

The Second-Generation Caribbean **Experience at Kenyon**

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Sociology Senior Exercise

Abstract: This paper focuses on second-generation Caribbean immigrants currently attending Kenyon. Through the use of interviews, information about these students' experiences were collected and analyzed. Using the marginal man and segmented assimilations theories, interview information was examined to learn if their experiences could be defined by these theories. This paper also attempts to learn if these students exhibit the traits characteristic of a marginal man personality while better understanding Kenyon culture.

Immigration is a topic that has been constantly discussed throughout America's history. Whether it is issues of law reformation or just how immigrants should be accepted, immigration has been an issue that almost every community has wrestled with.

It is the experiences of the children of immigrants that are the main focus of this paper. These children, also known as second-generation immigrants, have unique experiences in terms of assimilation into mainstream American culture. This paper focuses on second-generation immigrant students. Particularly those students whose parents were born in the Caribbean and their experiences while attending Kenyon College. By studying the experiences of students from this small liberal arts college I expect to learn more about this small group and their personal view of their place within this small, somewhat disconnected culture.

This topic is important because more members of this category and other immigrant categories are attending college. The challenges they might face with assimilation into a small liberal arts college community. One that is composed of many different students creating an environment with a different and distinct culture that is not present in previous studies. It is also important to study whether the students in this community even want to be involved or consider themselves a part of it. The social development of children of immigrants is greatly effected by their surrounding

community as well as their family structure, providing unique experiences when those children attend college on their own.

Literature Review and Theory

Of the 260 minority students at Kenyon, there are only 6 second-generation Caribbean immigrant students. Seeing as how second-generation Caribbean immigrant students are a 'minority within a minority' it is appropriate to incorporate “marginal man” theory and its relation to these students. Robert E. Park introduced the term marginal man when the “walls of the medieval ghetto were torn down a new personality type appeared”. He referred to the marginal man as a cultural hybrid or someone who was “living and sharing intimately in the cultural life of two distinct peoples” (Green, 1947). It was this living and sharing of two different cultural lives that was believed to create a period of personal transition and conflict. This conflict involved immigrants trying to preserve their past while building a future both culturally and socio-economically. This same period of transition and conflict presented immigrants with a moral dichotomy between their moral values in the home and among family versus their set of values when among the surrounding community. This leads one to wonder: Is this dichotomy present among the second-generation Caribbean students at Kenyon? Are there certain cultural or familial values they hold in high regard while living at college? Or do they downplay certain values? Park called this transition and conflict a period of crisis that cause an individual to constantly be in between cultures thus causing this crisis to become permanent. This permanent crisis, or “cultural limbo”, would be one theme that could prove to be true among the students to be interviewed. Everett V. Stonequist contributed to this theory stating that “marginal personalities occur wherever there are cultural

transitions and conflicts, but, most typically, where race or nationality enters the picture” (Green, 1947). He found this "marginal personality" to be characterized by ambivalence, excessive self-consciousness, restlessness, irritability, moodiness, and lack of self-confidence (Kerkhoff and McCormick, 1955). The transition and conflict described was characterized by different forms of rejection and acceptance of the marginal individual through willingness by the majority to form new relationships and acknowledge assimilation attempts by others. This level of acceptance is also conceptualized by barriers between the individual and the group. These barriers are things such as race, ethnicity, and cultural background. Second-generation Caribbean immigrant students' experiences with these barriers will be important in learning whether this theory applies to them. It is also important to learn in what ways these students define this “cultural conflict” is experienced along with their reaction. The theory also states that the experienced "cultural conflict" leads the marginal individual to:

“Make a new racial or national identity that is forced by the violent emotional reaction against the old. The old identification, however, though bruised and shattered, continues to exist and troubles the mind.”(Green, 1947)

This idea creating a new racial or national identity is an interesting concept that will be taken into account when interviewing second-generation Caribbean students. It will be important to see whether these students actually do create a new identity in order to relate to, or be accepted by, the majority. This will also help determine how important it is for these students to be accepted by the majority as well as which mechanisms they use to do so. Do they use the various college activities, groups, and social settings such as parties in an attempt to fit in? Do second-generation Caribbean students feel it necessary or make an effort to be part of the majority culture at all?

