwindell (1996), administrators and practitioners in higher education should consider themselves developmental educators who envision the psychosocial development of the student as a

whole -- not just the advancement of intellectual competences. The use of the seven vectors laid the groundwork for a rarely researched, but much-needed perspective into the comprehensive development of Caribbean college students.

Phinney's Model of Ethnic Identity Development. The second theory used as a critical foundation for this study was Phinney's Model of Ethnic Identity Development (1990, 1993, 1995). This model arose from the argument that ethnic identity is an issue vital to the progression of a positive self-concept for minoritized adolescents (Phinney, 1990). The three-stage model developed by Phinney (1993) outlines a linear path to ethnic identity achievement. The first stage of Phinney's model (1990, 1993, 1995) is Unexamined Ethnic Identity (Diffusion-Foreclosure), wherein individuals have not yet begun to explore feelings and attitudes with regard to their ethnicity, and in which ethnicity is seen as a nonissue. This leads to the avoidance of exploring identity and a lack of committing to identity (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). In this stage, individuals might acquire attitudes about ethnicity in childhood from significant others, leading them to commit to an identity with little exploration (foreclosure) (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). Additionally, in this first phase of Phinney's model (1990, 1993, 1995), adolescents who accept negative attitudes shown by the majority group toward the minority group risk internalizing these values (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). Generally speaking, however, this first stage of Phinney's model (1990, 1993, 1995) is notable for a disinterest in ethnicity (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016).

The second stage of Phinney's model (1990, 1993, 1995) is Ethnic Identity Search/Moratorium, in which students become progressively more mindful of ethnic identity issues as they are confronted with situations that move them to ethnic

exploration. It is in this stage that adolescents first begin to examine the importance of their ethnic background as this mindfulness increases (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). Such an experience can be an obvious or more subjective encounter with discrimination or harassment which causes the individual to realize that their identity is perceived as “less than” (p.136) by the dominant cultural group (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). This stage is when the ethnic identity search begins, wherein students seek to learn more about their ethnic identity group while also trying to comprehend the personal importance of ethnic identity (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). Emotional intensity in the form of anger directed at the dominant group typically encompasses this stage (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). Additionally, the individual might feel guilt or embarrassment about their own past lack of knowledge of racial and ethnic issues (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016).

Finally, the third stage of Phinney’s model (1990, 1993, 1995) is Ethnic Identity Achievement, in which students achieve a healthy bicultural identity, resolve their identity conflicts, and come to terms with their ethnicity in the sociocultural and historical context in which they live (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). Students begin to accept membership into cultures that are minoritized in the U.S. as they gain a sense of ethnic identification while also being open to other cultures. The intense emotions associated with the previous stage lead to a more self-possessed disposition (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016).

Overall, Phinney’s model (1990, 1993, 1995) entails substantial research that covers several issues relevant to college students and their ethnicities, such as acculturation, self-esteem, parental support, academic achievement, positive intergroup

attitudes, intercultural thinking and college choice for ethnically minoritized students (Phinney & Apleria, 1996; Phinney, Chavira, & Williamson, 1992; Ong, Phinney, & Dennis, 2006; Phinney, Jacoby, & Silva, 2007).

Baxter Magolda's Theory of Self-Authorship. The third theory used as a major foundation for this study was Baxter Magolda's Theory of Self-Authorship (2004). This theory arose from the discovery that there was a gender gap in the existing work of Perry (1968) and Belenky et al. (1986), and thus, a need to address gender in the study of self-authorship by studying men and women together (Baxter Magolda, 2004). In her theory of self-authorship, Baxter Magolda identifies three dimensions which answer three questions that the individual inquiries of him or herself while on the journey toward self-authorship. The first dimension is epistemological, which assists the individual in answering the question of: How do I know? (Baxter Magolda, 2004). The second dimension is intrapersonal, wherein the individual finds answers to the question of: Who am I? (Baxter Magolda, 2004). The third and final dimension is interpersonal, in which the individual comes to a strong sense of self and is able to answer the question of: How do I want to develop relationships with others? (Baxter Magolda, 2004). The dimensions are intertwined in accordance with the experiences of the individual (Baxter Magolda, 2004).

Overall, Baxter Magolda (2004) argues that self-authorship must be the basis for advanced learning outcomes in college in order to effectively prepare students for this century. Additionally, Baxter Magolda (2004) posits that self-authorship is now being applied in college through interaction among students and educators through self-reflection, clear interpretations of self-beliefs, and active involvement in meaningful

activities. However, though student affairs officers and professional student affairs staff are developing self-authorship within resident halls, academic advising, and career advising, at the time this study was conducted there were no empirically recorded, notable and/or concerted efforts to aid Caribbean college students in the development of self-authorship (Baxter Magolda, 2004). The hope was that this study, coupled with others in the future, would begin the development of such efforts in American higher education.

Baumrind's Prototypical Descriptions of Four Parenting Styles. The fourth theory that was used as a foundation for the conceptual framework of this study was Baumrind's Prototypical Descriptions of Four Parenting Styles. Baumrind (1971) began categorizing parenting styles in the 1960s based on concepts of demandingness and responsiveness, which she used as measuring tools. Responsiveness describes the extent to which parents intentionally foster individuality, self-regulation, and self-assertion by being attuned, supportive, and acquiescent to children's special needs and demands (Baumrind, 1991). Baumrind (1991) defined demandingness as the claims parents make on children to become integrated into the family whole. Parents' maturity demands, supervision, disciplinary efforts, and willingness to confront the child who disobeys also make up demandingness (Baumrind, 1991). The overarching goal of Baumrind's child-parent behavior study was to formulate and evaluate the effects of the most typical Western parenting styles (Baumrind, 1971).

Baumrind's seminal model suggests that the authoritarian parenting style describes parents who are highly involved in their child's life, but in a way that produces little warmth and much control (Baumrind, 1971). The authoritarian parenting style

involves power assertion without nurturance or two-way communication (Baumrind, 1971). Contrary to authoritarian parenting is authoritative parenting, which Baumrind describes as those parents who exercise control over children in combination with warmth, nurturance, democracy, and open parent-child communication (Baumrind, 1971). Authoritative parents set firm controls on the behavior of children and make strong demands for maturity but are willing to listen to their child's point of view and even adjust their (the parents') behavior accordingly (Baumrind, 1971).

The third category of parenting styles is that of permissive parents, who are warm and allow considerable self-regulation of their children's activities, make few maturity demands, and do not insist that their children follow parentally defined standards (Baumrind, 1978). Permissive parents engage in very little discipline (Baumrind, 1978). The fourth and final category of parenting styles is the neglectful parents, who are cold and unresponsive, establish no rules for children, are generally uninvolved with their children's lives, and project an attitude of overall indifference in matters concerning the child (Baumrind, 1991). Neglectful parents do not set firm boundaries or create high standards, are uninterested in their children's needs, and largely unconcerned with their children's lives (Baumrind, 1991).

Baumrind's (1971) research has proven crucial in understanding not only varying forms of relationships between parent and child, but also how the relationship dynamic established in infancy and childhood carries over into college-going years. However, little is known about the impact of authoritarian, authoritative, permissive and neglectful parenting styles on the development of Caribbean college students. Thus, one of the primary goals of this study was to gain insight into the experience of college students

being parented by Caribbean parents while attending an American postsecondary institution.

Emerging Adulthood. The fifth and final theory that was used as a foundation for the conceptual framework of this study was emerging adulthood, which is the period (usually between 18-25 years) when individuals in industrialized societies transition from adolescence to adulthood while pursuing higher education and delaying adult roles and responsibilities, such as work, marriage and parenthood (Arnett, 2000). This psychological theory is centered on how students in the target age population of this study (18-26) progress into adulthood and expand their identity explorations (Arnett, 2004).

Studies suggest that while White American students experience emerging adulthood as a time of instability, possibilities, self-focus and feeling in-between adolescence and adulthood, for immigrant-origin college students, emerging adulthood becomes a time of assuming responsibility for oneself, as well as for other loved ones (Arnett, 2004; Katsiaficas, Orozco, & Diaz, 2015).

Finally, studies on emerging adulthood have shown that during this period of transition, emerging adults in Western cultures (i.e., the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom) experience stress and adjustment problems at increasing rates. However, there has been little empirical evidence that reflects the experience of emerging adulthood from the perspectives of Caribbean college students.

Characteristics of Generation Z

Generation Z, born between 1995 and 2010, are the cohort following Millennials and very much reflect the importance of parental roles in college student development

(Seemiller & Grace, 2016). Studies have shown that 88% of Generation Z students have reported feeling extremely close to their parents and perceive their parents more like friends and advisers (Seemiller & Grace, 2016). Additionally, Generation Z has proven to possess a high regard for their parents, as more than half take the opinions and perspectives of their family into consideration before decision-making (Seemiller & Grace, 2016).

Just as is the case with Millennials, those in Generation Z value close family relationships, and call, text, and connect often with their parents (Seemiller & Grace, 2016). While Millennials are often associated with helicopter parents (parents who hover over their child and rescue them from the hostile world they live in) Generation Z is marked by a dissimilar parental relationship – that of a trusted mentor (Cline & Fay; Seemiller & Grace, 2016). This close relationship helps those in Generation Z perceive their parents as guides, rather than enforcers or influencers (Seemiller & Grace, 2016). Sixty-nine percent of those in Generation Z name their parents as their number one role model, over teachers, political leaders, celebrities, and athletes, compared with 54 % of Millennials who named their parents as their heroes, and 29% of Generation Xers in 1993 (Seemiller & Grace, 2016).

Research Questions

The research questions for this study were: (1) How do Caribbean college students perceive their growth during college? (2) How have parents impacted the development of Caribbean college students? In order to address these research questions, qualitative research methodology was chosen. In particular, this study employed thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) to identify the themes in Caribbean college students’

perceptions of how they have developed while in college and the role their parents played in their development.

Target Population

The fundamental goal of this study was to obtain qualitative data from Caribbean college students in the U.S. Participants were undergraduate students who identified ethnically as Caribbean, defined as students who are from the Caribbean and/or American students who are of first or second-generation Caribbean origin (McGuire & Ikpa, 2008). Each participant had at least one parent who was born in the Caribbean (or had themselves been born in the Caribbean), were enrolled either full-time or part-time in college or university and gave consent to be audio-recorded. This study did not include students less than 18 years of age, or students who had graduated from college or university. The target sample for this study was Caribbean college students from postsecondary institutions located in Florida. This particular state was chosen for study because Caribbean immigrants are heavily concentrated in Florida, with Miami-Dade County being one of the top four counties in the nation with the highest number of Caribbean immigrants residing there (Zong & Batalova, 2016). Along with those in New York City, the metropolitan areas of Miami-Dade County accounted for 64% of Caribbean immigrants in the U.S. between 2010 and 2014 (Zong & Batalova, 2016).

Rationale of Research Design and Methods

According to Creswell (2009), qualitative research should be conducted when a problem or issue needs to be explored. There is a glaring lack of current research and data available on the association of parental roles with the development of Caribbean college students. This deficiency is especially apparent when compared with the volume of

research and data available concerning the relationship between parental involvement and the development of White American college students. Research has proven that authoritative parenting predicts positive behaviors, from better college adjustment, to improved psychosocial skills, however, many established advantages of using authoritative parenting on college students were not replicated in Black, Asian American, and Hispanic samples (Barton & Kirtley, 2012; Bean et al., 2003; Carlson, Uppal, & Prosser, 2000; Garber, Robinson, & Valentiner, 1997; Gecas & Schwalbe, 1986; Baumrind, 1971; Boveja, 1998; Spera, 2005; Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Parker & Gladstone, 1996; Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts, & Dornbusch, 1994; Winsler, Madigan & Aquilino, 2005; Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, & Dornbusch, 1991; Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992).

Studies have shown that authoritative parenting is not always connected to paramount school achievement across families from diverse ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds (Steinberg, Mounts, Lamborn, & Dornbusch, 1991; Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992). For example, in one study researchers discovered that African American students with authoritative parents, but without peer support did not perform well academically, and that Asian American students performed superlatively in school when they had authoritarian parents and peer support (Steinberg, Mounts, Lamborn, & Dornbusch, 1991; Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992).

Creswell (2009) states that qualitative research is necessitated because of a need to study a group or population that cannot be easily measured and when the voices of this particular population are silenced. Qualitative research is conducted when there is a need for a complex, detailed understanding of an issue and when such an understanding can

only be achieved in talking directly to people and allowing them to tell their stories in their home, school, or place of work (Creswell, 2009). Although a plethora of studies on the effects of parental roles and parenting styles on White American college students is available, the same is not the case for Caribbean college students.

Overall, Afro-Caribbean persons (those from non-Spanish-speaking islands in the West Indies, such as Trinidad and Jamaica) comprise around 70% of a foreign-born Black population of 2.1 million, and Afro-Caribbeans also account for the largest faction of Black students of immigrant origin attending universities and colleges in the U.S. (Massey et al., 2007). The personal stories and experiences of Caribbean college students are complex and multifaceted. These stories need to be shared first-hand and extensively in order to better understand the difficulties experienced by these students.

Qualitative research is also used when the researcher seeks to empower the individuals being studied, share their stories and hear their voices (Creswell, 2009). The voices of Caribbean college students are frequently silenced because that particular faction of students is often incorrectly labeled as African American due to the nature of how demographic information is collected in the U.S. Additionally, Caribbean persons are often hesitant to identify as any race or ethnicity outside of “Black” or “African American,” or are automatically identified as such without their knowledge or consent.

Moreover, qualitative research is used to develop philosophies when partial or inadequate theories exist for certain populations and samples of existing theories do not accurately capture the complexity of the problem being examined (Creswell, 2009). Many theories have been developed to explain how perceived parental roles and parenting styles impact the development of White American college students. However,

at the time this dissertation was being composed, no significant studies or research of a similar manner had been designed solely for Caribbean college students. Additionally, existing theories on the effects of parental roles on college student development do not accurately capture Caribbean college student development. Thus, a qualitative study was needed to bring light and clarity to the experiences of these students.

This study was centered on the postsecondary lives of Caribbean college students. Fourteen participants were interviewed in order to deduce common themes in their descriptions of the impact of parental roles on their development in college or university. The intention of this study was also to construct a case vignette depicting the commonalities among participants' descriptions of how their parents influenced their development in college.

Conducting a qualitative study mandates that a heterogeneous group is chosen from individuals who have all experienced the same phenomenon (Creswell, 2009). This topic of study necessitated the data collection procedure of interviewing Caribbean college students about parental roles they have experienced (Creswell, 2009). Conducting a qualitative study allowed for rich, detailed and nuanced descriptions of parental roles experienced by Caribbean college students. Additionally, conducting a qualitative study provided the researcher with the opportunity to conclude the study with a descriptive vignette that detailed the common perceptions of how much or little Caribbean students perceive their parents affect their development (Creswell, 2009). Thematic analysis was used to identify essential themes critical to this phenomenon.

Intended Implications for Practice, Research, and/or Policy

The primary goal of the researcher was that this study would inspire higher education professionals to design and conduct further studies on Caribbean college student development. Another objective of this study was to provide data that would highlight the unique cultural experiences of Caribbean college students. It is hoped that postsecondary institutions would begin to create policies specifically to support the development of students who ethnically identify as Caribbean.

The rationale behind obtaining qualitative data from Caribbean college students in the U.S. was to acquire data that would stretch across socioeconomic boundaries to comprehensively capture how parental roles affected the development of this faction of students. Data were gathered using semi-structured interviews. All interviews were recorded, transcribed, and subsequently analyzed so as to explore common experiences that arose from the described impact of parental roles.

The findings of this study were intended to educate audiences on the importance of examining how the relationship between Caribbean college students and their parents impact all areas of college student development. Additionally, the researcher hoped that study results would commence the formation of postsecondary policies that would provide Caribbean college students with supplemental guidance and support upon entering the college environment.

Cline and Fay (1990) brought helicopter parenting to the forefront of higher education discussions and debates to explain the phenomenon of behaviors exhibited by millennial college students. Likewise, this study was intended to raise awareness of internal struggles associated with Caribbean college student development. Equally

important, this study aimed to highlight unique challenges that stem from Caribbean students being both racial and cultural minorities in the college environment.

The findings of this study were intended to inspire higher education researchers to begin examining the effects of parental roles on the development of Caribbean college students. With such investigations, the growing population of Caribbean students will no longer be overlooked in higher education research practices. Instead, postsecondary institutions will gain the knowledge to advocate for Caribbean students as they prepare to add to the wealth and educational prestige of the U.S. via the earning of a college degree.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Historical Background: The Steady Rise of Caribbean College Students

At the turn of the twentieth century, Caribbean, or West Indian persons began migrating from the Caribbean region defined by Chaney (1994) as the 50 inhabited countries stretching in a 2,000-mile-long arc between Trinidad (located off the coast of South America) and Western Cuba. The Caribbean culture, along with its many islands, is polyethnic in nature and contains influences from African, Spanish, British, French, Dutch, Asian, and Native American cultures (GoPaul-McNicol, 1993; McKenzie, 1986). While the largest faction of Black college students of immigrant origin come from the Caribbean and total 43% of Black students attending universities and colleges in the U.S., very little studies are in existence that focus on the development of these students (Massey et al., 2007). Even fewer reports exist to explain the unique challenges Caribbean college students face in their quest to earn a higher education despite often being dually minoritized in both race and ethnicity.

Often incorrectly cloaked under the label of African American, the Caribbean college student was a compelling topic for research because of all the undiscovered facets of this student population waiting to be uncovered. However, the veiled nature of this population was simultaneously its greatest challenge in terms of attempts at research. This is because there was very little research available on this faction of college students in the format of studies and publications, particularly because this population of students is often subsumed under the African American or Black population (Thompson, 2016). However, the characterization of Caribbean college students is very different from

that of African American or even other Black immigrant students. For the purposes of this study, participants from the following islands or countries in the Caribbean were focused on: Haiti, Jamaica, Trinidad, The Bahamas, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Belize. One participant from Belize was included in the study because Belize is recognized as both a Central American and Caribbean country. Participants from Spanish-speaking islands were also included in this study because Cuba and Puerto Rico are both recognized as Caribbean island nations and share cultural practices that are similar to those of English-speaking Caribbean islands.

Caribbean persons from the aforementioned English-speaking islands and Haiti began immigrating to the U.S. after changes in United States' immigration laws in 1965 (Waters, 1994). According to the 2012 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, 2,758,050 West Indian (Caribbean) non-Hispanic persons were living in the U.S., the majority of which were of African descent (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). Of this number, 887,407 persons were enrolled in educational institutions (Thompson, 2016). The U.S. Census Bureau (2012) estimates that 36.6% of Caribbean persons living in the U.S. are enrolled in college or graduate school and that of the larger population over the age of 25, less than 20% have no high school diploma. Nonetheless, Thompson (2016) posits that Afro-Caribbean students remain underrepresented in higher education. Additionally, Afro-Caribbean students are seldom identified in research on Black college students concerning their overall adjustment to and achievement in college (Thompson, 2016). Moreover, Afro-Caribbean college students are rarely included or identified in research centered on immigrant or international college students, thereby making Afro-Caribbean students a distinct minority in higher education (Thompson, 2016).

Another way in which Afro-Caribbean students differ from other immigrants is that they speak English and often are without the distinct accents of their parents, which consequently causes them to be identified racially by others (Thompson, 2016). Afro-Caribbean students possess varying generation statuses, including: (a) they immigrated to the U.S. as adults, (b) they immigrated to the U.S. as children and have been a part of the American educational system before entering college, and (c) they are in the U.S. solely to earn a college degree, after which they fully intend to return to their country of origin (Thompson, 2016).

Afro-Caribbean students are frequently researched in homogenous samples identified by the monikers “Black or African American” (Thompson, 2016). However, they can be classified as a voluntary minority group, which are those who moved willingly to the U.S. in the hope of gaining a better future and do not believe that their status on the society is forced (Smith & Silva, 2011). Sociologists have discovered that Afro-Caribbean students tend to assert a national-origin identity in order to distance themselves from a label they see as associated with negative stereotypes and discrimination, or to avoid being categorized as African American (Waters, 1994). In spite of being labeled as African American, Afro-Caribbean students will self-identify as Jamaican, Haitian, Trinidadian, etc., reflecting not their race, but their national identities (Hall & Carter, 2006). Thus, much unlike African American students, Afro-Caribbean students more often than not identify in terms of ethnicity and not race (Hall & Carter, 2006). Hall and Carter (2006) posit that Afro-Caribbean students have adopted negative stereotypes of what it means to be Black in America and prefer to avoid being associated with the African American identity. However, in the U.S., the sociological perspective

offers that the ethnicity of Afro-Caribbean students is often ignored because a focus is placed on the color of their skin (Hine-St., 2006). This is problematic concerning the adjustment of Afro-Caribbean students to the racialized climate of the U.S. (Hine-St., 2006). Unlike their African American counterparts, the islands from which Afro-Caribbean students and their families originate are not racialized societies, but societies based on class (Hine-St., 2006). This dichotomous social structure of the U.S. and the Caribbean creates complexity in the Afro-Caribbean college student's identity (Thompson, 2016).

The class structure in the Caribbean is a socially stratified community made up of the lower, middle, and upper classes (Hine-St., 2006). This class system is not stratified by race and the majority of persons in the Caribbean are Black (Thompson, 2016). Hine-St. (2006) posits that when Afro-Caribbean persons leave their counties of origin to migrate to the U.S., they enter a racialized society and become the minority. This creates a challenging adjustment due to the renunciation of freedoms and cultural statuses that were once enjoyed prior to migrating to the U.S. (Hine-St., 2006). Although Afro-Caribbean students may stress their nationality and ethnicity, they are faced with overwhelming pressures in the U.S. to identify solely as Black (Waters, 1994). Afro-Caribbean students are faced with a choice of whether to identify as American Blacks or to maintain an ethnic identity reflecting their parents' national origin (Hine-St., 2006). Afro-Caribbean students are also confronted with challenges of possessing a national pride that can cause them to be accused of trying to separate themselves from other minority groups, as well as being deemed unpatriotic of the U.S. (Thompson, 2016).

The aforementioned experiences may lead to acculturative stress and depression for Afro-Caribbean students living in the U.S. (Thompson, 2016). Afro-Caribbean students are called upon to learn about the culture of the U.S. while negotiating their own, as well as parental values and beliefs within this context (Thompson, 2016).

Educational and occupational data has suggested that second-generation West Indian immigrants have less favorable outcomes than their first-generation counterparts (Deaux et al., 2007). Model (1991, 1995) found that first-generation West Indian immigrants show high educational aspirations and significant educational attainment. However, research has also shown that for second-generation West Indians, educational achievement often declines from elementary school to high school (Model, 1991, 1995).

In a study consisting of 270 West Indian students attending City University of New York, Deaux et al. (2007) found that in terms of ethnic identification, the sample was clearly skewed toward identification as West Indian. First-generation students more strongly identified as West Indian than did second-generation students (Deaux et al., 2007). Furthermore, the mothers of first-generation students had less education, and first-generation students perceived their parents to be lower in socioeconomic standing (Deaux et al., 2007). First-generation college students also felt that it was more likely that they might return to live in the West Indies at some future date than did second-generation students (Deaux et al., 2007). Moreover, of both men and women in the study, male West Indian college students were more likely to expect race-based rejection than women and they also tended to be more worried about this rejection (Deaux et al., 2007).

Theoretical Foundations

There were several theories that laid the groundwork for an exploration of how parental roles impact the development of Caribbean college students. These five germane theories were: (1) Chickering and Reisser's Seven Vectors of Development (2) Phinney's Model of Ethnic Identity Development (3) Baxter Magolda's Theory of Self-Authorship (4) Baumrind's Prototypical Descriptions of Four Parenting Styles, and (5) the psychological theory of emerging adulthood. In addition, the Caribbean psyche, Caribbean cultural values and post-colonial theory will also be discussed in this section. The abovementioned theories provided a context for better understanding the development of Caribbean college students and how parents affect this process.

Chickering and Reisser's Seven Vectors of Development. According to Chickering and Reisser (1993), college is an important time in students' personal transformation and psychosocial development. It is during college that students encounter experiences that challenge their identities, emotions, thoughts, beliefs, and assumptions, and they are required to solidify those experiences in the presence of environmental stimuli (Chickering & Reisser, 1993). Chickering and Reisser (1993) posit that college student development is best described as vectors to convey direction and magnitude.

The first of Chickering and Reisser's (1993) seven vectors is Developing Competence, which has three components within it. The first is intellectual competence, which entails the use of mental skills to comprehend, solve problems, reflect, analyze, synthesize, interpret, and engage in active learning (Chickering & Reisser, 1993). The second are physical and manual skills, which are centered on the use of the body to increase performance, self-expression, and creativity (Chickering & Reisser, 1993). The

third is interpersonal competence, which involves the ability to listen, ask questions, provide feedback, and engage in meaningful conversations (Chickering & Reisser, 1993). In the development of this vector, Chickering used White's (1960) definition of competence as: "the adolescent equivalent of what Erikson calls a sense of industry" (p. 9).

Gable (1980) presents compelling critiques of Chickering and Reisser's Seven Vectors of Development (1993) in that despite her research having been conducted thirteen years prior to Chickering's revision of his original 1969 vectors of development, her analyses are reflective of problems with the vectors that are still ardently debated even today.

With regard to the first vector, Gable (1980) has argued that White's (1960) definition of competence is somewhat vague and that the term falls short of a succinct operational definition. Furthermore, Gable (1980) posits that Chickering does not clarify what White meant by using Erikson's "sense of industry" and that such information could help in concretely defining what competence entails. Likewise, Chickering's subdivisions of competence do not aid in clarifying the meaning of competence (Gable, 1980). Overall, Gable (1980) posits that the reasoning behind the broadness of the definition of competence is to ensure the inclusion of all other vectors.

The second vector presented by Chickering and Reisser (1993) is Managing Emotions, which involves the understanding that "anxiety, anger, depression, desire, guilt and shame have the power to derail the education process when they become excessive or overwhelming" (p.46). Chickering and Reisser (1993) postulate that the balance of self-control and self-expression directed by consciousness and integration are vital

components of students' aptitude for managing emotions. However, Gable (1980) argues that one major problem with this vector is that Chickering does not explicate how students go about controlling or dealing with their emotions. Gable (1980) also contends that Chickering simply indicates that students indubitably finish college coping with their emotions more effectively than they were able to when first entering. Additionally, Gable (1980) argues that instead of focusing on the process of this vector, Chickering focuses on the mere existence of the process, and thus, it is impossible to determine the operational meaning of "Managing Emotions."

The third vector presented by Chickering and Reisser (1993) is centered on students' Moving Through Autonomy Toward Interdependence. This third vector is focused on developing emotional independence, instrumental independence and then gaining recognition and acceptance of interdependence (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). Emotional independence is "freedom from continual and pressing needs for reassurance, affection, or approval from others" (Chickering & Reisser, 1993, p.117). In order to begin the process of developing emotional independence, the college student must separate from parents and increase the reliance on peers and authorities in the college setting (Harris, 2003). In the stage of acquiring emotional independence, college students become increasingly responsible for their actions and begin to quell the need for parents to rescue them (Harris, 2003). This involves the college student experiencing failures or disappointments and seeking help that does not involve either parental unit (Harris, 2003). In this third vector, the development of instrumental independence follows the development of emotional independence. Instrumental independence is centered on the ability to be self-sufficient, relocate from one setting and function

successfully in a new setting (Harris, 2003). Physical disengagement from parental units means students learn to cook, clean, and manage time and money (Harris, 2003). If students fail to gain these experiences because of a decision to continue living under their parents' roof, students will be at risk (Harris, 2003). Instrumental independence includes self-direction, problem-solving ability, initiative and mobility (Harris, 2003). Students who do not have instrumental independence are childlike in many ways and are unable to think or care for themselves (Harris, 2003). Contrarily, when students have gained instrumental independence they are able to develop effective answers to problems by scrutinizing situations factually without the participation of the family unit (Harris, 2003). Chickering and Reisser (1993) posit that once students have developed both emotional and instrumental independence, this culminates in the development of autonomy, which then leads to the recognition and acceptance of the importance of interdependence as an awareness of interconnectedness with other people (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). Harris (2003) defines interdependence as the capstone of autonomy and posits that a courteous and cooperative college student who understands when to ask for help reflects one who has experienced a successful resolution of interdependence. While Gable (1980) concedes that Chickering's definition of autonomy is sound, Gable (1980) also argues that the definition of instrumental independence is questionably comparable to the topics discussed under "Managing Emotions."

The fourth vector presented by Chickering and Reisser (1993) is centered on Developing Mature Interpersonal Relationships, including "tolerance and appreciation of differences [and] capacity for intimacy" (p.48). The original title for this vector was Freeing Interpersonal Relationships and was placed earlier in the sequence to

acknowledge that experiences with relationships contribute significantly to the development of sense of self (Chickering & Reisser, 1993). In this vector, students learn to establish sturdy relationships and make lasting commitments with honesty, receptiveness, and respect as a foundation (Chickering & Reisser, 1993). Development in this vector is focused on learning how to share, accept differences, appreciate the good and bad, and build relationships that endure crises, distance, and separation (Chickering & Reisser, 1993). While Gable (1980) posits that Chickering's description of this vector provides the ability to learn more about what was meant by the term 'interdependence' in the preceding vector, Gable (1980) also argues that because the vectors are dependent upon one another for conceptual clarity, this overlap limits operational functions. Thus, Gable (1980) posits that this similarity makes it impossible to distinguish the bottom line of the fourth vector, and that the subdivisions intended to further specify meaning result in confusion when they emerge as subdivisions in subsequent vectors.

Establishing Identity, the fifth vector presented by Chickering and Reisser (1993) builds on the preceding vectors. In Chickering's revised theory, vector five took on added complexity to acknowledge differences in identity development based on gender, ethnic background, and sexual orientation (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). Identity includes ease with body and appearance, comfort with gender and sexual orientation, a sense of one's social and cultural heritage, confidence in spite of feedback from significant others, self-acceptance and self-esteem, and personal stability and integration (Chickering & Reisser, 1993). However, Gable (1980) argues that this vector is little more than a review of the previous vectors and that it merely provides readers a jumping off point from which to leap into subsequent vectors. Gable (1980) also posits that

establishing identity is not a separate vector, but a reiteration of the previous vectors and thus, its function is problematic.

Developing Purpose is the sixth vector, in which students cultivate clear vocational goals, create meaningful obligations to specific personal interests and activities, and establish strong interpersonal commitments (Chickering & Reisser, 1993). This vector includes intentionally making and staying with decisions, even in the face of opposition (Chickering & Reisser, 1993). ‘Vocation’ is a term broadly used to refer to paid and/or unpaid work within the context of a specific career, or more generally, as a person’s life calling (Chickering & Reisser, 1993). Lifestyle and family influences affect the decision-making and goal setting processes involved in developing purpose (Chickering & Reisser, 1993). Yet, Gable (1980) argues that the way in which Chickering uses the word ‘lifestyle’ is synonymous with ‘purpose’ and that avocational, vocational, and choice of interpersonal relationships (permanent and transient) are the basic subdivision which follow. Thus, Gable (1980) posits that ‘lifestyle’ should include more specific subdivisions and that it should be presented in a way that prevents the term from being construed as synonymous with the heading under which it falls.

The seventh and final vector presented by Chickering and Reisser (1993) is Developing Integrity. This involves overlapping stages of humanizing values, personalizing values, and developing congruence (Chickering & Reisser, 1993). In this vector, students shift from strict beliefs in absolute rules, to a relative outlook, before choosing systems to guide their life (Chickering & Reisser, 1993). Students will subsequently develop congruencies when they behave in a manner that is uniform with their individualized values (Chickering & Reisser, 1993). However, Gable (1980) argues

that Chickering's description of developing integrity is misleading in that it suggests that only humanizing values and personalizing values are subdivisions of integrity. Likewise, Chickering's description of developing integrity appears to suggest that congruence is synonymous with integrity, and that this too is illusory (Gable, 1980).

Phinney's Model of Ethnic Identity Development. Based on Erikson's (1964, 1968) theory, Phinney (1990) based her theoretical model of ethnic identity on mounting evidence that revealed commonalities throughout ethnic groups (for example, Latino, Asian American, European American). Phinney's model (1993) consists of three stages, which describe a linear development of ethnic identity.

The first stage of Phinney's model (1993), Unexamined Ethnic Identity (Diffusion – Foreclosure) is centered on the notion that individuals in this first stage of ethnic identity development have not examined feelings and attitudes concerning their own ethnicity (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). At this stage, ethnicity is regarded as a nonissue, which leads to a lack of identity exploration or commitment to identity (Diffusion) (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). Alternatively, at this stage, individuals might espouse views about ethnicity from persons close to them, which could lead them to commit to an identity with no exploration (Foreclosure) (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). In the first stage, adolescents who accept negative attitudes displayed by the majority group toward the minority group are exposed to the risk of adopting such values (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). However, this stage primarily involves apathy towards one's ethnicity (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016).

The second stage of Phinney's model (1993), Ethnic Identity Search/Moratorium is centered on students becoming gradually cognizant of ethnic issues after facing

discriminatory encounters that inspire ethnic exploration. It is at this stage that adolescents begin to examine the significance of their ethnicity as cultural consciousness grows (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). This second stage is often characterized by emotional intensity, such as anger directed at the dominant group, and guilt or embarrassment aimed at oneself for lacking knowledge of racial and ethnic issues in the past (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016).

The third and final stage of Phinney's model (1993), Ethnic Identity Achievement involves students achieving a healthy bicultural identity. It is at this stage that students make important decisions regarding their battles with identity and make peace with their ethnicity in the sociocultural and historical environment they live in (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). In this final stage of Phinney's model (1993), students earn and accept membership into minoritized cultures in the U.S. and simultaneously gain ethnic identification while being receptive to other cultures (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). Ultimately, the powerful emotions associated with the second stage yield to a more self-assured disposition in the third stage (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016).

Though Phinney's (1993) research addresses ethnicity as a crucial identity issue, much more knowledge is needed to understand how the development of ethnicity enhances the identity of ethnic groups in the college years (Ong, Phinney, & Dennis, 2006; Phinney & Ong, 2007). Patton, Renn, Guido and Quaye (2016) posit that substantial cultural differences among many ethnic groups have created ample research opportunities to explore how colleges can best support student development. While Patton, Renn, Guido and Quaye (2016) acknowledge the research contributions of Phinney (1993), they also maintain that few studies clarify how students from different

ethnic groups within one racial category experience higher education and/or their ethnic identities differently. To enhance the research of Phinney (1993) Patton, Renn, Guido, and Quaye (2016) posit that researchers need more refined and methodological apparatuses and resources to conduct multiyear studies to explain in greater depth the process of ethnic identity during both late adolescence and adulthood.

Baxter Magolda's Theory of Self-Authorship. Drawing on Kegan's (1994) theory, Baxter Magolda (2008) defined self-authorship as "the internal capacity to define one's beliefs, identity, and social relations" (p. 269). Baxter Magolda initially studied 101 participants during their college years, with 39 continuing to participate in the study after graduation in their twenties, and 30 continuing to participate into their thirties (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). Baxter Magolda found evidence that her participants' epistemological development was intertwined with the development of their sense of self and relationships with others (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016).

Based on her research involving young adults in their twenties, Baxter Magolda (1998b, 1999a, 1999c, 2001) extended her theory to explain participants' development at that point in their lives – development that centered on achieving self-authorship. As contextualized by Kegan (1994) and Baxter Magolda (1999, 2001, 2008, 2009), self-authorship comprises three dimensions of development: the epistemological or cognitive dimension (i.e., how one makes meaning of knowledge), the intrapersonal dimension (i.e., how one views one's identity), and the interpersonal dimension (i.e., how one constructs one's relationships with others). Persons who are self-authoring consider multiple perspectives, reflect on their own values and motivations, and utilize goals and

perspectives that are internally grounded and evaluated as a foundation for meaning making (Barber, King & Baxter Magolda, 2013).

During the period of self-authorship, three major questions take precedence: (1) How do I know? (2) Who am I? (3) How do I want to construct relationships with others? (Baxter Magolda, 2001, 2008). How do I know? centers on the epistemological dimension of self-authorship, that is the evolution of assumptions about the nature, limits, and certainty of knowledge (Baxter Magolda, 2001, 2008). Who am I? refers to the intrapersonal dimension, that is individuals' sense of who they are and what they believe (Baxter Magolda, 2001, 2008). How do I want to construct relationships with others? is built around the interpersonal dimension, that is, how one perceives and constructs one's relationship with others (Baxter Magolda, 2001, 2008).

One major drawback of the use of Baxter Magolda's Theory of Self-Authorship is that mixed evidence has suggested that for some students, college does not create the conditions necessary for self-authorship to take place (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). According to Baxter Magolda (2001), students in her study were only anticipating self-authorship as they finished their degrees. Baxter Magolda (2001) stated: "They left college with an initial awareness that they would have to make their own decisions, but without the internal mechanisms to do so" (p. 36).

Another weakness found in the use of Baxter Magolda's Theory of Self-Authorship is that so-called high-risk students often reach self-authorship prior to college as a result of experiencing challenging situations early in life that required them to make decisions and take action on their own (Pizzolatto, 2004). An example of this is students making the decision to attend college and needing to negotiate the admissions process

without any guidance or encouragement from parents (Pizzolatto, 2004). Although high-risk students enter college at the level of self-authorship, classroom and out-of-classroom experiences challenge this way of meaning making and lead them to feel incompetent, misunderstood, and different from their peers (Pizzolatto, 2004). Discomfort with this strategy eventually allows them to return to a self-authored perspective (Baxter Magolda, 2001, 2008).

Baxter Magolda's foundational self-authorship theory has faced criticism for being based on a narrow population (white, mostly privileged individuals who were undergraduate students at Miami University in Ohio) (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). Baxter Magolda herself called for supplementary studies based on diverse populations of students in different institutional settings (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). Ongoing research into self-authorship and its development among diverse populaces will further test and develop the model and its applications (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016).

Baumrind's Prototypical Descriptions of Four Parenting Styles. Parenting style is defined as "a stable complex of attitudes and beliefs that form the context in which parenting behaviors occur" (Brenner & Fox, 1999, p.343). Darling and Steinberg (1993) also define parenting style as "a constellation of attitudes toward the child that are communicated to the child, and that, taken together, create an emotional climate in which the parents' behaviors are expressed" (p.488). Parenting styles are important because they have been associated with critical developmental outcomes, including social, psychological and emotional well-being, cognitive development and academic adjustment (Baumrind, 1971; Boveja, 1998; Deater-Deckard, Dodge, Bates, & Petit,

1996; Grolnick & Ryan, 1989; Kochanska, Murray, & Coy, 1997; Mounts, 2004; Prelow, Bowman, & Weaver, 2007; Silva, Dorso, Azhar, & Renk, 2007; Steinberg, Elmen, & Mounts, 1989).

Parenting is critical and decisive concerning identity development (Beyers & Goossens, 2008). Research has shown that when parents give their children autonomy, warmth, and encouragement, the children are more likely to experience healthy identity development (Beyers & Goossens, 2008; Sim & Chin, 2012). Baumrind (1971) posits that the primary role of parents is to teach, influence and control their children. This control is centered on two components of parenting: responsiveness and demandingness (Maccoby & Martin, 1983).

Responsiveness is warmth or supportiveness, referring to the extent to which parents deliberately develop their children's uniqueness, self-regulation strategies, and confidence by providing support, giving attention and responding to specific needs and concerns (Love & Thomas, 2014). Baumrind (1999) also refers to responsiveness as actions that "foster individuality, self-regulation and self-assertion by being attuned, supportive and acquiescent to the child's special needs and demands" (p.748).

Parental demandingness is the behavioral control and the expectations put on children by parents' rules, supervision and disciplinary practices (Love & Thomas, 2014). Demandingness is further defined as "claims parents make on children to become integrated into the family whole, by their maturity demands, supervision, disciplinary efforts and willingness to confront the child who disobeys" (Baumrind, 1999, p. 748). The Baumrind Parenting Premise (1971) is centered on an extensive analysis that

produced four parenting archetypes: authoritarian, authoritative, permissive and neglectful.

Authoritarian parenting. Authoritarian parents exhibit high levels of control and low levels of support (Barton & Kirtley, 2012). Authoritarian parents value high levels of discipline and restriction and withhold positive affection from their child (Love & Thomas, 2014). Authoritarian parents value obedience and are likely to use physical punishment with little or no reasoning (Baumrind, 1991). This form of parenting has been linked with children's passiveness, rigidity, and compliance (Steinberg, Elmen, & Mounts, 1989; Baumrind, 1991; Lamborn, et al., 1991). While children of authoritarian parents are less likely to be involved in school misconduct and substance abuse, they have difficulties dealing with somatic distress or psychological issues and have relatively poor self-concept (Strage & Brandt, 1999; Turner, et al., 2009; Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts, & Dornbush, 1994; Milevsky, et al., 2008). Baldwin, McIntyre and Hardaway (2007) posit that parents who utilize authoritarian parenting impose too many rules, expect strict obedience, and too often rely on physical punishment to gain compliance.

Authoritative parenting. Authoritative parenting is characterized by high levels of support and developmentally appropriate levels of control, in which children are allowed a voice in decision-making (Barton & Kirtley, 2012). Authoritative parents are between authoritarian and permissive parents in that they provide high levels of positive affection and nurturance, disciplining children with established rules, yet encouraging autonomy (Love & Thomas, 2014).

Authoritative parenting has been the most effective style of parenting for supporting the academic achievement of children (Lamborn, et al., 1991; Shucksmith, Hendry, Glendinning, 1995). Studies examining parenting styles in relation to college adjustment found that increased parental authoritative predicts better college adjustment and less student depression (Barton & Kirtley, 2012). Researchers have proved that an authoritative parenting style tends to yield greater academic adjustment than other types of parenting styles (Baumrind, 1971; Boveja, 1998; Spera, 2005).

Silva et al. (2007) found fathers' authoritative parenting behaviors decreased anxiety, while mothers' authoritarian parenting behaviors increased anxiety among a sample of college students. Authoritative parenting behaviors have been associated with reports of high self-esteem, while permissive and authoritarian parenting behaviors have been associated with reports of low self-esteem (Bean et al., 2003; Carlson, Uppal, & Prosser, 2000; Garber, Robinson, & Valentiner, 1997; Gecas & Schwalbe, 1986). Using the practice of authoritative parenting, parents show nurturance, sensitivity, support, reasoning, consistency, and affection to their children while also establishing clear and reasonable discipline and promoting high expectations for behavior and performance (Lin & Billingham, 2014).

Baumrind (1971, 1991) posits that authoritative parents are responsive to their children's doubts and concerns, yet assert control when necessary. Authoritative parenting has been shown to foster children's secure attachment (Karavasilis, Doyle, & Markiewicz, 2003), positive well-being, learning goals (Milevsky, Schlechter, Netter, & Keehn, 2008) and is consistently associated with positive educational, social, emotional, and cognitive developmental outcomes (Winsler, Madigan & Aquilino, 2005). Baumrind

(1991) posits that authoritative parenting is comprised of characteristics that include high standards, emotional support, encouragement of bi-directional communication, and consistent enforcement of rules. Essentially, authoritative parents are demanding, but not restrictive (Maccoby & Martin, 1983).

The offspring of authoritative parents often have better psychosocial skills and improved emotional well-being when compared with those raised by permissive or authoritarian parents (Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Parker & Gladstone, 1996; Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts, & Dornbusch, 1994). College students living in authoritative homes are more confident, persistent and academically successful when compared with their counterparts living in the homes of permissive or authoritarian parents (Strage & Brandt, 1999).

Permissive parenting. Permissive parents demand very little from offspring, rarely establish rules for children, minimize discipline, and show high positive affection and encouragement towards children (Love & Thomas, 2014). Permissive parenting provides some support, but ultimately these parents lack control of children (Barton & Kirtley, 2012). Permissive parents are high on responsiveness, low on demandingness, and affectionate, but indulgent (Lin & Billingham, 2014). A common failure of permissive parents is to define proper limits, practice appropriate control, or to even feel comfortable imposing restrictions over children (Lin & Billingham, 2014; Baumrind, 1991). The offspring of permissive parents possess traits such as low self-esteem, irresponsibility, low ego strength, and self-centered motivation associated with inattentive parenting (Steinberg, et al., 1989; Lamborn, et al., 1991; Berzonsky, 2004; Turner, et al., 2009). Additionally, children of permissive parents often have poor

academic competence and are more likely to be delinquent (Baumrind, 1991; Lamborn, et al., 1991; Kim & Chung, 2003). This form of parenting is potentially harmful because it fails to give children a sense of personal success (Milevsky, et al., 2008).

Baumrind (1989) posits that those who utilize permissive parenting are negligent in parental involvement, make few demands of children, encourage their children to express their feelings, and rarely use force to gain control over children's behavior. Baldwin, McIntyre and Hardaway (2007) argue that those who utilize permissive parenting do not often require mature behavior from their children.

Neglectful parenting. Neglectful parents are simultaneously low on responsiveness and demandingness (Baumrind, 1971, 1991). Such parents have an emotionless and detached relationship with their children and often respond to children's needs with hostility and rejection (Kim & Chung, 2003; Hovee, Dubas, Eichelsheim, Van der Laan, Smeek, & Gerris, 2009). Neglectful parents fail to set firm boundaries or high standards for their children (Baumrind, 1971, 1991). They are indifferent to their child's needs and uninvolved in their lives (Baumrind, 1971, 1991). Such apathetic parents often have experienced mental issues themselves as children, such as maternal depression, physical abuse, or child neglect (Baumrind, 1971, 1991). Children of neglectful parents are more impulsive, unable to self-regulate emotion, encounter more delinquency and problems with addiction, and have more mental issues, such as suicidal behavior in adolescents (Baumrind, 1971, 1991).

Like authoritarian parenting, neglectful parenting styles are associated with the greatest risk of substance abuse (Newman, Harrison, Dashiff, & Davies, 2008).

Neglectful parents are neither responsive nor demanding (Aunola, Stattin, & Nurma,

2000). They do not support or encourage their child's self-regulation, and fail to monitor or supervise their child's behavior (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). These parents have a style of overall uninvolved (Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Baumrind, 1991).

Along with permissive parenting styles, neglectful parenting has been associated with child and adolescent underachievement (Onatsu-Arvilommi & Nurmi, 1997).

Adolescents from neglectful families have particularly been shown to be at a disadvantage in terms of academic achievement (Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Baumrind, 1991, Lamborn et al., 1991). Parenting in neglectful families is characterized by a higher level of perceived distrust and a lower level of perceived parental engagement, monitoring and control than parenting in the other three groups (Aunola, Stattin, & Nurma, 2000). Neglectful parents show the lowest level of trust and engagement (Aunola, Stattin, & Nurma, 2000).

Girls from neglectful families have been proven to be more depressed than those that experience the other three forms of parenting (Aunola, Stattin, & Nurma, 2000). The level of depression is highest in boys from neglectful and authoritarian families (Aunola, Stattin, & Nurma, 2000). Furthermore, in a study centered on adolescents' achievement strategies, adolescents from neglectful families displayed the most maladaptive task-avoidant strategies, which centered on high levels of passivity and task-irrelevant behavior (Aunola, Stattin, & Nurma, 2000).

Maternal versus paternal parenting. Studies have shown that maternal parenting styles are more strongly related to child outcomes than paternal parenting styles (Barton & Kirtley, 2012). Authoritative mothering has a counteractive effect on less than desirable fathering styles (Barton & Kirtley, 2012). Additionally, when compared with

paternal parenting, maternal parenting more strongly influences late adolescent adjustments (Barton & Kirtley, 2012). Permissive mothering is more strongly related to poor childhood outcomes than permissive fathering (Barton & Kirtley, 2012). Although the same has not proven true for college men, for college women, authoritarian and permissive mothering are significantly and positively related to impulsiveness and subsequent problematic drinking behaviors (Barton & Kirtley, 2012). Permissive mothering specifically is positively related to a sense of entitlement (Barton & Kirtley, 2012). Permissive fathering is positively related to sons' impulsiveness and alcohol-related problems, whereas authoritative fathering was negatively related to these outcomes. Overall, a greater number of research supports the argument that there is a stronger influence of maternal parenting style on sons' outcomes (Barton & Kirtley, 2012).

In general, much research on parenting has been conducted on Caucasian participants, and thus, the applicability of parenting styles to the Caribbean culture and the ethnicities within the Caribbean culture must be established (Deal, Halverson, & Wampler, 1989; Paulson & Sputa, 1996; Slicker, 1998; Fiese & Marjinsky, 1999). The role of ethnicity may be somewhat complicated in the relationship between parenting and academic achievement (Joshi, Ferris, Otto, & Regan, 2003). Similar parenting behaviors may be attributed to alternate meanings as a function of ethnicity, thus, altering the effects of those behaviors (Baumrind, 1996). While authoritative parenting has shown a clear and consistent advantage for parents and their offspring, this is not replicated in Black, Asian American, and Hispanic samples (Steinberg, Mounts, Lamborn, & Dornbusch, 1991; Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992). Studies have shown that

authoritative parenting is not always linked to the best school achievement across families from diverse ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds (Steinberg, Mounts, Lamborn, & Dornbusch, 1991; Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992). For example, in one study, researchers found that African American students with authoritative parents but without peer support did not perform well academically, and that Asian American students performed best in school with authoritarian parents and peer support (Steinberg, Mounts, Lamborn, & Dornbusch, 1991; Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992).

Parenting practices and outcomes. McKinney, Morse and Pastuszak (2016) posit that parenting characteristics, such as discipline strategies and parental psychopathology, have consistently been associated with a variety of outcomes in children. However, very little research has been conducted on what role these characteristics play in an adolescent's healthy transition to emerging adulthood (McKinney, Morse & Pastuszak, 2016).

In conducting additional research to investigate the relationship between parenting practices and outcomes, Paulussen-Hoogbeem, Stams, Hermanns, Peetsma, and van der Wittenboer (2008) found that the relationship between children's negative emotionality and the internalizing and externalizing of problems was entirely mediated by maternal authoritative parenting style, but not authoritarian parenting style. Moreover, studies have examined the correlation between maternal parenting practices, such as warmth, behavioral and psychological control and young adults' ability to control emotions, such as remaining stable under stress, or the ability to identify overemotionality (Manzeske & Stright, 2009). Results showed that higher levels of maternal behavioral and psychological control were related to lower levels of emotional

regulation, which implies that functioning independently is important to young adults as they become increasingly autonomous from their parents (Manzeske & Stright, 2009).

In examining emotion regulation and parenting practices by assessing girls' depressive symptoms and perception of parents' acceptance and psychological control, Feng et al. (2009) found lower levels of positive emotion were related to higher levels of depressive symptoms when parents were rated as moderately to highly controlling. Dietz et al. (2008) conducted a study on how parenting characteristics may relate to depression in children and discovered that mothers of children with major depressive disorder displayed a disengaged parenting style. Mothers whose children were classified as being low risk for developing major depressive disorder displayed an authoritative parenting style (Dietz et al., 2008). Fletcher, Walls, Cook, Madison, and Bridges (2008), in studying the impact of discipline strategies and parenting practices on child outcomes, found that authoritative mothers used less punitive discipline and that punitive and inconsistent parenting were associated with lower grades in school and more social, internalizing, and externalizing problems.

Parental psychopathology may influence how parents interact with their children and their children's overall outcome as well (McKinney, Morse & Pastuszak, 2016). Depression in youth of depressed parents has been shown to begin earlier, last longer, be more severe in nature, and is more likely to recur than depression in youth of non-depressed parents (Goodman, 2007). Additionally, parents with depression are less likely to be responsive to children's needs, which carries an association with rejection and low self-esteem (Dietz et al., 2008; Elgar, Mills, McGrath, Waschbusch, & Brownridge, 2007).

On the same note, parental anxiety may lead to modeling anxiety, including avoidance, rejection, and over-control (Edwards, Rapee, & Kennedy, 2010). Along with maternal depression, paternal antisocial tendencies were associated with internalizing and externalizing problems in youth (Marmorstein, Malone, & Iacono, 2004). Parents with antisocial tendencies may consistently parent with those tendencies and act unresponsive, self-absorbed, irritable, and aggressive (Middleton, Scott, & Renk, 2009). Generally speaking, parental psychopathology may disrupt parenting practices and this is often associated with poor youth outcomes (McKinney, Morse & Pastuszak, 2016).

College students who experience helicopter parenting exhibit examples of negative outcomes in that these students show lower levels of psychological well-being, are less competent and less able to manage life and its stressors (Cline & Fay, 1990; Schiffrin, Liss, Miles-McLean, & Geary). These students are more likely to take medication for depression and anxiety (Erchull, & Tashner, 2013). Additionally, the negative effects of helicopter parenting on college student well-being is largely explained by the perceived violation of students' basic psychological needs for autonomy and competence (Schiffrin, Liss, Miles-McLean, Geary, Erchull, & Tashner, 2013).

Schiffrin et al. (2013) found that students being 'helicoptered' felt that their basic psychological needs were not being met, and that helicopter parenting behaviors may also interfere with feeling a sense of competence. This is because such parental actions often convey the message that parents do not have faith in their child's abilities (Schiffrin, Liss, Miles-McLean, Geary, Erchull, & Tashner, 2013). Furthermore, intense and intrusive involvement that strips students' sense of autonomy and feelings of competence may lead them to become more psychologically distant from their parents (Schiffrin, Liss, Miles-

McLean, Geary, Erchull, & Tashner, 2013). The research of Schiffrin et al. (2013) has shown that helicopter parenting is predictive of increased levels of depression, decreased satisfaction with life, and that this relationship is best explained by reduced autonomy and competence (Schiffrin, Liss, Miles-McLean, Geary, Erchull, & Tashner, 2013).

However, the ways in which helicopter parenting behaviors are manifested and perceived in economically and ethnically diverse populations are not fully understood (Schiffrin, Liss, Miles-McLean, Geary, Erchull, & Tashner, 2013). The lack of empirical research on the parenting styles of students of color is a critical weakness in current studies on the topic of parenting styles experienced by college students.

The manner in which students are parented has been proven to be a contributor towards student development of self-management, self-regulation and sense of support (Barton & Kirtley, 2012). Additionally, the parenting styles utilized in parental involvement partially explain college students' academic adjustment (Love & Thomas, 2014). Parenting styles are directly related to involvement and have been associated with adjusted outcomes, such as psychological and emotional well-being (Lockett & Harrell, 2003). In turn, these factors have been shown to contribute to academic adjustment (Mounts, 2004). Research has proven that students whose parents were supportive, actively involved in their adolescent's educational endeavors, and communicated the importance of education to their young adult tended to have greater academic success (Epstein & Dauber, 1991; Abdul-Adil & Farmer, 2006). Trusty (2002) found parent involvement and support predicted the academic expectations of emerging adults, which in turn was related to academic performance.

Turner, Chandler and Heffer (2009) suggest that future research be conducted to examine the potential ethnic differences in parenting styles and academic performance in college students. Previous studies centered on parenting styles experienced by college students have had limited participants from ethnic backgrounds, and thus, ethnic differences in parenting could not be studied (Turner, Chandler & Heffer, 2009). The necessity for such studies can be found in the work of Hall and Bracken (1996), who discovered different parenting style trends between European Americans and African Americans. In studying college student perceptions of their mother's parenting style, 41% of African American students classified an authoritarian parenting style, while only 18.2% of Caucasian students shared the same sentiment. Researchers have posited that such differences arise because the influence of authoritative parenting styles differs depending on culture (Chao, 1994; Hill, 1995).

Emerging Adulthood. Emerging adulthood is a psychological theory which Jeffrey Jensen Arnett, Ph.D., began developing in 1995 (Munsey, 2006). Arnett began his research by interviewing 300 young people from the ages of 18 to 29 in cities around the U.S. for five years, in which he asked participants questions about their life goals (Munsey, 2006). While there were stark differences in the social backgrounds and economic prospects of the participants, the answers provided were surprisingly alike (Munsey, 2006). Similarities were primarily found in participants' "feeling in between," that is, participants pulling away from the struggles associated with adolescence, beginning to feel responsibility for themselves, but still feeling closely tied to parents and family (Munsey, 2006). Arnett was likewise surprised to discover that his participants also reported pondering their personal identity, as he surmised that most would have

settled that question as adolescents (Munsey, 2006). From the interviews, and after examining broad demographic indicators, Arnett proposed a new period of lifespan development, called emerging adulthood (Munsey, 2006).

Emerging adulthood served as a critical theory for this study, as the participants upon which this study was centered were in this developmental period of their lives. In terms of life transition, emerging adulthood is the period from 18 to 25 years of age, when individuals achieve relative autonomy from guardians and experience shifts in social roles and normative expectations for their behavior (Sussman & Arnett, 2014). Emerging adults more so than any other age group experience sensation seeking, which is the desire for novel and intense experiences (Arnett, 1994b).

Emerging adulthood is considered to be a socially, physically, and neurologically unique developmental life stage (Arnett, 2000). Unlike adolescents, emerging adults usually experience freedom from the dependency and monitoring that defined their childhood or early to mid-teenage years, yet they are simultaneously unfettered from the responsibilities associated with adulthood (Arnett, 2000). Typically, emerging adulthood is a distinctive phase in life for young people living in industrialized societies (Arnett, 2000). It is characterized by change, exploration and the allowance for an examination of life possibilities that facilitate enduring choices in love, work, and worldviews (Arnett, 2000).

There are five distinct dimensions of emerging adulthood, which consist of: (1) the age of identity explorations, (2) the age of feeling in-between, (3) the age of possibilities, (4) the self-focused age, and (5) the age of instability (Sussman & Arnett, 2014). Sussman and Arnett (2014) argue that within each of these stages, emerging adults

are able to explore who it is that they want to become and feel extreme optimism about their own life, goals and opportunities, and focus on their own needs and desires. Young people not only entering, but also successfully completing this period of life is extremely important (Newcomb-Anjo, Barker, & Howard, 2016). Emotional and academic functioning in emerging adulthood has proven paramount in predicting success and health later in life (Newcomb-Anjo, Barker, & Howard, 2016).

In discussing emerging adults experiencing identity explorations, Arnett (2004, 2014) posits that although identity explorations begin in adolescence, it is during the emerging adult years that identity issues reach peak intensity. This is the time that people move toward making enduring choices in love, work and ideology (Arnett, 2004, 2014). Feeling “in between” has been proposed as a stage in-between adolescence and a stable adulthood (Arnett, 2014). Adding to this feeling of “in between” is the idea that for most people today, the journey to adulthood is long and winding (Arnett, 2014).

Concerning feelings of optimism or excitement at life’s possibilities, emerging adulthood is also a time of remarkable optimism regardless of social class, as even emerging adults whose current lives seem bleak believe that things will work out well for them in the future (Arnett, 2014). Additionally, emerging adulthood is a self-focused age, because it is a time when people have few obligations compared to those at other life stages (Arnett, 2014). It is only in the emergent adulthood phase of life that it is not considered “selfish” to devote a designated amount of years of one’s life to self-exploration and independent decision making – that in fact, doing so at this stage in life is actually considered wise (Arnett, 2014). Finally, of instability, Arnett (2014) states that the volatility of emerging adulthood is driven partly by identity explorations and that love

during the years 18-29 typically means making and breaking relationships with a series of partners. In that time period education is also evolving (Arnett, 2014).

Arnett (2006) argues that there are three cornerstones for becoming an adult, which include accepting responsibility for oneself, making independent decisions, and becoming financially independent. The three aforementioned keystones introduce the main reason why this particular theory was so imperative to this study, which is that each aforementioned criterion of adulthood is heavily related to students' relationships with parents (Arnett, 2007). One does not solely learn to accept responsibility for oneself when entering emerging adulthood. Instead the specific goal in this particular stage of life becomes taking over responsibilities that had previously been assumed by one's parents and doing away with the expectation that parents are responsible for the consequences that emerge from one's actions (Arnett, 2007). In emerging adulthood, making independent decisions takes on a meaning that is more so associated with abandoning the practice of important decisions about one's life being made or influenced by one's parents (Arnett, 2007). Finally, for an emerging adult, becoming financially independent can be viewed as ceasing the practice of having one's parents subsidize one's lifestyle, and instead fully taking on all financial responsibilities and demands upon oneself with no outside assistance (Arnett, 2007).

In the U.S., emerging adults typically leave their parents' home in order to attend college or to become independent in their late teens (Arnett, 2007). The residence factor has proven incredibly important when predicting the level of parent-offspring conflict during the emerging adulthood years (Dubas & Petersen, 1996). Twenty-one year olds who continue to live with their parents have been proven to experience higher levels of

depression and poorer relationships with their parents when compared with their counterparts who lived independently (Dubas & Petersen, 1996). Additionally, several studies have shown that emerging adults who have moved out of their parents' home feel closer to their parents and also possess fewer negative feelings toward parents than emerging adults who have remained at home (Arnett, 2007). In conducting research on family relationships among emerging adults, it has been found that for American emerging adults in their early twenties, physical proximity to parents is inversely related to the quality of relationships with parents (Arnett, 2000). Emerging adults with the most frequent contact with parents (especially those still living at home) tend to be the least close to their parents and to have the poorest psychological adjustment (Arnett, 2000).

Moreover, the theory of emerging adulthood was imperative to this study because while most emerging adults move out of their parents' homes in their late teens, about 30% remain at home throughout their early twenties (Arnett, 2007). Minoritized college students are among the groups who frequently remain at home more so than White American students due to a greater emphasis on family closeness and interdependence, and less emphasis on being independent as a value itself (Arnett, 2007). Such details helped to shine light on the accuracy of this argument, as seven of 14 participants of this study still lived at home with their parents at the time of their respective interview.

Arnett (2007) posits that with a system of higher education consisting of more than 4,000 colleges, universities and community colleges, America supports an extended period of emerging adulthood like no other country in the world. In 1900, only 4% of 18-24-year-olds had attended college, but since the beginning of the millennium, almost 70% of emerging adults have obtained at least some college education by the age of 25

(Arnett, 2007). Both the amount of colleges in the U.S. and number of emerging adults with a college education are considerably higher than corresponding numbers in other industrialized countries (Arnett, 2007). Young people in the U.S. are more likely than young people in essentially any other country in the world to have the opportunity for an extended period of educational exploration by way of the college experience (Arnett, 2007). Due to the strength of the American system of education, young people are able to spend a significant period of time trying out various jobs and college classes in the journey toward deciding what they really want to do in life, and which job would best suit their interests and abilities (Arnett, 2007).

Studies centered on emerging adulthood have proven that the mere existence of this period in life is heavily influenced by culture, which is yet another reason why the usage of this theory was so pivotal to this study. Arnett (2000) argues that emerging adulthood is not a universal period experienced by all, and that instead, it is a period that only exists in cultures that purposely postpone the entry into adult roles and responsibilities until well past the late teenage years. As a result, emerging adulthood is mostly found in countries that are highly industrialized or postindustrial (Arnett, 2000). Even within some highly industrialized countries, members of minority cultures may have practices that shorten the period of emerging adulthood or prevent students from experiencing this life stage at all (Arnett, 2000). Due to the fact that opportunities are often less widely available in minority cultures than in majority cultures in most industrialized countries, members of minority groups are less likely to experience 18-25 as a period of independent exploration of possible life directions (Arnett, 2000). This

study explored how Caribbean college students – specifically in light of their culture – experienced emerging adulthood.

The Caribbean Psyche

While there are no established or foundational theories that focus on the psychology of Caribbean persons, studies examining this topic helped the researcher gain perspective on the cultural psychology of the participants of this study. Publications examining the limitations of Western psychology and theory regarding people of African descent in the Americas and the Caribbean have proven that existing psychological theories are not sufficient for Caribbean persons (Sutherland, 2011).

Western psychological theories used in the U.S. cannot explain the social and psychological functioning of Caribbean peoples. Firstly, this is because mainstream (Western) psychology has assimilated to the norms and values of the Western social order (Sutherland, 2011). Secondly, this is because Western psychology was developed to explain the psychology of people of European descent (Sutherland, 2011). Thirdly, this is because Euro-American psychological assumptions often result in psychologists failing to use relevant cultural and psychological norms to explain a particular group's behavior (Sutherland, 2011; Nobles, 1989). Also particularly problematic are findings that Eurocentric biases in psychology minimize the differences between Caribbean peoples and Westerners, as there are Africanisms that distinguish African Caribbean populations from Westerners that go unnoticed in the field of psychology (Sutherland, 2011).

Historically speaking, African Caribbeans have traditionally embraced the extended family system, collectivism, and African humanism, wherein children were loved, and the elderly were respected (Sutherland, 2011). However, in contemporary

Caribbean societies, pervasive interpersonal violence, child abuse, elder abuse, suicides, homicides, and the personal, familial, economic, and social consequences of these violent acts have surfaced (Sutherland, 2011). Unfortunately, there have been no in-depth investigations to uncover the reasoning behind the abovementioned psychosocial forms of violence (Sutherland, 2011). Psychologists are being called upon to study the impact of Western influences on the psychological functioning of African Caribbeans – a call that directly impacts the Caribbean college students upon which this study was centered (Sutherland, 2011).

The need for psychological theories and practices that are applicable to Caribbeans is confirmed in arguments that posit that there are a number of forces that conspire to de-Africanize individuals to the extent that many are losing touch with their African heritage in the Caribbean basin (Sutherland, 2011). Effects of this loss have taken the shape of African Caribbean people being characterized as displaying excessive materialism, greed, and jealousy (known as “red eye” and “bad mind” in the Caribbean), wanton individualism, and disrespect for their indigenous languages (Hickling, Matthies, Morgan, & Gibson, 2008). The loss of a connection with the African heritage has also been displayed in disrespect for the elderly, women, children, disrespect for the dead, the devaluing of Blackness, corruption, excessive violence, a sense of hopelessness, and class divisions, among other maladaptive attitudinal and behavioral patterns (Hickling, Matthies, Morgan, & Gibson, 2008).

Alleyne (1996) argues that in Jamaica “town people (city people) are less committed to collectivism than country people and Jamaicans of all classes are less committed to it (collectivism) than they once were” (p. 159). Sutherland (2011) posits

that social Darwinist tendencies and rampant individualism are replacing communalistic virtues in Caribbean islands. In Jamaica's social structure, there are an alarming number of persons who are convinced that they can better themselves only at the expense of others (Sutherland, 2011). It has been argued that this behavior is a direct result of historical enslavement and colonial conditions that set Jamaicans against each other and against their cultural and historical foundation (Sutherland, 2011).

Analysts have discussed the fragmentation of the extended family structure of Caribbean families because of economic constraints, rural-to-urban migration, transnational migration to the U.S., the U.K., and other foreign countries, urbanization, and the absence or breakdown of parenting skills (Narcisse, 2000). The documentation of the physical and emotional violence inflicted on Caribbean children has been thorough, as have been the extreme instances of hostile parents who mold their children into vicious and brutal individuals who prey on and destroy their communities for personal self-glorification (Sutherland, 2011).

Ricketts (2000) posits that Jamaicans have a somewhat unfriendly approach to parenting. It is also argued that Jamaican parents generally discourage the development of self-esteem and self-regard in their children, which can lead to dysfunctional interpersonal relationships in the future (Ricketts, 2000). Other studies have shown that some Caribbean parents use harsh physical and psychological approaches to discipline their children (Samms-Vaughan, Williams, & Brown, 2005). Such forceful discipline responses are related to parents' conservative religious beliefs, such as the biblical reference of "if you spare the rod, you spoil the child," in addition to the belief that physical punishment contributes to character formation (Sutherland, 2011).

One of the most disturbing findings that demonstrate the need for psychological theories and practices that are applicable to Caribbeans is the proven normative nature of Caribbean parents making disparaging remarks about Blackness (Blackwood-Meeks, 1999, available at <http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com>). These include: “Nothing Black cyah good” (Nothing black can be good), “Yu Black and ugly” (You are Black and ugly), and “Nutten nah gwann fe yu from yu Black” (No success will come to you once you are Black) (Blackwood-Meeks, 1999, available at <http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com>). Also in existence has been the proven Caribbean tradition of the lighter-skinned child being identified as the favorite (Sutherland, 2011). Such parental practices are common in Caribbean cultures and these messages might influence dark-skinned children to despise their own African features and to develop biases against Blackness (Sutherland, 2011). Struggles with racial identity are reflective of the Caribbean psyche in that dark-skinned people from the Caribbean basin often spend the first five years of life in direct and frequent contact with stimuli that will negatively influence them from developing a strong, positive, Black identity (GoPaul-McNicol, 1995). This causes them to dislike being Black, or to believe that they would be rich if they were born White (Sutherland, 2011). Thus, this causes Black skin to remain a thing of shame instead of pride in countries with predominantly Black populations (Jarrett, 2000).

Adding to the problem of racial identity are the highly Europeanized Caribbean peoples who are sometimes referred to as possessing a “roast breadfruit” mentality, in which they are viewed as being Black on the outside, but White on the inside (Sutherland, 2011). African Caribbean persons whose minds are replete with the aforementioned racist information construe and rehearse this knowledge until the

information goes undisturbed by its self-deprecating properties (Sutherland, 2011). Consequently, a mindset is developed that causes people of African descent to learn to associate physical beauty, competence, and effective behavior with the White world (Sutherland, 2011).

Studies have deduced that in Caribbean societies, masculinity is defined by characteristics of aggressiveness, power over others, and sexual prowess (Narcisse, 2000). Sutherland (2011) posits that the distortions of the male image have led to Caribbean Black males developing a “go-for-bad/rude bwoy (a boy who causes trouble and is known as rude because of his attitude)” male image. White and Cones (1999) have posited that these are men who refuse to back down from challenges. In Jamaican garrison communities, the main aspiration of some men is to be a “shotta” (someone who deals with drugs, murder, or other forms of illegal moneymaking) (Sutherland, 2011). Other males in the Caribbean emphasize “looking good” so as to cloister feelings of failure and a sense of inadequacy, while others adopt the “cool pose” via suppressing their emotions (Sutherland, 2011; White and Cones, 1999).

This dissertation explored whether Caribbean participants were receptors of parenting that results in the accommodation of one’s psyche to racist information (Sutherland, 2011). This study also examined if participants had developed a psychological dependence on colonial and Eurocentric knowledge systems, and ultimately devalued Caribbean cultural practices (Sutherland, 2011).

Research conducted on the Caribbean psyche was especially important to this study because it allowed for the exploration of whether participants experienced the detrimental parenting styles frequently observed and experienced in the Caribbean

culture. The researcher examined if participants' parents used forceful discipline practices, instilled hatred for Blackness and Africanism in their children, or were harsh and unforgiving in their general parenting skills. Finally, the researcher also explored whether Caribbean parents, in order to assimilate into the U.S., softened their parenting skills in the form of less utilization of severe castigation practices and provided more emotional and mental support to offspring.

Caribbean Cultural Values

Although there are no established theoretical frameworks dedicated to the examination of cultural values of Caribbean people, research found on this topic was used to explore the cultural values of participants. In particular, collectivism, the importance of spirituality, focus on self-amelioration, and a strong sense of ethnic (not racial) pride are cultural values generally shared by Caribbean persons (GoPaul-McNicol, 1993). Each of these cultural values provide the context for understanding Caribbean college students' lived experiences of their development while in college, and how they perceive their parents influencing their development while in college.

The importance of collectivism most often appears within Caribbean cultures by way of the presence of extended families and the maintenance of strong family cohesion in the form of the inclusion of even fictive kin (Brent & Callwood, 1993; Thrasher, 1994). Equally important for the Caribbean culture in the practice of collectivism is spirituality, as most Caribbean persons are practicing Christians (Brent & Callwood, 1993; Thrasher, 1994). Spiritualism was an important subject to delve into with the participants of this study. The examination of parental influence through religion was

used to explore whether participants felt additional pressure to conform to their parents' desires because of religious beliefs and practices.

Amelioration of personal problems through self-help is another critical part of Caribbean values (GoPaul-McNicol, 1993). It is believed that individuals should only seek assistance from an extended family network in the event that they are unable to deal with personal difficulties and achieve goals, and that those outside of the family ought never to be involved in the process of seeking support or aid (GoPaul-McNicol, 1993). This aspect of Caribbean cultural values very much applied to the problems presented in this study. Qualitative data provided by the participants uncovered how much or little Caribbean college students seek support from inside or outside their families amidst their personal development.

Finally, a major aspect of Caribbean values is having a strong sense of ethnic pride, which is based on a powerful loyalty to an individual's country of origin (Mitchell & Bryan, 2007). This is not to be confused with having a strong sense of racial pride, as the preceding section evidenced the struggle Black Caribbeans have with their racial identity. However, due to the fact that Caribbean persons come from island nations in which they are the numerical majority, wherein they own land, businesses, and retain political control of their governments, this socialization fuels ethnic pride (Brent & Callwood, 1993). This portion of Caribbean values, too, was important to the nature of this study, because the researcher heavily explored the ways in which Caribbean parents passed cultural pride onto participants.

Post-Colonial Theory

In itself, the term “post-colonial” is defined as a global shift in the cultural, political, and economic arrangements that arise from the experiences of European colonialism in both formerly colonized and colonizing countries (Tikly, 1999). Post-colonial theory involves the discussion of the following types of experiences: migration, slavery, suppression, resistance, representation, difference, race, gender, and the responses to the influential master discourses of imperial Europe (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1995). Post-colonial theory seeks to deepen the understanding of the colonizer/colonized relationship by drawing attention to the processes of transcultural “mixing” and exchange (Tikly, 1999).

Post-colonial theory also draws attention to the complexities of diasporic identification (Tikly, 1999). In a collaborative autoethnography centered on the journey of integrating a different construction of Blackness while remaining true to the Caribbean cultural ethnic identity, Hernandez and Murray-Johnson (2015) call for a post-colonial framework that emphasizes that groups are not monolithic and that ethnicities are varied and complex. In the same vein, Rong and Brown (2001) posit that racial and ethnic identity are progressively becoming multifaceted topics, and that practitioners need to move away from the conventional idea that associates each racial group with one culture and one ethnic identity.

The need for a post-colonial framework can also be deduced from Thompson’s (2016) contention that Caribbean college students have been subsumed under the labels of “Black and African American,” and thus, information on these students has been largely missing. Thompson (2016) also argues there is a propensity to overlook the

experiences and development issues of Caribbean students in American higher education. Drawing from the notion of the “Third Space” posited by Khan (1998, 2000), Hernandez and Murray-Johnson (2015) suggest the creation of a post-colonial framework in which identities are constructed, reconstructed, and negotiated in the face of ambiguity.

Additionally, Hernandez and Murray-Johnson (2015) propose a post-colonial framework that will allow Black Caribbean students the opportunity to define and interpret their own race. The post-colonial framework called for by Hernandez and Murray-Johnson (2015) is one in which ethnicity can be seen as reactive, and one in which Black Caribbean students are not called upon to identify only as Black when in the U.S. (Thompson, 2016).

According to Malcolm and Mendoza (2014) a post-colonial framework is needed so that Caribbean students are not viewed with the same identity development models as students of different ethnicities. Finally, Hernandez and Murray-Johnson (2015) posit the critical necessity of a post-colonial framework that is shaped by a collectivistic philosophy. Such a philosophy is one wherein Caribbeans can be perceived as a voluntary, largely middle-class minority, and one in which Caribbean college students can maintain a fluid identity that allows them to be prideful in spite of being minoritized in multiple ways (Hernandez & Murray-Johnson, 2015).

For the purposes of this study, post-colonial theory was used to explore the usefulness of a post-colonial framework specifically created for Caribbean college students. Additionally, post-colonial theory was used to examine how participants constructed and negotiated their identities in the face of the ambiguities produced by identifying ethnically as Caribbean in an American college environment (Khan, 1998,

2000). Post-colonial theory was also used to study how participants who identified racially as Black defined and interpreted their race (Hernandez & Murray-Johnson, 2015). Finally, post-colonial theory was used to examine the implications that arise from higher education institutions viewing Black Caribbean students through the same lens used to address the development of students who do not occupy the aforementioned dual identity (Malcolm & Mendoza, 2014).

Caribbean College Students

Greenidge and Daire (2010) argue that higher education administrators know very little about the historical, social and cultural idiosyncrasies of people from Caribbean islands. This is mostly because there has been a conflation of race and ethnicity that contributes to the monolithic ethnic grouping of all Blacks as African American with assumed broad homogeneous cultures and backgrounds (Greenidge & Daire, 2010). Nonetheless, for many first-generation Black Caribbeans, identifying as Black Caribbean encompasses a strong sense of ethnic group membership (for example, Jamaican, Haitian, Trinidadian, Dominican, etc.) made up of diverse cultural values, traditions, language, meaning, ways of living and being Black (Waters, 1994).

In a 2011 study which examined the experiences of Caribbean-born women from Trinidad, Jamaican, Haiti, Dominica, St. Vincent, St. Kitts, Barbados, Guyana and Grenada, 66% reported being U.S. residents or citizens, and had been attending U.S. colleges for an average of five semesters (McFarlane, 2010). However, most participants were clear about how they were different from African Americans and vocalized not wanting to be perceived as African American (McFarlane, 2010). Participants were more

likely to defend a Caribbean or national identity and rarely understood or felt the need to identify with all persons of African ancestry (McFarlane, 2010).

Research maintains that when discussing immigrant-native differences among Blacks, scholars have paid insufficient attention to the selective nature of immigration (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990, 1996). This happens because within any particular country, it is usually the most ambitious and resourceful persons that fill the gap between life aspirations and expectations by immigrating (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990, 1996).

Specifically concerning West Indians, Crowder and Tedrow (2001) have argued that the nature of migration is selective. A disproportionate number of West Indian immigrants coming from middle-class educational and occupational backgrounds are those who end up moving to the U.S. or the U.K. (Crowder & Tedrow, 2001).

Immigrants from Jamaica, Haiti and the Dominican Republic have been proven to be more highly educated than their counterparts in their native countries (Feliciano, 2005).

Bennett and Lutz (2009) found that although previous studies have documented lower college enrollment rates of Blacks compared to Whites, data has proven that it is only native Blacks that have lower enrollment rates. According to Bennett and Lutz (2009), Black immigrants have higher college enrollment rates than do Whites.

Additionally, the destinations of college goers also differ by race and generational status, as two-year colleges account for a larger percentage of enrollments among both American and immigrant Blacks (42%) than among Whites (38.7%) (Bennett & Lutz, 2009).

There has also proven to be a marked difference in the percentage of Black immigrant students who enroll in selective colleges when compared with American-born

Blacks (Bennett & Lutz, 2009). Almost four times as many Black immigrants attend selective colleges when compared with American-born Blacks (Bennett & Lutz, 2009). However, it has been found that there is substantially more inequality in college access and destination between native Blacks and Whites than there is between immigrant Blacks and Whites (Bennett & Lutz, 2009). Whereas native Blacks are clearly disadvantaged relative to Whites in their college going and destination, there is very little inequality between immigrant Blacks and Whites to the extent that this inequality tends to favor Black immigrants (Bennett & Lutz, 2009). Immigrant Blacks are 3.9 times more likely than their White counterparts to enroll in four-year colleges after graduating from high school (Bennett & Lutz, 2009).