In his article, Arnold W. Green draws upon many other sociologists while re-examining this theory and expanding it to apply it to first and second-generation Jewish and Greek immigrants in the northeastern United States (City/State was not specified). The article did not discuss the results of this theory's application to second-generation Jewish immigrants other than they seemed to exhibit most of the personality traits that Stonequist attributed to the marginal man. In the case of Greek students, Green found two main elements in their conflict: they are cut off from home ties in a somewhat alien world that regards them as inferior; at the same time, their parents are pushing them to "succeed" to improve familial status (Green, 1947). It will be important to see how students interviewed deal with this pressure by parents to succeed while making an effort to enter into this new "world" and "culture" experienced at Kenyon . Overall, Green found that the marginal man symptoms, ambivalence, excessive self-consciousness, restlessness, etc., would be exhibited when major cultural differences are manifested. The emergence of this marginal man personality is also dependent on the extent of attraction by the group the marginal individual is attempting to leave and the repulsion by the group they are attempting to join.

Previous studies have focused on high school students in major cities such as Miami, New York, and San Diego and the effect the surrounding communities have on assimilation (Rumbaut, 1994). One study consisted of a survey of 5000 second-generation immigrants from Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean living in Miami and San Diego (Rumbaut, 1994). Due to the different social contexts students are exposed to their experiences vary in the ways they assimilate into that social context. These different contexts such as location, demographics, and socio-economic status allow for

many different kinds of assimilation. Students in these different contexts assimilate into different sectors of society, such as identifying with the ideals of the surrounding community, or completely disregard them leading to a different type of assimilation. The different pathways that they take cause groups of second-generation immigrants to become segmented in their assimilation, which is the basis for the segmented assimilation theory that influences most research (Rumbaut, 1994). This segmented assimilation theory comes from the different social groups young people assimilate into when introduced into a new community. Some of these "paths", as Rumbaut called them, included adapting and emulating the white middle class majority; an opposite type of adaptation into the inner-city underclass; and another may combine upward mobility and heightened ethnic awareness within solidary immigrant communities (Rumbaut, 1994).

Rumbaut and Portes talk more in depth about segmented assimilation in their book, Legacies. The two sociologists interviewed immigrants in Miami and San Diego in order to learn about segmented assimilation using this qualitative method. It is the reaction to challenges such as racial discrimination and growing inequality, whether it is a desire to overcome or distance oneself from the majority, along with other factors that help explain this theory of segmented assimilation. The four decisive factors they found to have great influence on segmented assimilation when paired with reaction to the previously outlined challenges were: 1) the history of the immigrant first generation's reactions to the aforementioned challenges; 2) the pace of acculturation, or degree to which they adopt the ideals of the surrounding culture, among parents and children and its effect on young peoples' integration into the surrounding community; 3) the barriers, cultural and economic, confronted by second-generation youth in their quest for

successful adaptation; and 4) the family and community resources for confronting these barriers (Rumbaut and Portes, 1996).

The process or pace of acculturation was one that seemed to have a great effect on assimilation in that it helped to explain the paths chosen by children of the immigrants interviewed. Acculturation is different from assimilation in that it involves the adoption of a second culture versus replacing one culture with another as seen in assimilation (Korzenny, 1999). *Dissonant acculturation* is one path that second-generation immigrants took. This meant that those children learned the English language and began to adopt American ways while losing that immigrant influence at a faster rate than their parents. Renouncing different cultural aspects such as the language, food, traditions, or moral values characteristic of their parents' immigrant culture and becoming more like other members of the dominant culture. Students who take this path are expected to experience more of the "cultural crisis" explained in marginal man theory. This is because their accelerated rate of acceptance of the dominant culture could be met with rejection by their family and other representatives of their family's culture. However, their attempts to assimilate and be accepted by the dominant culture could also be rejected. This constant rejection is likely to lead to the moodiness and lack of confidence described in marginal man theory. *Consonant acculturation* meant that adoption of American ideals and abandonment of the home language or culture happened at the same rate across generations. This type of acculturation is expected to involve less "cultural crisis" because any pressure from the child's parents to hold on to their historical heritage is no longer present. Finally, *selective acculturation* is when both first and second-generation immigrants retain cultural aspects of their home country while allowing for

some American influence in the assimilation process. I expect students whose experiences fit within this *selective acculturation* idea to experience the most "cultural crisis" as they try to retain their family's culture and heritage, but at the same time must choose what aspects of American culture they will allow to influence their college experience. These different paths will be applied to students' experiences in an attempt to categorize their college experience. (Rumbaut and Portes, 1996)