As the tool to achieve their future aspirations, education is a main facet of West Indian students' identity (Wharton, 2008). Students from the Caribbean enter U.S. colleges and universities with distinct beliefs concerning education, teaching, learning and the characteristics that allow one to succeed in the academic world (Wharton, 2008). In the Caribbean culture, students are socialized to be passive learners, wherein learning is communicated in a teacher-centered format. However, in the U.S., students are regarded as more than mere receptacles to be filled by the teacher's knowledge (Wharton, 2008). Thus, upon entering American higher education, a division occurs between American academic and social tradition and that of the West Indian culture (Wharton, 2008). Caribbean students report feeling marginality, alienation and isolation because of this (Alfred, 2003). For Caribbean college students, inclusive learning environments are critical because students and their families come from a society that is predominantly

Black, and in which they have not been forced to confront racism or race-based discrimination (Wharton, 2008).

Chapter 3: Methods

The Current Study

The purpose of this study was to extend the limited research available on how parental roles impact Caribbean college student development. The association between parental roles and Caribbean college student development was deduced using the following research questions: (1) How do Caribbean students perceive their growth during college? (2) How have parents impacted the development of Caribbean college students? Thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) methods were used to address these questions.

Data Collection

Purposive and theoretical sampling were also used to recruit participants who would purposefully provide the researcher with the information needed to answer the two research questions upon which this study was designed (Creswell, 2009). Interviews were conducted through the phone, or via FaceTime, AudioTime, or Skype. Data was collected during individual interviews lasting from 60 to 120 minutes in length. Data collection was centered on semi-structured interviews with additional expounding questions. Snowball sampling was utilized to recruit 14 participants. Polkinghorne (1989) notes that qualitative studies must include at least five to 25 people.

The researcher asked members of her social networks and colleagues whether they knew of any individuals who fit the inclusion criteria. Successively, possible participants were then contacted via phone or text message to have the purpose and procedures of the study explained to them. All participants were given oral and written informed consent and permission was sought for audio recording. Participants were

informed that they could cease to participate in the study at any time. Participants were given the choice of how the audio-recorded sessions would be conducted (through phone, via FaceTime, AudioTime, or Skype). All interviews were transcribed upon the conclusion of the interview process. The researcher who conducted the interviews was Seanteé Campbell, a second-year doctoral student in the Ed.D. in Higher Education Leadership Program at the University of Miami.

Appendix B and D contain the recruitment script and interview questions for the semi-structured interview. For all participants, there was a portion of the interview carved out in which participants were able to describe personal experiences at every notable stage of their lives in which they began to ascertain specific parental roles while growing up. The participants were also given the opportunity to discuss experiences they had in college that were directly related to their perception of how they were parented. This was done so that a clear line could be drawn between the researcher's own perception of the parental roles she experienced and that which participants perceived in the study, such that the focus of the study remained on the participants. Making this differentiation was important because the researcher shared several commonalities with multiple participants of this study, such as race, ethnicity, internally and externally maintaining a strong West Indian culture despite not physically living in the West Indies, and having made the conscious choice to experience college in the U.S. as opposed to returning to the island of her birth.

Despite the fact that the similarity between the interviewer and participants may have led to undesired biases, one way in which the cultural background of the interviewer served as an asset was by adding to the cultural richness of the study. In particular, the

researcher included (and then translated) verbatim examples and direct quotes given by participants (when applicable) in their native dialect (such as the patois of Jamaican participants). Quotes or verbatim examples that referred directly to the subjects of parental roles and development in college were focused upon.

Data Analysis: The Use of Thematic Analysis

In accordance with the first phase of the qualitative analytic method of thematic analysis, the researcher first familiarized herself with the data that was collected, which was in the form of audio recorded interviews (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The researcher immersed herself in the data to the extent to which she was familiar with the depth and breadth of the content (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This immersion took the form of the researcher repeatedly and actively reading and listening to the interviews while looking for meanings and patterns in the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Notes were taken and ideas were marked for subsequent coding (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The 14 interviews were then transcribed using online transcription software (www.trint.com), which was utilized to gather a verbatim account of all verbal utterances to ensure that the transcriptions remained accurate to their original nature (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Edwards, 1993). At the conclusion of each transcription, the transcripts were checked back against the original audio recordings to ensure accuracy (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The coding of the data began with open coding in the form of the researcher selecting direct quotes from interview transcripts which answered questions posed during the interview process. Initial codes were then generated from the most compelling quotes that materialized from the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The researcher then moved onto selective coding by taking phrases from quotes that addressed both research questions of

the study and then manually coded the content of the audio-recorded interviews (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Next, axial coding was conducted by summarizing quotes that specifically answered the research questions of this study. Categories were then developed from axial codes, and finally, themes were generated from categories based on the frequency with which categories appeared during the axial coding. The most thought-provoking quotes were formed into themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Using tables created in Microsoft Excel, the researcher sorted the different codes into potential themes, collating all the relevant coded data extracts within the already-identified themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The researcher collected a candidate of themes and sub-themes and ensured that all extracts of data had been coded accordingly (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The researcher retained codes based on the frequency with which they appeared in the created Microsoft Excel tables. For example, after being asked an interview question which prompted participants to give examples of responsibilities they had to take care of in college that they did not have to address in high school, all but one participant provided quotes describing much-increased responsibilities after entering college. Due to the fact that these responses were so frequent, these codes were retained, then participants' quotes were summarized and coded axially. The category of "Gaining Independence" or "Growing Independence" was then created to reflect the frequency of responses. Next, based on the compilation of participant responses, this category became "I Just Truly Had to Figure It Out" and was subsequently grouped with five other categories to become the theme of "Independence."

Contrarily, codes arose from the data which were infrequent, did not add to the richness or depth of the study, or deviated from the topic of the study, and thus, these

codes were discarded. For example, one code that arose addressed how extended family members impacted participants' psychosocial development. However, while a small number of participants discussed how relationships with aunts, cousins and grandparents impacted their ability to psychosocially develop while in college, the great majority of participants did not include their extended family as factors that impacted their development in college. Additionally, due to the fact that the focus of the study was how parental relationships affect Caribbean college student development, the researcher wanted to remain attentive to participants' relationship with parents and felt that the inclusion of the impact of extended family members on development would deviate too much from the research questions and study goals. Thus, this particular code did not go past the stage of open coding and did not become a category or theme. However, it should be noted that this code resurfaced in the discussion of study findings in Chapter Five. This code was reflected upon so as to understand student experiences regarding their development in colleges located in individualistic societies, despite being raised in collectivistic cultures.

The researcher reviewed and refined the themes by reading all the collated extracts for each theme to assess if a coherent pattern between themes could be formed (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Ultimately, the researcher determined that the candidate themes accurately reflected the meanings evident in the data set as a whole (Braun & Clarke, 2006). For each individual theme a detailed analysis was written, which also identified sub-themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Finally, a written analysis of all compiled themes was composed to accurately reflect the commonality or rarity of participants' conveyed experiences regarding their

development in college and how their parent(s) impacted this development. In addition, the researcher created a composite vignette that reflected the reported experiences of all 14 participants concerning their perceived development in college, as well as their reported relationship with parents. This was done as the culmination of the researcher's analysis.

Trustworthiness

According to Polit and Beck (2014) trustworthiness refers to the degree of confidence in data, interpretation, and methods used to ensure the quality of a study. It is the duty of researchers to establish protocols and procedures necessary for a study to be considered worthy of attention from readers (Amankwaa, 2016). Trustworthiness is made up of four criteria: (1) Credibility (2) Transferability (3) Dependability and (4) Confirmability (Guba, 1981).

According to Guba (1981), credibility addresses the question of: How congruent are the findings with reality? Examples of manners in which researchers can ensure the credibility of a study are: (a) the adoption of well-established research methods (b) developing an early familiarity with the culture of participating organizations (c) randomly sampling individuals to serve as informants (d) triangulation (e) using tactics to ensure honesty in informants (f) iterative questioning (g) negative case analysis (h) frequent debriefing sessions, and (i) peer scrutiny of the research project (Guba, 1981). Transferability is concerned with the extent to which the findings of one study can be applied to other situations (Merriam, 1998). To ensure transferability of a study, researchers ought to convey the boundaries of a study to the reader by disclosing: (a) the number of organizations taking part in the study and where they are based (b) any

restrictions in the type of people who contributed to the data (c) the number of participants involved in the fieldwork (d) the data collection methods that were employed (e) the number and length of the data collection sessions, and (f) the time period over which the data was collected (Shenton, 2003, 2004).

Dependability employs techniques to demonstrate that if the work were repeated in the same context, with the same methods and with the same participants, similar results would be obtained (Shenton, 2003, 2004). In order to enable readers of the research report to develop a thorough understanding of the methods and corresponding effectiveness, the study should include sections addressing the following topics: (a) the research design and its implementation (describing what was planned and executed on a strategic level) (b) the operational detail of data gathering (addressing the minutiae of what was done in the field) and (c) reflective appraisal of the project (evaluating the effectiveness of the process of inquiry undertaken) (Shenton, 2003, 2004). Confirmability is the qualitative investigator's comparable concern with objectivity (Shenton, 2003, 2004).

To ensure confirmability, steps must be taken to guarantee that the work's findings are the result of the experiences and ideas of the participants, rather than the characteristics and preferences of the researcher (Shenton, 2003, 2004). Miles and Huberman (1994) posit that a key element of confirmability is the extent to which the researcher admits his or her own predispositions. Another element of confirmability is creating an audit trail, in which a researcher can trace the course of the research step-by-step through decisions made and procedures described (Shenton, 2003, 2004).

Credibility. Merriam (1998) states that in qualitative research, credibility addresses the question of: How congruent are the findings with reality? In order to ensure that the findings of this study remained consistent with reality, the researcher adopted the research method of interviewing, which has been established in both qualitative studies and information science (Shenton, 2004). Similar studies on the effects of parental roles on college students were examined to deduce successful lines of questioning in data gathering sessions, as well as methods of data analyses (Shenton, 2004). Frequent debriefing sessions were also held between the researcher and her dissertation chair, Debbiesiu Lee, Ph.D. of the University of Miami, to discuss alternative approaches to the research and draw attention to any flaws in the proposed plans to obtain data (Shenton, 2004).

Credibility was also maintained through peer scrutiny of the research project, which took the form of feedback offered to the researcher through presentations made on the research project (Shenton, 2004). Additionally, questions and observations offered by peers and instructors helped the researcher refine her methods to create an improved research design and make arguments stronger (Shenton, 2004). The researcher also used reflective commentary to record initial impressions of participants and data collected at each interview in order to develop emerging patterns in gathered data and to subsequently generate theories (Shenton, 2004). This was done so that the researcher could use progressive subjectivity to monitor developing constructions (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Shenton, 2004). The researcher's Master of Fine Arts in Writing was another tool used to monitor credibility, as, in the earning of the aforementioned degree, the researcher was compelled to repeatedly practice and ultimately perfect the tasks of reading, researching

and writing in a compelling, but precise manner. The researcher also had two years of experience in researching, analyses and writing at the doctorate degree level in her efforts to obtain a Doctor of Education in Higher Education Leadership, which mandates the development of skills in qualitative research and the use of varied qualitative and quantitative instruments for data collection.

The researcher's background as a second-generation Caribbean college student from a two-parent household, with a sister and father who both graduated from the University of Miami Business School and University of Miami School of Political Science respectively also placed a burden upon the researcher to be accurate in all data collection, analyses and ultimate presentation of collected data. The researcher further ensured credibility by examining previously published literature on the subjects of Caribbean college student experiences, parenting in Caribbean countries, Caribbean cultural values, the Caribbean psyche, and the development of Caribbean students attending American colleges and universities. This was done to ensure that results garnered from this study were congruent with past studies conducted on the aforementioned subjects (Shenton, 2004). Additionally, examining previously published literature was done so that findings from this study were relatable to an existing body of knowledge on the aforesaid topics (Shenton, 2004).

Finally, at the conclusion of gathering data, the researcher conducted member checks, in which all participants of the study were asked to read Chapter Four of this dissertation (wherein results of this study were discussed) in order to ensure that words spoken by participants concurred with the intent of what was written and that all articulations of participants were accurately captured (Shenton, 2004).

Transferability. The greatest limit to the transferability of this study was geographic in nature, as 11 of 14 participants lived within 40 miles of the Miami Metro area, one of the most ethnically and racially diverse counties in all of the U.S. Additionally, all 14 participants either originated from or attended college in the Miami Metro area. Currently, the Miami Metro area has the largest share of the 3.8 million Black immigrants living in the U.S. (McClatchy Washington Bureau, 2015). Almost 30,000 native-born Jamaicans and 70,000 native-born Haitians live in Miami-Dade County, which is nearly half of the Black immigrant population in the Miami Metro area (McClatchy Washington Bureau, 2015). Few counties in the U.S. are as racially and ethnically diverse as Miami-Dade County, and for this reason the transferability of the findings of this study to another location is extremely limited.

Moreover, there was a restriction in the selection of participants contributing to the data, as the researcher was only able to recruit participants from Haiti, Jamaica, Trinidad, Puerto Rico, The Bahamas, Belize, and Cuba. The nature of the data collection method was also singular and restricted, as all the data for this study was extracted from one-on-one audio-recorded interviews with participants (Shenton, 2004).

Dependability. In order to ensure that similar results can be obtained utilizing the same methods and comparable participants in future research, this study contains a systematic description of the methods used to obtain data and the corresponding effectiveness of these methods (Shenton, 2004). There were no major events that took place while gathering data for this research project (Shenton, 2004).

Data saturation refers to reaching a point of informational redundancy where additional data collection contributes little or nothing new to the study (Gentles, Charles,

Ploeg, & McKibbin, 2015). Saturation is widely recognized as a guide or indicator that sufficient data has been achieved (Gentles, Charles, Ploeg, & McKibbin, 2015). For this study, in order to ensure that saturation occurred in the form of the exhaustion of all deduced themes, after 11 participants were interviewed, three more participants were interviewed as well. The goal in doing this was to prevent the themes generated from the interviews from being violated by a participant who might represent a deviant or extreme case (Gentles, Charles, Ploeg, & McKibbin, 2015).

Confirmability. To ensure real objectivity in the process of gathering data for this study, the researcher composed an on-going audit trail to ensure that the findings of the study were the result of the experiences and ideas of the participants, as opposed to the personality and preferences of the researcher (Shenton, 2004). Within the audit trail the researcher obtained information that would allow any onlooker to follow the sequence of research through the decisions made and described practices (Shenton, 2004).

Additionally, the interviewer made contact with all participants following the analysis of the data in order to ensure that participants agreed with the portrayal of words spoken during the interview. Based on the feedback of participants, descriptions of data produced during the interview were honed.

Researcher's Stance

The researcher, a 35-year-old, Jamaican female of middle socioeconomic status, acknowledged being a first-hand witness to how overbearing parenting negatively impacts college students. The researcher's overall stance was that parental roles should reflect behavior that creates loving, healthy, and trusting relationships between parent and child, which in turn provides students with support through college student development.

The researcher also acknowledged a bias toward preserving her Caribbean culture, making deliberate attempts to avoid assuming propagated African American behaviors, and that this view might have impacted questioning of participants. To combat this bias, the researcher created an audit trail to trace the course of the research step-by-step via decisions made and procedures described (Shenton, 2003, 2004).

Chapter 4: Results

The results of the thematic analysis of the interview data will be presented in this chapter. The research questions used to generate inquiries for participant interviews were the following: (1) How do Caribbean college students perceive their growth during college? (2) How do parents impact the development of Caribbean college students? In order to thoroughly gain an understanding of how participants perceived their development, as well participants' perceptions of how parents affected this process, participants were asked to discuss factors that they felt led to their overall progression or lack of progression in college. Themes which emerged from the data that signified and/or impacted development in college were: (1) Adulthood (2) Independence (3) Identity, and (4) Relationship with Parents.

Participants

The researcher recruited participants from the following Caribbean nations: Haiti, Jamaica, Trinidad, Belize, Puerto Rico, The Bahamas, and Cuba. The researcher interviewed one participant from Belize, Trinidad, and Cuba respectively. Two participants from Haiti were interviewed, as well as four participants from Jamaica. Three participants from Puerto Rico were interviewed, as well as one participant who identified as both Trinidadian and Jamaican, and another participant who identified as both Haitian and Bahamian.

Participants from each of the aforementioned Caribbean nations were interviewed to garner quotes that reflected either notably similar or dissimilar cultural experiences regarding perceived parental roles and development in college.

A total of 14 participants were interviewed for this study, all of whom attended universities or colleges within the state of Florida. The majority of participants had attended their college or university since leaving high school, while five participants were transfer students from one mid-western state, one southern state, and commuter colleges within South Florida, respectively. The youngest participant was 18 years old and the eldest participant was 26 years old. Eight participants identified racially as Black, four identified racially as Hispanic, and two identified racially as Asian (see Appendix E for table on participant demographics).

Resulting Themes

Theme 1: Adulthood. In the course of the interview process, reported experiences with the achievement of adulthood were extremely varied. Some participants expressed feeling that whether due to academic, employment, social or familial commitments and/or accomplishments, they had achieved a certain level of adulthood not experienced prior to entering college or university. Other participants acknowledged significant struggles to approach adulthood. One participant expressed anxiety and fear at the very notion of being an adult. The great majority of participants felt that they were growing closer to adulthood during their time in college, while also recognizing that their lives were missing key elements of adulthood, such as living independently from parents, or living without subsidies from parents.

During the course of the interviews, participants were asked to draw a comparison between how they perceived themselves at the beginning stages of their postsecondary education and how they currently perceived themselves in college or university. Responses ranged drastically, from one participant who expressed feeling like she had

aged decades in the summer that separated her first year at the University of Florida from her second, to another participant who expressed deep fear and anxiety at the concept of having to assume adulthood. There were also several responses that fell in between the two spectrums, with some participants reporting that due to new responsibilities and a forced or deliberate separateness from parents, they felt more “adult-ish.” Other participants expressed the difficulties and downsides of becoming an adult.

There were three categories that comprised the theme of Adulthood: (1) I Went from 19 to 40 Within a Summer (2) I Feel More Adult-ish Now and (3) I Don’t Want to be an Adult – I’m Scared of That.

I Went from 19 to 40 Within a Summer. Amid the interviews, the concept of growing up rapidly repeatedly arose, with several participants expressing that a sudden spurt of maturity came from experiencing life-changing setbacks in college. Participants also described adulthood as resulting from periods of self-reflection and emotional breakthroughs. Additionally, participants expressed that adulthood had stemmed from continuous high-stress situations requiring inordinate discipline, or even having to endure tragic and disadvantageous life events that propelled them from feeling like teenagers in college to nearly middle-aged persons.

One participant, Melanie, 19, reported experiencing an extensive period of forced self-reflection after moving into a majority-Republican coed cooperative living organization at the University of Florida. This living environment proved much different from the majority-Democrat community in Sunrise, Florida, in which Melanie grew up. Having worked on the Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign prior to the U.S.

Presidential Election of 2016, after Hillary Clinton's loss, Melanie was driven into a period of self-reflection that thrust her toward adulthood:

I think when I first came into UF, I was definitely very, very outwardly passionate – very, very energetic and I was kind of riding this high off high school...I was very into politics...I was very politically charged as well. I was considered a very loud person at the time. As I progressed throughout college, you know, I learned that there are so many different types of people that I'm coming into contact with on a daily basis. And I was having a lot of personality clashes...coming in my second year of college, a lot of comments I've been getting is like: 'You know, you definitely toned down a lot'. Before...I would just tell you everything I'm passionate about -- everything I believe in. What I learned throughout was, you know, I just started listening more. Like, I'm so full of passion and so forth, this energy...it in fact turns people off. Because if you're so strong in your views, it's almost like you're unrelenting, that you're unwilling to change. And people don't really want to be around that sort of energy if they realize how different they are from you, and especially if I was making my political views known in a, you know, a housing for Trump supporters that felt really passionate about their candidate...I would say that I'm now a bit more of a reserved person. Last year, I used to, you know, have a very outgoing social life. I used to always be out, like all days of the week. I was always out partying -- doing things of that nature. Now, you know, I'm not really into that as much. I'd rather just stay, you know, with my small group of friends. I feel like I went from 19 to 40 within a summer.

Participants were asked about personal changes that possibly advanced their adulthood since the beginning of their college or university experience. For BlueJay, 20, a sudden increase in maturity was necessitated after transferring from Broward College to Florida Atlantic University and choosing to take on a full course load while working one job at the campus bookstore, a second job as a barista at the campus Starbucks, and a third job as a student government advocate for campus improvement. BlueJay described

the wisdom that arrived with the realization of the differences between attending a small, commuter college and a large, public university:

Getting on that university level in terms of mind frame [was a challenge], because I'm a transfer student from Broward College and this is my first semester at Florida Atlantic University...my peers in some of my classes...I notice that they think a little deeper than I do. So, it's kind of -- pretty much trying to get on that level of thinking a little deeper.

BlueJay also expressed that learning to balance three jobs and go to college also increased her sense of responsibility, stating:

They [my parents] don't have to tell me to make sure I do my homework. I already do that naturally. Even though they may say it here and there, you know... 'Make sure you're staying on top of your homework' ...but I do that naturally...making sure I turn in my, you know, assignments on time...[I am] balancing everything else that I have around and still getting good grades in class.

Maia, 18, who juggled two jobs while attending Miami Dade College full-time, discussed making the conscious decision to separate from friends whom she perceived to be on a more divergent, less adult journey to an undergraduate degree:

Even though the rest of us [my friends and I] graduated, you know, and are going to school and...are working... my mindset is striving for what I want. You know, working my two jobs, pay my bills and I'm trying to be as independent as I can...while all of them [my friends] -- they're still going out and partying and just doing those same high school things. I'm out of that circle...after high school we all drifted in different directions...we all had different mindsets and views. Mine was completely different from all of them...so I drifted get away from that and...me and my boyfriend...the same thing goes with him...me and him are both focused...on each other and trying to strive for better. So I don't really have the time to do what the other, you know, my other friends -- you know, when we used to be friends -- what they have the time [for] and the day[s] [for]. I don't have that...I think that as I get older, me

having the more responsibilities I have...the less that I
 wanna do of the things that I used to do.

Discussing the factors that led to attending three different institutions in a nearly six-year period to earn her undergraduate degree in nursing, Jamie, 26, cited her parents as the prevailing dynamic that plunged her deeper into adulthood:

They [my parents] helped me [develop] because they really weren't there. They just, they basically cut me off and we didn't talk for like...two years...I was living in Alabama for one year. That was the one year I was there. And then I moved to Atlanta...and I was there for a year and a half...so about two and a half years I was disconnected from my family...I think it was a combination of them feeling like I'm too grown [that caused them to cut me off]. They're [Caribbean parents] very extreme when it comes to that. And so, I think we used to clash because I wanted to be independent...my parents raised me to be open-minded and to have an opinion and to go after what I want. But at the same time, they're...trying to control me and keeping me on a tight leash. It's very contradictory, you know. And all I want to do is be the independent, smart, successful woman that I know that you raised and that I know I can become. And I think it was like it [their cutting me off] was a combination of them just not wanting to let go because I'm their only daughter. So, it's a combination of them not wanting to let go and them thinking I'm too grown and them mad that I'm leaving the state, them mad that I'm not listening to them. You know, it was just a combination of, like, all these different things and they [were] just like: 'Whatever. You think you're grown: bye'.

For one participant, a family tragedy brought forth adulthood in a manner most would find difficult to prepare for. Catalina, 18, discussed the death of her older brother in Puerto Rico, which she called a "life-turning point" in explaining how the tragic event accelerated her adulthood. Catalina conveyed that this event triggered her parents' decision to follow her from Puerto Rico to Florida after her acceptance into college, and

cemented her determination to become a pathologist in order to help other people obtain definitive answers in a loved one's death in a way her family was unable to:

I had a brother...he was 23-years-old...they found him dead. Over there [in Puerto Rico]. On the streets. So, it was like a life-turning point...they [my parents] moved over here [to Florida], because they didn't have, like, a purpose to be over there [in Puerto Rico]...they didn't come with me [originally] because my brother was, um, an addict. He was having problems and all that, so that situation happened, and then, um, they moved over here...go over here and start a new life and be with me, too...it [my brother's death] was very hard for me. We [me and my brother] always -- like, were fighting. We never talked -- like have a normal conversation...he hated me...he felt, yeah, like some jealousy. And I tried, like, to get a conversation and have a better, like, relationship. But he never -- he never let me...my mother was all destroyed, and my father was, too. It was very hard for me...well, we [me and my parents] got much closer, like, um, between the process and all that, of the cremation and going to the forensics and all that...I really want to do something with pathology [in the future]...I am interested, because, like...your job is to find out how he died, or from what he died. He or she. Yeah, I love all that. Examining (sic), investigating. Finding the truth, um, finding the answer.

I'm More Adult-ish Now. Participants feeling and acting like adults, yet willingly or reluctantly remaining somewhat dependent upon their parents was a common subject that arose regarding the development of adulthood. All but one participant was accepting of the adulthood they were coming into and eager for future experiences and the freedom participants perceived would accompany adulthood. Nonetheless, no participant reported feeling entirely adult, completely free from any form of dependence on parents, financially secure, and/or certain of their life's path.

When asked in what ways she considered herself to be an adult, Abby, 20, qualified the term by explaining, "I feel like I'm more 'adult-ish' now." Abby reasoned

that a newfound understanding of the importance of independence and developing accountability for her own education brought her closer to the spectrum of being an adult:

When I was a kid, really, all I wanted to do was play video games and watch TV all day. I would have been like, you know what: 'I can just live at my parents' house forever and it wouldn't matter'. But obviously it does matter. And they're going to kick you out at some point...I feel like now I definitely don't think that way. I'm not as selfish as I used to be...I don't think that's a very productive way to be. And that's definitely not fair to your parents...I take a lot of my own education into my own hands...I take care of my own matters. That's a pretty major way to become an adult...I feel like I care more about my family now [than I did] as a kid. [When I was younger] Whenever my dad would put me on the phone with my aunts or whatever, I'd be like 'Oh, I got to talk to her?!' But now I actually kind of make time to talk to my family and see how they're doing. I talk to my sister more. Before I didn't used to, because we used to have a pretty bad relationship. But now I check up on her...I try to stay as close as I can with her. Just to make sure that everything is going well. Same thing with my aunt. And just, you know, a lot of other family members -- I try to be there.

As opposed to developing matured emotions, several participants discussed attaining adulthood in terms of finances. In response to the question of the ways in which he believed himself to be an adult, James, 18, was initially straightforward and confident in saying, "I pay bills, I work. Um, I receive an income tax from Uncle Sam." However, James almost immediately backtracked and added, "Adults probably do way more stuff than I do...so...I can't relate."

K.J., 21, also had a financially oriented view of adulthood similar to his fellow male interviewees. In being asked the question of what he believes makes him an adult, K.J. maintained that, "Aside from living home, I feel that I'm [self] sufficient. I do everything else that, like, a normal adult would do. Like I said: aside from living home."

K.J. elaborated by outlining the ways in which he supports himself as an adult, as well as the reasons behind what drove him to desire getting to the stage of adulthood before finishing college:

Um, I have a job. A car. I can make – like, I make my own money. If I choose to, I can move out and I can support myself. [I] Pay my bills. Um, pay for food...because I'm grown now, like, my parents don't owe me anything...if I wanted a new phone, I know: Okay, my parents aren't going to buy me the phone. So I have to get a job, where I make my own money, so I can get my own kind of phone that I want...like, if there's something I want, I have to get it... [I got a job because I was] trying to show off independence. Trying to show them [my parents] like: 'Okay, I'm not a baby anymore. I could be a self-sufficient adult'.

Much like his male counterparts, when asked in what ways he has matured since high school, Malik, 21, named financial freedom as one of the main paths to his adulthood. However, Malik also admitted that his mother was still needed if he faltered financially:

I consider myself to be an adult because...I handle a lot of things independently. That's just how I function. And I think that might be a Jamaican thing, because I notice that a lot of Jamaicans don't like getting help from other people and that's just the way that I am personally...now that I am working I have some financial freedom. I'm not always going to Mom saying, 'Hey, well, I need this', or 'Would you mind grabbing this for me'? Which, Mom usually never says no...When it comes to things financially, like I said, I feed myself, I clothe myself and anything else that I would need, I try and get it myself before I go and ask Mom for anything. I think I just go and handle things on my own. I just do it better by myself...financially, I can normally get it myself, and in the event that I was not able to do it, then Mom would come in and take over.

Jamie, 26, also articulated feeling like her adulthood was not fully established because of the continued need to live with her parents until graduating from nursing

school. However, Jamie stated that she felt like an adult because, “I pay my own bills. Like, I don't ask my parents for anything in terms of keeping my life moving forward -- other than a roof over my head.” Jamie explained that living with her parents was in essence yet another testament to her adulthood because of the ways in which she contributes to her family’s household and takes responsibility for her own education:

I still help them pay, you know, like, the light bill...I still contribute. So it's like, you know, in addition to, like, going to school, I go to work, I pay my pills, I pay my insurance, my phone bill...in terms of schooling, you know, I get back and forth -- I don't have a car at the moment, but I still, you know, find a way to get back to and from school and to and from where I need to go without really asking for their [my parents'] help with that. Um, same thing with cooking and feeding, you know, eating and stuff like that. I'll either cook here at home for all of us, so it's kind of like a shared thing...And I don't pay for school out of pocket. I actually am on a grant for school, but, you know, I still went out on my own to find that grant and pay for school...I take the initiation and go out and find the things that I think are going to be beneficial to my future.

I Don't Want to Be an Adult – I'm Scared of That. There was a single participant that expressed great anxiety and fear at the idea of ever having to become an adult and stop depending upon her parents. When asked about the ways in which she considered herself to be an adult, Betty, 19, was quick to answer, “I don't think I'm an adult. Not at all! I don't want to be an adult, first of all. I'm scared of that. No.” When asked the follow-up question of why she does not view herself as an adult, Betty contended, “Because I depend on my parents. Like when I'm sick, it's just: ‘Mom! I'm sick’! It's like that. I'm not an adult. I'm not.”

Theme 2: Independence. During the course of the interview process, all participants – including the sole participant who expressed dread of adulthood –

articulated understanding the necessity of becoming independent at some point in their life. Multiple participants expressed resentment towards parents for interfering with or actively preventing the development of participants' independence while in college. Contrarily, a minimal number of participants expressed feeling that they had already achieved independence in their ability to live their chosen lifestyle freely while in college. However, two participants articulated being entirely dependent on parents financially and emotionally. Generally, participants expressed that they felt they had achieved independence through either moving away for school, working while attending school, remaining in romantic relationships vehemently opposed to by their parents, and/or dealing with scholastic or personal challenges without asking for the aid or input of parents. All but two participants expressed a pronounced longing to become completely independent of parents prior to graduation from college.

There were six categories that comprised the theme of Independence: (1) It's Time to Reclaim My Life (2) I Just Truly Had to Figure It Out (3) Living the Life I Want to Live (4) True Freedom (5) They Don't Let Me Grow Up, and (6) I'm Very Dependent on My Parents.

It's Time to Reclaim My Life. During the interview process, three participants expressed antagonism toward either one or both parents for directly intervening in participants' efforts to gain independence. The three participants also described the subsequent process of regaining the freedom they perceived one or both parents as trying to take away or suppress.

Participants were asked about their best experiences in college thus far, and Melanie, 19, stated that her most "enlightening" experience at the University of Florida

took place in her sophomore year of school. Melanie explained that after studying Mandarin Chinese for years, she asked her mother for permission to study abroad in China for one semester and expressed that her mother “flat out said no.” Melanie expanded by detailing that after pressing her mother for particulars as to why she would not support the participant studying abroad for one semester, her mother expressed that activities such as studying abroad were “taboo” in that they were activities that “are only for white folks.” The participant discussed feeling shock and disappointment that her mother was denying her a chance to participate in an activity that could broaden her academic experience and life experience in general. However, Melanie maintained that she wanted to respect her mother’s wishes until graduation. After pressing her mother for additional rationale in denying the participant’s request to study abroad in China, Melanie explained that her mother stated: “I don’t want you doing anything that will have you stay there [in college] longer” and that the participant needed to “get out into the workforce” as soon as possible. Melanie’s mother conveyed that traveling abroad was not an appropriate experience for college, and that the participant ought to wait until she was older to do so. Melanie expressed the following in response to her mother’s disdain at the participant’s interest in traveling abroad:

I see it as like, whoa when I'm a young person in my undergrad, this is the most time I'm going to have in my life. And if I wait until I'm out of undergrad, I'm going to keep pushing it off, pushing it off. Life's going to start happening.

Melanie articulated that her dismay over being denied the opportunity to study abroad in China inspired her to restart a formerly abandoned bucket list of 50 things she wanted to do before the end of her sophomore year. Activities included: attend five

college events, travel to two different states, invite a new friend from class to hang out, stargaze, watch the sun rise, go sailing, boating, kayaking and yachting – all activities that her mother had, at different intervals in her life, warned her against, stating that such activities were “taboo,” and advising the participant that:

‘Only white folks go yachting, only white folks go boating. That’s not really something that we do. So, to put yourself in an uncomfortable environment and you’re not really going to like it, or you are going to have that Black realization -- that you’re the only Black person on this boat’.

Melanie responded to her mother’s denial of the opportunity to study abroad in China by focusing on completing tasks on the aforementioned bucket list:

It was after that phone call three weeks ago that I suddenly got the inspiration [to complete tasks on my bucket list]. I was like, you know what: I want to take control of my own life the best way I know how to, you know. Maybe I can’t leave the country. And my mother is very strict about how I use my car, but I can do little things every single day to expand my comfort zone so that when I am, you know, a graduate of the university, I am able to do whatever I want to do and not be scared of it, because living under my mother’s rule had caused me to be very intimidated by the outside world. And I felt like I never really wanted to do anything...each weekend I’ve been completing about, like, you know, two or three things in order to do so [complete the bucket list]. And it’s just been one of the most enlightening experiences -- reclaiming my own life. And then after I made the bucket list, I started, you know -- it’s such a different experience...[today] I was watching the sun rise at 6am. You know, because, like, that was something that I was raised, like, ‘Oh you shouldn’t be out that late, you know, in the morning’ and I stargazed and watched the sun rise and it’s just one of the little things on my bucket list. It’s not even about completing the bucket list. It’s about, sort of like that feeling I get knowing that, like, this is me – I am a person on this planet. And there’s no one telling me that I can’t do this. Because...if I have the tools to succeed, why am I not using them? Why am I so

afraid of something that's almost 600 miles away? It's time to reclaim my life.

I Truly Just Had to Figure It Out. Throughout the interview process, the majority of participants shared that while their parents strongly desired that participants attend college, few parents possessed or were willing to share the know-how to guide participants on how to get to college or find success when there. This forced participants to discover how to navigate their way through college life and its challenges.

When asked about how she deals with academic challenges in college, despite the fact that both her parents attended college in the U.S., Jamie, 26, explained why she does not go to her parents for guidance concerning college:

They're [my parents] the type of people [that will say] 'I don't know how to do it -- figure it out on your own'. I don't usually talk to them about that [problems in college] unless I've like, overcome it...my island parents -- they're very...you know, there was no holding my hand and, like, walking me through every phase of my life, teaching me all about the things I'm gonna experience in my life. I truly just had to figure it out.

Betty, 19, discussed having to lean on professors to navigate her way through the all English-speaking campus of Barry University, which was in stark contrast to the high school she attended in Miami, wherein "everyone spoke Spanish":

When I got to college, everything was in English, so it was very different for me...I think that professor -- the one from my first semester -- I think he helped me a lot in that sense [academically]. Because I remember once...I had a question...a math question. And I went to his office, and he was like: 'Go to the math lab'. I was like: 'But, I don't know. What do I do'? And he took me to the math lab and then he showed me everything. So, he helped me a lot in that sense...I love the professors [at Barry University]. They're so nice, yeah. Like you can go to talk to them about anything. And they're open to anything, you know. I love that.

Betty also reflected on the serendipitous nature of her very attendance at Barry University, which had nothing to do with help from either parent:

I didn't have the money going to a university. I was going to Miami Dade [College]. Because I was so tired of everything -- of the exams and all that. So, I was like, 'Mom, I'm going to Miami Dade [College]'. But then I applied by mistake [to Barry University], kind of. And they called me: 'Oh, you applied. Oh, you just have to finish the application'. So I did, and they offered me a scholarship...that was the only reason [I ended up going to Barry University].

Similarly, Malik, 21, articulated figuring out how to conquer academic difficulties in his quest to become a software developer. Malik explained that his fortitude and help from classmates -- not his mother -- provided the support necessary for academic success:

My mom is nowhere to be found when I need help for Calculus, you know. She just can't. And I don't put that against her, or anything like that. It's just that she doesn't have that experience, you know. So, I will more so find myself asking maybe a classroom student while we're, you know, in class and say, 'Well, hey, would you mind clarifying this? Like, how is this done'? And you know, nine times out of ten they will help you...Um, but usually if I'm on my own, or I find myself in a position where I just, you know, can't really figure something out, I just have to keep pushing through it. Either I get it right or wrong. If I get it wrong, then I just let it go. That's all you can do.

When asked to identify ways in which she considered herself to be independent from her parents, Leela, 19, discussed the two-year romantic relationship she has fought to hold onto. Leela's relationship was challenged by the distance of her boyfriend living back in Belize during the time she was attending college in Kentucky. Leela also discussed constant interferences and pressure from her parents due to cultural traditions:

My parents are traditionally Indian. They're from India. So, they're very cultural, religious and they have different

views than I do because I grew up in Belize. So I'd say that my religious views are a bit different. My views about marriage. My views about all these really important things are very different from them, so I'd be independent in that aspect...they [my parents] don't believe in dating. They only believe in just getting married when you're at a certain age and that's it. And getting married to an Indian...my boyfriend is Lebanese, British, Hispanic and Mayan. He's, like, mixed...but, like, I grew up in Belize. I've had Belizean friends...I was accustomed to their culture [the Belizean] and...we dated and fell in love...we've been dating since then and like, my parents, they would not be okay with that, so I didn't tell them...[My parents found out about my boyfriend because] they found a letter in my wallet the day I was going back to Kentucky for my third semester...they went into my wallet. They were cleaning it out. But, like, obviously they're going to, like, read whatever is in there. My parents are pretty nosy, like, they go through my stuff. The same day I was leaving [Belize to return to Kentucky for school] they found out. And like, I got on a plane and I left...they're like, 'You know you can only get married to an Indian'. And so, when they found out [about my boyfriend] they were very shocked. Like, my mom was like, she's going to have a heart attack. She's like, I've been doing this behind their backs. It was such a crazy experience...my dad has like a lot of temper issues...he was very, like, you know, temperamental, and then when he found out about my boyfriend...he [my father] would, like, call me words, like, you know, 'whore' or 'slut', stuff like that, you know, like, when he would get angry.

Leela then discussed her rationale for fighting for her relationship despite her parents' actions and the stress their actions caused her. Leela also conveyed the success she and her boyfriend have achieved in staying together:

Even, like, in Kentucky, I will tell you I left after, like, my two years were over, because I started having, like, a lot of anxiety problems. And when I was over there I wouldn't be able to eat...I wouldn't eat...like when they [my parents] found out about my boyfriend, like all the stress from that...and then I was just, like, I just hated where I was, I guess. It's like everything just combined to make me just...have...so much anxiety...[Me and my boyfriend are still together after] like two years and a half...honestly, it

was very hard, but it's like, the type of person I found, he was, like, he's a really good person and he was, like, okay with, like, hiding, you know, like, we wouldn't be able to go out in public as much [back home in Belize] like, we'd just like, watch movies at his house, or we'd go out with a big group of friends. It was -- it was hard. But, I mean, like, once you find that person who was willing to, you know, be there for you through everything, like, you don't -- you don't want to, you know, let that go...they [my parents] think he's [my boyfriend] still in Belize, honestly. But they're suspicious now because they haven't seen him around [Belize]. So I'm going to tell them next semester that he's...here [now attending the University of Miami with me].

Like Leela, Jamie, 26, expressed trying to find an institution that accommodated not only her academic needs, but also one that would provide support through her personal challenges:

[At Florida International University I was] partying here and there. Drinking here and there...[My lowest point at FIU was] when I realized that I could have easily done, like, so much better...I was only there [at FIU] for a year, so towards the end of that first year I would say is when I realized, like, damn, like, I actually, like, I knew how to do all this stuff. I just didn't put myself to it to do it...I just lost focus when I was in school. I just simply wasn't doing the work...and it's just because my attention was elsewhere...and I just like allowed myself to get inside my head and just get distracted by things that I knew weren't meant to have my attention...I wasn't really focused on school when I was in Alabama [attending Alabama State University], so looking back on it: that's probably my biggest downfall...[At Broward College] there was a time when I took a year off. Again. I've been like back and forth with school. And that was just for personal reasons...when I first started school I was more concerned about getting away from my parents and then school came second. And because I've been in and out of school...I think I'm a lot more focused and a lot more disciplined and I'm a lot more, um, assertive, in going after what it is that I want to do... I'm so much more driven and passionate. I found that passion for school, essentially in all of the adversity with my other school. And I think also I found myself,

because...I've actually always been very interested in school, but I always felt like I was under somebody's control...when I got to college it just kind of broke me. But I gained a lot of strength since then.

Living the Life I Want to Live. Only five of the 14 participants interviewed were living on college campuses. One of five participants, James, 18, stated that the most enjoyable part of his nearly two years of attending Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University (FAMU) was “the transitioning period from, like, high school to college...cause like, I do what I want and not really what my parents want me to do...that's really been the most enjoyable experience. Living the life I want to live.” James elaborated on the independence he says he was only able to find after moving away from his parents and to university. James used his newfound spiritualism as an example of how he was able to achieve independence and why only his university’s setting was able to provide that opportunity:

Back at home I used to never go to church. Like, I feel like independence is like, doing the things I'd like to do. So, like, going to church...just living the life I want to live...first semester, freshman year, the only class I really liked was my, uh, religion class. It was Black Religion in America...we had to do, like, a study on like, the African Methodist Episcopal Church. And so I had to interview a pastor and do a research project on it. So, before I interviewed the pastor, I went to the church for about two weeks to get a feel for it and actually I enjoyed it. So, following and after, I learned everything from the religion class, I just kept up with it and I enjoyed it. [Back at home] I never really felt like...I just had a different walk with the Lord, with God, that is. Like, I looked at religion differently than I do now.

Referring specifically to his newfound independence at FAMU, James stated:

I really do depend on myself -- not saying that I don't depend on my parents. But like, I work. So, like, the money I get from band, I, like, I can budget it out, where I can just

ration it and spend, cause I know I have to do this and that. I don't necessarily call to my parents for every little thing. I try to see what I can do and put my stuff together and work on it before I reach out to my parents. So, if that's independence, that's what I do.

Of all fourteen participants, Judy, 21, was the only one who lived independently of parents in that she was entirely without the financial assistance of her mother, father, or stepfather. In choosing to live in her own apartment and to work full-time while going to school, Judy acknowledged that in the Haitian culture, “choosing to work at the same time as going to school kind of makes it seem like I'm not focused on it [school].” Judy also discussed her family’s reaction to her decision to go against tradition by living outside of her parents’ home to obtain full independence before graduating from college:

Schooling comes first [in the Haitian culture]. And that's really important in the tradition on my mom's side. It's like well, if you're not in school, you're not necessarily going to make enough money, or be able to be successful, or have a successful career...I think that as a culture, they're very proud and really focus on values and more so school and education...[working while going to school]...it's not like, traditional...I think living with Caribbean parents, you kind of have to deal with the whole: ‘It doesn't really matter how old you are. You follow my rules’ kind of thing. So, I would say that regardless of my going to school and also like working, I wanted to do something other than that [living with my parents], or something outside the norm. [To me, independence means] not having to go back to my parents to ask for anything...at this point I would say that I'm independent in terms of, like, I pay my own bills. I don't live with my mom. Yeah, like, everything literally that I would need to do, I do myself. I wouldn't really say there's a dependency anymore, I guess.

True Freedom. When asked what independence looked like from his perspective, Rafa, 19, discussed his “family-heavy” Puerto Rican culture and his family’s influence on how he now views the concept of independence:

For example -- this was yesterday -- like last night I left my research, so I was at research from 1pm to 7pm. And I was really tired, and I went home and slept. When I woke up, I saw seven missed calls from my mom and my dad. And when I called them they were worried because I hadn't called them, um, the whole night and they were like: 'Just let us know if you're going to sleep -- please let us know that you're going to sleep' ...they were telling me all that stuff...independence just means being, um, you know, your own person without any constraints or anything like that. Um, you do have obviously influencers and you do have people who, um, you know, may give you advice, like your friends and parents even, but you're still making your own decisions and you don't feel the pressure of anybody else, I guess, influencing you. You do take influence into consideration, however, you don't always have to go by those things...independence means...true freedom, I guess...I'm independent in the sense that I'm here at UF (University of Florida) without my parents. So they don't oversee a lot of the things I do or want to do, and a lot of the time I don't have to tell them every single thing I'm going to do. So, you know, going to the store: I can go to the store by myself now. I have my own car. I can drive to places if I want to. So, I have that freedom of like, moving around, I guess.

Other participants expressed similar views of freedom being heavily intertwined with achieving independence. When asked about a major difference between attending the University of Miami and going back home to Trinidad to visit during breaks from school, Cara, 19, described the difference in two words: "Freedom! Yes!" Cara detailed the experience of losing freedoms gained while attending the University of Miami whenever she returns home to visit Trinidad by stating:

It's definitely different and it's something I have to get accustomed to when I'm back home. You know, I still -- I'm in the house [of my parents], you know. If I'm going out, I have to say where I'm going, who I'm going with. What time I'm going to be back. You know, if I'm there I have to, you know, text like 'Okay, I'm safe, don't worry, everything's fine'...my mom would be encouraging me: 'Okay, spend a lot of time with your [younger] brother.

You don't get time to talk too much, because he'll be in school [in Trinidad] when you're in school [in Miami]. He will not be up as late as you. You know, so you wouldn't get to talk much. So do try and spend time when you're in Trinidad with the family'.

They Don't Let Me Grow Up. Of 14 participants, ten expressed sentiments reflecting that one or both parents objected to participants' outward attempts to grow past adolescence. This opposition came in the form of protesting romantic choices, issuing strict instructions on how participants should utilize their personal property, opposing participants being outside when it gets dark, voicing what kind of job participants ought to have, or even commanding when and where participants should study.

Seven of the 14 participants interviewed lived with parents at the time this study was conducted. The majority of participants in this group voiced complaints about parents' unwillingness to allow participants to grow up.

When asked if there were ever times when she wished she was not living at home with parents and was instead living in her own apartment, or in a college dorm, the answer provided by Maia, 18, was very simple: "All the time." When asked to describe the circumstances under which she last felt this way, Maia explained:

My parents are very strict parents. They're very old school...I would go against [them]...when they say 'no' I still find a way to do it...the last time that I got in trouble, they're like: 'Oh, if you don't want to be here, leave'. I -- I have nowhere to go. I still need to be here for a little while longer. But, um...you know, there are a lot of times where I feel like they don't let me grow up because they're just so strict. It makes me want to move out.

Maia elaborated further by discussing the topic that causes the most strife between she and her parents: her repeated offenses of sneaking out of the house to spend time with her boyfriend:

You know, my parents don't really trust me. But...I've also given them that reason...it just all goes back to them being strict, you know. And me just wanting to go out and wanting to enjoy life, and they always say 'no, no, no'. So, I always find a way to do it. It's just -- they don't trust me...[I know this] because they've told me...you know, when they told me 'No', I always find a way to do it behind their back or not, so, you know, I've lied to them. When I'm doing something it's 'cause they've always told me 'No'. And my [immediate] family kind of understands that. You know, when I tell them [my family] that I did something and my parents say they don't trust me, they're like, 'You know, we don't blame you. You're about to be 19 years old and you know, they don't let you do anything. You're still gonna find a way to do it'. So, it's just my parents. You know, the rest of my family kind of understands where I'm coming from...[my parents are] just not letting me grow up, you know? I have a car, I have two jobs, I go to school. I don't see why they won't let me go out to dinner with my boyfriend for a little while, or go, you know, spend a day with him at the mall. Just certain things like that, when you look at it, it's like: why wouldn't my parents let me do that? I'm about to be 19. They put restrictions on me time-wise. You know, they don't like me going out and coming back home late. The latest I've ever came home was 11:30pm. But that was because I was right around the corner.

For some participants, the issue of parents trying to prevent the process of growing up arose despite participants living even hundreds of miles from home. When asked to provide specific examples of that which her mother has specifically asked her not to do while attending the University of Florida, Melanie, 19, discussed gaining freedom by telling her mother about specific activities only after having completed them:

If I were to take a day trip to like, Atlanta or New Orleans, she's [my mother] like: 'You're going to die. Why are you going there'? And, like, she will take very vicious actions to do so [stop me from going]. So a lot of the time when I do things, I tell her the aftermath, because if I had told her that I was going to Atlanta and just to like, go to Atlanta, she would literally have, you know, made moves, like, come to Gainesville, or she would stop paying the car insurance, or she would have actually come to Gainesville

and take the car back down if she was really like vehement about, like, me not doing something.

Melanie also discussed her mother's attempts to dissuade her from continuing on at her job working at an on-campus study hall, as her mother found the nighttime study hours the participant worked to be "horrendous":

I got a job at a 24/7 study hall and it's 24/7, so, like, there will be some shifts where I'm working from 9:30 p.m. to 2:30 a.m., or from 2:00 a.m. to 6:00 a.m. And she [my mother] was like, she was like, 'Why did you get a job there? You should quit your job because those hours are horrendous'. And I'm like, 'Mom, you know, real people have these hours. I can't take advantage of the 24/7, you know, study hall and then, you know, now that I'm in a position to work there, I can't say these hours are atrocious because there will be times where I'm studying there from 2:00 a.m. to 6:00 a.m. and I would like for that place to be open because someone is working there'. And she will just be like, 'You know, I don't want you doing those things', but then not really give me an alternative path to, you know, getting money. So, she wanted me to quit my job because she was uncomfortable with the hours even though I live 30 seconds away from the school.

Even one participant, Catalina, 18, who neither lived on campus nor with parents, found the process of growing up to be arduous because of her parents' deliberate attempts to control her life. When asked why she had chosen to live with her older sister and brother-in-law after moving from Puerto Rico to attend Miami Dade College, Catalina stated: "I didn't choose to live with my parents because they are too authoritarian -- I think is the word." When asked the follow-up question of what she believed made her parents "too authoritarian," Catalina expounded by saying:

They are scared of everything. Like: 'Don't do this, don't do that, because you're going to have this' -- I don't know. They're, like scared of everything...if I go to live with them, I think I'm not going to be independent, like I want to be...because I am like the baby girl to them -- for them. So

I am always going to be the baby girl. And I don't want that.

After being asked for an example of what had caused the last argument she had had with her mother or father, Catalina cited her mother's often exhibited anxiety when the participant drives the family car. Catalina also discussed her father's insistence that she give up her job for reasons that seemed irrational to the participant:

She [my mom] isn't letting me drive the car, because, um, I don't know how to. But I told her: 'Yeah, I don't know how to, because you're not letting me drive'. I'm not practicing or anything like that, because she's always nervous. I'm not the worst driver...I'm not a beginner, right? I'm like -- I sometimes, like, do some errors. You know, like very small errors. But she looks at them like, 'Oh my God, this girl is not going to drive anymore'. Or, 'She's going to, like crash or something'. I don't know. She's [my mother] like very, catastrophic... [my father] He doesn't understand me, like what do I want to do and all that. Like, he has told me like, 'Hey, quit your job, because that job is like, it's consuming you' and all that. And I'm like: 'Yeah, that's what jobs do'.

I'm Very Dependent on My Parents. Although two participants expressed a clear and continued financial and emotional dependence upon parents, they also expressed discomfort at the idea of financially depending on parents beyond college years.

When asked to define ways in which she was independent of her parents, Betty, 19, responded by describing the many ways in which she was actually dependent on her parents, why such dependence was necessary, and the discomfort she felt as a result:

I'm very dependent on my parents (laughter). Because I don't have to pay anything. Like, I have a car, I don't have to pay for it. I have everything that I want and I don't have to pay for anything...the only reason I'm working is because I want to take summer classes and they're expensive. And I wanna pay for them...because I don't wanna make my parents pay for them...I don't want to be dependent on my parents. No, I don't want to do that.

And...I want a good future for me...I'm trying to focus on that...I don't wanna be dependent. On anyone.

Similarly, when asked to explain the ways in which he was still financially dependent on his parents, Rafa, 19, answered: "Pretty much, um, all. Everything." Rafa then went on to explain how his parents actively prevent him from spending his own money on items for himself and encourage him to spend their money instead:

I have a full ride to UF (University of Florida). So...everything mostly gets paid for. However, they [my parents] don't want me to use -- 'cause I get leftover money every semester, like, um, uh, direct deposit money. However, they don't want me to use that all money. So, basically, they tell me to save that money, so I can use it later -- [for] education and stuff like that. So they basically pay me -- like, I have a debit card with them and they put money there so I can buy food, and I can buy anything I need, so any basic necessities, like food and gas, stuff like that. They put money there so I can buy all that stuff. And even if I want clothes, they won't allow me to use my money sometimes and they just give me their money so I can buy some clothing and stuff like that...sometimes I miss them [my parents]. And sometimes I get tired of them trying to be in my life so hard. But, um, I truly do think that, um, they're still my parents and there's still some emotional bond there and one of the things I'm doing today, I wouldn't have been doing if it wasn't for them. So, in that sense I am emotionally dependent.

Theme 3: Identity. For all 14 participants, the notion of identity fell into the following subcategories: professional goals, race, outer appearance, culture, and/or sexual orientation. Ten of 14 participants expressed having felt physically undeveloped or unattractive prior to college and that while in college they developed more confidence concerning their appearance. One of 14 participants identified as gay. Two participants with Asian ethnicity stated that their identity was difficult to convey to others due to their outward appearance (Indian) not aligning with their Caribbean accents. Most participants

defined their identity by their Caribbean culture, with four participants identifying as Jamaican, three identifying as Puerto Rican, two identifying as Haitian, one identifying as Cuban, one identifying as Belizean, one identifying as Trinidadian, and two participants identifying as bicultural: Bahamian-Haitian and Trinidadian-Jamaican, respectively.

Regarding race, eight participants identified as Black, four participants identified as Hispanic, and two participants identified as Asian. Six of eight Black participants expressed dismay at being perceived as African American by outsiders and maintained their Caribbean identity. These participants expressed that there are concrete differences between the two ethnicities that are not immediately apparent to, or acknowledged by Americans.

Overall, most participants expressed that they did not yet fully know who they were, but that they felt the process of learning about oneself was a lifelong journey.

There were six categories that comprised the Theme of Identity: (1) Slowly, I'm Accepting Who I Am (2) I'm Not a Black American – I'm Just Black in America (3) There is a Shift When I Say That I am Not a Black American (4) I Cannot Hide (5) We're an Island, and (6) You Don't Have an Identity Because You're Caribbean.

Slowly, I'm Accepting Who I Am. All participants were asked if, at their current stage of college or university, they felt they knew completely who they were. In trying to explain who she felt she was as a person, Maia, 18, used her decision to switch from studying psychology to studying nursing as a gauge for progress she was making in learning what academic subjects and ultimately, future profession as a whole best suited her personality:

I'm still in a question of that [knowing who I am]. You know, I'm still trying to go through some personal

challenges...but slowly, I'm accepting who I am and learning that that's who I am, you know. Like switching right now to the nursing program. You know, I'm learning that that's what I want to do. Slowly, I'm learning and accepting that certain things that I'm doing now, it's who I am...I'm trying to be in the nursing program and, um, see how it goes.

For multiple participants, the gradual recognition of their identity came in the form of accepting both the flaws and merits of their outer appearance. In answering the question as to whether or not she was comfortable with her physical appearance, Melanie, 19, discussed the challenges with making peace with her physical appearance as a Black woman at the University of Florida:

I would say...uh...yes [I am comfortable with my appearance]. For the most part, I think the only time I'm not comfortable is like, when my hair isn't done. And I would say that, you know, that's just more so of a personal thing. I think for the most part like, I don't really have many realizations that, you know, I'm the only Black person here -- I'm the only person with braids. Here, those things don't happen, because I'm -- I'm comfortable in many of the environments I'm faced in. I wouldn't like, go to an uncomfortable setting...if I know that something is going to be like, all White and heavily, you know, like, religious-based, like that's not something I would find myself doing, because I know that I will have that moment where I'm like: 'Okay, like, I'm the only Black person here and I feel that I'm the only Black person here'...I just don't like that sort of unsettling feeling...I am comfortable, because people do make me comfortable about my appearance. I haven't really run into that many sorts of microaggressions yet, or any sort of blatant acts of racism that have caused me to, you know, feel an unrest in my appearance. I think probably the only issues I would have would be internal. I think that most of my like, self-hatred that was there from earliest high school about my skin tone is gone, because I just learned that I just like the way that I look and being Black in a predominantly White university hasn't really caused me to regress -- I believe that's the term for it -- um, to how I was feeling before.

For some participants, the process of embracing their identity was more convoluted. Abby, 20, described how her hair proved to be a major hurdle in accepting herself, but that this was mostly due to cruelty on the part of White classmates in high school. Abby also explained that attending Broward College played a major part in her gaining confidence in her appearance in spite of her differences from those around her:

At this stage in my life I'm pretty good with my physical appearance. I definitely think college had a lot to do with that. There's a lot of acceptance in college, like, as opposed to high school, where there's more, like, judgment. In high school, I felt really bad about it [my physical appearance]. Probably because there weren't many people that looked like me. But just besides that, kids were pretty cruel. You know, like I remember one girl asked me in high school like, you know -- she was curious about my hair and she asked if Black women wash their hair. And I was like, 'Well, yeah'. And she was like, 'Even if you perm it'? And I was like, 'Well, yeah, but you have to wait a couple of days, or else you wash out the perm'. She was so grossed out by that and I remember that made me feel crazy bad about my appearance.

Similar to other Black, female participants interviewed, Jamie, 26, found that much of the challenges associated with her ability to accept her physical appearance literally ran skin deep:

I am very comfortable with how I look -- my physical appearance. But I will say that it's something that took a long time to build, or receive, or have -- I really don't know how to say that. But I will say I remember growing up... I was raised kind of around like, White people a lot. And there weren't very many Black people around -- whether it be any other Caribbean people, or just Black American. I just truly grew up around, like, White people. I always lived around White neighborhoods. And I remember... thinking to myself, like, 'How come I'm Black'? So fast forward, you know, to high school. You know, you see more Black people and you integrate with more people and I've moved around a lot. So, I seen a lot more Black people and whatever, but I still felt very

different, because something as simple as my hair always made me stand out and just be like this different person. I don't know. People just always looked at me very different. And like, it always made me very insecure.

For Malik, 21, in discussing why confidence in his physical appearance evaded him before and throughout high school, he explained that his height proved the biggest obstacle in making peace with his outer appearance, but that now that he was in college, contentment with his height had been achieved:

Oh, I'm comfortable [with my physical appearance]! I think I look good! I didn't have the most confidence when I was in high school...I had an issue with my height, which is now something that I've come to accept. I'm actually 5'6" now. Which is still short in the eyes of a lot of women, but um, that's something that I just dealt with throughout high school, because a lot of people would say, 'Oh, he's so cute, but he's short', or they call me a 'brother', or something like that because I was little. Like, it -- it's very frustrating. It was very, very frustrating and it was just something that I became very sensitive about over time, because in all honesty, it wasn't just high school. I've been short pretty much all my life. And it wasn't really so much, 'He's an ugly student' or anything. It -- literally -- it was just the [height]. [Now I feel that] if you don't like me 'cause I'm short, then that's your problem.

For most participants, peace with their identity went beyond their physical appearance, as the majority reported that the core of their identity lay in their culture and not in their image. Betty, 19, demonstrated this perspective, as, in answer to the question of what it meant to be Cuban, the participant discussed how her entire identity was wrapped up in the island on which she was born:

For me, that's [being Cuban] everything. Like, last night we were doing, um, a project in psychology. To describe yourself -- something like that -- or to draw yourself. And that's what I drew: like, I drew Cuba and my flag. Cause that's what represents me. Like wherever I go, I'm Cuban. How I am. What I like. Everything [that] represents me.

For some participants, finding their identity proved a path much rockier than embracing one's culture. When asked how his Puerto Rican parents would react if he were to begin dating outside of his race – specifically a Black or African American person – Rafa, 19, reflected not only on how his parents would react to him dating outside of his race, but also on how they would react to his admittance that he was gay:

I'm gay. So, I know that if it was a girl, they wouldn't -- they wouldn't really like, mind it [if I dated outside my race] at all, actually. Cause again, my parents just look at mostly personality traits. For example, like I have a friend - - my best friend is Black and we were very close throughout high school and everything, and we're still very, very close and she's still my best friend and everything. And they always wanted me to date her...but, um, I'm gay, so like, that wouldn't happen. And if they saw me dating like, a man, and maybe perhaps, like a Black man, it would probably be a very different reaction where they would be, you know -- again I don't really know how to say, cause like, I haven't experienced it. So, I don't know how they would exactly react. But in my opinion, at first it would probably be very weird, primarily because it's a man...I have not [come out to my parents]...that's one of the things that I've always been thinking about. That's definitely one of the things that I will probably hold off [on until] after graduating, um, just because of that dependence part of it...I obviously love my parents and everything. However, like, it's truly scary to have that unknown there, so like, if I ever were to tell my parents now, what would they do? Would they not give me money anymore? How would I feed myself, or how would I do all these things without, like, their dependence, or their support whenever I'm at my lowest point -- without their support and advice and stuff like that?

I'm Not a Black American – I'm Just Black in America. For participants who identified racially as Black, a constant challenge to their understanding and acceptance of their own identity was the consistent manner in which outsiders – especially White Americans – assumed that Black participants were Black American until participants

vocalized that they were Caribbean. Most participants felt compelled to distinguish between the two ethnicities within the racial category of Black. This was mostly because participants and their families viewed being African American or Black American as negative. Melanie, 19, expressed that her most troubling issue with being deemed as Black American was that she was simply unable to identify with the Black American experience or culture. Melanie conveyed that it was unfair that she was expected to carry the burdens of a culture she did not feel a part of:

It's still kind of hard for me to get acclimated to the Black American experience. And I do believe that, you know, I'm not a Black American -- I'm just Black in America. So, I can't really relate to the roots of an African American person...I feel like just being Black in America, like, I'm somehow supposed to bear that burden of African [American] history, when that wasn't a burden that was on my shoulders, or something that my parents or grandparents can even relate to. So, I would say that, you know, probably being a Jamaican...I kind of feel more comfortable identifying as a Jamaican. I do tell people I'm Jamaican before I am American just because, like, I know that like my parents tried to instill -- like institute, like, a very deep sense of pride about Jamaican culture in me and I want to make sure I carry that on.

Melanie elaborated further on the differences she feels are prevalent between being Black Caribbean and Black American:

Although I don't have it as easy as American kids have it, I still am very grateful for being a Jamaican and having a Jamaican kid's experiences to the best of my ability. I believe that my life will always be a lot more enriching because I have a culture to go home to, that I have a culture that I can relate to. I don't have to just rely on being some sort of Black American...I have one foot in Jamaica, I have one foot in America...being Jamaican has been a very, you know, rewarding experience...I believe it's my diversity or, you know, my differences that causes being a Jamaican to be so not one dimensional...being a Jamaican...it's very humbling, it's very grounding, and it's a very determined

lifestyle that is -- you always have to make somebody else proud. Make yourself proud, of course, that comes first. But, you even get more motivation to do whatever you're doing because you're like, you know, 'I can rep (represent) my Jamaican culture behind this. I could say that I'm the first Jamaican to do this if I do this well' and that's something that, you know, being a Jamaican child has been instilled in me. That's like, something that I've always grown up knowing and I carry that with me a lot.

Much like Melanie, Jamie, 26, who identifies as both Trinidadian and Jamaican, was clear in her belief in the distinct differences between the Caribbean and Black American culture. Jamie explained that despite the fact that the Caribbean is made up of numerous countries with different cultures within each country, she will always identify more effortlessly with Caribbean persons than African American persons:

There's a big difference [between Caribbean Blacks and American Blacks]...there's a big difference. I've always been around other islanders. Whether it's from Guyana, Trinidad, Jamaica -- whatever. St. Lucia, St. Croix. Whatever. I've always been around other island people. So, you know, once you're from the island, even if you're not from the same country, there's still an essence about island culture that's very similar among all the islands. So, you can kind of relate to one another a little bit better. But Black American culture? That's just -- totally different.

In explaining how much his Jamaican culture has time and again eclipsed the fact that he was born and raised in the U.S., Malik, 21, described how being Jamaican has remained at the core of his identity despite his rarely visiting the island itself:

It's funny: I cling to the Jamaican culture more so than I do the American even though I don't even go to Jamaica. (Laughter) I've only been to Jamaica, I want to say once, but because the culture is so strongly rooted in my family, you know, it's just something that I guess I just inherit, you know? I was raised around Jamaican people. Anytime that, uh, you know, my mom cooks Jamaican food, she speaks patois, you know, my nana, she's also Jamaican, does the same thing. You know, a lot of the lessons that you learn

are very heavily Jamaican-based. You know a lot of the catch phrases and sayings -- things people say every day -- they have roots in Jamaica, obviously more so than America... [being Jamaican is] very educational based. Uh, if there is anything that my mom values above all else, it is education because she and I realize, that, you know, is a very strong or prevalent part of the future. If you don't have an education, you're much less likely to succeed in life. So that's why it's so heavily, uh, supported in the Jamaican or Caribbean household. And discipline.

Malik went on to explain his belief that it is a lack of regard for the West Indian culture that causes those outside of it to assume Black Caribbeans are Black Americans:

A lot of people just mistake me for plain Black, and um, I guess that's okay. I always told them that, you know, my background is Jamaican. I mean there's Black in there, I'm sure, because honestly speaking, I'm mixed. But most of my family is Jamaican. Like, we're heavily rooted there... Caribbean and African American, well, I should say Black -- uh, I think they're kind of grouped together. I don't think people really care... I think that Caribbean is just grouped into Black culture.

James, 18, expressed a similar experience of being looped into the Black American culture without his consent. James explained his belief about the unfairness of assumptions people make about his ethnicity simply because of his race:

I do reveal it [that I'm Jamaican], because, like, I do feel there's a difference. Like, I don't know, like, if it was a census, like, I'm not going to click "other," put Jamaican. I'm just going to click "African American," but like, I do say I'm Jamaican... [there are] a lot of differences [between myself and Black American students]... I can really see my values really top theirs... like, sometimes they really have their head on their shoulders, like they came from a good family. But, um, I have to say like I have more traditionalist values... like there have been moments where [in talking to Black American students] it's been like: 'Bro, what are you here [at college] for'?

In discussing his perception of the differences between Black Caribbean people and Black Americans, K.J., 21, noted that the very feel of being in the company of American people is different from how he feels when among Caribbean people. K.J. explained that Caribbean and Black American values are one of the starkest differences between the two cultures:

The vibe is different around them [Caribbean people]. And, I feel more American students don't value...like, we don't have the same values...I would say Caribbeans are more...like, they value more family, like they're more family-oriented...I feel they [Americans] take more things for granted...like, if an American loses their phone, or something, breaks it, they'll just be like: 'Oh, whatever, I can get a new one'. But compared to a Caribbean person, if they lost their phone, it would be like the biggest thing in the world, 'cuz, like, money don't grow on trees...I don't want to sound like I'm from another country, 'cuz I'm not. We have the same opportunities growing up. But I've noticed that, okay -- an American born here -- they have, you know, all the opportunities given to them and they don't really use it, compared to an islander...

There is a Shift When I Say That I am Not a Black American. One of the main reasons that participants who identified as Black felt compelled to distinguish themselves as Caribbean instead of Black American was because several participants reported initial poor treatment by strangers or outsiders until revealing that they in fact were not Black American, but Black Caribbean. Participants reported that behavior towards them became vastly more deferential after this revelation. Participants also reported experiencing this sudden change in attitude throughout their lives.

Melanie, 19, discussed how even die-hard President Donald Trump supporters, whom she thought incapable of being kind or polite to her at the University of Florida

because she was Black and a die-hard Democrat, immediately changed their attitude towards her upon realizing that she was not “just” Black:

Even living where I live, surrounded by, you know, a lot of people that -- a lot of people were Trump voters, or, you know, a lot of people that are strong Republicans -- usually there is a shift when I say that I am not a Black American, I'm Jamaican. And it's, like, a positive. Like, it's almost like, you know, it gets a lot more positive. Not even saying I'm Jamaican. Just saying like I am West Indian. I am from, you know, the Caribbean or I'm Indo-Jamaican. I would say that it's like, a sort of exotifying in a way, or like, you know, it interests them [Americans] a lot more. They almost -- it's more positive...so when I do tell people that I'm Jamaican instead, they ask me about the culture. They ask me, like, you know, ‘What is it like there?’ Like, you know: ‘Is this true: does everyone smoke weed?’ Yada, yada, yada. But, you know, after those general questions are, you know, out the way, they're like, you know, they just have an approving opinion of me, rather than -- you know, it's almost as if I have a lot less angst. Like they expect me to be like sort of angsty, or they expect me to come off a certain way, just by being a Black American...people are definitely, like, a lot more interested [in me], or they will maintain that sort of interest if they realize I'm a Jamaican person and that I'm actually, you know, well-acquainted with the culture.

Jamie, 26, discussed experiencing a similar shift in temperament when people realize she is not Black American:

When most people look at me, they don't really know if I'm like, Black American, or if I'm like, from the islands...I think it's fun to shock people. Like, they don't know I'm Trini and Jamaican, you know...usually people think I'm like, some ghetto, ratchet, loud-mouthed...girl...I guess. That's how people treat me. That's kinda how people treat me. And like, from the moment I open my mouth -- and one thing I can say is that island people -- they teach you how to have manners and respect and be polite. You know, not only to your elders, but just to anybody that you encounter. So, when I finally do speak and open my mouth and people hear me talk and they see how polite I am and well spoken, their attitude instantly changes...you can see

in their mind that their perception of me totally changed. But then it always proceeds with: 'Oh, so where are you from' ... and it's very bothersome because, essentially, I am American. I was born here. I was raised in America. It just so happens that my family's from Trinidad and Jamaica and that is what I identify with. That's usually what I tell people. But I'm still a Black woman. But the color of my skin -- it shouldn't matter where I'm from. I get treated differently. And I feel like people give me more respect once they hear that I'm from the islands. Like, now they can talk to me on a different level. Or now they're more polite. The essence and just -- everything about them changes. Their aura and their energy towards me changes. Like, you can feel it. It's that noticeable. And you can feel it.

The exotification of Caribbean persons by White Americans was also noted by Abby, 20, who identified both as Bahamian and Haitian. Abby provided a theory of why she feels that Americans are more tolerant of Black Caribbeans:

I think people treat people from the Caribbean a little more special because they're like, 'Oh, that's exotic! That's kind of cool! You're from an island'! Because I feel like when they think of African American, they think of shanty towns, and when they think of the Caribbean they think of pretty islands and coconuts... I feel like they're [Americans] more interested in talking about that [my being from the Caribbean] and learning more, than if it was just like, 'Oh you're African-American'? And the discussion kind of ends right there.

I Cannot Hide. Despite several participants detailing instances in which they felt that they were treated more favorably only after disclosing that they were Black Caribbean and not Black American, several of the same participants still expressed difficulty in being in the racial minority at their college or university.

Melanie, 19, described the differences in embracing and celebrating one's Black identity while living in Southern Florida, as opposed to trying to do so while living in Northern Florida:

Coming from Sunrise (Florida) – very, very diverse, you know, racially and I remember when I first came to University of Florida...and I was hanging out with a group of folks that I met during preview week and there was this one girl that was in the group, and she had a very hard time remembering people's names. But she always knew my name and the group was all White...and, you know, I asked the girl, I was like: 'You know, why do you always remember me, like out of everyone?' And she was like, 'Well, because you're Black'...I sat there, like, just kind of taking it in...I looked around. I was in, you know, the middle of like, this -- this common area...I was like, sitting on a bench outside and I just did like a full 360 and I was like, I could not even see a Black person with my eye at this moment in time, like I was passing by all White faces. There were just straight White people -- just White people going into, you know, the dorm, White people going in the Chick-Fil-A. And I was like, wow, I'm...I'm...I'm Black in this moment. It's not like I ever forgot my Blackness by being in South Florida...[but] I could easily be, you know, not identified because there was many other people that looked like me. But, you know, come to the University of Florida -- people do remember me not just by my achievements or accomplishments, but because I can literally just be the only Black person in the vicinity. I cannot hide.

In response to questions about his success in fitting into the culture of his college, Rafa, 19, who attends the University of Florida like Melanie discussed the challenges of embracing his identity as a Puerto Rican in his college environment:

When I speak of these American college parties, I mostly do talk about, like, White ones, cause that's most of the one's I've been to. It's very hard to be, like, one of the few minorities in a White party. Like, an American White party and stuff like that. I remember, I think, for the 4th of July, or, like, something related to the 4th of July. And there was a lot of White people. And there was a lot of Trump supporters there, and they were wearing like 'Make America Great Again' hats and stuff like that. So, when I went there [to the University of Florida] my first reaction was like: 'Wow, I really go to a school where these people are living and they're free to share all these values of hate and promote all these things'. So, every time I've been to

parties, like that, it's always a little shakening (sic). It's like, wow, I'm, like, kind of alone here. Like, there's obviously a minority population, but we're basically kind of alone, so it's kind of like shakening (sic) in that sense... I guess I've felt anger and sadness in my heart, but I never let that out to people. Obviously.

Jamie, 26, explained how part of her identity originated from feeling underrepresented and excluded:

I went to a big university, I went to a smaller, historically Black college, and then now... a really, really small college. So, I feel like I have a lot of, uh, college experience and I still feel -- not necessarily that I'm not represented. I know that I go to school with other island people. But I don't know. The way Americans do things -- it's just very different than the way I grew up and, like, other Caribbean cultures that I associate myself with. So it's just -- I don't know. I don't know if it's me isolating myself from that, or me just feeling like I'm not included... even in my nursing program there's a great divide. You don't see too many Jamaican people hanging out with other people who aren't Jamaican, per se. It's like they always stay with their little cliques -- all the little Spanish people stay with the Spanish people. For the most part, all the White people stay with the White people, the Black people stay with the Black people.

For some participants, the discovery and acceptance of identity came as a result of being minoritized after a lifetime of never having to think about or deal with such issues while living in the Caribbean. When asked about the greatest challenges of her two-year attendance at a college in Kentucky, Leela, 19, was frank in explaining that being one of the few persons of color on her campus was a major contributing factor in understanding her need for racial diversity as a college student:

I honestly did not have a good experience there [at the college in Kentucky] because it was a very, I guess, sheltered university. It was very, like, geared towards, um, just one type of person, I guess... it was like, in the Bible Belt -- it was in a small town. There wasn't much diversity there, which was what I was used to my whole life

growing up in Belize, because I mean, it's in the Caribbean and like, basically, you know, you have, like, all sorts of people living around you, and you're used to, like, the diverse environment. It was -- it was just like, a mainly, um, it was just like, White people basically [at the college in Kentucky]. That was just -- that was it...just the lack of diversity, honestly...

We're an Island. One part of discovering identity that came easiest to most participants was their culture. Most participants expressed their culture to be at the core of their identity and the force that drove them to seek out a college education. Participants also explained that their culture equipped them with tools to endure challenges often faced in the university setting.

When asked what being Puerto Rican meant to her, Maia, 18, described the love she had for her culture, the fortitude her culture naturally instilled in her, as well as how the island life differed from that non-Caribbean Hispanics:

To me, individually, it [being Puerto Rican] just means to be, you know -- coming from an island and you know, learning the different ways, you know, rather than, for example, South America -- you know, it has Peru and all of that together -- we're an island. So, it's learning to, you know, when you have no power...go outside and you -- you find your way. You know, candles, or fire...and when I was younger, compared to my brother now, for example, when I was younger I would go outside and play...you know, there was no such thing as...Xbox and all of that. I would go outside, play with my friends, ride the scooter...I was able to grow up a little bit and my mom was able to raise me there [in Puerto Rico] ...[being Puerto Rican means] loving my culture.

Much like Maia, Rafa, 19, who only came to the mainland U.S. from Puerto Rico four years ago, expressed a similar gratefulness with having experienced his childhood and adolescence in Puerto Rico. Rafa articulated that in growing up on the island he was able to gain a unique perspective on life that mainland Americans are not privy to:

[Being] Puerto Rican to me just truly means the rich culture obviously, and the heritage that there is. So, in Puerto Rico, you know, we're Hispanic and stuff like, but we also have our African roots, we have European roots and we have the Taino roots, which is the native Indians to Puerto Rico. And all that stuff has really interplayed, to uh, who I've become. Um, in school over there [in Puerto Rico], when I did go to school over there, they would teach us about all these things. And they would teach us about colonization...and so, to me, just being Puerto Rican is about celebrating all those roots. Celebrating heritage, um, appreciating everyone around, you treating each other like family. And we all go through our hardships and sometimes we don't agree with a lot of things, but at the end of the day, we're Puerto Rican, so -- you know we have that culture in common. So I feel like that's one of the biggest parts and one of the big things of being Puerto Rican...it's a very, very unique experience...I'm very proud of my heritage and my culture and...to move from Puerto Rico to here...it's...very hard adapting to this environment...as a White American, you wouldn't have to adapt to all these things, and face all these social issues and all these racial discrimination issues and all that stuff.

In describing how his Jamaican culture has shaped his identity, James, 19, spoke primarily of the stereotypes associated with being Jamaican:

I don't wanna be like a 'cruff', like...I don't wanna be someone who gets passed. Like someone who, you had all the opportunities in the world, and you're the one that like, messed it up. 'Cause like, the men, the men on my mom's side of the family never really came out to nothin'...you know, it was just like -- I mean, that's how it was back then. You have a lot of kids and your kids tell your story and stuff like that and some men, they just want to have a lot of kids to say: 'Look how much kids I have' and dis and dat (this and that). But you know, when you come to America, you can't really -- when a man like, has 20 kids, and then the question goes: 'Off the same woman?!' and he goes 'No!' and then: 'How many baby mothers'? That don't really look good. So, I don't wanna be like that...it's not gonna be me! Nothing is given to you [in Jamaica]. If you go to Jamaica, you see what it's like...it's rough. So, I just know I have to work and put my best foot forward so I don't like, live up to the stereotype of a Jamaican, who just

smokes weed and stuff. 'Cause that's not what Jamaicans do...once you say that you're Jamaican, like sometimes there's like a stereotype about you. Like, good or bad. So, I have to prove, like: 'Bro, I'm the same'...a couple girls [on the FAMU campus] think Jamaican men are bad. But I guess they just had a bad experience, you know...you know how the stereotypes go: 'Oh, they're [Jamaican men] womanizin'...maybe I'm not a womanizer. Maybe that's just what you heard and what you experienced with one person.