The marginal man approach, coupled with this segmented assimilation theory, will be useful in understanding how experiences with Kenyon culture are perceived by individuals as well as influenced by their respective paths of acculturation. The small, social context that Kenyon provides will allow for insight on what effect changing one's social context has in the later stages of schooling in terms of assimilation. This same social context will also allow for me to see the different segments within the college atmosphere that students have decided to assimilate to and why. These segments would be the different ethnic or racial groups on campus as well as participation in campus activities such as fraternity life, sports, or other social groups. It will be interesting to see how this theory is applied to a small college setting that has a limited number of groups and activities one can belong to and whether or not second-generation Caribbean students feel pressured to choose a path.

Methods

Aside from exploring previous research, second-generation Caribbean immigrants at Kenyon will be interviewed. The sample will come from the respective student populations and will the interviews be done one-on-one using a semi-structured interview schedule (See Appendix B). Students will be emailed asking their permission and a

snowball sample will be created (See Appendix A). The choice for students from Kenyon is influenced not only by accessibility, but because of the social context that the school presents. This social context being small liberal arts colleges in rural Ohio with a large amount of their populations being out-of-state students (1472 of 1759 students enrolled at Kenyon). The various cultural influences present from around the country at Kenyon create a new and distinct Kenyon "culture" that students are expected to adapt to. It is the experiences within this new culture of those second-generation Caribbean immigrants that are the focus of interviews as well as this paper. They will be asked questions about their home life in terms of culture and tradition. Subjects will be asked to give information about their family's country of origin as well as questions like: Do they speak the native language? Do they celebrate any holidays specific to that country or celebrate American holidays in a way characteristic of their country of origin?

Information will be gathered about experiences subjects have had with racial or ethnic discrimination at school as well as how they reacted. Subjects will also be asked to talk about how they present themselves while at school and at home in terms of ethnicity or race. This will include learning how much personal emphasis is put upon race or ethnicity while at college versus at home when encountering people representing different cultures and backgrounds. Their personal emphasis as well as their interaction with people of different backgrounds will be important in categorizing experiences based upon the paths of acculturation described in segmented assimilation theory.

Understanding these experiences and reactions will help in seeing if the marginal man personality outlined by Stonequist is characteristic of these students and if it is dependent on the path they have taken.

Interviews will be coded to find examples of the different marginal personality traits (ambivalence, excessive self-consciousness, moodiness, and irritability) described in the literature. Ambivalence in regards to Kenyon culture will be highlighted in **purple**. This trait is described as an indecisiveness as to which course to follow and is expected to be common amongst interviewees' first year at Kenyon no matter the path of acculturation. This is due to second-generation Caribbean students immersion in to Kenyon culture without an authority figure like a parent to actively guide them along the process. Examples of excessive self-consciousness will be highlighted in **red**. This is something I expect to be prevalent among those students who experience more rejection by Kenyon culture than others. Examples of moodiness will be highlighted in **blue** and are not expected to be very common among interviewees' responses. Moodiness is something expected to be present more among students who have experienced severe rejection by the majority through discrimination. However, it is expected only among students' who have experienced this severe rejection from friends. Irritability with the majority will be highlighted in **yellow**. This trait is expected to be present to some degree in all experiences, but present more in second-generation Caribbean students' experiences with other Kenyon students they perceive to represent an unfavorable aspect of Kenyon culture. Examples of acceptance from the majority at Kenyon will be highlighted in **green** while rejection will be highlighted in **light blue**.

These different subject areas along with information gathered will be important in learning whether second-generation Caribbean students at Kenyon possess any or all of the personality traits expressed in the "marginal man" theory outlined earlier. Whether they are stuck in a constant cultural "crisis", feeling stuck in-between two distinct

cultures. Their efforts to assimilate into the majority will also be important in learning whether they create, or try to create, a new racial or national identity while at college. This will also tell whether they feel it is necessary to create this identity and be accepted by the majority at Kenyon.