Melanie, 19, expressed that while her identity was in fact centered on her culture as a young, Jamaican woman, that much of her identity was also centered on not embodying what she feels is the behavior of a “normal Jamaican child”:

I would say that I am not like your usual, obedient Jamaican child. Because, one: my parents were very traditional when they first came to America and it was because of my own personality that I was like, 'You know, Mom, no I don't plan on, you know, being a nurse' or 'No, Mom, I don't plan on being a, you know, housewife'. 'No, Mom, I'm not going to take your dishes.' I was very anti-traditional from how normal Jamaican kids were raised. So, I never really had, like, you know, the whole, like, 'I was raised obedient I'm going to continue to be obedient'. I would say that I was raised to be more self-reliant in a way and my mom eventually came to terms with that as I got to high school. I told her: 'I have plans on moving away for college. I will not stay here and go to FAU (Florida Atlantic University)'...I did not want to be raised as a traditional Jamaican child, so oftentimes, you know, if he [my father] gave me some sort of orders to do, or, you know, guests would come over and he'd want me to do certain things, I didn't have a problem, you know, just walking out the room, like, 'No, I will not take everyone's dishes' or 'No, like, you know, I will not bring you a towel when you can get up and get it yourself', or, 'No, I will not sit here and watch you play dominoes when I should be doing homework'.

You Don't Have an Identity Because You're Caribbean. Two participants interviewed, Cara and Leela, 19, expressed experiencing their identities grow murky

since entering college. This was due to the combination of their outer appearance, which both identified as Indian (racially Asian) and their respective Trinidadian and Belizean accents. According to the participants, non-Caribbean persons they encountered on their college campus were unendingly confounded as to how participants' race, culture and religion related. This caused these participants to sometimes feel as though they were losing their identity altogether. Cara, 19, explained her exhausting trials with trying to defend her Trinidadian culture:

Usually when people ask where I'm from and I say 'Trinidad' there's two responses: There's: 'Oh, that's so nice'! And they ask about the culture, like Carnival, when they're genuinely aware of where Trinidad is and what the culture represents. Or they're like: 'Oh...that's nice.' But you can clearly tell on their face that they have no idea where this is, or what I'm talking about. So, in a way you kind of feel like you don't have an identity, because you say you're Caribbean, but then they -- they assume, maybe like Hispanic, Latin American. They're not aware of all the islands, which is understandable, but there should be more awareness for people to understand, you know, you are Caribbean, you are from a certain island. Because if I say I'm from Trinidad and I explain it's like off the coast of Venezuela, they'll say: 'Oh, so you're Spanish, you're Hispanic.' And no, I'm Caribbean... because of how I look physically...they assume more Hispanic...that's generally the assumption: that people will come up to me and start speaking Spanish and I don't know Spanish (laughter)! I think when I tell people I'm from the Caribbean and, like, they hear my first name, they -- they ask: 'Okay, you're from the Caribbean, but are you Indian'? And I have to explain: 'Yes, I am [Indian], but I don't, you know, I don't speak any of the Hindi language, or any of those languages'. So I can see confusion on their face. Unless people are genuinely aware of the Caribbean. And I guess some of the historical background. They just -- they don't understand it. It doesn't make sense, you know. To them.

Theme 4: Relationship with Parents. Of all four themes deduced from the 14 interviews with participants, Relationship with Parents was the most varied. Some

participants expressed a solid closeness with their mother and identified their mother as a supportive, driving force to their achieving maturity and independence. However, other participants reported feeling resentment towards their mothers, who they described as domineering figures intent on treating participants as children despite their chronological age and the achievement of attending college. There were also a number of participants who experienced both spectrums of the relationship with mothers.

Concerning the relationship with fathers, participants had more unvaried experiences to report. Some participants described extremely close relationships with fathers, who, much like mothers, served as encouraging, motivating influences to achieve adulthood and individuality. However, several participants described their relationship with their fathers as distant, cold, or nowhere near as close as relationships with their mothers. One participant reported not knowing who his father was, and that his father's absence was a major factor that inspired his development and autonomy.

Some participants expressed an intermittent animosity towards both parents due to parents' intrusion into their personal lives despite participants being away at college. Some participants also described overbearing behavior exhibited by parents.

Most participants expressed frustration that parents' insistence on participants attending college or university was accompanied by an unwillingness or inability to guide participants through the college application process or provide guidance on how to succeed in college and beyond. There were seven categories that comprised the theme of Relationship with Parents: (1) My Mom Was the Prevailing Force – If It Didn't Go Her Way, It Was No Way (2) My Mom's Always Been Super Supportive (3) My Dad Has Always Been There (4) I Love My Dad, But We're Not That Close (5) They Want Me to

Focus 100% on College (6) I Can't Be Around Them for Long Periods of Time, and (7) It Was Just: *"Go to College. Get a Degree."*

My Mom Was the Prevailing Force – If It Didn't Go Her Way, It Was No Way.

Melanie, 19, was one of the participants to articulate a particularly difficult relationship with a domineering mother. Melanie discussed how her mother's matriarchal and sometimes overbearing behavior had followed her to college:

...it was very aggressive starting, like, high school because, you know, even though we [my mother and I] were very different, we were also very similar...for her it was either my way or the highway and for me it was like: 'If I don't understand it and if you're not going to take the time to explain it to me, then I'm not going to do it'. So, you know, where she said 'No', I said 'Why'? And because no question was getting answers, it is obviously like a lot of disagreements and things like that. But, you know, going to college, I don't have to ask her to do things. I just do them, essentially and I haven't died yet. I think I'm doing pretty well...I'm no longer asking for permission. I'm no longer asking for lunch money...when I was under her [my mother's] household -- I say under my mom's household because, you know, my mom is a matriarch, really. Like my mom was the prevailing force -- if it didn't go her way, it was no way. So, you know, living under my mom's house -- my mom and I had so many personality clashes. You know, I was constantly in a state of, like, I would say, rebellion, or just a very, you know aggressive mood. Consistently. And then when I came to college, you know, my mom was still checking up on me, but I started to understand a bit more where she was coming from...her behavior is very overprotective to the point where I'm very -- it's intrusive in my life just because I prefer to be a more private person and, you know, any sort of details I don't share are seen as an attack on her. As in, like, you know, she gets really offended when, you know, I don't go into detail about what I do...so we definitely have personality clashes, uh, a lot because she's more of the whole like, you know, scared of the world...There was a point where I was at a library alone and I was walking home. I live across the street from the university. Literally across the street from the university. And I had told her about that and she was

like: 'You're not getting off the phone with me until you get safely inside' and she does that, you know, every time I say where my location is, and it gets very annoying, because I just kind of want to live.

Melanie also described her mother's attempts to influence where she went to college, as well as her own efforts to achieve a much-desired physical distance from her mother:

My mom was definitely, you know, about me going to college, but she wanted me to stay in Florida. So she was like: 'Okay, I'll pay for all of your college application fees'...first of all, I rejected that offer. I ended up paying for all of it myself, because I was like, I don't -- I don't want you having any sort of sway in where I go, because you feel like, you know, if I paid for it, you're going there and things like that...they [my parents] did want me to go to college, but I wanted to go out of state, so I applied to 23 schools...you know, that's another thing...I've paid for, you know, the ACT SAT wavers, college application fees -- if there were any. So, my parents weren't really -- they even got more involved when they realized how aggressively I was trying to go out of state. So yeah, it wasn't like they were just like, 'Wherever you go to college or not, we don't really care. Like, make it work'. My mom was like, 'You know, I would like for you to go to FAU or FIU', which I did not even apply to because I was like: 'I have to stay mobile'...even going to University of Florida, she wasn't really with that, because she wanted me to go to FAU FIU. And so, me coming to UF, like, she was like 'I'm not going to pay for the move-in' and 'I'm not going to pay for this, that, and the other because it's so far away'...I remember I think I made like a PowerPoint on the why the University of Florida was worth it compared to going to a local school, and she was like 'Okay, well, you know, if I get bragging rights that you're going to the top university in Florida, like, I guess why not'?

Malik, 21, reflected on the downsides of living with his mother while attending Florida Atlantic University, namely that despite his having graduated high school, his mother expected to be as privy to and in control of his life as she was in previous years:

I will say that coming out of high school my mom was very restrictive as a parent, and even going into college as my first year, she was still very restrictive. You know, she was concerned about what time that I would be coming home, you know, she wanted to kind of know my schedule and etcetera... When I told her about my first [college] trip, and... that I would be gone for a good, you know, three days, you know, she -- she freaked out. She didn't take it very well, because this was the first time that her baby, her child would be, you know, somewhere in one location. Not with her.

In explaining how little she has relied on her mother for emotional support since attending college, Leela, 19, discussed having severe problems with anxiety while attending college in Kentucky, and how it was someone else's mother and not her own that she called upon to provide support and encouragement in her time of greatest need:

Actually [my boyfriend's] mom -- she came up to visit me [in Kentucky] because her husband has been through anxiety, and I didn't tell my parents. And, like, I told after, and they were like, they were like: 'What?! Like, your boyfriend -- who is not supposed to be your boyfriend -- [his] mom came up to visit you'? I feel like she [my mom] never fully got over it [my boyfriend's mom coming to visit me in Kentucky] because she's like, like, I feel like she would think that I think his mother is more my mother than, like, my actual mother. So, I know she had like feelings of like, resentment, or jealousy. I mean, I'm not that close to [my boyfriend's] mom... but, like, she was there for me. So, I think she [my mom] resents that like, you know, oh, like I would allow her [my boyfriend's mom] to be there for me, but like, not my actual mom.

In describing her relationship with her mother, Maia, 18, used several adjectives that reflected not only how normative the volatility of their relationship had become, but also how dissimilar the participant was from her mother:

[My relationship with my mother is] Kind of wavy. Jumpy. Ups and downs. A lot. Me and my mom are very two different people. We've always been like that since I was younger, since I can remember, you know -- that I can

argue with her. We've always argued...I'm the rebel...the rebel child. I go against her. I like to go out, she doesn't like me to go out a lot. Um, we have very different opinions. So, it kind of, you know, it's an on and off thing. You know, me and her can fight, and then we're good for a while.

When asked to describe her relationship with her mother, Jamie, 26, described a relationship similar to that which was explained by Maia:

We [my mom and I] have a very rocky relationship. It's very up and down...my mother is Trini (Trinidadian). That's very important...my mother and I think the exact opposite...I'm the opposite of my mother. Like, my mother likes bold colors and I like dull colors. My mother wants to be loud and obnoxious and I just want to be quiet and chill. So, growing up, we've always clashed. Always always always always always have clashed.

In explaining the status of his relationship with this mother, James, 19, explained how his mother has repeatedly maintained that his behavior – and not her own – had always been the cause of their relationship problems:

I'm very hard-headed, but we're [my mom and I] good...according to her, I don't have any -- she says: 'Mi nah nuh mannas' (I don't have any manners). And it just keep goin' on, but...if she's mad, she'll keep going on...but, in a week...probably two or three [times she will tell me I have no manners] ...she says I think I'm grown. I just think she's trying to live my life for me...she wants the best for me. She thinks the best is like, what she thinks. And I feel like, while I do things, you want the best for me, every mistake I go through, like, I gotta go through myself to learn... [When I was a child] My mom would say: 'Two house don't raise a child'. So, she was like: 'You're learning one thing over there [at my dad's house] and then you're coming over here and you're practicing that, but that's not gonna go here'. She felt like it was more lenient at my dad's, which wasn't the case. It was just like... my dad was talking to me. She was talking down to me. Mom was talking down to me.

My Mom's Always Been Super Supportive. Some participants reported close relationships with their mothers, in which they viewed that particular parent as supportive of their college education. When asked to explain what role her mother has played in her growth during college, Abby, 20, described how pivotal her mother was during some of the most difficult periods of Abby's life:

Well, it's hard for her [my mom] to do much here [in South Florida], because she lives in Orlando right now. But she's always been super supportive. I tell her about things I was experiencing in college and she was always there to give me advice on how to navigate and proceed forward. Like, really, she's just been a supporter...I guess the best way that she's helped me figure out who I am is just by talking to me, because I think that's one of the things I needed most during my college years. Was someone that I could talk to about literally anything and at that time, especially when I had, like, six, seven classes at some points, she would be the only person I could talk to or would talk to, because I didn't really keep any friends, so she would just help point me in the right direction. Like, make sure I wasn't falling apart, or like, totally depressed. She just kept me -- kept my head on straight, really.

In describing how her mother has helped her develop while in college, Melanie, 19, detailed the wisdom and guidance her mother was now providing for her in all areas of her college life:

...as I go through college, my mom has started giving me a lot more wisdom. As in, you know, I'll come to her with a problem and she really knows like, what the best answer is, or, like she'll just say like, some sort of quote or saying...When I was living, you know, back at home in high school, I never really got that as much...my mom just taught me that if I'm ever going to romantically pursue someone or even start a friendship with someone, just always go in very open-minded because you don't know their story...you can't just put somebody into a certain criteria -- a certain box...so I would say that, you know, when I am actually looking for someone I'm interested in, I expect absolutely nothing. And I enjoy, you know,

developing and getting to know their personality, getting to know their quirks because I don't have any...expectation for them. And that's what I've learned [from my mom].

Melanie elaborated on the deep impact her mother's advice has had on the very way that she makes friends and/or develops romantic relationships while in college:

...every time I meet a new friend, every time I meet a new guy and things like that, the first thing I'm thinking about is: 'Would my mom would be, you know, proud to see me with this person? Would my mom be proud to know that I know this person?' And I realized that me thinking that wasn't because my mom had, you know, some sort of control on me. I realized that my mom has a very good sense of character. And every time she has told me to be wary of a person, she turned out to be right about it...and doing so has caused me to not get in trouble in school so far. You know, I haven't been arrested. I haven't -- I've never even had any sort of close calls because that sort of approval thing is in my mind and I really can't pinpoint what it is, but it's something that I've gathered from observations that my mom has made about friends I've had in the past. I would have to say that's affected me the most, because it is the friends that, like, you know, she has met and approved of when she has come up here -- those are the friends I still have now, a year later. The friends that she did not like that I met in college just because she felt like something was off -- they're no longer with me.

Betty, 19, described the ease with which she shares both academic successes and failures with her mother, and that this comfort comes from day-to-day assistance and encouragement provided by her mother. Betty stated that, "She [my mom] studies with me. When I have like an exam, yeah (laughter) anatomy exam -- I just talk to her. She doesn't understand anything because she doesn't speak English, but she's like 'Oh, yeah, it's kind of related to the Spanish'."

Despite his mother's unfamiliarity with the process of attending college outside of Puerto Rico, Rafa, 19, described the constant encouragement and support that she

provided throughout his college application and college-going process, and how his mother did not allow her inexperience with mainland American colleges to be a barrier to the participant's gaining acceptance into one:

My mother mostly [was involved in my college application process] ...I told her that I wanted to go to UF and that UF was basically my dream school. She was totally supportive of that. She wanted me to go to UF. And when I was in doubt of whether or not I was able to get accepted at UF, she would always tell me that there were other colleges, like UCF, 'cause I had got accepted to UCF. And also, FSU: 'So there's always those back-up colleges, as long as you go somewhere, to a university, to get a bachelor's degree. That's all I want and ask from you. I just want you to get that education'. So that --- that was always there. So, she was pretty involved then when it comes to scholarships. She always always always always wanted me to apply for scholarships and sometimes I even wouldn't want to, when I wouldn't have the time...but she always wanted [for me] to not be in debt in college. And she always wanted me to get the education, and although she didn't really help me a lot with the applications, because, you know, she doesn't know a lot about all these things and she hasn't gone to college in a very long time...but she would always encourage me, she was always there telling me: 'Keep doing that, you're doing a good job, you're like, applying -- that's good. Go to the university you want to. Just get a degree'.

In describing her relationship with her mother, Cara, 19, explained that her mother was her closest friend and strongest advocate:

She's [my mom] like my best friend (laughter)...we have a really good, open relationship. Um, we have mutual trust, mutual comfort. She's, like, my biggest supporter, she's my advisor. You know, I can go to her for anything, and it's pretty much the same, like, for her...we WhatsApp daily...we usually talk more on weekends, like, on the phone. We do message daily. At least 'Good morning', 'How did you sleep?', you know, 'How was your day'? Like, she [my mother] was not against it [my going to school in the U.S.], but she would have preferred for me to stay in Trinidad...she would always be like: 'Oh, you

know, you can always stay. That's fine. Not a problem. You could just stay here'. No, this is what I want to do [would be my response]. But, I mean, it was never assertive, where she would say 'No. This is not a good idea'. Because -- well, I don't think that's the extent of our relationship. She will never be like, assertive. She would be like: 'You know, you're grown, you're mature. You can make your decisions. This is just my input. This is what I think you should consider'. But she'd never be like: 'I don't want you to do this'...she knew it [going to the University of Miami] was what I wanted. And she knows I worked really hard in order to get where I am.

My Dad Has Always Been There. When asked to describe the nature of his relationship with his father, Rafa, 19, was careful to explain that while the relationship was not without its conflicts and confrontations, that his love for his father was unwavering and that the reverse was true:

I also love my dad a lot, with all my heart. He's always been there, like my mom. I do, um, sometimes with my dad, like, come more in conflict with him. Like, I find more conflict points like with my dad, because he's very confrontational sometimes and I think, like, I inherited his personality-type sometimes...so, like, I guess when he confronts me, like, it's just really hard and, like, that happens sometimes. So, like, it's just a little more uncomfortable. However, I do love my dad and I know that I can like, also come to him for anything...he's always been there, too.

With regard to his being gay and having chosen not to come out to his family until after college, Rafa also explained a specific appreciation he has for his father that does not apply to his mother:

My father is more, I'm going to use this word: my father is more "woke" than my mom. So, I guess he is more aware of, like, gay issues sometimes and stuff like that. But he's sometimes ignorant about a lot of social issues, but he has more understanding I would say than my mom and he's less apprehensive and more willing to look, like, look at perspectives and sometimes when he doesn't agree with

them, he would obviously retaliate, you know, with an argument or whatever. But my dad -- I honestly feel like he would be the person who would be more supportive at first [when I come out]. He's always told me that, you know, he would always love me regardless of whatever happened, and my mother always said this, too. But my father has always said it and I actually believe it for my father, just because I feel like that vibe coming from him. Maybe that he would be just like, more accepting in the beginning. Maybe like towards the middle he would kind of be going through sadness maybe a little bit and be like, 'I don't have a straight son', or whatever. But I feel like he would...deal better with it [my being gay] than my mom.

When asked about the roles her parents have played during her growth in college, Abby, 20, was quick to discuss how her father helped her develop and mature while she attended Broward College in South Florida:

My dad's basically the reason why...I have all my stuff together. Because he, like, helps me do everything, even when I was enrolling into college. He had all my paperwork ready for me. Everything -- like go down to the office to turn it in. And I remember one of the employees while we were doing that whole enrollment thing, she was like, 'I wish I had my parents to help me out when I was doing this. I was all by myself. I didn't have my parents come down with me to like the registrar's office or anything to help turn in my transcripts and residency documents or anything like that'. So, my dad was, like, a huge -- he's been a pretty great influence...he's always helped me with anything I needed...when I'm not doing well in the class, what I always do is talk to my dad about it...he's always good at telling me what my next reaction should be. Like, I remember once I did so bad in this...class...in this one math class and I was just like, 'Oh, my God, if I have to retake this class I have to do good', because there's, like, a policy where you can't take a class more than twice for this school [Broward College]. So it was one of my requirements. But he [my dad] was like, 'Well, you could do this' and he showed me there was, like, an alternative to that class that was kind of like a liberal arts math class. And he was like, 'You could take this one instead and that would still fill that requirement'. And I was like, 'Oh, cool'. So, like, whenever I hit like a stump or whatever, I

really just go to my dad for what my next game plan is going to be. And he's always helped me...I'd probably go to my dad first before I go to my mom.

In describing his relationship with his father, James, 18, was clear in explaining how his father has always encouraged his maturity and independence:

We're [my dad and I] great. Like, I talk to him all the time...my dad's very supportive. If I tell him I want to do something, he's gonna be like: 'Well, do it'! I'm a daddy's boy, so that didn't really sit well with her [my mother]. [When I was a child] every Tuesday I went with my dad, whenever he's in town, cause he's a truck driver. So, I roll with my dad. And it's like, I don't know -- the time with my dad could never compare to the time with my mom...there was nothing she [my mom] could do, it was like: shit, it's my dad. It was always a good time. Like, a father and a son. Like, you can't take that. Like a mother and a daughter. You can't take that...I felt like I was grown at a young age. My dad was talking to me. She was talking down to me. Mom was talking down to me.

Jamie, 26, had a similar reaction to the question of the nature of the relationship between herself and her father, calling herself a “daddy's girl all the way” and describing herself father simply as “my dog” (indicating an extremely close friendship). In explaining the reasoning behind her inseparable relationship with her father, Jamie stated, “Me and my dad are really, really close...I can talk to him about anything, everything. Like I said: total daddy's girl all the way...always.”

In comparing her relationship with her mother to her relationship with her father, Maia, 18, was clear in communicating how the latter relationship supersedes the former:

I have a way better relationship with my dad...due to the fact that my mom works kind of far, like, she works in Brickell and we live in Homestead, um, I barely see her. Um, with my dad, um, I'm always with him. And, um, me and my dad are very playful. We're -- we're always together. We're always joking around. So, with my dad it's a little bit better...he listens to me.

I Love My Dad, But We're Not That Close. Nearly half of participants interviewed expressed having a relationship with their father, but that the relationship was detached, emotionless, or that their father was not a person who they felt they could rely on for non-financial problems. Betty, 19, explained that because her father moved to the U.S. in her adolescence and she and her mother remained in Cuba, she was unable to form a foundational relationship with her father, and that even now in her adulthood, the disconnect between them remains:

I love my dad, but we're not that close, because, um, when I was in Cuba he came first to the United States, for four years, so I was alone with my mom...that's the only reason...but I love him...I wouldn't tell him that [about academic challenges in college]...because he wouldn't say anything. He would be like: 'Oh, that's okay'...I just talk to my mom about everything.

In describing her current and past relationship with her father, Leela, 19, explained that their detached relationship stemmed from the physical and emotional aggression he exhibited when she was in high school:

I don't really talk to him [my father] that much...I've never been too comfortable around my dad for some reason...I'm not really close with him. I mean, I talk to my mom -- like since I've been here [at the University of Miami] I have been avoiding talking to them...it's like, when I do talk to them, like I would speak to my mom mostly. Growing up, I just wanted to escape basically...like, he'd [my father] just be stressed and he'd like, have, like, some really stupid argument and it'd turn into like, a brawl. And it'd be like him breaking fans and breaking so many things...whenever they [my parents] FaceTime me, like, they're together. So, I just like, you know, have like a little conversation with him. I mean, he's a good person. I mean, like I'm not saying he's a bad person, like, it's just like the stress...he's just trying to like, put me through school and give me all that, like, you know, he can give me. So, like, I don't blame him

for it, but it's just -- it's just made me uncomfortable around him. So I wouldn't talk to him as much.

Paternal strictness came up as the main reason behind BlueJay, 20, describing herself as “not really that close” with her father:

...sometimes I just find it like, hard to talk to him [my dad]. He's very strict and very stern...he always says that he doesn't really want...us to be like, dating until after we finish college. But there was a time where I was able to talk to him -- like, there was one time when I was able to talk to him about someone who I was speaking to [a dating prospect]...and he [my dad] was pretty upset about it -- the fact that I was even talking to the person...and then we had a talk...he was upset...I was 18.

In explaining the reasoning behind her lack of closeness with both her biological and step-father, Melanie, 19, repeatedly made reference to the emotional distance somewhat being caused by the matriarchal dominance in her household:

...as I, you know, came to college, our [my biological dad and I] contact has been, you know, a lot less [than when I was in high school]. It's been getting like, you know, just a monthly basis. But, you know, even when I was in high school, or even over the summer, like, I would say that it would, you know, it [my contact with my biological dad] was probably, like, on a weekly basis that I was seeing him, or, you know, interacting with him. But like, that's probably about it. My mom does have a very strong presence in my life because she makes the decisions -- she makes the financial decisions and everyone else just sort of doesn't have that much influence or voice...I had a stepdad for the majority of my life ever since I was like, two or three. Um, and he's very, very passive in nature. And, you know, doesn't really, you know, put in his opinion -- like he'll give his opinion, but, you know, it's never with any sort of influence, or to sway anyone. He's just a very passive individual. So, a lot of times, like, people do think I live in a single parent household and it's just because my stepdad is just so, you know, so quiet and just so relaxed...his main contribution has been financial, but, you know, emotional? I don't really go to him with anything. And it's not because I'm uncomfortable, because, you know, he sees us as

stepchildren. I just think that because of his personality, he just doesn't get much of a mention.

They Want Me to Focus 100% on College. Several participants expressed that a particular source of contention between themselves and their parents was participants' desires to form social lives while in college. Some parents adamantly rejected the idea of participants giving attention to anything but school while in school – especially with regard to dating.

In describing her parents' reaction to the idea of her dating while in college, Catalina, 18, described her parents' inflexibility:

Well, they don't like the idea [of me dating], basically because they want me to focus 100% on college. But I need to do, like make my personal life, too. So yeah, they don't agree with me right now, like: 'Hey, I'm meeting this guy and he's like this and that'. They will be like: 'No, no, no, no, no. You have to focus on college and that's that. No boyfriend. No nothing'. [If I started dating] they would be like: 'Hey, you're going to fail. I don't know what you're doing'. Like, what are you talking about? I'm doing my college and then I have my personal life and my job, so I'm going to be fine.

Cara, 19, discussed how her father's view on the dating while attending the University of Miami was in direct opposition to her mother's openness:

My dad would still say, 'You know, you're young. What are you focusing on dating for? Your focus should be your academics'...he might be a little biased. Maybe he just wants me to focus on academics because I can date later. Like, he's not considering, you know, socializing is important, you know, having a social life. A lot of people are dating. What if I want to as well?

BlueJay, 20, discussed her parents' fears of the academic consequences of dating while in college and how these fears have prevented her from developing a social life:

They're [my parents] okay with it [my dating]. But they're not at the same time. Because, um, they want me to focus on school. They don't want anything to distract me. And they feel like me dating and then eventually getting in a relationship is going to distract me from -- distract me in school...my parents never really, uh, allowed me to [go to a party]. Um, and also...I -- I prioritize. But that fact that my parents never allowed me to [socialize outside of school], weighs more than me prioritizing.

I Can't Be Around Them for Long Periods of Time. Some participants expressed that one challenging aspect of their relationship with parents while attending college was having to go back home and visit parents on breaks from school. Participants conveyed that it was during these visits that stark contrasts between themselves and their parents were most observable and irksome. Additionally, it was during such visits that parents felt emboldened to discuss participants' personal lives in terms of declaring what types of partners parents felt were suitable for participants, and more notably, what types of partners parents felt were off-limits. Most non-Black participants shared that their parents had voiced objections to them dating Black persons, while one Jamaican participant had been forbidden from dating anyone with Haitian lineage. Multiple participants reported parents specifically asking them not to date outside own culture and/or race.

Leela, 19, summed up her relationship with her parents since high school in a single sentence by saying, "I can't be around them for like, long periods of time." When asked why this was so, Leela responded by explaining:

I get annoyed [when I'm around my parents]. They're [my parents] just stressful people and I just get annoyed. [When visiting Belize during breaks from school] I'd want to stay out of the house. I'd want to see my friends...their [my parents'] conversations are very stressful. It's always like, you know, about like, how work is such stress, or people they deal with and stress, and like, I don't like that. Like I want to be around happy people and just you know -- don't

stress me out...they're [my parents] very open. Like, they'd tell me everything and...even when those two are fighting - - like, my mom and dad -- they'd tell me about it, and I'd be like: 'what do you expect me to do'?

Leela also articulated that despite the extreme challenges she was going through with her parents due to the fact that she was in a relationship with a non-Indian, mixed-raced young man, that the situation would be exceptionally worse if her boyfriend was Black:

It'd be way worse [if I was dating someone Black]. Because I mean, I know my parents. I know they're racist...if they see me, like being with a guy who is like, of African American descent, they would completely be against that. Like, there's no question.

In living at home with his mother while attending Florida Atlantic University, Malik, 21, explained that he had long ago accepted that he would be told what kind of woman would best be suited for him:

She [my mom] wouldn't be against it [my dating a White American girl], I wouldn't say, but she would be a little bit caught off by it. You know, from when I was growing up, my mom would always tell me, like, 'You know, it's okay to date other people. I'm not saying you can't do that. Just keep in mind that, you know, it's better to date your own'...she supports basically dating people from our culture...because that furthers our population.

One participant, Abby, 20, was currently dating a White American young man and both her Haitian father and Bahamian mother had raised corresponding objections to the relationship in varying forms. While her father was more relaxed about Abby's dating choices, her mother had repeatedly provided premature advice on what Abby ought to do "next time," despite her current relationship remaining ongoing:

I'm actually dating outside of my race. My boyfriend is White, and his family is largely European, so it's kind of

like, a huge cultural difference. And I can already say that I've gotten some comments from my parents, but I've tried to just tell them to make the best of it. You know, it's not as bad as they think it is. He's [my dad] not against it. But if you were to ask him what he'd prefer, if I'd be dating a nice Haitian dude, he'd probably be like: 'Yep! Without a doubt!' With no hesitation...she [my mom]...say[s]...like, 'Yeah, you're just going to get hurt. And when you get hurt, just make sure you date like, a nice Caribbean guy next time. Like, a nice just -- darker dude next time'...I'm so used to it [their comments] at this point that I just feel like it's an ongoing deal.

When asked about his parents' expectations in terms of dating in college, James, 19, described parameters established by both his parents even in spite of them being divorced since he was in kindergarten:

They told me I can't bring home a Haitian woman...can't bring home a Haitian woman...it's just like this other -- this other culture. Caribbean cultures like that -- they [Jamaicans] see them [Haitians] as less than. It's like a superiority complex -- not necessarily a superiority complex, but they feel that they're superior. And they're [my parents] like, they said: 'Definitely not a Haitian'.

It Was Just: "Go to College. Get a Degree." Several participants' parents expressly wanted them to attend college, yet these parents were unwilling or unable to provide directives on how participants should get into college, find success in college, or left it up to the participants to find a way to afford going to college entirely.

Jamie, 26, discussed her parents' hand-offs, yet entitled approach to her earning a college education by explaining:

They never had, like, a college plan. Like, none of that. It was just: 'Go to college, get a degree. I don't know how you gonna do it, but that's what you gonna do'...that was just kind of how my parents are. It's like: 'This is what you got to do. I don't know -- I don't know how to do it, but you need to figure it out'.

When asked about what part her parents played in her growth during her college years, Judy, 21, detailed her mother's blind ambition for her to go to college with a notable lack of planning, or even basic interest in what the participant might study once at school. Judy explained:

I wouldn't say that my mom had, like, a big influence on what it was I wanted to do [in college] – just more so that she wanted me to go to school...I can't say that she did [have a preference of school she wanted me to attend]...me going to Broward [College] [instead of a more selective school]...I guess it didn't seem like a negative thing to her either, because I was staying at home.

In response to questions of how involved her parents were with the college application process, Betty, 19, explained that her father's involvement was strictly financial:

My dad was like, 'Don't worry, if we have to pay anything I will pay for -- I will pay, don't worry about that'. And my mom, too...They [Barry University] offered me a scholarship. That was the only reason [I attended that school]. I didn't have the money going to a university. I was going to Miami Dade [College]. Because I was so tired of everything -- of the exams and all that. So, I was like, 'Mom, I'm going to Miami Dade [College]'. But then I applied by mistake, kind of. And they [Barry University] called me: 'Oh, you applied. Oh, you just have to finish the application'. So, I did, and they offered me a scholarship... [my parents did] not really [care if I applied to other colleges]. They just wanted me to go to a university.

Similarly, Maia, 18, explained that while her parents made clear their college ambitions for her, they did so with little guidance concerning the process of attending and succeeding in college:

They [my parents] weren't really much involved [with the college application process]. You know, they just wanted me to get to a college. Their main thing is for me to stay in school...right now I'm under the psychology program, but,

you know, no one really guided me into all of this, so I just chose one [major] just to choose one...right now, as I dig more into it, I am more interested in the nursing program. Um, so hopefully I get to get there, and, um, hopefully I get into it.

Summary

The following research questions drove the explorations for this dissertation: (1) How do Caribbean college students perceive their growth during college? (2) How have parents impacted the development of Caribbean college students?

The results of the analysis of the interview data showed that students perceive their psychosocial development during college through achieving adulthood, gaining independence, acquiring an identity, and that the relationship with parents can stunt and/or vitalize development in college.

Themes identified within the data included: (1) Adulthood (2) Independence (3) Identity and (4) Relationship with Parents. These themes were deduced from multiple categories, which offered insight into how Caribbean students develop during college and how their relationship with parents affects this development.

In discussing the results of how Caribbean students develop during college, the theme most common across all participant experiences was the achievement of adulthood. The theme of adulthood was deduced from the following categories: (1) I Went from 19 to 40 Within a Summer (2) I Feel More Adult-ish Now, and (3) I Don't Want to be an Adult – I'm Scared of That. Several participants felt that their experiences in college had aged them emotionally in a short period of time. Participants expressed that this caused them to develop traits typically associated with adulthood, such as the ability to self-reflect, learning to compromise, maturity, the ability to balance different

obligations all at once, developing discipline, discerning goal-oriented friends from aimless friends, and developing the grit and determination to move past disappointment and tragedy.

Another factor that participants attributed to developing adulthood was learning to navigate the process of applying for and succeeding in college without help or direction from their parents.

On the other side of the spectrum of developing adulthood was one participant who was clear about her anxiety and fear of oncoming adulthood. Despite being chronologically 19 years old, the participant did not feel like an adult because her parents continued to take care of her financially and emotionally.

The acquiring of independence was the second most common theme recorded, as all fourteen participants cited gaining both financial and emotional independence from parents during college as a primary goal. All participants expressed achieving a variation of independence in the very act of attending college. The theme of independence was deduced from the following categories: (1) It's Time to Reclaim My Life (2) I Just Truly Had to Figure It Out (3) Living the Life I Want to Live (4) True Freedom (5) They Don't Let Me Grow Up, and (6) I'm Very Dependent on My Parents. Several participants discussed feeling antagonism toward their parents for attempting to intrude upon or interfere with participants' quest to obtain independence in college. Other participants expressed the belief that they had achieved either emotional and/or financial independence from parents while in college and often with parental support and encouragement in doing so. Multiple participants discussed parents' deliberate efforts to prevent or restrict their gaining independence while in college. Two participants admitted

being very much financially and emotionally dependent upon parents, but expressed no desire to remain so after college.

Participants also defined their development in terms of their ability to achieve a solid identity while in college. For most participants, their Caribbean culture was at the core of their identity. The theme of identity was deduced from the following categories: (1) Slowly, I'm Accepting Who I Am (2) I'm Not a Black American – I'm Just Black in America (3) There is a Shift When I Say That I am Not a Black American (4) I Cannot Hide (5) We're an Island, and (6) You Don't Have an Identity Because You're Caribbean. Most participants discussed feelings of inferiority about their physical appearance while in high school, but expressed developing self-confidence about their outer appearance while attending college. The majority of participants who identified racially as Black expressly declared that they did not enjoy or want to be perceived as Black American or African American. These participants conveyed that there are significant differences between the American and Caribbean cultures within the Black race. Participants also described multiple incidences in which strangers treated them more favorably after participants revealed their ethnicity to be Caribbean and not American.

The majority of participants expressed great pride in their Caribbean culture, whether originating from a Spanish, English, or Haitian Creole-speaking island. Participants expressed that much of their confidence in knowing who they were came from their culture. However, two participants conveyed consternation at non-Caribbean persons causing them to question their identity because of the confusion produced by their Asian outer appearance, and their respective Belizean and Trinidadian accents.

The final and most varied theme deduced from the interviews was participants' relationship with parents. The following categories comprised the theme of relationship with parents: (1) My Mom Was the Prevailing Force – If It Didn't Go Her Way, It Was No Way (2) My Mom's Always Been Super Supportive (3) My Dad Has Always Been There (4) I Love My Dad, But We're Not That Close (5) They Want Me to Focus 100% on College (6) I Can't Be Around Them for Long Periods of Time, and (7) It Was Just: *"Go to College. Get a Degree."*

More than half of participants expressed having relationships with domineering mothers who participants felt were trying to either live their lives for them, or wield power over their lives. Nearly all participants expressed that their mother was supportive of them throughout their time in college. However, only five participants expressed similar sentiments about their fathers. The great majority of participants described relationships with fathers that were impacted by emotional distance and coldness. Several participants expressed frustration that their parents did not respect or support their desire to have a social life and/or begin dating while in college. Participants expressed that their parents expected them to focus solely on college and not begin dating until after earning a bachelor's degree. Two participants communicated that they could not be in their parents' company for long periods of time due to disagreements that stemmed from differences in personalities and lifestyle choices between participants and parents. Finally, the great majority of participants expressed frustration that their parents' ambitions for them attending college was not supported by parents providing any direction or guidance with getting into college, or finding success in college.

The next chapter will clarify the associations between study results and empirical literature introduced in Chapter Two. Chapter Five will reexamine the five theories that informed the framework of this study: Chickering and Reisser's Seven Vectors of Development, Phinney's Model of Ethnic Identity Development, Baxter Magolda's Theory of Self-Authorship, Baumrind's Prototypical Descriptions of Four Parenting Styles, and Emerging Adulthood. Within Chapter Five will be a vignette, which serves as a compilation of the results of the phenomenological analyses of this study. The vignette will bring to life the ways in which the majority of participants experienced each of the aforementioned themes. The next chapter will also further examine findings on how Caribbean college students develop and how their parents affect this development. Chapter Five will conclude with implications and recommendations for additional research into this critical subject.

Chapter 5: Discussion

Despite the growing presence of Caribbean students in U.S. colleges and universities, little research has been conducted on how parental roles impact the development of these students. College student development models and theories do not account for the complex development of Caribbean students, so the purpose of this study was to better understand how parental involvement affects their development through examining the lived experiences of 14 college undergraduates.

The overall intent of this study was to add to the very limited literature available regarding Caribbean college student development so that academic professionals are better able to understand the developmental needs of this group of students.

While there is substantial research available on college student development, very little of this research involves Caribbean students. This is problematic because prior research has found that parental participation patterns may differ by ethnicity (Cullaty, 2011). Moreover, cultural factors cause college students from collectivistic Caribbean nations to face vastly different developmental hurdles compared to students from Europeanized, individualistic cultures (Greenidge, 2016). Hence, more research is needed to bridge the gap between these developmental differences.

The research questions that informed this study were:

- (1) How do Caribbean college students perceive their growth during college?
- (2) How have parents impacted the development of Caribbean college students?

Summary of Findings

Study results showed that participants perceived their development through the lens of adulthood, independence, and identity. Participants' development was also significantly impacted by their relationships with their parents. The following themes emerged from participant interviews: (1) Adulthood (2) Independence (3) Identity, and (4) Relationship with Parents.

Adulthood was characterized by participant perceptions that as they aged, they also matured in the handling of challenges at college. Additionally, participants developed traits such as maturity and self-confidence, and also became more compromising. However, participants lacked the financial independence needed to consider themselves full adults. Participants were generally unable to achieve complete independence because of either having to rely on parents for financial or emotional stability or because parents retained power enough to substantially control participants' decision-making. Feeling secure about their culture was at the root of participants achieving an identity. All students involved in this study conveyed a deep passion for and great pride in the Caribbean nation from which their family originated. Cultural pride was at the core of participants' identity development. Finally, in terms of relationship with parents, the participants were divided, as some felt dominated by one or both parents (which was interpreted as authoritarian parenting), while others felt emotionally abandoned by parents (which was interpreted as neglectful parenting). Authoritative parents, who exercise control over children in combination with warmth and nurturance, were a rarity in this study. No participants reported experiencing permissive parents, who are warm, but establish few rules for children and engage in very little discipline.

The practice of collectivism was an underlying factor in all four themes. Participants' struggle to achieve adulthood and independence was influenced by the collectivistic practice of maintaining a strong, cohesive family. Additionally, participants' secureness in their identity was influenced by the collectivistic trait of possessing strong ethnic pride. Finally, participants' authoritarian or neglectful relationship with parents was reflective of the collectivistic custom of consistently respecting one's elders, while also focusing on self-amelioration.

The vignette in the ensuing section is a composite description of experiences articulated by the 14 participants interviewed for this study. The vignette illustrates challenges unique to the development of Caribbean college students. Thus, a discussion of study results begins with a day-in-the-life narrative of "Lisa-Ann," the name given to the compound personality of multiple participants. The vignette is followed by a discussion of how study results aligned with or diverged from the foundational student development theories and models used as a framework for this study, as well as previously published research on Caribbean cultural values and post-colonial theory.

Lisa-Ann

Lisa-Ann, a Barbadian sophomore who attended high school in South Florida, stands outside of the building where the Pre-Legal Honor Society meeting will begin in five minutes. Her cell phone begins to ring, and she is grateful for an excuse not to go inside, until she sees it is her mother calling. It is now Thursday and Lisa-Ann has been avoiding her mother's calls all week. When she answers, after first telling her mother that she is "fine," she decides to be honest and tries explaining how it feels being one of only two Black students in the Pre-Legal Honor Society. Lisa-Ann describes how each time she attends a weekly meeting, the majority of the students either stare at her with bemusement, as if they have never seen a Black person outside of television before, or how some students look startled, like they are surprised she is back at another meeting.

Lisa-Ann's mother dismisses her complaints as "just a part of living in America we all go through" and then begins listing all the family members she and Lisa-Ann will visit together in Barbados during Lisa-Ann's upcoming Spring Break.

After some hesitation, Lisa-Ann tells her mother that she would rather reserve visiting Barbados for Christmas, as they do every year, and that she plans to participate in the annual Caribbean Student Association Spring Break trip to Orlando to visit theme parks. Lisa-Ann clarifies that the trip will be funded by some of her scholarship money.

Sounding annoyed, her mother reminds Lisa-Ann that she is not allowed to touch the scholarship money without asking her first. When Lisa-Ann mentions that the scholarship money is technically her own, her mother mockingly asks if Lisa-Ann thinks herself to be a "big woman" just because she is in college. The tone of her voice rising with each derisive question, her mother's interrogation begins: *Do you remember who worked two jobs to send you to the private school that led to that college? Do you remember who drove five hours north and then five hours south on the same day just to move you into that college dorm last year? And this year, too? Without any help at all from your father? But now you're too "big" to come home and spend time with the same people who helped you get to that college? Is this what your family has to look forward to when you graduate and become a big-time lawyer? When did you become so selfish?*

Lisa-Ann hurries off the phone with her mother and enters the meeting, faking a smile to hide her discomfort at being in yet another room with virtually no students of color, and certainly no Caribbean students.

Distracted from the meeting, she angrily wonders why her mother can't give her a little space and freedom despite how well she performs in school. It's almost as if the better she does in school, the more her mother tries to smother and control her. Even worse is that aside from trying to dictate what Lisa-Ann is doing between classes and during breaks from school, her mother barely asks how she is doing in college and ignores the problems Lisa-Ann tries to share with her.

Her father is equally bad, because he and Lisa-Ann only talk once a month for a few minutes, and he always uses that time to warn her to keep away from boys. Last month, when Lisa-Ann had tried to talk to him about possibly transferring to a smaller college in South Florida where there might be more Caribbean students, his response had been: *"I don't want you down here like these other girls getting drunk with White boys and getting raped. Nobody studies their books down here. Up there you can focus. No foolishness, Lisa-Ann. Focus. Study your books."*

Lisa-Ann realizes the meeting has ended while she was lost in her thoughts, and as she begins to leave, a tall girl with honey blonde hair takes a seat beside her. The girl introduces herself as Nina, and after Lisa-Ann shares her name, they shake hands. Nina picks up on Lisa-Ann's accent and asks where she's from. When she says "*Barbados*," Nina's expression becomes confused and her reply is a flat, "*Oh*."

Lisa-Ann quickly adds, "*Like the singer...Rihanna*."

Nina's expression then becomes animated and she responds by saying: "*Oh!*" Nina looks relieved as she says, "*That's so cool! For a second I thought Barbados was an African country or something, which is funny because I thought you were, um, like, African American or whatever when I first saw you. But you're from the Caribbean? That's so awesome!*" Nina leans back to peer at Lisa-Ann, then nods and says, "*Yeah, I can see it. You look kind of like Rihanna. Are you guys related?*"

As she leaves the auditorium, Lisa-Ann considers which part of her college life is most painful and humiliating: is it when she tries to befriend African American students, who roll their eyes when she says she is from Barbados? Or is it when the term "African American" or "Black" comes up in her pre-law classes and her professors look to her for confirmation, while the White students rage against Affirmative Action? Or might it be the secretive, shameful pride she feels when some of those same raging White students grow docile and intrigued when they hear her foreign accent?

Lisa-Ann checks her watch and sees that her shift at the study hall begins at 9pm. Although the study hall is less than a minute walk from her dorm and she only monitors there three times a week, neither of her parents know she works there. Lisa-Ann chose not to tell them about the job, knowing that her mother would demand that she quit to avoid walking at nighttime. Her father would protest Lisa-Ann working there because she could be using that time to study in her dorm room alone. She needs money to occasionally go the movies or out to dinner with her friends, or to buy new clothes, and knows that if her parents see such expenses on their credit card bill she will catch hell from them. To her parents, a dinner or movie with friends means Lisa-Ann isn't focusing on school. To avoid any arguments, Lisa-Ann keeps her job a secret.

When she arrives at her job, Lisa-Ann's co-worker, Gabriel, a pre-med junior, soon joins her at the front desk. After he takes out an MCAT prep book and begins rifling through it, they sit shoulder-to-shoulder and study in mutual silence, looking up when they hear the study hall door open or close, and smiling periodically at one another.

At the end of their shift, when Gabriel asks Lisa-Ann if she wants to go to Starbucks to pull an all-nighter, she doesn't hesitate to say yes. But as they pack up to leave, she looks at the dark blonde hair on Gabriel's bent head and laments that he is one more part of her life she'll have to hide from her parents if she and Gabriel get closer. Lisa-Ann fakes a smile when Gabriel holds out his hand to carry her book bag.

Though the physical weight is lifted, the mental weight remains as she thinks of how livid her parents would be if they saw how late she was staying out, why she was staying out, and who she was with. Lisa-Ann wonders how long she can keep pretending that she is happy in college before the pressure breaks her.

Linking Study Findings to Theory and Literature

The following section will analyze how study results aligned with or deviated from theory and previous research.

Collectivism and Caribbean Students

One of the main ways participants experienced psychosocial development was through intensifying their commitment to their Caribbean culture. All participants reported experiencing a significant pride in how their culture differed from that of the United States. The majority of participants lauded their Caribbean culture as a contributing factor to everything from developing confidence in their physical appearance, to their college ambitions.

Though not able to give a name to their experiences, in accordance with the research of GoPaul-McNicol (1993) centered on Caribbean culture, all 14 participants reported experiencing collectivism, which is a cultural practice centered on self-amelioration and a strong sense of ethnic (not racial) pride. Like Lisa-Ann, who never felt comfortable asking her parents for help or guidance regarding applying to or succeeding in college, the majority of participants articulated the same experience of being left to “figure it [college] out” for themselves, regardless of whether their parents held multiple American college degrees, or if their parents had only completed high school outside of the U.S. Go-Paul-McNicol (1993) posits that amelioration of personal problems through self-help is a critical part of Caribbean values and that the culture dictates that individuals ought only to seek help from their family network in the event that they fail to deal with personal difficulties or achieve their goals. Study results were in alignment with the aforementioned research. One 26-year-old participant relayed that while both her college-

educated parents demanded what university she attend, her parents' guidance ended there. The participant explained that she only remained at the university her parents preferred for one year, and that she ultimately transferred to two additional institutions while trying to find the correct institutional fit.

Participants originated from English, Spanish and Creole-speaking Caribbean islands and all articulated watching their parents struggle to move to the U.S. from their respective Caribbean island of origin. Participants also described witnessing their parents autonomously assimilate to life in the U.S. and begin to earn and gain the possessions that participants grew up utilizing and/or benefiting from. Thus, participants have likely come to believe that leaning upon one's self is the only path to achieving goals in a way that one can be proud of. In accordance with the practice of collectivism, participants likely perceive asking for help as a sign of weakness or failure and feel accomplishments can only be truly enjoyed when one is able to say "I did it on my own."

Along with self-amelioration, another crucial aspect of collectivism in the Caribbean culture is centered on possessing a strong sense of ethnic pride (Mitchell & Bryan, 2007). Similar to Lisa-Ann's immovable desire to identify primarily as Bajan or Barbadian, participants also conveyed practicing collectivism by possessing a robust appreciation of their ethnicity. Mitchell and Bryan (2007) posit that a major aspect of Caribbean values is having a resilient feeling of ethnic pride based on a powerful loyalty to an individual's country of origin. Like Lisa-Ann, participants' allegiance to their Caribbean culture served almost as a barrier to their assimilation into college. For example, most participants reported a preference for making friends with and/or spending time with persons of Caribbean descent, citing that they felt more relaxed around

Caribbean students as compared with American students, even when the American students were the same race as the participants. Additionally, students who identified racially as Black in this study and reported being born and raised in the U.S. described feeling unable to relate to the African American culture and being better able to relate to their Caribbean culture. Similar to the experience depicted in Lisa-Ann's story, participants who identified racially as Black reported feeling dismayed when outsiders assumed they were African American, and burdened by the idea of having to explain or defend the propagated African American culture. Instead, participants explained that when interacting with non-Caribbeans, they expressly clarified that they were ethnically Caribbean and not African American when they felt the distinction was important.

These findings corresponded with a 2010 study examining the experiences of Caribbean-born female students. McFarlane (2010) found that although all 27 participants from Trinidad, Jamaica, Haiti, Dominica, St. Vincent, St. Kitts, Barbados, Guyana and Grenada reported being U.S. citizens or residents, 66% conveyed wanting to be clearly differentiated from African Americans. Additionally, McFarlane (2010) found that participants were more likely to defend their Caribbean identity and seldom identified with persons of African ancestry.

Hall and Carter (2006) argue that in spite of being labeled as African American, Afro-Caribbean students will self-identify as Jamaican, Haitian, Trinidadian, etc., reflecting not their race, but their national identities. Hall and Carter (2006) also suggested that Afro-Caribbean students have adopted negative stereotypes of what it means to be Black in America and prefer to avoid being associated with the African American identity. As indicated by Hine-St. (2006), the Afro-Caribbean students within

this study reported being faced with a choice of whether to identify as American Black, or to maintain an ethnic identity reflecting their parents' national origin. Much like Lisa-Ann, in being faced with this choice, participants reported predominantly choosing to reflect their ethnicity and not their race.

Even participants who were born and raised in the U.S., but were reared by parents from the Caribbean expressed a loyalty to their parents' island which was identical to that of participants who were themselves born in and spent their childhood and adolescence in the Caribbean. For example, despite being born in Rochester, New York and raised in South Florida, one 21-year-old participant identified primarily as Jamaican, but simultaneously admitted having only visited Jamaica once in his life. The participant expressed that his Jamaican heritage was directly responsible for his being interested in becoming a software developer, because of his belief that the Jamaican culture is "very educational-based." The participant also expressed a preference for developing friendships with students who were also of Caribbean descent, citing that despite having international, European and American friends, he "connects more" with friends from the islands, and that there is a "strong Caribbean presence" among his friends. This participant's description of his attachment to the Caribbean culture despite only once having physically been in Jamaica supports the argument of Waters (1994), who contends that for many first-generation Black Caribbeans, identifying as Black Caribbean (as opposed to Black American) encompasses a strong sense of ethnic group membership (for example, Jamaican, Haitian, Trinidadian, Dominican) made up of diverse cultural values, traditions, language, meaning, and ways of living and being Black.

The nuanced racial and ethnic layers of the Caribbean culture are one explanation for participants' strong attachment to their culture and preference for people from the Caribbean region. Caribbean students might simply find it easier to communicate with other students who are at least familiar with some form of patois spoken in the West Indies. Additionally, Caribbean students might find more ease in merely sharing meals with students from the same region. For example, one 21-year-old participant stated that a principal reason why she felt disconnected from American students in both her high school and college was due to food. The participant's favorite part of her Bahamian culture was dishes her mother had taught her to cook, but when she brought them to school, other students called the foods "stink." The participant became too embarrassed to again share Bahamian food with non-Caribbean students.

Study findings also correlated with the research of Massey et al. (2007) which posits that college admissions officers and White observers view Caribbean students as more motivated, driven, prone to success, less hostile, politer, more considerate, and easier to get along with than African Americans. The notion was echoed not only in the fictive experiences of Lisa-Ann, but also in the real-life experiences of the majority of participants who racially identified as Black. Essentially, it was only Black male participants who reported being treated no differently by White Americans after revealing they were not African American, but from the Caribbean. The vast majority of Black female participants reported experiencing an almost instantaneous change in the demeanor and disposition of White Americans after informing them that they were not African American, but from a Caribbean island. For example, one 19-year-old participant reported that in her nearly two years at a large, public research university in northern

Florida, she had experienced numerous occasions in which she was introduced to White American students and felt a “positive shift” in their attitude towards her once it was divulged that she was from the Caribbean.

Participants’ strong ethnic pride and practice of self-amelioration provided a clear explanation for why study results were aligned with previously published literature on collectivism in the Caribbean culture. However, one way in which the historical practice of collectivism was not in alignment with the findings of this study was centered on spirituality. Brent and Callwood (1993) argue that regarding collectivism, spirituality is equally important to the cultural values of self-amelioration and ethnic pride. Brent and Callwood (1993) posit that most Caribbean persons are practicing Christians. However, only one 19-year-old participant expressed a deep commitment to his Christian faith, while also noting that his faith only intensified when he left the home of his Jamaican parents to attend college. No other participants divulged their religious or spiritual beliefs, except one 21-year-old participant, who dismissed Christianity on a whole as “that religion my mother believes in.”

Studies have shown that Caribbean parents often use conservative religious beliefs as a justification to use harsh physical and psychological punishment to discipline their children (such as the biblical reference “if you spare the rod, you spoil the child”) (Samms-Vaughan, William, & Brown, 2005; Sutherland, 2011). Thus, participants who denounced God or avoided the topic could have developed an association between Christianity and castigation from parents (Samms-Vaughan, William, & Brown, 2005; Sutherland, 2011). Accordingly, this would explain why study results deviated from previously published research on the importance of spirituality in collectivism.

Overall, the findings of this study were in alignment with previously published research centered on collectivism in the Caribbean culture. These findings reflected that the strength of the Caribbean culture is such that even college students born and raised in the U.S. and who identify racially as Black, spurn the African American culture and instead espouse Caribbean cultural practices. The embracing of the Caribbean culture was exhibited through participants' reported experiences with collectivism, which involved the adoption of self-amelioration and possessing strong ethnic pride (GoPaul-McNicol, 1993).

Ethnic Identity in Caribbean Students

Like Lisa-Ann, who entered college with her ethnic identity already resolved, no participants experienced the first stage of Phinney's Ethnic Identity Model (1990, 1993, 1995). Participants neither felt the need to explore their feelings about their ethnicity nor did they feel apathetic towards or struggle to commit to their ethnicity. According to Phinney (1990, 1993, 1995), the first stage of the model is centered upon the aforementioned definitions, and study results deviated greatly from this. Although Lisa-Ann, the representational character in the vignette, attended high school in South Florida and therefore, had had at least four years to assimilate into the American culture, Lisa-Ann instead steadfastly maintained her Bajan (or Barbadian) heritage. Ultimately, Lisa-Ann primarily identified ethnically. Even when surrounded by American students while attending university and after experiencing contempt from African American students when distinguishing herself as Bajan, Lisa-Ann remained resolute in her ethnic identification regardless of the isolation this determination brought. However, what ought to be noted in Lisa-Ann's example was that in college she did not experience a period of

feeling apathy towards her ethnicity, or an inability to commit to her ethnicity. Hence, Lisa-Ann did not experience the first stage of Phinney's model (1990, 1993, 1995). Likewise, just as Lisa-Ann entered college with her overall identity cemented in her ethnicity, all 14 participants reported arriving at college with a solid understanding, acceptance of, and love for their culture. This was also the case even for participants who had been born and raised in the U.S. and rarely, if at all, visited the island of their parents' birth. For example, African American students likely would go through the first stage of Phinney's model, as they have grown up – as have their parents and generations before – in a White-dominated society in which all notions of “class” and “beauty” are set to White norms, where “defining identity” is accepting the color of your skin and all that that signifies. On the other hand, Caribbeans – even though they, too, grew up in a color-sensitive culture – do not define their identity that way primarily [in the Caribbean, skin color is a remnant of colonization – whereas in America, skin color was institutionalized and codified, even so far as to define Black as “one drop of Black blood.”]

One 19-year-old participant spoke of the cultural pride he had cultivated in college, but also explained that this pride began when he was a child in Puerto Rico. The participant conveyed that although Puerto Ricans do identify racially as Hispanic, that: “...we also have our African roots, we have European roots and we have the Taino roots. And all that stuff has really interplayed to who I've become.” Despite the participant being an American citizen because he was born in Puerto Rico, he expressed that “it's very hard to fit in as a Puerto Rican in this American college culture.” The participant also outlined the distinct differences between himself as a Puerto Rican and White

American students in saying: "...as a White American, you wouldn't have to adapt to all these things, and face all these social issues and all these racial discrimination issues." Hence, just as Lisa-Ann entered college with a clear understanding of the differences between herself and persons outside of her culture (even when those persons shared the same race as Lisa-Ann), this, too, was the case for all participants. Thus, participants' reported experiences with their ethnic identity development deviated significantly from the first stage of Phinney's model (1990, 1993, 1995).

Participants' experiences were more so in line with the second stage of Phinney's model (1990, 1993, 1995). In the representational example of Lisa-Ann, she became more committed to her ethnicity each time she experienced backlash regarding her ethnicity from Black peers. Lisa-Ann also became further devoted to her ethnicity each time she encountered wariness from White peers until her race was qualified by her ethnicity. Likewise, the majority of participants – even some who identified racially as Asian or Hispanic – were able to connect the growing significance of their ethnic background to negative experiences associated with feeling either racially or ethnically minoritized in their college environment. For example, one 19-year-old participant conveyed that her peers' ignorance of the existence of the nation of Trinidad and her consistently being mistaken for Hispanic on her college campus amplified her need to clarify that she was Trinidadian and not Hispanic. Additionally, the participant expressed that her need to elucidate her ethnicity was directly born of the countless instances in which she was forced to defend or explain being Indian (Asian) but not Hindu, being from a Caribbean island, but not racially Black, and coming from an island that was geographically near to Venezuela, but not being Hispanic. Hence, much like both the

real-life participant and the representational Lisa-Ann, participants experienced an intensified understanding of the significance of their ethnicity as a result of unpleasant encounters in which they felt perceived as “less than” (p.136) by the dominant cultural group (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). Therefore, participants’ reported experiences with their ethnic identity development largely aligned with the second stage of Phinney’s model (1990, 1993, 1995).

Of the three stages that make up Phinney’s model (1990, 1993, 1995), the majority of participants’ experiences were predominantly in line with the third and final stage. Despite being both racially and ethnically minoritized in her college setting, Lisa-Ann was secure in her ethnicity as a Bajan in the sociocultural and historical context in which she lived (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). This certainty remained even as Lisa-Ann struggled with being somewhat rejected by African American peers or feeling guilt at the need to use her ethnicity to explain away her race. Even before attending college, Lisa-Ann had, in fact, gained membership into a culture that was minoritized in the U.S. Thus, prior to arriving at college, Lisa-Ann possessed a confident demeanor because of her conviction in her ethnicity. This, too, was the case for the majority of participants. For example, one 19-year-old participant acknowledged, “when I’m on my internships, there’s...all these White people around me.” However, he was also able to identify how much calmer he felt when he was with his “own people,” which he further explained meant “among minorities.” The participant further stated that despite the fact that he was still discovering himself in college, his being Puerto Rican “will never change.” In referring to his ethnic identity, the participant deemed being Puerto Rican as: “the only thing probably that I’m sure about.”

Overall, participants' reported experiences with their ethnic identity development chiefly aligned with the third stage of Phinney's model (1990, 1993, 1995). The majority of participants reported having already come to terms with their ethnic identity in the sociocultural environment in which they attended college or university (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). Participants also expressed feeling that they were members of a culture that had been minoritized in the U.S. (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016).

Perhaps the collectivistic nature of Caribbean cultures can serve as an explanation for why the majority of participants circumvented the first stage of Phinney's model (1990, 1993, 1995) and also easily passed through the subsequent two stages. One of the most important aspects of collectivism in the Caribbean culture is possessing strong ethnic pride (GoPaul-McNicol, 1993). In addition to possessing a strong sense of ethnic pride, the practice of collectivism in the Caribbean culture is also heavily centered on a commanding loyalty to an individual's country of origin (Mitchell & Bryan, 2007). Caribbean persons come from island nations in which they are the numerical majority, wherein they own land, businesses, and retain political control of their governments (Brent & Callwood, 1993). This socialization fuels ethnic pride (Brent & Callwood, 1993). Thus, because all 14 participants had a Caribbean cultural background, it was unsurprising that all reported entering college with a solid understanding, acceptance of, and passion for their island culture. Accordingly, these findings went against the first stage of Phinney's model (1990, 1993, 1995), but were in alignment with the subsequent two stages of the model, which focus on the development and acceptance of one's ethnic identity.

Phinney's Model of Ethnic Identity Development (1990, 1993, 1995), might better accommodate Caribbean college students if it is amended to reflect that collectivistic cultures place a heavy emphasis on the development and maintenance of ethnic pride from an early age. Thus, students from such cultures are not likely to progress through the tenets of Phinney's model (1990, 1993, 1995) in accordance with the prescribed stages. Instead, because of the importance of advancing and upholding ethnic pride in the Caribbean culture, Phinney's model (1990, 1993, 1995) needs to convey that the first stage might be impractical for Caribbean college students. In Caribbean students entering college with an already solidified perception of their ethnic identity, Phinney's model (1990, 1993, 1995) must acknowledge that there is a high probability that such students may only experience the last two stages of the model, or solely the final stage.

Post-Colonial Theory for Caribbean Students

The representational example of Lisa-Ann, as well as the lived experiences of real-life participants demonstrated the complexity of Caribbean college students developing both a racial and ethnic identity. During her time in college, Lisa-Ann's perception of herself began and ended with being Barbadian, until she was minoritized by White peers and professors via their focus on her Blackness. Moreover, Lisa-Ann felt certain in her identity, until the rejection of African American peers demonstrated that while in the U.S., asserting one's Caribbean ethnicity is equitable to denying or diluting one's Blackness. In her attempts to maintain her Caribbean identity and develop her racial identity without having to conform to the customs of a nation from which she did not originate, Lisa-Ann faced distinct challenges that neither Black nor White American

students must regularly navigate. Thus, the frameworks and models typically used to understand and forecast college student development do not apply to students like Lisa-Ann. Instead, as is posited by Hernandez and Murray-Johnson (2016), a post-colonial framework is needed to specifically address the challenges Caribbean students will face in their developmental process during their time in postsecondary education. Much like Lisa-Ann, who struggled to assume her Black identity without forsaking her Barbadian identity, one 26-year-old participant described the task of periodically having to choose between being Black American or Caribbean as “bothersome.” The participant explained that having been born and raised in the U.S., she was “essentially...American” and added that, “It just so happens that my family’s from Trinidad and Jamaica and that is what I identify with...but I’m still a Black woman.” In this short statement the participant revealed the unique struggle that female Caribbean college students often encounter in their progress toward development, which is that of being triply minoritized. In both the aforesaid real-life experience and Lisa-Ann’s depicted account, this came in the form of first being minoritized as a Black person, then again being minoritized as a Black female, and finally being yet once more minoritized as a Black, Caribbean female in a predominantly White, American country. Such examples validate Hernandez and Murray-Johnson’s (2016) contention that a post-colonial framework is needed to address the developmental challenges unique to Caribbean college students. Hernandez and Murray-Johnson (2016) fittingly argue that a post-colonial framework is needed to allow Black Caribbean identities to be constructed, reconstructed, and negotiated in the face of ambiguity. Hernandez and Murray-Johnson (2016) further contend that a post-colonial framework is required to emphasize that groups are not monolithic and that ethnicities are

varied and complex. As Campbell (2017) posits, Black Caribbean students need their college to be an environment in which they can construct an identity based on ethnicity and not race. In such environments, these students can lean upon their nationality and ethnicity as Afro-Caribbean without facing overwhelming pressures to identify as only Black, as is so often the case in the U.S. (Thompson, 2016). As was proposed by Khan (1998, 2000), a “Third Space” is needed in which these students can embrace a fluid identity and wherein their development can be shaped by philosophies based on the collectivistic practices Caribbean cultures have been built upon. Finally, as was argued by Malcolm and Mendoza (2014), a post-colonial framework is needed as the identity development models designed for African American and White American students are not perceived as appropriate for Caribbean college students.

Overall, the findings of this study support previously published research that calls for a post-colonial framework that emphasizes that ethnic groups are not monolithic and that ethnicities are diverse and multifaceted (Hernandez & Murray-Johnson, 2016). A post-colonial framework could be priceless in any study of Caribbean college students because it could prove that factors such as ethnicity and cultural norms are more salient for Black Caribbean students than the factor of race as it is understood in the context of the United States (Tikly, 1999). Finally, study results were in alignment with the findings of Hernandez and Murray-Johnson (2016) in that they evidenced the fluidity and duality of Caribbean student identity. Study findings also substantiated the necessity for a framework that will embrace a hybrid consciousness and “a tolerance for ambiguity” (p.388) that can drive forward the discourse on racial constructs and diversity with regard to Caribbean college students (Anzaldúa, 2012).

The Evolving Caribbean Psyche

The dichotomy of Lisa-Ann's resilient ethnic pride and her simultaneous racial insecurity was another experience reported by the majority of participants who identified racially as Black. While these participants all reported feeling positive about their ethnicity, they also described conflicted feelings about their race. However, unlike the findings of Blackwood-Meeks (1999), participants did not attribute their racial uncertainty to parents' negative rhetoric on Blackness. The results of this study diverged from those of Blackwood-Meeks (1999) which posit that it is normative in the Caribbean culture for parents to make disparaging remarks to children about being Black, thereby preventing children from developing a strong, positive Black identity. While the participants of this study indeed expressed insecurity about their race and reported experiencing periods of self-hatred, it was direct encounters with White American peers that ignited these feelings, not parents making disparaging remarks about being Black. For example, one 19-year-old participant explained that in order to avoid feeling like "the only Black person" in social settings on her college campus, she habitually avoided events that would be "all White" and which could result in the "unsettling feeling" of being "the only Black person there." Thus, this study diverged from previous research on the Caribbean psyche which suggests that parents deliberately or inadvertently teach children that Black skin should remain a thing of shame instead of pride (GoPaul-McNicol, 1995; Sutherland, 2011; Jarrett, 2000). Instead, participants conveyed that much of their insecurities and/or self-hatred was instigated by experiences with White peers.

It must also be noted, however, that some participants reported experiences which suggested that Black persons outside of their families were responsible for the periods in which they experienced self-hatred or self-doubt concerning their race. The pre-encounter stage of Cross' nigrescence theory (1971, 1991) addresses a possible origin for participants' feelings. Cross' nigrescence theory is described as "one of the most widely known and researched theories" (p.1) of Black identity development (De Walt, 2013). According to Cross (1971, 1991), in the first stage of nigrescence, the pre-encounter stage, the (Black) person's worldview is controlled by Euro-American factors. It is also at this stage that race begins to play an important role in the daily lives of people due to the development of anti-Black propensities resulting from internalized racism (Reid, 2013). Additionally, this is also the stage in which Whiteness is perceived as good because of White supremacy (Cross, 1971, 1991). While Cross' nigrescence theory (1971, 1991) was designed to depict the various stages Black Americans have traversed in seeking a more authentic identity during the late 1960s and early 1970s, study results suggest that several participants who identified racially as Black experienced similar periods of internalized racism that may not have been birthed or inflicted by their parents, but existed nonetheless. For example, one 26-year-old participant discussed her hair as a major factor in the racial insecurity she reported experiencing while in high school. She explained, "in high school, all the girls that had long, curly hair were either Spanish or White" and that she felt compelled to hide her own long, curly hair in a bun throughout high school because she was constantly harassed and questioned as to whether her hair was real (that is, not a weave or a wig). The participant further detailed that while White peers often questioned the authenticity of her long, curly hair, it was actually her Black

peers that blatantly violated her personal space in attempting to “reach into her scalp to feel tracks” (a row of synthetic or human hair that can be clipped or sewn into hair on one’s scalp) for “hardcore evidence” that a woman of the participant’s dark complexion could have “beautiful hair.” Ironically, it was the participant’s Black peers that reinforced the notion that White was right and good by first perceiving “long, curly hair” as a physical attribute that ought to be aspired to. Secondly, her Black peers degraded both their own and the participant’s Blackness in expressing incredulity that a darkly-complected “real Black woman” like the participant could authentically have what was perceived to be the right, White kind of hair. In discussing race and ethnicity in the Caribbean, Alleyne (2000) stated that the texture of hair has a “high degree of salience” (p.6) and that the significance of hair texture as a socioracial marker is signified by the fact that it is the object of constant tending – much unlike skin color, which is relatively immutable. Alleyne (2000) also explains that in the Caribbean, a continuum of hair textures ranges from “straight” to “woolly” and that hair texture differences have also attracted a special terminology that is not only descriptive, but also expresses a social value (“good,” “bad,” “kinky,” “pepper grain,” and others) (p.7). According to Alleyne (2000), hair texture may supplement or complement skin color in the racial classification of an individual, but can also contradict and confuse, and sometimes even supersede the classification based on skin color. This was the reported experience of the aforementioned participant, who endured relentless interrogations from both Black and White peers centered on doubt of her being able to be a dark-skinned Black woman and organically grow long, curly hair from her scalp.

No participant of this study who identified racially as Black reported either one or both parents making disparaging remarks about Blackness. However, as is evidenced by the above-mentioned participant's story, self-hatred remains a visceral hurdle for Black Caribbeans to overcome while they are simultaneously trying to ethnically find their place in a country that has little value for their ethnicity. For participants, it was not Caribbean parents making derogatory comments about Blackness, such as "Nothing Black cyah good" (Nothing Black can be good), "Yu Black and ugly" (You are Black and ugly), "Nutten nah gwann fe yu from yu Black" (No success will come to you once you are Black) (Blackwood-Meeks, 1999, available at <http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com>). However, participants' stories revealed that such thoughts manifest in the minds of Black Caribbean college students with or without parents acting as fountainheads of anti-Blackness. This finding suggests that although the Caribbean psyche might be evolving in terms of self-hatred no longer originating from the home, as is posited by Cross (1971, 1991) in his research on Black identity development, the Caribbean psyche remains molded by the same retrograde views of racial superiority and inferiority as a consequence of the legacy of slavery and colonialism.

Overall, the findings this study were in line with models that elucidate self-hatred within the Black American community, such as that which is found in Cross' nigrescence theory (1971, 1991), in which Black persons, in the process of becoming Black, first perceive Blackness as inferior to Whiteness and perceive Whiteness as good because of White supremacy. However, study findings simultaneously diverged from previous research on the Caribbean psyche which suggests that parents deliberately or inadvertently teach children that Black skin should remain a thing of disgrace instead of

pride (GoPaul-McNicol, 1995; Sutherland, 2011; Jarrett, 2000). This duality suggests that while Caribbean parents may no longer act as the apparatus delivering the message of internalized racism to their children (Reid, 2013), this message, in some form, continues to be received and reinforced by Black Caribbean students in a manner identical to that of Black American students.

Regarding the psyche of the Caribbean Black male specifically, study results defied the findings of Narcisse (2000), which posit that in Caribbean societies masculinity is defined by aggressiveness, power over others, and sexual prowess. Results of this study also negated the argument that distortions of the male image have led to Caribbean Black males developing a “go-for-bad/rude bwoy (a boy who causes trouble and is known as ‘rude’ because of his attitude)” male image (Narcisse, 2000; Sutherland, 2011). Additionally, Sutherland (2011) has argued that in Jamaican garrison communities the primary goal is to be a “shotta” (someone who deals with drugs, murder, or other illegal forms of moneymaking). However, study results greatly contrasted with this research on Caribbean masculinity. The male participants of this study who identified racially as Black did not divulge possessing the aforementioned characteristics, and instead expressed a preoccupation with battling stereotypes about Caribbean men perpetuated even by males in their own families. Male participants who identified racially as Black also conveyed strong goals for their current academics and their professional future. For example, one 19-year-old participant passionately conveyed a solid ambition to persevere through challenging science classes to become a pharmacist. Additionally, in discussing his family history, which centered on his grandfather and uncles having multiple children with multiple women out of wedlock, the participant maintained that

his actions in college were deliberately opposite from the behavior of these family members. The participant explained that dating in college as a Jamaican man could be trying at times because of the assumption that all Jamaicans are “womanizin’,” but maintained that he himself was not a “womanizer” and expressed that having multiple children out of wedlock “don’t really look good” and is the behavior of a “cruff” (the Jamaican patois term for someone who is worthless and directionless).

While the findings on the psyche of Caribbean students interviewed for this study diverged from previous research on the same topic, the reasoning behind this divergence is not as positive. Crowder and Tedrow (2001) have argued that the migration of Caribbean people is selective and that the West Indian people who end up moving to the U.S. or the U.K. are those who also come from middle-class educational and occupational backgrounds in their country of origin. Moreover, Feliciano (2005) argues that immigrants from Jamaica, Haiti and the Dominican Republic have been proven to be more highly educated than their counterparts in their native countries. Thus, for participants who identified racially as Black and denied parents being a source of negative ideals about Blackness, or who diverged from negative characteristics associated with their sex, this encouraging development in their identity could be viewed as merely incidental. This deviation from previously published research could be a result of participants coming from families that are economically and educationally better off than their counterparts, who either willfully or unintentionally remained in the Caribbean.

Debating a New Self-Concept: Racial and Ethnic Identity

While physical features are the basis for the construction of racial classifications, other less visible and less tangible features have come to be associated with races

(Alleyne, 2000). Examples of these are beliefs, behaviors and artifacts that separate one group from another (Alleyne, 2000). Such beliefs, behaviors and artifacts are what make up culture (Alleyne, 2000). Both culture and racial identity are the foundation of ethnicity (Alleyne, 2000). Culture is inclusive of religion (beliefs and ritual), language, music, dress, foods, customs, names and naming (Alleyne, 2000). Being both tangible and salient, the aforementioned elements are the main focus of ethnic identity (Alleyne, 2000). One of the main requirements of ethnicity, however, is the recognition of not only similarities and differences in the abovementioned areas of culture, but also the need to act in the interest of the perceived group (Alleyne, 2000). Whereas culture is transmitted and ascribed, ethnicity is engendered through recognition of sameness, which leads to common actions to further common interests (Alleyne, 2000).

In attempting to understand how Caribbean college students develop a racial identity and why this development differs so vastly from the growth of their ethnic identity, what must first be understood is the history of race in the Caribbean.

Thompson (2016) posits that while slavery was a part of the history of Caribbean islands, once slavery was abolished, the colonies consisted primarily of people of African descent. In countries like Trinidad, for example, African descendants have owned land and enjoyed a substantial amount of independence (Thompson, 2016). Thus, regarding the matter of choosing to identify racially or ethnically, internally, this is rarely an actual choice for Caribbean college students in America. Essentially, in coming from an island in which race does not have to be considered and contemplated on a daily basis, all that remains is the option to claim and develop one's ethnic identity.

Thompson (2016) explains that the Caribbean class system (wherein most discrimination in Caribbean islands occurs) is not stratified by race and that the majority of the population in the Caribbean is Black. Thus, when Afro-Caribbeans leave their countries of origin for the U.S., they enter a racialized society in which they become a minority, and adjustment becomes difficult as they are denied the privileges and cultural status they enjoyed before migrating to the U.S. (Hine-St., 2006). Campbell (2017) discusses growing up in an Anglophone Caribbean country with a multiplicity of ethnicities and that his environment demonstrated that “people can exist without blatant discrimination based on race” (p.43).

For participants who were born and raised in the U.S., merely visiting the Caribbean island from which their family originated and listening to parents’ stories of growing up in a non-racialized nation provides an option to claim an exceptional identity not available to African Americans. This identity is one that proves the existence of an island nation and corresponding culture that are in direction opposition to the overwhelming pressure of existing in the racialized U.S. (Waters, 1994). Caribbean students identifying ethnically and not racially means experiencing the option of not being reduced to a color, and instead, perchance being able to be perceived as a person (Waters, 1994). It could be argued that participants who primarily identified by ethnicity and secondarily identified as Black did this because the only other alternative was accepting that one’s fate is parallel to that of African Americans, who have been brutalized and oppressed by the racialized environment of the U.S. for generations. Rong and Brown (2001) argue that the formation of the identity of young, immigrant Blacks entails a “choice” about what kind of American they are or want to be, and that Black

immigrants perceive a possibility to negotiate the meanings of their racial identity with the mainstream society and to change their racial label correspondingly. Rong and Brown (2001) further argue that one of the few options available to Black immigrants is whether to identify as non-immigrant Black Americans or as immigrant Blacks who maintain an ethnic identity reflecting their parents' national origins. Waters (1994, 1999) contends that youth who choose the immigrant identity expect Whites to respond positively to their choice. An example of this "choice" was seen in one 19-year-old participant who expressed a loyalty to her Jamaican culture that was also reflective of her fear of living a life that corresponded with the identity of being African American. The participant explained that she was grateful for having had "Jamaican kid experiences" and that she believed her life would be more enriching because she had "a culture to go home to" and didn't have to rely on being "some sort of Black American." Lindsey and Wilson (1994) posit that Blackness in the U.S. may have a more negative meaning to people of African origin than it does in Haiti or Jamaica, where Blacks are not a racial minority and the racial hierarchy is more flexible than it is in the U.S. The participant's abovementioned thoughts on the benefits of being Black and raised outside of the American culture reveal that this is indeed the belief of many Caribbean students attending college in the U.S.

Additionally, participants preferring to identify ethnically as opposed to racially could be an act of defiance against Americans consistently requiring even immigrant Blacks to speak on behalf of, or explain the behavior of American Blacks. Such actions often reveal the widespread White American disregard for the notion that not all Black people are in fact African American. In these instances, it is apparent that one's ethnicity is of no import to Americans when one is racially minoritized, and thus, to prevent one's

culture from being ignored or dismissed, Caribbean students will preserve their culture by insisting on being identified ethnically. For example, the abovementioned 19-year-old participant explained that “just by being Black in America” she felt that she was expected by both Black and White Americans to “bear the burden of African [American] history.” The participant further explained that this was unjust, because as a Jamaican she felt unable to “relate to the roots of an African American person.” Consequently, the participant reported feeling “more comfortable identifying as Jamaican.”

The subject of navigating Blackness while being Caribbean was one that arose repeatedly both in the interviews conducted for this study, as well as in the critical analyses of how being both Black and non-American impacts the identity development of Caribbean college students. This topic was briefly reflected upon in Lisa-Ann’s story, as, in contemplating the most painful events of her college career, Lisa-Ann remembered feeling rejected by African American students on account of her identifying first as Bajan and secondarily as Black. Lisa-Ann also pondered the frustration she felt when professors turned the focus on her when the discussion of Black issues arose in her pre-law classes, revealing her professors’ ignorance or unconcern for Lisa-Ann’s unfamiliarity with the Black American experience. Similarly, in his scholarly narrative centered on the complexities of navigating his Jamaican and Black identities during college, Campbell (2017) discusses the frustration of professors and students calling on him in class to speak on behalf of the Black race simply because of his skin color. Campbell (2017) contends that it was assumed that he “knew everything about what it meant to be Black or African American” (p.44) in spite of his being born and raised in Jamaica and only immigrating to the U.S. as an international college student. For several real-life participants of this

study and Lisa-Ann, the American college campus revealed itself as an environment in which, contrary to participants' preference to identify ethnically instead of racially, race became the primary way in which others identified them. Consequently, both participants and Lisa-Ann experienced that as a result of being racially Black, their ethnicity was of little importance to White peers and professors. Moreover, both the real-life participants of this study and Lisa-Ann often found that the preservation of their Caribbean culture was viewed with irritation by Black peers and perceived as a slight against African American culture.

Regarding the overall issue of Black identity development in college, there are serious implications for student affairs professionals. In his narrative of navigating his Black and Caribbean identities at college, Campbell (2017) concedes that Black Caribbean students and Black American students may appear similar in appearance and in how they navigate racial tensions on a college campus. However, Campbell (2017) also argues that uniformly grouping students has the potential to have a negative impact on Black Caribbean students' mental wellbeing (Malcolm & Mendoza, 2014). Instead, Black Caribbean students ought to be given opportunities to delineate and decipher their Blackness, as opposed to confining students to theories developed for Black American students and forcing an Americanized way of thinking onto them (Campbell, 2017).

Overall, regarding the racial and ethnic identity of Caribbean college students, it must be understood that these students are likely arriving at college with an already fully developed ethnic identity that has likely been systematically reinforced since childhood for both cultural preservation and individual protection. In coming from island nations where race is rarely a salient social or political issue, and in immigrating to a country

where the tragedies of living in a racialized society are never-ending, for Caribbean students, identifying racially will remain a secondary choice for as long as ethnicity remains a secondary topic of concern in the United States.

Psychosocial Development of Caribbean Students

Study findings revealed that participants' perceptions of their psychosocial development in college aligned with four of Chickering and Reisser's Seven Vectors of Development (1993) but deviated notably from three.

Reflecting Chickering and Reisser. Caribbean students seemed to mirror development in the following four vectors: Developing Competence, Managing Emotions, Establishing Identity, and Developing Purpose. The story of Lisa-Ann at the beginning of this discussion was a direct reflection of the reports from the participants regarding their determination to excel academically and their eventual ability to do so with much hard work and discipline. Most participants indicated that they were developing intellectual competence at the time of their interview (Vector One, Developing Competence), as they reported at times struggling with schoolwork, but eventually understanding challenging concepts and earning high grades during college. This was especially reflected in one 19-year-old participant's statement of: "I know more about the body, know more about the mind, [and] know more about school in general."

Participants also indicated development in other areas of competence, such as physical and manual skills: they referred to losing weight, developing more healthful eating habits, and committing to an exercise regimen. In terms of interpersonal competence, participants indicated that they learned to express political beliefs

appropriately rather than confrontationally, to respect divergent opinions, and to co-exist with non-like-minded people.

Study participants likely succeeded in developing competences in college because of the importance of education and learning in the Caribbean culture. Wharton (2008) posits that education is a main facet of West Indian students' identity because education is viewed as the tool to achieve their aspirations.

Participants also indicated being able to manage their emotions during college (Vector Two, Managing Emotions). As illustrated in the story of Lisa-Ann, she was able to appropriately express and control her emotions despite feeling frustration on the telephone with her mother. One 19-year-old participant recounted having to manage her emotions regarding her parents' angry objections to her dating a mixed-race boyfriend by avoiding their phone calls until they were calmer.

It can be argued that like the representational Lisa-Ann of the vignette and the participant with the mixed-race boyfriend, the majority of participants knew how to manage emotions successfully. However, in some form, participants had been learning to manage their own emotions and comprehend and accept the emotions of parents long before they entered college. As will be analyzed later, study results revealed that one of the main parenting styles experienced by participants was the authoritarian parenting style (Baumrind, 1971). Authoritarian parenting is centered on being highly involved in a child's life, but doing so with much control and little warmth (Baumrind, 1971). For the majority of participants who grew up experiencing authoritarian parenting, learning to recognize emotions in others (namely parents), control their own emotions, and react favorably to parents' negative emotions might not have been a choice in childhood and

adolescence. Instead, managing one's emotions might have been a requirement for subsistence. This is because the demanding nature of authoritarian parenting would leave little room for participants to express negative emotions. Thus, both the childhood and adolescence of participants could have been spent learning how to control emotions in a way that would pacify parents and create harmony within oneself. The representational example of Lisa-Ann best illustrated the quandary of Caribbean students learning to manage emotions versus merely becoming better at suppressing emotions with age. As was mentioned earlier, in response to her mother's overbearing actions, Lisa-Ann became emotionally stoic and this too was often the case for many participants of this study, who reported withdrawing emotionally or physically from parents in response to disagreeing with parents' opinions or actions. Participants explained that such retreats were able to take place solely because they were away at college and no longer had to live with their parents on a day-to-day basis. However, this subduing of emotions is a cause for concern, as adolescents who suppress their emotions to acquiesce to parents tend to be both unhappy and unfriendly and are at a higher risk of being victims of, or perpetrating bullying (Georgiou et al, 2013). Specifically, in Caribbean countries, children raised by authoritarian parents are more likely to suffer from depression than kids raised by authoritative parents (Lipps et al., 2012). Additionally, these students are less likely to feel socially accepted by their peers, and, as was seen in both the representational example of Lisa-Ann and the real-life experiences of participants, students who learn to subdue emotions to comply with parents' demands are more likely to "tune out" their parents as they get older and reject their parents as legitimate authority figures (Trinkner et al., 2012).

Participants reported experiencing identity development based on outer appearance, ethnic background, and sexual orientation (Vector Five, Establishing Identity). Additionally, participants described developing significantly more confidence in their body and physical appearance since beginning college and experiencing an increased attachment to their cultural heritage. In the vignette, Lisa-Ann's allegiance to her cultural heritage was at the core of the identity she developed in college. Even when she faced scorn from African American students in choosing to separate from them ethnically and faced microaggressions from White American students, Lisa-Ann maintained her identity as a Bajan.

Participants reported increases in their self-esteem, self-acceptance, and security of self in light of feedback from others (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). For example, one 21-year-old participant reported feeling "pretty good" about her physical appearance and attributed this mindset to "a lot more acceptance" in college as opposed to high school. Other participants attributed security of self to being part of a diverse campus. Another example of establishing identity in college was a 19-year-old participant who balanced her deep sense of pride in Jamaican culture with tolerance for Trump supporters who were anti-immigrant. Additionally, a 19-year-old participant was able to "come out" as gay in college and reflected that college was a "growing period" for him.

Similar to Lisa-Ann's steadfast goal of becoming a lawyer, all but one participant reported knowing exactly what profession they wanted to pursue and had also identified personal interests that led them to this realization (Vector Six, Developing Purpose). In addition, several participants also experienced parental opposition regarding their chosen future profession or their current jobs in college, which supported the research of Patton,

Renn, Guido and Quaye (2016), who posited that Vector Six is inclusive of purposely making and staying with decisions despite opposition. For example, one 26-year-old participant stuck to plans to study nursing in the face of parental objections based on beliefs that becoming a doctor would be more prestigious; she did so because she recognized her parents lacked knowledge about what nurses really do.

This participant's actual and Lisa-Ann's representative dedication in spite of opposition reflected how the majority of participants were able to develop and commit to a life goal established in college. The ability of the vast majority of participants to establish and resolutely follow through with academic goals and work toward professional aspirations could be attributed to the selective nature of the migration of Caribbean people, in that participants may have originated from families who placed a heavy emphasis on the importance of obtaining an education even before migrating to the U.S. (Crowder & Tedrow, 2001). Thus, it is likely that the importance of education was instilled early in participants and only reinforced their determination to get into college, excel academically while in college, and find success at the conclusion of college.

Not reflecting Chickering and Reisser. As noted, study results deviated from three of the Seven Vectors. Nearly all participants did not experience autonomy, and then grappled with interdependence by often keeping problems experienced in college from their parents. Therefore, Vector Three (Moving Through Autonomy to Independence) did not apply to most participants, as the vector posits that this aspect of development is centered on increased emotional independence, defined as "freedom from continual and pressing needs for reassurance, affection, or approval from others" (Chickering & Reisser, 1993, p. 117). The Lisa-Ann vignette depicts her inability to develop autonomy

because of her parents' controlling nature and her subsequent inability to develop an interdependence with them, which reflected most female participants' experiences in particular. For example, one 18-year-old participant said her parents forbade her to drive, taking and picking her up from school and work and ordering her to take a ride-sharing service when they could not drive her. She felt powerless to take a stand and had no confidence in sharing problems with either parent, talking only with an older sister and brother-in-law because they were "more open" and "trustworthy." This fundamental distrust of parents and sense of powerlessness characterize the inability to develop emotional independence, and subsequent self-direction, self-reliance and personal responsibility (Chickering & Reisser, 1993). It also goes to the heart of how the Caribbean student situation differs from the popular American view that "going away to college" marks the beginning of adulthood. In a sense, for many of these students, it seems impossible to "leave home," no matter where they are.

The majority of participants described struggling to develop or maintain relationships while in college as parents were vocal about participants' choices in dating, as well as friendships. Therefore, Vector Four (Developing Mature Interpersonal Relationships) was largely inapplicable to students in this study. Participants' experiences reflected that parental objections often hindered relationship progression and caused participants and their partners to be in a state of perpetual defensiveness. The vignette depicting Lisa-Ann's representational experiences reflected her beginning to have romantic feelings for a peer but being unable to enjoy and explore those feelings because of a preoccupation with what her parents would think. This reflected the experiences of most participants who were involved in romantic relationships. For example, one 18-

year-old participant lived at home with her parents while attending a commuter college and explained that she had been forbidden from dating because her parents were “old school” and “strict” and did not trust her. She also described her parents putting restrictions on her “time-wise” and not approving her going or staying out late. Despite her being nearly 19 years old, the latest she had ever been out of her house was 11:30pm. This participant’s example of struggling to develop a mature interpersonal relationship diverged greatly from the tenets of this fourth vector, which is centered on students developing the capacity for healthy and lasting intimate relationships with partners and close friends (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). Instead, parental relationships served as a direct interference with the development of such relationships for students of this study.

While participants clearly expressed developing specific personal beliefs and values while in college, their experiences reflected an inability to synchronize these principles with their behavior. This was largely due to parents holding differing beliefs and participants feeling uncomfortable about separating from their parents’ opinions and directives. Thus, Vector Seven (Developing Identity) did not apply to participants, as this aspect of development is centered on humanizing values, personalizing values, and developing congruence so that one’s core values are exhibited in one’s behavior (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). The representational example of Lisa-Ann showed that she was able to successfully recognize the rigid thinking reflected in her mother dictating where she should spend her second college Spring Break. However, while Lisa-Ann was able to recognize how her mother’s views were unfair and in direct opposition to her own beliefs about how she ought to spend her time away from college, Lisa-Ann was unable

to get to a place where she balanced the interests of others (her mother) with her own interests. Lisa-Ann's representative example was reflective of the majority of the participants' experiences. For example, one 18-year-old participant relayed moving hours north from his parents to attend college and explained that his favorite part of the college experience was being able to "do what I want and not really what my parents want me to do" and "living the life I want to live." However, when discussing his parents' expectations of how much time he was expected to spend with family when visiting home on school breaks, the participant explained that his parents were not in agreement with him spending time with friends during either Thanksgiving or Christmas breaks. While the participant had a clear vision and desire for a life centered on sovereignty, when confronted with his parents' value for family closeness, his ideals immediately became subordinate to those of his parents. This was the experience of the majority of participants who knew what they wanted from their life in college, but when their hopes conflicted with their parents' values and expectations, participants conformed. This is inconsistent with Chickering and Reisser's (1993) explanation of Developing Identity, which is focused on students creating a personalized value system and ultimately developing congruence between values and actions.

Overall, while study results aligned with four of Chickering and Reisser's Seven Vectors of Development (1993), the outcomes also differed markedly for three of the vectors. The applicability of Chickering and Reisser's Seven Vectors of Development (1993) could greatly be improved if the vectors are further advanced through the lens of collectivism. This is because development in the Caribbean culture will rarely be an

individualistic endeavor and will instead almost certainly take place through a series of phases rooted in the communalistic virtues of the Caribbean islands (Sutherland, 2011).

Self-Authorship in Caribbean Students

The example of Lisa-Ann's struggle to stand up to her parents' controlling behavior and live in accordance with her own values and beliefs was reflected in the majority of experiences conveyed by participants. Despite autonomously getting herself into college, once there, Lisa-Ann entered the new setting largely directed by the warnings and prohibitions of her parents, thereby entering the first phase of Baxter Magolda's Theory of Self-Authorship, following formulas (Baxter Magolda, 2001). In Lisa-Ann's mother usurping her plans to enjoy a Spring Break away from home with new friends she had made from college, and in Lisa-Ann's meeting and beginning to like the kind of boy her father had expressly forbidden her from dating, Lisa-Ann also entered the second phase, crossroads. However, unlike Lisa-Ann, participants largely did not experience the phases of self-authorship beyond following formulas. Only four of 14 participants articulated encounters that could be considered crossroads. Generally speaking, while participants were able to recognize when external authorities were dictating the parameters for their lives in college, few participants reached a breaking point that convinced them that a change was needed (Baxter Magolda, 2001). Furthermore, few participants felt the need to use their own interests and passions to construct a new path for their lives (Baxter Magolda, 2001). The majority of participants instead remained at the following formulas phase by seeming to make peace with the way of life they had always known. That is, parents prescribing what they felt was "right" for participants, guiding them in the direction of "right" and steering participants away from

actions regarded by parents as “wrong.” For example, one 18-year-old participant explained that when applying for college, his intent was to attend the University of South Florida to become a pharmacist. However, he further conveyed that his mother instructed him to “go to FAMU” and that his ultimate reaction to this directive was “all right, whatever.” In explaining why his mother wanted him to attend FAMU, the participant conveyed that his mother’s driving reason was that the participant’s cousin attended FSU (Florida State University), which is an institution less than a five-minute drive from FAMU. The participant further explained that to his family, it was a “real big deal to have two kids in one city that can reach each other better.” Despite his original interest in attending the University of South Florida, the participant acquiesced to his mother’s decision-making and went about beginning his adjustment to FAMU when the time came. In so doing, the participant did not experience a crossroads because he did not feel sufficiently dissatisfied with his mother controlling which university he attended enough to begin making life plans better suited to his desires. This was the case for the majority of participants, in that they were able to recognize when external authorities (usually parents) controlled plans for their life, but did not experience displeasure to the point of being compelled to go against the external authorities.

The collectivistic nature of Caribbean culture can again serve as an explanation for why the majority of participants did not experience self-authorship as studied by Baxter Magolda (2001). Due to the normalization of the practice of collectivism within the Caribbean culture, participants might have believed that family members would view any potential dissent or autonomous decision-making as disrespect. This would not be an irrational fear for those of the Caribbean culture, as a crucial part of collectivism is

centered on the upholding of a strong family interconnection (Brent & Callwood, 1993; Thrasher, 1994). Dissent – in any form – could be viewed as a threat to that interconnection, thereby demotivating participants from allowing themselves to enter a crossroads (Brent & Callwood, 1993; Thrasher, 1994).

In order to provide an accurate presentation of all participants of this study and their varying experiences with self-authorship, it is important to note that there were three participants whose experiences reflected having gone through the first three phases of self-authorship. Additionally, there was one participant whose experiences reflected his/her having gone through all four phases of the theory.

For example, one 19-year-old participant experienced a crossroads in the form of choosing to remain in a romantic relationship with a young man whom her parents disapproved of because of his race and religion. At the time of her interview, the participant was approaching her two and a half-year anniversary with her boyfriend. The participant was also celebrating her boyfriend's move from Belize to attend the same private university in Coral Gables, Florida. The participant became the author of her own life in choosing to believe that her boyfriend was a worthy romantic partner and standing up to her parents in defense of that belief. However, the peace, contentment and inner strength associated with the fourth and final phase of self-authorship eluded the participant. This was because she was plagued by both an increasingly antagonistic relationship with her parents, as well as the burden of keeping the secret that her boyfriend had moved from Belize to be with her in South Florida (Baxter Magolda, 2001).

A 19-year-old participant relayed a series of incidents that took place in college which reflected she had experienced all four phases of self-authorship. She described first entering college with her mother's directives to stay away from "taboo" activities her mother believed to be reserved for White people. The participant conveyed experiencing a crossroads after being devastated by her mother's designation of studying abroad as one of those "taboo" activities. Her mother subsequently forbade the participant from studying in China for one semester despite the participant having taken Mandarin Chinese classes for multiple years. The participant entered the third phase of self-authorship and became the author of her own life by deciding that she did not want to continue to be "scared of the world" and "very intimidated by the outside world." Finally, she entered the fourth phase of self-authorship by successfully negotiating her internal foundation in genuinely finding strength, peace, and contentment in her new belief systems about the importance of being brave and risk-taking. The participant also became self-determined in her openness to grow and change (Baxter Magolda, 2001).

The above-mentioned participants were likely able to progress past the first phase of self-authorship because they allowed themselves (or were forced) to emotionally recognize that their parents' plans for their life was in direct opposition to the journeys the participants planned for themselves. These participants experienced a painful realization that they could not continue living their lives in the way their parents wanted them to. Thus, they progressed onto the second phase of self-authorship and beyond. However, the majority of participants were either unwilling or unable to allow themselves to recognize the discomfort that develops when there is a chasm between life plans designed by external authorities and participants' actual desires in life. It is also

likely that the majority of participants, because of their ages, had simply not yet experienced an incident that forced this realization upon them.

Self-authorship as a theory does not support or explain the development of Caribbean college students because the theory does not consider how young adults can successfully self-author, when culturally, most psychosocial development has taken place within a close family unit. Nor does the theory address how beginning to “write one’s own life” (p.355) could mean the loss or ruin of that family unit (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016).

For self-authorship to accommodate the development of Caribbean college students, the theory must be expanded to elucidate how students can successfully self-author in light of their identity being heavily dependent on family and culture. Otherwise, students of Caribbean descent could quite easily remain at the emotional and mental stage of life that suggests that following a path laid out by parents is always the wisest choice. Such blind allegiance could be especially detrimental for students who are following the directives of parents who themselves were never forced to navigate college life within an American institution.

Additionally, conducting further studies on the weaknesses found in the use of self-authorship could be another path to this theory better accommodating Caribbean college students. Pizzolatto (2004) found that so-called high-risk college students often reached self-authorship prior to college as a result of experiencing difficult circumstances early in life that required them to make decisions and take action on their own. An example of this would be making the decision to attend college and negotiating the admissions process without any direction or reinforcement from parents (Pizzolatto,

2004). As this was the reported experience of the great majority of participants, it would behoove future research to improve the theory of self-authorship so as to encapsulate the experiences of students who identify as anything other than White American.

Moreover, study results diverged from the precepts of self-authorship because the majority of participants recalled and shared experiences that reflected an inability or unwillingness to go beyond the first phase of the theory. A very minimal number of participants reported life-altering experiences reflective of entering phase two of the theory, in which participants encounter a crossroads (Baxter Magolda, 2001). The progression onto phase three of self-authorship was also a notable rarity in this study. Only one participant reported encounters that suggested she had experienced all the abovementioned phases and phase four as well.

Overall, study results showed that participants were either not having experiences that necessitated a crossroads, or that these students were skillful in subduing the emotions that could cause a crossroads to take place. Ultimately, participants were unable to negotiate all phases of Baxter Magolda's Theory of Self-Authorship (2001), thus rendering the theory generally ineffective in comprehensively capturing the development of Caribbean college students.

Parenting Styles and Caribbean Students

One of the most unique findings of this study resulted in a merging of two parenting styles identified by Diana Baumrind (1971, 1991) as entirely separate from one another. Authoritarian and neglectful were identified as the parenting styles most experienced by participants. Baumrind's seminal model (1971) defines the authoritarian parenting style as one in which parents are highly involved in their child's life, but in a

way that produces little warmth and much control. Additionally, the authoritarian parenting style involves power assertion without nurturance or two-way communication (Baumrind, 1971).

Neglectful parents are those who are cold and unresponsive, generally uninvolved with their children's lives, and project an attitude of overall indifference in matters concerning the child (Baumrind, 1991). Additionally, neglectful parents are uninterested in their children's needs and largely unconcerned with their lives (Baumrind, 1991).

The method of determining what parenting styles participants most likely experienced was centered on the frequency with which participants described encounters that corresponded with specific terms Baumrind (1971, 1991) used to identify each parenting style. For example, Baumrind (1971, 1991) used the following terms to describe the authoritarian parent: unresponsive, strict rules, high expectations, and expect blind obedience. The majority of participants articulated occurrences in which parents tried to control or prohibit their actions during college. Participants also communicated trying to dialogue with parents to understand the reasoning behind the control or prohibition, and in doing so, were deemed by parents as "rude" or "thinking they're grown." Additionally, participants conveyed that the aforementioned inquires to parents were often met with outrage, impatience, or anger, instead of actually being addressed by parents. The preceding descriptions corresponded with Baumrind's (1971, 1991) terminologies of: unresponsive, expect blind obedience, and strict rules. This suggested that participants had primarily experienced authoritarian parenting.

This same strategy was used to identify neglectful as the second most common style of parenting experienced by participants. Baumrind (1971, 1991) used some of the

following terms to describe neglectful parents: cold and unresponsive, uninvolved, and indifferent. The frequency with which participants described experiences that aligned with Baumrind's (1971, 1991) neglectful parenting terminology was used to deduce neglectful as the other form of parenting style most reflected in participants' descriptions of their relationship with parents. For example, several participants articulated not being in regular contact with their fathers, or conveyed fathers distancing themselves from participants' college application or college-going process. Furthermore, numerous participants expressed not being able to discuss important life matters with their mothers or fathers because of the certainty that their (participants') worries would be dismissed or ignored. The aforesaid descriptions were then connected to the Baumrind (1971, 1991) terminologies of: unresponsive, uninvolved, and indifferent. This suggested that participants had frequently experienced neglectful parenting.

The vast majority of participants' experiences suggested that participants underwent near-equal and concurrent periods of both authoritarian and neglectful parenting. At the beginning of this discussion, a phone conversation between Lisa-Ann and her mother illustrated that when it came time decreeing what Lisa-Ann's Spring Break plans would be, Lisa-Ann's mother had no trouble establishing clear rules and restrictions. Likewise, in the case of Lisa-Ann's father forbidding her from fraternizing with boys, or specific races in college, his expectations were high and clearly conveyed. However, when Lisa-Ann attempted to speak to her mother about the difficulties of being an ethnic and racial minority in the pre-law program at her college, her mother was dismissive and cold in her short response to Lisa-Ann's expressed troubles. Her mother was also unresponsive while ignoring Lisa-Ann's attempts to gain compassion, and

generally indifferent to Lisa-Ann's already established plans to spend Spring Break with friends from college. Similarly, when Lisa-Ann tried to speak with her father about transferring to a more diverse institution because of her discomfort with attending a PWI, her father also quickly and coldly rejected Lisa-Ann's attempt to share her feelings. He aloofly used their phone conversation as an opportunity to once more warn Lisa-Ann away from White males, yet offered her little direction or guidance regarding her actual college-going process beyond "study" and "focus."

Lisa-Ann's experience with her parents controlling her and simultaneously abandoning her in times when she expressly needed guidance was extremely reflective of the communicated experiences of the majority of participants. For example, one 19-year-old participant described the extent of her father's involvement in her college application process as him saying: "Don't worry, if we have to pay anything, I will pay for it." She conveyed that her parents just wanted her to "go to a university." The participant elaborated on her parents' lack of involvement in her college choice process by explaining that she had only ended up attending a private university in Miami Shores, Florida because she had applied "by mistake" and that she only enrolled after the institution called her, insisted she finish her application, and offered her a scholarship. However, her parents' hands-off approach to her college application process was the only area of the participant's life where her parents kept such a distance. The participant explained that when she expressed an interest to her mother in perhaps attending the University of Florida (nearly five hours away from where her parents lived), her mother conveyed that both she and the participant's father would also move to the college town to live with the participant while she attended school if the participant chose to move.

The participant ultimately chose to enroll in the aforementioned small, private university near to the house she shared with her parents.

Unlike Baumrind's (1971, 1991) parenting styles, which are separated into four distinct quadrants with equally different physiognomies, participant experiences suggested that their parents were comfortable with expressing expectations of them (such as going to college), establishing rules for participants to live by (such as "no dating in college"), and expected participants to abide by parental directives without question. However, parents also habitually emotionally withdrew from participants and expected them to "figure it out" when guidance was evidently needed. Parents often behaved unresponsively and/or indifferently to participants' expressed emotional needs, desires, or personal interests.

Collectivism could again be used to explain the ease with which Caribbean parents issued orders to participants and expected these orders to be followed with little or no questioning. In the Caribbean culture, individualism is resoundingly trumped by collectivism, which demands unwavering respect for one's elders (Brent & Callwood, 1993; Thrasher, 1994). The preservation of family cohesion is heavily dependent upon this respect and obedience (Brent & Callwood, 1993; Thrasher, 1994). Thus, authoritarian parenting in Caribbean cultures would be the style parents would likely be most comfortable in utilizing – even when children grow into adults who eventually go off to college.

The neglectful nature of the parenting experienced by the participants could also be explained by collectivism, as the cultural practice is heavily centered on self-amelioration, which, regardless of the nature or seriousness of a problem, would provide

a justification for parents expecting participants to “figure it out” for themselves and not expect to be rescued by anyone else.

It is important to note that there were three participants whose experiences reflected their having primarily experienced authoritative parenting, which has been recognized as the most effective style of parenting for supporting the academic achievement of children (Lamborn, et al., 1991; Shucksmith, Hendry, Glendinning, 1995). Recent studies have shown that college adjustment is increased by parental “authoritativeness,” and that this style of parenting results in less student depression (Barton & Kirtley, 2012). Authoritative parents exercise control over children in combination with warmth, nurturance, democracy, and open parent-child communication (Baumrind, 1971). Authoritative parents set firm controls on the behavior of children and make strong demands for maturity, but are willing to listen to their child’s point of view and even adjust their (the parents’) behavior accordingly (Baumrind, 1971).

One 20-year-old participant articulated experiencing authoritative parenting styles from both her mother and her father. The participant referred to her mother as “super supportive” and a person who would “point her in the right direction” regarding her life both in and outside of college. Likewise, the participant described her father as “the reason why I feel like I have all my stuff together,” explaining that her father “helps her with everything” in school, from the actual enrollment to choosing classes and helping the participant with homework when she struggled with college-level math. Speaking of her life in general, the participant stated that her father has “always helped with anything I needed.”

One explanation for three participants experiencing authoritative parenting from either one or both parents was that they all had parents who were either divorced or separated at the time of their interviews. One 19-year-old's parents separated right before she began college, another conveyed that his parents had been divorced since he was in kindergarten, and the abovementioned 21-year-old participant reported never having seen her parents romantically together, as they had divorced either just before, or right after her birth. A split household might have been a major contributing factor to either one or both participants' parents recognizing the importance of increasing the closeness and communication between themselves and their child. One or both parents might have felt that since the child was unable to experience a cohesive immediate family, compensation was needed to ensure that the child would not falter academically, emotionally or become delinquent in lieu of the parental separation.

Finally, the fourth style of parenting, permissive parenting (Baumrind, 1971, 1991) was not reflected in the conveyed experiences of any participants. Permissive parents demand very little of children, rarely establish rules for children, minimize discipline of children, and show high positive affection and encouragement towards children (Love & Thomas, 2014). Permissive parenting provides some support, but ultimately these parents lack control of children (Barton & Kirtley, 2012). The definitions provided for permissive parenting are in direct conflict with the common practice of collectivism in the Caribbean culture, which is heavily based on respecting and obeying rules established by one's elders (Sutherland, 2011). In collectivism, a child's failure to obey is often met with harsh physical and psychological discipline techniques (Samms-Vaughan, Williams, & Brown, 2005; Sutherland, 2011). Additionally, because

collectivism is heavily rooted in self-amelioration, parental expectations would likely be that children would learn to improve their lives and solve problems without the help of parents, and thus, not look to parents for positive affection and encouragement.

Overall, Diana Baumrind's Prototypical Descriptions of Four Parenting Styles (1971, 1991) does not address parenting styles outside of those normalized in Western culture, and therefore does not encapsulate the relationship of Caribbean college students with parents. Baumrind's parenting styles (1971, 1991) could better accommodate Caribbean college students if the impact of collectivism on parenting styles is examined and factored into the perception of parental demandingness and parental responsiveness (Baumrind, 1971, 1991). If the practice of collectivism is factored into how college students were parented prior to entering college and are parented while in college, this would allow for a much better understanding of the strengths and weaknesses that Caribbean students enter postsecondary education with. Understanding the impact of collectivism on parenting styles could also reveal the unique challenges Caribbean students might face regarding parents – challenges that American students may cease to deal with once college begins and they are living outside of their parents' home.

Barriers to Emerging Adulthood

For the final theoretical analysis of this chapter, Lisa-Ann's story will be compared with that of one 19-year-old participant, as their experiences with emerging adulthood mirrored one another for identical reasons.

Lisa-Ann's story at the beginning of this chapter suggested that she had entered emerging adulthood simply for the mere fact that she was living away from home, attending college, and at a stage in her life when she was beginning to make personal,

pivotal decisions. However, the demands and expectations of her parents greatly impacted the extent to which Lisa-Ann was able to experience emerging adulthood. The following analysis will show how this was also the case for the majority of participants.

Arnett (2004, 2014) posits that the first dimension of emerging adulthood, identity explorations, is the time that people move toward making enduring choices in love, work and ideology (Arnett, 2004, 2014). For Lisa-Ann, her personal beliefs and choices in romance and employment were each in turn negatively impacted by the demands of her parents. While Lisa-Ann internally acknowledged having romantic feelings for a fellow student at her school, she was wracked with doubt and guilt at possibly pursuing a relationship with this student. This was firstly because her father had forbidden her to date while in college, and secondly because her father had expressly prohibited her from socializing with Caucasian males. Lisa-Ann's father's expectations greatly incapacitated the freedom with which Lisa-Ann might otherwise have been able to make a decision about the compatibility between herself and a peer. In the same vein, Lisa-Ann felt compelled to keep her job at school a secret, feeling that her mother would insist that she quit the job to focus on school. Thus, Lisa-Ann's ability to embrace and enjoy her work experience was overshadowed by the notion of an incident taking place that would make her mother aware that Lisa-Ann was working behind her back.

Similarly, a real-life 18-year-old participant did not experience identity explorations in the manner posited by Arnett (2004, 2014). The participant was in a romantic relationship at the time of her interview for this study, and in accordance with the theory of emerging adulthood, she ought to have been making enduring choices in her personal life in terms of discovering whether she and her boyfriend were truly well

matched. However, the participant was instead preoccupied with having to hide, fight for, and defend her relationship from her parents. Her parents were adamantly against her being involved in a romantic relationship despite her approaching 19th birthday. Her parents' often expressed objections to the relationship and regular punishment of the participant for sneaking out of the house to spend time with her boyfriend wholly eclipsed what ought to have been a pivotal developmental period in the participant's life.

The second dimension of emerging adulthood, feeling in-between, is the period wherein young adults pull away from the struggles associated with adolescence, begin to feel responsibility for themselves, yet still feeling closely tied to parents and family (Munsey, 2006). While Lisa-Ann did experience feeling-in between adulthood and adolescence, this was not due to the aforementioned reasons. Lisa-Ann's experience with feeling in-between was more so because of conflicting expectations and treatment from her parents regarding her own adulthood. Lisa-Ann was confused regarding when and how to behave as an adult because her parents conveyed the expectation that she conduct herself as an adult to autonomously overcome any challenges she faced in college. However, her parents simultaneously expected Lisa-Ann to blindly obey their demands as if she were still a child or teenager. Thus, Lisa-Ann felt caught in-between adolescence and adulthood, especially when having to interact with her parents.

Similarly, for the same real-life 18-year-old participant, her parents were in total agreement that she was an adult with regard to her decision to go to college while working two jobs. Her parents were also receptive to her adulthood when it pertained to the participant buying all her own personal items and maintaining her own car without their help. However, with regard to the participant's romantic life, her parents initially

viewed her as a child, and then upon her going against their wishes and deciding to continue with her relationship, her parents viewed her as a deceitful and disobedient child who was needlessly causing problems within the family.

Regarding the third dimension of emerging adulthood, the age of possibilities, Arnett (2014) argues that this is a time of remarkable hopefulness, as even emerging adults whose current lives seem bleak believe that things will work out well for them in the future. However, notably lacking from Lisa-Ann's story was an expressed optimism for the future. This was because Lisa-Ann was unable to foresee a time in her life when her parents would not be so demanding, controlling and dominating.

Likewise, when asked about her future, the real-life 18-year-old participant spoke with great pessimism. She expressed concern about blindly choosing psychology as an academic major and about her future living situation, as she very much wanted to move out of her parents' home and into an apartment with her boyfriend. However, both the participant and her boyfriend had financial limitations that prevented this from happening. The participant expressed that during her most recent fight with her parents, they had told her that if she didn't want to be at their house she should leave, but that she had "nowhere to go" and still needed to remain at their house for "a little while longer." Nevertheless, the participant was unable to estimate when she might be able to afford living on her own. The participant described a typical week of having to wake up daily at 5am for work, and that between her job on weekdays and weekends, and her classes, she regularly did not get home until 8pm or 9pm. Thus, for this and many participants, emerging adulthood was far from the period of endless possibilities described by Arnett

(2014). Instead, emerging adulthood was a phase wherein the participant was merely trying to survive one day in order to make it to the next.

With regard to the fourth dimension of emerging adulthood, the self-focused age, Arnett (2014) argued that it is only in the emergent adulthood phase of life that it is not considered “selfish” to devote a designated number of years of one’s life to self-exploration and independent decision-making.

On the contrary, when Lisa-Ann tried to make plans to celebrate her second Spring Break at college, her mother’s response was to immediately deem her as “selfish” for not wanting to spend all her free time from college with her family, whom her mother identified as “the same people who had helped her get into that college.”

Similarly, for the real-life 18-year-old participant, the articulated consequences of her attempts to spend time with her boyfriend and develop their relationship suggested that her parents viewed such efforts as a direct affront to her family. Unlike the argument posited by Arnett (2014), college was not an obligation-free phase of life for the participant to self-explore and make decisions. Instead, it appeared that decisions she made about her life that essentially had nothing to do with her family, directly impacted her family with her parents acting as conduits.

Finally, regarding the fifth and final dimension of emerging adulthood, the age of instability, Arnett (2014) posits love during the years of 18-29 typically means making and breaking relationships with a series of partners, and that in this time period, education is also evolving (Arnett, 2014).

However, for the representational Lisa-Ann and real-life participant, the instability they experienced during this stage of emerging adulthood had much more to

do with their parents than with their chosen romantic partners, chosen paths of education, or identity development. Neither Lisa-Ann nor the participant were allowed to enter this phase of life in which relationships are made and broken because neither young woman could get past the phase of merely maintaining a relationship due to direct interferences from their parents. Nor could there be a series of partners that would eventually lead to one stable, compatible partner because both young women had to either hide a budding relationship, or constantly fight to maintain their relationship with one person.

It should be noted that the ages of the participants of this study could also have impacted the struggles that constituted the hurdles associated with their romantic relationships. Ten of the 14 participants were under 21 years old at the time of their interviews. It could be suggested that with time, more autonomy could be developed regarding their parents' views on the appropriateness of participants enjoying romantic relationships.

Overall, the theory of emerging adulthood does not apply to Caribbean college student development because the five dimensions of emerging adulthood were experienced in vastly different ways from those posited by Arnett (2014). The theory of emerging adulthood might better accommodate the development of Caribbean college students if the theory is expanded to explain how culture might impact the different ways in which adulthood is entered into. Additionally, the barriers different cultures might present to the ability to experience emerging adulthood ought to be examined to improve the theory's capability of encapsulating the development of non-White, non-American students.

Discussion Summary

The findings of this study were largely in alignment with previously published research on collectivism in the Caribbean culture. Participants of this study embraced Caribbean cultural practices and spurned the White and Black American culture. Participants' expression of deep cultural pride and preference for dealing with problems in college individually espoused the collectivistic practice of self-amelioration and possession of strong ethnic pride (GoPaul-McNicol, 1993). Additionally, despite even significant physical distance from parents and extended family members, participants participated in the maintenance of strong family cohesion (Thrasher, 1994). Participants' relationship with parents and extended family members also reflected the collectivistic custom of resolutely respecting one's elders (Sutherland, 2011).

Regarding the Caribbean psyche, the findings of this study differed from that of collectivism, however. While participants who identified racially as Black admitted experiencing periods of self-hatred with regard to their race, they reported that experiences with White peers – and not teachings by parents – were responsible for such feelings. These findings were contrary to the research of Blackwood-Meeks (1999), which posits that Caribbean parents make disparaging remarks to children about being Black and prevent children from developing a strong, positive Black identity. Participants denied parents either deliberately or inadvertently teaching them that they ought to be ashamed of being Black. This, too, went against research suggesting that negative remarks made by parents about the Black race result in Black children disliking their race or believing they would be better off if born White (Sutherland, 2011).

Study findings support previously published research positing the necessity of a post-colonial framework to emphasize the diversity and complexity of ethnicities (Hernandez & Murray-Johnson, 2016). Results of this study also emphasized the need for a post-colonial framework designed to reflect the fluidity and duality of the Caribbean student identity (Hernandez & Murray-Johnson, 2016). Findings of this study also supported the argument of Tikly (1999), who posits that a post-colonial framework is needed to reflect that ethnicity and cultural norms are more significant to Black Caribbean students than the factor of race.

The nuances of Caribbean culture prevented study findings from being completely in keeping with Chickering and Reisser's Seven Vectors of Development (1993). Entire vectors were not experienced by the great majority of participants due to domination and/or interference from parents. Vectors not experienced by participants were Vector Three: Moving Through Autonomy Towards Interdependence, Vector Four: Developing Mature Interpersonal Relationships and Vector Seven, Developing Integrity. This divergence from previous findings was generally unsurprising, as earlier work by Chickering (1969) was based upon studies using primarily White, all male participants (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). While Chickering's updated theory captured the experiences of women to some degree, overall, Chickering and Reisser's theory (1993) has excluded participants who are women, or who represent racially minoritized groups (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). Additionally, the applicability of Chickering and Reisser's Seven Vectors of Development (1993) to this particular study involving participants aged 18-26 was limited due to the theory being older and not reflecting the ongoing changes in society, such as technological advances that undoubtedly shape how

students understand and experience identity development (Patton, Renn, Guido & Quaye, 2016).

Study results were slightly more mixed regarding Phinney's Model of Ethnic Identity Development (1990, 1993, 1995). Participants did not experience the first stage, but did experience the second and/or third stages of the theory. Study findings suggested that participants did not experience the first stage of the model because they did not feel the need for identity exploration. Participants' identity was already resolved in that they entered college already certain of and confident in their ethnic identity. Nor did participants feel apathy towards their ethnicity or encounter difficulty in committing to their ethnicity. All participants reported entering college with pride in their Caribbean culture, which they had no issue with expressing. However, participants' reported experiences were generally in line with the second stage of Phinney's model (1990, 1993, 1995). The majority of participants reported experiencing a deepened comprehension of the importance of their ethnicity while in college (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). Participants also disclosed that this deeper understanding resulted from unpleasant encounters in which they felt perceived as "less than" (p.136) by the dominant cultural group (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016). Finally, participants' experiences were principally in line with the third and final stage of Phinney's model (1990, 1993, 1995). The majority of participants reported having already come to terms with their ethnicity in the sociocultural environment in which they attended college or university and felt that they were members of a culture that had been minoritized in the U.S. (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016).

The findings of this study diverged from the tenets of Baxter Magolda's Theory of Self-Authorship (2004) in that the majority of participants conveyed experiences that suggested they were unable or unwilling to move past the first phase of the theory. A small number of participants were able to go beyond the first phase to experience a crossroads, in which they revised their life plans to better suit their own needs (Baxter Magolda, 2004). Only one participant reported experiences that suggested she had become the author of her life and also established an internal foundation that helped her become open to change (Baxter Magolda, 2004). However, participants entering phase two and/or three of the theory were a noteworthy anomaly in this study. As noted, this could be explained by most participants not having experienced emotional traumas that forced a crossroads to take place (Baxter Magolda, 1998b, 2001, 2004, 2008).

Study findings also went against the precepts of Diana Baumrind's Prototypical Descriptions of Four Parenting Styles (1971, 1991) and the findings of Maccoby and Martin (1983) on neglectful parenting styles. The majority of participants experienced authoritarian and neglectful parenting in ways that often resulted in participants having demands forced upon them in areas of their lives where such demands were unnecessary. Participants also reported being emotionally abandoned or dismissed by parents in times when guidance was most needed. Baumrind (1971, 1991) and Maccoby and Martin (1983) identified authoritarian parenting and neglectful parenting as the most deleterious styles of parenting for children. Possible lifelong effects include: girls giving up in the face of challenges, boys reacting with aggression, and both sexes developing depression, anxiety, or low self-esteem (authoritarian parenting); growing up to become juvenile

offenders or social recluses, failing in school, falling victim to bullying and/or substance abuse, and developing depression (neglectful parenting).

Of all the theories used in the development and analysis of data in this study, results were least in keeping with emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2000, 2004). The data that materialized from interviews with the majority of participants suggested that they experienced all five dimensions of emerging adulthood in ways vastly divergent to that which is posited by Arnett (2000, 2004). Moreover, data that arose from interviews suggested that relationships with parents was the main factor that prevented participants from experiencing emerging adulthood as American college students do.

Overall, the five theories which informed the framework of this study would better address and capture the development of Caribbean college students if the impacts of collectivism are considered and incorporated into the use of these theories.

Implications for Practice

The results of this study have implications for higher education administrators, faculty and staff charged with the task of working with students who can be dually minoritized in their college institution, being both of a different race and ethnicity than the majority of their peers. Below will be a review of how student affairs professionals can better address the developmental needs of Caribbean students and promote the Caribbean culture in postsecondary education. It is important to note that while some may argue that the implications which follow are examples of campus balkanization, that is, the separation of races or ethnicities into groups, the implications below should instead be viewed as an attempt to promote ethnic development from a standpoint of diversity and inclusiveness (Chang, 2002). As is argued by Chang (2007), diverse viewpoints and

opinions on college campuses can bring outlooks and ideas that can enhance the educational experience of all students. Additionally, the vast benefits of diversity on college campuses span from individual students, to the institutions in which they are enrolled, to private enterprise, the economy, and society at large (Chang et al., 2006).

Student affairs. Due to the fact that Chickering and Reisser's theory (1993) "remains arguably the most well-known, widely used, and comprehensive model available for understanding and describing the psychosocial development of college students" (p. 166), student affairs professionals should ensure that Caribbean college students develop an identity that is more in keeping with the stages of development described within the vectors (Valentine & Taub, 1999). To help Caribbean college students successfully progress through all seven vectors, student affairs professionals can hold orientation sessions for the parents of freshman students to inform parents of changes they can expect their children to encounter in college. These orientation sessions could be an opportunity to educate parents on the emotional, psychological and even financial benefits of students obtaining independence while in college. Additionally, within orientation sessions, parents could be shown that students interacting with persons outside of Caribbean culture, developing intercultural and interpersonal tolerance, and an appreciation of differences can positively impact career networking and greatly benefit the professional futures of students (Chickering & Reisser, 1993).

Student affairs professionals can design culturally centered co-curricular programs that advocate for ethnic pride and allegiance to one's country of origin (Mitchell & Bryan, 2007; Brent & Callwood, 1993). Culturally centered co-curricular programs could allow students to recognize individual differences, offer diverse

perspectives, and help students to make sense of what they are learning (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016).

Moreover, as one of the most noted and foundational theories in higher education regarding student retention, Tinto's Student Integration Theory (1975) calls for students to separate themselves completely from their past communities. Tinto (1975) posits that this must be done for students to integrate fully into the academic, social and intellectual culture of their institution, so as to promote persistence and success in college. However, between the authoritarian nature of the Caribbean parent and the practice of collectivism in the Caribbean culture, it is unlikely that Caribbean college students will desire or be able to separate from their pre-college community (Brent & Callwood, 1993; Thrasher, 1994). Student affairs professionals can help bridge this gap by holding orientations for both incoming college students and their parents, in which they can explain the importance of full integration on college persistence. Wharton (2008) argues that because education is perceived as the tool to achieve future aspirations, education is a main facet of West Indian students' identity. Thus, if complete integration into the college culture is framed for both parents and students as a way to ensure eventual graduation, Caribbean parents might be much more receptive to the notion of their child advancing toward academic and eventual professional success and journeying away from home as a result. This, as opposed to the idea of their child drifting away from home to become lost in American college culture.

Finally, as study results repeatedly showed that Caribbean students experienced being treated more politely or kindly by non-Caribbean persons upon the realization that students were not African American, this finding showed how crucial it is that student

affairs professionals are aware of their treatment of minority students in general. It is imperative that minority students are not pitted against one another due to the belief that one group is receiving preferential treatment for simply not being both Black and American. For example, Massey et al. (2007) found that college admissions officers might target Black immigrants for recruitment because, aside from being perceived as more academically qualified, Black immigrants are viewed as less hostile, politer, more considerate and easier to get along with when compared with African Americans. Such views are extremely problematic for the development of non-Caribbean minority students and could drive a further rift between, or alienation among minoritized groups that could otherwise be supportive of one another. It is crucial that student affairs professionals promote camaraderie among minority student groups.

Promoting Caribbean culture. The results of this study demonstrated how culture remains at the core of identity development for Caribbean students. For higher education institutions in the U.S. to support and advocate for the development of these students while keeping in mind the significance of ethnic pride in Caribbean cultures, several measures can be taken by universities and colleges.

An umbrella Caribbean Students Association. In the event that an institution does not already have one, a Caribbean Students Association can be developed under which various clubs aimed at specific islands can operate (for example, an Afro-Cuban Club or a St. Kittitians Club). The overall association could have a clear mission and vision for how it wants Caribbean students to benefit from the club's existence, as well as how the association wants the club to positively impact the surrounding community.

Peer mentors. Higher education institutions could also support the development of Caribbean college students by having incoming Caribbean students connect with those already on campus via peer mentors. These mentors could allow incoming students to feel less isolated on account of their culture and instead enter a college environment in which a community of Caribbean students has already been established.

Caribbean faculty-student mentorship program. Institutions could encourage Caribbean faculty members to connect with incoming students of the same ethnicity through a faculty-student mentorship program. A faculty-student mentorship program could also be established between faculty-members with an expertise in Caribbean literature, history, and/or marine science.

Connect Caribbean students with local community. Higher education institutions should work to involve Caribbean students with community organizations, officials, local art, local music and events centered on their respective culture. Higher education institutions can do this by raffling free tickets to Caribbean cultural museums, or Caribbean music and food festivals.

Connect with Caribbean Student Associations of nearby colleges. If colleges are located nearby, higher education institutions can try to connect with other Caribbean Student Associations by holding events and socials that are open to all students.

Establish “Caribbean Corners.” If institutions have small numbers of Caribbean students, they can establish informal “Caribbean Corners” (similar to campus “Safe Spaces”) in an advising office or student-friendly area. These spaces can be environments in which Caribbean students can connect with each other, establish camaraderie with peers who share their ethnicity, stop by and ask questions, or obtain information.

Reach out to families of Caribbean students. Institutions could create and release Caribbean student-focused newsletters and send them to parents to share information about what is happening at the college, which events parents can attend, and to advertise Caribbean Family Weekends.

Caribbean film festivals. Colleges and universities could hold Caribbean film festivals to raise consciousness about the history of the Caribbean culture and to highlight the differences between Caribbean culture and African American culture. Film festivals could also be held to highlight the differences between Caribbean islands.

Caribbean Cuisine Nights. Due to the fact that food is so important to the Caribbean culture, colleges and universities could institute Caribbean Cuisine Nights in the dining halls and/or dorms. This could be done to provide Caribbean college students with opportunities to prepare and partake in foods from their Caribbean island, as well as neighboring islands.

Caribbean cooking classes. Colleges and universities could also hold Caribbean cooking classes focused on Caribbean-centric recipes to bring awareness to the existence of a Caribbean population of students on the campus. Such cooking classes could also highlight the differences between African American and Caribbean cuisine, and generally educate the student body on Caribbean culture.

Implications for Future Research

The overarching intent of this dissertation was for student affairs professionals to become more familiar with how Caribbean college students develop and to understand how this development is impacted by parental roles. Policies can then be developed to ensure the academic and eventual professional success of this faction of college students.

Prior to such policies being created and implemented, however, further research is needed to better understand Caribbean college student development. To better explain the developmental patterns of this faction of students, additional research should be conducted on the impact of collectivistic cultures on students who attend college in America and how Caribbean persons parent in America.

The results of this study reflected the limited applicability of the five identity development models and theories which informed the framework for this study. The five models and theories did not adequately account for the Caribbean student experience regarding psychosocial development, which is heavily impacted by ethnic identity development. Future identity development models should be designed to understand and forecast the development of students who are not ethnically American so that tenets of these models and theories can be appropriately used for and applied to Caribbean and other non-American student experiences.

Supplementary research should be conducted on the impact of collectivistic cultures on Caribbean college students, as much is still unknown regarding the exact effect this practice has on college students who were born and/or raised in America, but also raised within a Caribbean subculture. For example, Alleyne (1996) contends that in Jamaica “town people (city people) are less devoted to collectivism than country people, and that Jamaicans of all classes are less committed to it (collectivism) than they once were” (p. 159). However, since the results of this study suggest that Caribbean college students in the U.S. and their families continue to practice collectivism, more research is needed to understand how collectivism factors into the college experience of Caribbean students, and ultimately, their development.

Specifically with Caribbean college students in mind, further research and studies also need to be conducted on the applicability of Diana Baumrind's Prototypical Descriptions of Four Parenting Styles (1971, 1991) to students who attend universities in individualistic cultures but come from collectivistic cultures.

Finally, future research should be conducted on how student experiences might be explained by demographic variables, such as race and gender, as well as the type of institutions students are attending, such as four-year universities versus commuter colleges.

Supplemental Recommendations

This section will provide several recommendations for higher education institutions in the U.S. based on the results of this study and responses of participants. There are four main recommendations for higher education institutions in the U.S. to create environments that will better accommodate Caribbean college student development. These are: (1) Promote on-campus counseling and support for students and encouragement for parents (2) Familiarize administrators, staff and faculty with the cultural practice of collectivism (3) Train administrators, staff and faculty to be culturally responsive to Caribbean students, and (4) Endorse culturally significant programs.

Promote on-campus counseling for students and encouragement for parents.

In order to advance and sustain the development of Caribbean college students, institutions should ensure that these students know they are psychologically supported. Such encouragement can be demonstrated through the promotion of counseling for students by ensuring that they are aware of counseling services upon enrolling, and that on-campus counseling centers are pointed out during campus tours.

Familiarize administrators, staff and faculty with collectivism. As was shown in both the representational example of Lisa-Ann's life in college, as well as in the responses of the real-life Caribbean college students in this study, the practice of collectivism in Caribbean culture is not only alive and well, but the practice is not bound by the borders of Caribbean nations. Ultimately, collectivism deeply impacts everything from the development of identity to the development of independence. In research centered on discovering the genetic basis for individualism and collectivism, Chiao and Blizinsky (2010) proved that college students from collectivistic cultures are at a higher risk of developing anxiety or depression when placed in stressful environments. However, ironically, it is collectivism that will ultimately protect these same individuals from developing these disorders (Chiao and Blizinsky, 2010). Thus, it is of the utmost importance that higher education institutions familiarize themselves with how collectivistic cultures work in order to further understand how the practice can greatly impact the development of Caribbean college students. Postsecondary institutions located in areas that have had historically large numbers of Caribbean immigrants should ensure that administrators, staff and faculty are trained to understand what a collectivistic culture is, and how being raised in a collectivistic culture can cause students to have a far different college experience than students from Europeanized, individualistic cultures.

Train administrators, staff and faculty to be culturally responsive. A recurrent theme in this study was one centered upon participants who identified racially as Black protesting their consistently being misidentified as African American. In researching the racial and ego identity development in Black Caribbean college students, Sanchez (2013) found that higher education professionals are often unaware of, or

insensitive to the varied racial histories of Black Caribbeans. Thus, higher education professionals may avoid these topics in their programming and coursework, which ultimately only further isolates and marginalizes this facet of students (Sanchez, 2013). Consequently, in addition to gaining a working knowledge of how collectivistic cultures vastly differ from individualistic cultures, higher education institutions should design, create and then mandate that administrators, staff and faculty participate in trainings to prevent and/or stop the conflation of race and ethnicity of Black Caribbeans with that of African Americans. The hope is that university administrators and educators will become versed in ethnic and cultural values, traditions, and the histories of Black Caribbeans, and eventually provide culturally pertinent services to support the development of Caribbean college students (Greenidge & Daire, 2010).

Endorse culturally significant institutional programs. As was seen in the representative story of Lisa-Ann, Caribbean college students are often faced with being doubly minoritized in the college environment, as they are often racial and ethnic minorities. Caribbean college students could greatly benefit from postsecondary institutions promoting and funding culturally relevant programs and activities, such as Caribbean Career Fairs, Caribbean Student Associations, and Caribbean-centric orientation sessions that can also be patterned for international students. These expositions, associations, and programs could focus on the culture shock that might be encountered when students are raised with Caribbean values, but attend a college rooted in American culture and customs (Museus, 2012; Sanchez, 2013). Such programs could provide Caribbean students with support and a sense of belonging, thus validating their existence on their college campus (Negy & Lunt, 2008). Just as Phinney's Model of

Ethnic Identity Development (1990, 1993, 1995) emphasizes the importance of students undergoing an ethnic identity search in order to develop a secure ethnic identity and positive orientation towards mainstream culture, so, too, are institutional programs that strengthen students' ethnic identity. While multicultural programs should definitely be provided to further diversify student experiences while in college, it is equally important for students' individual ethnic identity to be bolstered so that they are better equipped to connect with peers on a multicultural level.

Study Limitations

Limitations of the study were centered mostly on setting. The 14 participants the researcher was able to recruit were all studying at institutions of higher education located in the state of Florida. Thus, the majority of the stories the researcher was able to yield data from were obtained from participants who originated from islands in the Greater Antilles, such as Jamaica, Puerto Rico, Haiti, and Cuba. Only one participant was from an island in the Lesser Antilles, Trinidad, and one participant originated from Belize, a nation recognized as both Caribbean and Central American. As only six Caribbean nations were represented in this study, broader generalizations of Caribbean college students should be made with great caution.

Additionally, interviews with all participants were conducted via FaceTime, AudioTime, or a standard phone call, and thus, due to only meeting with the researcher one time and this meeting not taking place face-to-face, participants might not have been maximally forthcoming with stories about their lives. However, in order to increase participants' comfort with the interview process, the researcher shared her Caribbean cultural background prior to beginning the interviews. The researcher also described this

study in detail, as well as the many reasons this study is crucial to the success of Caribbean students attending college in the U.S. The researcher also explained the multiple ways that she was invested in the University of Miami, namely that she was a doctoral student enrolled in the university, and that both her father and older sister are graduates of the institution. Finally, the researcher conveyed her intent to maintain accuracy and authenticity in both the interview process and the portrayal of participants in the transcription and analyses of their interviews.

The format of the conversations constituted a limitation of time in which interviews could be conducted, which may have also impacted the quality of data yielded from interviews. Due to the fact that each interview was conducted via FaceTime, AudioTime or a phone call, the researcher felt compelled to convey to each participant that the interview was expected to take no more than ninety minutes. Although this information was only imparted to express respect for participants' time and busyness, and though prompted by the interviewer to take as much time as they needed to think about and answer questions, the time frame might have been interpreted by participants as a time limit. Thus, this might have caused participants to feel that succinct responses were warranted wherein they would have otherwise elaborated in their description of their experiences.

Final Word: “A Difference Between Caribbean and American Culture”

This study shone light on the unique challenges faced by Caribbean college students regarding the difficulties of navigating the developmental process while traversing the complexities of relationships with parents.

When asked how she would explain what it is like being the daughter of Haitian immigrants to an American peer at her college, Judy, 21, stated the following:

...for the most part...you have to consider yourself someone's child for most of your life, although you're getting older and think that you're allowed certain privileges. I think that growing up with Caribbean parents is not necessarily seen that way...if you're not done with school, or you're not living on your own, then you're not entitled to certain decisions...I think that's definitely something that's a difference between Caribbean and American culture.

The above quote effectively captures how and why Caribbean college students might struggle with development in ways that are more easily overcome by their American peers. However, for Caribbean students, the relationship with parents affects the ability to develop in college in ways that are just as ubiquitous and inexorable as the Caribbean culture itself. In planning for the academic and eventual professional success of West Indian students, the relationship with parents must be carefully considered in order to prepare for the vast differences between Caribbean and American college students. Ultimately, it is those differences that could prove to be the same that separate the collegiately successful from those who fail at college, and possibly, life beyond.

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Appendix A

Recruitment Letter

My name is Seanteé Campbell. I am a doctoral student under the direction of Professor Debbiesiu Lee, PhD. in the School of Education and Psychological Studies at the University of Miami. I am conducting a research study to explore how parental roles impact Caribbean college student development.

I am recruiting students of Caribbean descent to be interviewed about their relationships with their parents and the ways in which experienced parental roles have fostered student development. The interview you are being asked to participate in will take 60 – 90 minutes. Additionally, if you are interested, you will be invited to review the content of your interview and/or provide formative feedback regarding the analysis of this project. These supplemental activities are entirely optional. Consenting to the initial interview does not require subsequent participation in any other research activity mentioned.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may choose not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any point in time, and without any adverse consequences to you or your standing at your University. A gift card in the amount of \$15 will be given to you at the completion of your interview to compensate for your time. If you have any questions concerning the research study, please contact me via phone (954) 647-5850 or email scc118@miami.edu

Appendix B

Recruitment Script

My name is Seantee' Campbell. I am a doctoral student under the direction of Professor Debbiesiu Lee, PhD. in the School of Education and Psychological Studies at the University of Miami. I am conducting a research study to explore how parental roles impact Caribbean college student development.

I am recruiting students of Caribbean descent to be interviewed about their relationships with their parents and the ways in which experienced parental roles have fostered student development. The interview you are being asked to participate in will take 60 – 90 minutes. Additionally, if you are interested, you will be invited to review the content of your interview and/or provide formative feedback regarding the analysis of this project. These supplemental activities are entirely optional. Consenting to the initial interview does not require subsequent participation in any other research activity mentioned.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may choose not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any point in time, and without any adverse consequences to you or your standing at your University. A gift card in the amount of \$15 will be given to you at the completion of your interview to compensate for your time. If you have any questions concerning the research study, please contact me via phone (954) 647-5850 or email scc118@miami.edu.

Appendix C

Consent Form

Understanding Parental Roles in Caribbean College Students' Development

The following information describes the research study in which you are being asked to participate. Please read the information carefully. At the end, you will be asked to indicate if you agree to participate.

PURPOSE OF STUDY: As a Caribbean student enrolled in university or college, you are being asked to participate in a research study. The purpose of this study is to better understand how the role of parents impacts the development of Caribbean college students.

PROCEDURES: If you choose to participate in this study, we will have a conversation in which you will be asked several questions about your relationship with your parents and their role in your life during your time in college. The conversation will be audio recorded. This conversation should take between an hour and an hour and a half. If you do not want to answer a particular question, you may choose to skip that question and you do not have to answer. If you would like to end the conversation at any time, you may do so, and there will be no adverse consequences to you or your standing at your University.

In addition to the initial interview, if you agree, I may approach you after analyzing the data to ask for you to participate in a follow-up interview. The purpose of the follow-up interview is to assess whether or not the results seem to accurately capture the information you shared. The follow-up interview would last about 30-60 minutes. Again, you may choose to not participate or terminate your participation at any time and there will be no adverse consequences to you or your standing at your University.

RISKS AND/OR DISCOMFORTS: We do not anticipate that you will experience any personal risk or discomfort from taking part in this study. You may skip any question you do not wish to answer.

BENEFITS: A gift card in the amount of \$15 will be given to you at the completion of your interview to compensate for your time. The study is expected to benefit science and society by helping us better understand experiences unique to Caribbean college students, particularly how the role of parents impacts how Caribbean college students develop.

ALTERNATIVES: You are not required to participate in this study.

CONFIDENTIALITY: Your information will be confidential. All data collected will be stored on password protected and secured servers. After you have participated, identifying information will be deleted and replaced by a pseudonym. The investigator and all members of the research team will consider your records confidential to the extent permitted by law. The U.S Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) may request to review and obtain copies of your records. Your records may also be reviewed

for audit purposes by authorized University or other agents who will be bound by the same provisions of confidentiality. Finally, the results of this study may be published. However, your identity will remain confidential in all published works. No identifying information will be included in the publication.

RIGHT TO DECLINE OR WITHDRAW: Your participation in this study is voluntary. You are free to refuse to participate in the study or withdraw your consent at any time during the study and there will be no adverse consequences to you or your standing at your University.

CONTACT INFORMATION: Seantee' Campbell (954-647-5850 or scc118@miami.edu) will gladly answer any questions you may have concerning the purpose, procedures, and outcome of this project. You can also contact the primary investigator, Dr. Debbiesiu Lee (305-284-6160 or debbiesiu@miami.edu) If you have questions about your rights as a research participant you may contact Human Subjects Research Office at the University of Miami, at (305) 243-3195 or eproost@med.miami.edu.

PARTICIPANT AGREEMENT:

By signing my name below, I acknowledge that I have read the information in this consent form and agree to participate in this study.

Name of Participant

Signature of Participant

Date

Name of Person Obtaining Consent

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent

Date

Appendix D

Demographic Questions

1. What has your experience been like at the college/university so far?
 - (a) Highlights? Most enjoyable experiences?
 - (b) Low points? Challenging experiences?
2. How have you grown over the course of your college years?
 - (a) Think about when you first started – describe yourself for me. Describe yourself now.
 - (b) How are you different from when you started college?
 - (c) How have you grown in what you know?
 - (d) What have you learned over the course of the years?
3. What role have your parents had in your growth/development during your college years?
 - (a) In what areas of your life have your parents affected you most?
4. What are the next steps in your journey?

Demographics

1. What is your age?
2. What year of school are you in?
3. Where were you born?
4. What culture/nationality do you identify as?
5. What is your gender?

Appendix E

Table 1. Possible Questions for Chickering and Reisser’s Seven Vectors of Development.

Theory/Author	Vector Synopsis & Research Application	Possible Questions
<i>Chickering and Reisser’s Seven Vectors of Development</i>	1. <i>Developing Competence</i> – Exploration of how parental roles influence the development of varied competences in participants (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016).	1. <i>How does the development of interpersonal competence differ with Caribbean students due to international/immigrant/bicultural identity?</i>
	2. <i>Managing Emotions</i> – Examination of how participants perceive parental roles impact development of ability to recognize and accept emotions, appropriately express and control emotions, and learn to act on feelings with accountability (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016).	2. <i>How has the collectivistic Caribbean culture influenced the perception of how emotions ought to be perceived, experienced and expressed?</i>
	3. <i>Moving Through Autonomy toward Interdependence</i> – Examination of how participants perceive parental roles impact self-sufficiency, pursuit of self-chosen goals, and ability to be less bound by others’ opinions (Chickering & Reisser, 1993).	3. <i>How has the collectivistic Caribbean culture impacted the perception and expression of autonomy?</i>
	4. <i>Developing Mature Interpersonal Relationships</i> – Exploration of how participants develop intercultural and interpersonal tolerance/appreciation for differences and develop the capacity for strong and long-lasting intimate relationships (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016).	4. <i>How do Caribbean students experience intercultural relationships?</i>
	5. <i>Establishing Identity</i> – Exploration of impact parental roles have on comfort participants have with body and appearance, gender and sexual orientation, sense of social and cultural heritage, self-concept, roles, lifestyle, self-acceptance, self-esteem, personal stability, and security of self (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016).	5. <i>How have parenting styles used by Caribbean parents impacted participants’ self-image?</i>
	6. <i>Developing Purpose</i> – Exploration of how parental roles impact development of clear vocational goals for participants, and participants’ ability to make and stick with decisions even in face of opposition (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016).	6. <i>How have parenting styles used by Caribbean parents impacted participants’ conviction in vocational choice(s)?</i>
	7. <i>Developing Integrity</i> – Exploration of how parental roles impact how participants humanize values (interests of others are balanced with one’s own interests), personalize values (core values are consciously affirmed and beliefs of others are acknowledged and respected) and develop congruence (values and actions become authentic, as self-interest is balanced by social responsibility (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016; Chickering & Reisser, 1993).	7. <i>How does the collectivistic Caribbean culture shape parents’ perception and teaching of integrity?</i>

Table 2. Possible Questions for Phinney's Model of Ethnic Identity Development.

Theory/Author	Synopsis of Stages & Research Application	Possible Questions
<i>Phinney's Model of Ethnic Identity Development</i>	Explores the path to ethnic identity achievement (Phinney, 1990, 1993, 1995).	<i>1. How do Caribbean college students experience the journey of ethnic identity achievement differently from African American peers?</i>
	<i>Stage One: Unexamined Ethnic Identity (Diffusion-Foreclosure)</i> -- students have not yet begun to explore feelings and attitudes with regard to their ethnicity (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016).	<i>2. How do Caribbean college students regard their ethnicity prior to and after entering college?</i>
	<i>Stage Two: Ethnic Identity Search/Moratorium</i> -- students become progressively more mindful of ethnic identity issues as they are confronted with situations that move them to ethnic exploration (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016).	<i>3. What importance do Caribbean students place upon the search for ethnic identity?</i>
	<i>Stage Three: Ethnic Identity Achievement</i> -- students achieve a healthy bicultural identity, resolve their identity conflicts, and come to terms with their ethnicity in the sociocultural and historical context in which they live (Patton, Renn, Guido, & Quaye, 2016).	<i>4. How is the ethnic identity search for Caribbean college students experienced differently from African American peers?</i>
	Theory was used to examine how Caribbean college students develop their ethnicity identity and assess how this development differs from racially similar peers.	<i>5. How do Caribbean college students achieve ethnic identity differently from African American peers?</i>

Table 3. Possible Questions for Baxter Magolda's Theory of Self-Authorship, Baumrind's Prototypical Descriptions of Four Parenting Styles, and Emerging Adulthood.

Theory/Author	Theory Synopsis & Research Application	Possible Questions
<i>Baxter Magolda's Theory of Self-Authorship</i>	<p>Explores the epistemological, intrapersonal, and interpersonal answers to three questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How do I know? 2. Who am I? 3. How do I want to construct relationships with others (Baxter Magolda, 2001, 2004, 2008)? <p>Theory was used to explore the three phases occurring on Caribbean college students' journey towards self-authorship.</p>	<p><i>How has the collectivist Caribbean culture impacted:</i></p> <p><i>(I) the perception of importance of defining participants' beliefs, identity, and social relationships?</i></p> <p><i>(II) participants' desires to follow plans parents or adult authority figures have laid out for them?</i></p> <p><i>(III) participants' reactions when plans laid out for them are not attuned with plans they have made for themselves?</i></p> <p><i>(IV) participants' ability to choose their own beliefs?</i></p> <p><i>(V) participants' ability to be grounded in their beliefs, their sense of self, and the mutuality of their relationships (Baxter Magolda, 2004, 2008)?</i></p>
<i>Diana Baumrind's Prototypical Descriptions of Four Parenting Styles</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Demonstrates the importance of parental involvement for students 2. Presents critical developmental outcomes (social, psychological, and emotional well-being) <p>Theory was used to examine effects of authoritarian, authoritative, permissive and/or neglectful parenting styles on the development of Caribbean college students.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>How applicable are Baumrind's four parenting styles to Caribbean participants and their parents?</i> 2. <i>(If applicable) What have been the effects on participants of parents of using Baumrind's parenting styles?</i>
<i>Emerging Adulthood</i>	<p>The period (18-25 years) when individuals in industrialized societies transition from adolescence to adulthood while pursuing higher education and delaying adult roles and responsibilities (work, marriage and parenthood) (Arnett, 2000).</p> <p>Theory was used to examine how Caribbean students experience emerging adulthood and how parental roles impact this developmental stage.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Due to collectivistic nature of the Caribbean culture, how applicable is the theory of emerging adulthood to participants?</i> 2. <i>In what ways have participants experienced emerging adulthood prior to/during college?</i> 3. <i>How has participants' relationships with parents impacted their emerging adulthood?</i>

Table 4. Explanations and supporting research for study findings on Chickering and Reisser's Seven Vectors of Development.

Theory	Study Findings	Explanation of Findings	Supporting Empirical Research
<i>Chickering and Reisser's Seven Vectors of Development</i>	Participant experiences were aligned with tenets of Vector One: <i>Developing Competence</i>	Developing and learning educationally is a main facet of West Indian students' identity.	(Wharton, 2008)
	Participant experiences were aligned with tenets of Vector Two: <i>Managing Emotions</i>	Being raised in an authoritarian household would mandate participants learning how to govern emotions.	(Baumrind, 1971)
	Participant experiences diverged from tenets of Vector Three: <i>Moving Through Autonomy Toward Independence</i>	Collectivism averted the development of autonomy and thus, interdependence could not be attained.	(Brent & Callwood, 1993; Thrasher, 1994; Samms-Vaughan, Williams, & Brown, 2005; Sutherland, 2011)
	Participant experiences diverged from tenets of Vector Four: <i>Developing Mature Interpersonal Relationships</i>	The spiritual ideology of collectivism discouraged the development of romantic relationships.	(Brent & Callwood, 1993; Thrasher, 1994; Samms-Vaughan, Williams, & Brown, 2005; Sutherland, 2011)
	Participant experiences were aligned with tenets of Vector Five: <i>Establishing Identity</i>	An increased attachment to cultural heritage provided participants with a foundation to establish additional parts of identity.	(Chickering & Reisser, 1993)
	Participant experiences were aligned with tenets of Vector Six: <i>Developing Purpose</i>	Participants originated from families who placed a heavy emphasis on the importance of obtaining an education even prior to migrating to the U.S.	(Crowder & Tedrow, 2001)
	Participant experiences diverged from tenets of Vector Seven: <i>Developing Integrity</i>	The practice of collectivism discourages the development of individualism needed to humanize value systems, personalize values, and develop congruence between values and actions.	(Chickering & Reisser, 1993; Brent & Callwood, 1993; Thrasher, 1994; Samms-Vaughan, Williams, & Brown, 2005; Sutherland, 2011)

Table 5. Explanations and supporting research for findings on Phinney's Model of Ethnic Identity Development.

Theory	Study Findings	Explanation of Findings	Supporting Empirical Research
<i>Phinney's Model of Ethnic Identity Development</i>	Participant experiences diverged from the tenets of Phase One: <i>Unexamined Ethnic Identity (Diffusion-Foreclosure)</i>	Students likely established a strong sense of pride and a strong loyalty to country of origin prior to entering college, as this is a major part of the practice of collectivism in the Caribbean culture.	(Mitchell & Bryan, 2007; Brent & Callwood, 1993)
	Participant experiences were aligned with tenets of Phase Two: <i>Ethnic Identity Search/Moratorium</i>	Participants reported negative experiences in college that fueled their understanding of the significance of their ethnicity.	(Mitchell & Bryan, 2007; Brent & Callwood, 1993)
	Participant experiences were aligned with tenets of Phase Three: <i>Ethnic Identity Achievement</i>	Participants reported accepting membership into a minoritized culture in the U.S. and feeling confidence in their respective culture.	(Mitchell & Bryan, 2007; Brent & Callwood, 1993)

Table 6. Explanations and supporting research for study findings on Baxter Magolda's Theory of Self-Authorship, Baumrind's Prototypical Descriptions of Four Parenting Styles, and emerging adulthood.

Theory	Study Findings	Explanation of Findings	Supporting Empirical Research
<i>Baxter Magolda's Theory of Self-Authorship</i>	Participant experiences diverged from tenets of <i>Self-Authorship</i>	Practice of collectivism discourages development of individualism needed to reconsider following formulas established by external authorities and also discourages autonomous decision-making.	(Brent & Callwood, 1993; Thrasher, 1994; Baxter Magolda, 1998b, 2001)
<i>Diana Baumrind's Prototypical Descriptions of Four Parenting Styles</i>	Participant experiences aligned with classifications of <i>Authoritarian Parenting</i>	Relationships with both parents recurrently related to Baumrind's terminology describing authoritarian parents as: "unresponsive," "expect blind obedience" and "strict rules." Caribbean collectivism encourages self-amelioration, which justifies parental unresponsiveness.	(Baumrind, 1971, 1989, 1991, 1996, 1999; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; GoPaul-McNicol, 1993)
	Participant experiences aligned with classifications of <i>Neglectful Parenting</i>	Relationships with fathers (and at times with mothers) recurrently related to Baumrind's terminology describing neglectful parents as: "unresponsive," "uninvolved" and "indifferent." Caribbean collectivism encourages self-amelioration, which justifies parental apathy.	(Baumrind, 1971, 1989, 1991, 1996, 1999; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; GoPaul-McNicol, 1993)
	Participant experiences diverged from classifications of <i>Authoritative Parenting</i>	Participants' relationships with parents rarely related to Baumrind's terminology describing authoritative parents as: "warm," "responsive" and "value independence." Caribbean collectivism encourages self-amelioration, which justifies parental coldness.	(Baumrind, 1971, 1989, 1991, 1996, 1999; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; GoPaul-McNicol, 1993)
	Participant experiences diverged from classifications of <i>Permissive Parenting</i>	Participants' relationships with parents rarely related to Baumrind's terminology describing permissive parents as: "few or no rules," "indulgent" and "lenient." Caribbean collectivism supports obeying rules established by elders, which justifies parental strictness.	(Baumrind, 1971, 1989, 1991, 1996, 1999; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Sutherland, 2011)
<i>Emerging Adulthood</i>	Participant experiences diverged from all five dimensions of <i>Emerging Adulthood</i>	Collectivistic nature of relationship with parents prevented participants from experiencing changes, self-exploration and allowances for an examination of life period of 18-25 years.	(Arnett, 1994b, 2000, 2004, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2014; Brent & Callwood, 1993)

Table 7. Participant demographics.

Participant Name	Age	Ethnicity	Race	Institution(s)
James	18	Jamaican	Black	Florida Mechanical and Agricultural University (FAMU)
Melanie	19	Jamaican	Black	University of Florida (UF)
BlueJay	20	Haitian	Black	Broward College (BC) & Florida Atlantic University (FAU)
Malik	21	Jamaican	Black	Broward College (BC) & Florida Atlantic University (FAU)
Catalina	18	Puerto Rican	Hispanic	Miami Dade College (MDC)
Rafa	18	Puerto Rican	Hispanic	University of Florida (UF)
Maia	18	Puerto Rican	Hispanic	Miami Dade College (MDC)
Leela	19	Belizean	Asian	Murray State University (MSU) & University of Miami (UM)
Cara	19	Trinidadian	Asian	University of Miami (UM)
Judy	21	Haitian	Black	Broward College (BC)
K.J.	21	Haitian	Black	Broward College (BC) & Concorde College
Betty	19	Cuban	Hispanic	Barry University (Barry)
Abby	20	Bahamian-Haitian	Black	Broward College (BC)
Jamie	26	Trinidadian-Jamaican	Black	Florida International University (FIU), Alabama State University (ASU), Broward College (BC)

Table 8. Sample findings by theme and category.

Participant	Theme	Category	Quote
Melanie	Adulthood	I Went from 19 to 40	"...I'm now a bit more of a reserved person. Last year, I used to, you know, have a very outgoing social life. I used to always be out like all days of the week. I was always out partying -- doing things of that nature. Now, you know, I'm not really into that as much. I'd rather just stay, you know, with my small group of friends. I feel like I went from 19 to 40 within a summer."
Jamie	Independence	I Just Truly Had to Figure It Out	"They're (my parents) the type of people (that will say) 'I don't know how to do it -- figure it out on your own'. I don't usually talk to them about that (problems in college) unless I've like, overcome it...my island parents -- they're very...you know, there was no holding my hand and, like, walking me through every phase of my life, teaching me all about the things I'm gonna experience in my life. I truly just had to figure it out."
Maia	Independence	They Don't Let Me Grow Up	"My parents are very strict parents. They're very old school...I would go against (them)...when they say 'no' I still find a way to do it...the last time that I got in trouble, they're like: 'Oh, if you don't want to be here, leave'. I -- I have nowhere to go. I still need to be here for a little while longer. But, um...you know, there are a lot of times where I feel like they don't let me grow up because they're just so strict. It makes me want to move out."
Melanie	Identity	I'm Not Black American – I'm Just Black in America	"It's still kind of hard for me to get acclimated to the Black American experience. And I do believe that, you know, I'm not a Black American -- I'm just Black in America. So, I can't really relate to the roots of an African American person..."
Cara	Identity	You Don't Have an Identity Because You're Caribbean	"Usually when people ask where I'm from and I say 'Trinidad' there's two responses: There's: 'Oh, that's so nice'! And they ask about the culture, like Carnival, when they're genuinely aware of where Trinidad is and what the culture represents. Or they're like: 'Oh...that's nice.' But you can clearly tell on their face that they have no idea where this is, or what I'm talking about. So, in a way you kind of feel like you don't have an identity, because you say you're Caribbean..."
James	Relationship with Parents	My Mom Was the Prevailing Force – If It Didn't Go Her Way, It Was No Way	"...she (my mother) says: 'Mi nah nuh mannas' (I don't have any manners)...in a week...probably two or three (times she will tell me I have no manners) ...she says I think I'm grown. I just think she's trying to live my life for me...she wants the best for me. She thinks the best is like, what she thinks."
Leela	Relationship with Parents	I Love My Dad, But We're Not That Close	"I don't really talk to him (my father) that much...I've never been too comfortable around my dad for some reason...I'm not really close with him...he'd just be stressed, and he'd like, have, like, some really stupid argument and it'd turn into like, a brawl. And it'd be like him breaking fans and breaking so many things... it's just made me uncomfortable around him. So I wouldn't talk to him as much."