The paths of acculturation will be applied through a content analysis of all interviews in an attempt to categorize them. Although I do not expect the subjects to take the same path of assimilation based upon this theory, I do expect to find that there are many similarities in their experiences. I expect students to feel that they are caught within the "cultural limbo" outlined earlier and feel pressured to choose to identify with either their family's or Kenyon's culture. I anticipate that interviewees will also be extreme in their choice, either choosing to disregard Kenyon culture completely (*dissonant acculturation*) or make a concerted effort to accept Kenyon culture while still maintaining many of the aspects of their family's culture (*selective acculturation*). Their reactions to different issues, such as discrimination or students assuming that they belong to a particular race or ethnicity, will cause some students to take different paths. It is those reactions that I will be studying as well as what effect their social context has on their reactions. The different paths taken by students will also be important in understanding what paths are available to students within this social context.

One idea that was not mentioned in any of the previous research was the role time plays in the paths taken as well as the feeling of marginality among students. I expect examples of ambivalence and moodiness not to be as present among subjects who have attended Kenyon for two or more full years. This is because it is assumed that those subjects who have been attending Kenyon for more than two years have made a decision

as to which path to follow. It is also assumed that they learned to deal with, or stay away from, people and situations that could potentially anger or offend them and bring upon this moodiness. Time could also prove to be something that makes the path of acculturation clearer for me as an interviewer as well as provide for more experiences with acceptance or rejection by the majority. Excessive self-consciousness and irritability are expected to be prevalent among those students who have been attending Kenyon longer. This is because it is assumed they have been pressured to contemplate their position within Kenyon culture as well as their family's culture the longer they have been living within and sharing the two. It is expected that this same pressure is associated with examples of irritability.

Results

Although my interviews produced some interesting results, my sample is too small to have any implications beyond Kenyon College's campus. However, my subjects prove to provide valuable information about the second-generation Caribbean immigrant experience at Kenyon. There were many similarities among their experiences and seemed to mirror the experiences described in the research examined prior to conducting the interviews.

Marginal man theory proved to be helpful in analyzing subjects' Kenyon experience. However, not every marginal trait was common among second-generation Caribbean students at Kenyon. Irritability and excessive self-consciousness were the most prevalent marginal personality traits. Moodiness and ambivalence were not common among shared experiences, if examples were present at all. Examples of

irritability were most found when subjects defined what they believed to be Kenyon culture.

Knowing their definition of Kenyon culture proved to be very helpful in my analysis as to which marginal personality traits were present among subjects, particularly irritability. All subjects had a similar definition of what they felt Kenyon culture was. They all expressed that the majority, white students at Kenyon tries to change the community to fit their world-view. This was interesting because none of the subjects provided an example of what that world-view might be. Subjects felt that the majority of students also made an effort to label themselves and others as well as make that label known to everyone else. Some of these labels were names such as, “indoor kids”, “hipsters”, “jocks/athletes”, etc. There was consensus on the feeling that certain labels for example, “that every Kenyon student is open-minded”, were false. They felt that the students at Kenyon were, “open-minded from a distance”, in that students were quick to *say* they were open-minded rather than *be* open-minded. This led every subject to believe that there is a lack of culture or lack or reception of new culture(s) at Kenyon. Students described this lack of culture through their experiences with it. Subjects found this most prevalent in the lack of effort by other students to understand them or where their family comes from. This perceived lack of culture is experienced most blatantly when someone does not believe they can be of Caribbean decent because they do not fit into a Jamaican or Trini (Trinidadian) stereotype. For example: one subject stated “people don’t believe I am Jamaican because I don’t have long dreads, smoke marijuana, or have a heavy accent. They request that I speak with an accent to prove that I am in fact Jamaican, but we’re not all the same”. Another subject stated; “people expect me to

like watermelon or be a Rastafarian depending on what ethnicity they choose to assign to me”. These examples made it seem as though there wasn’t a *lack* of culture at Kenyon, but rather a lack of effort to *understand* new cultures. These examples as well as others made it clear to see how irritated subjects were. As they would describe Kenyon culture and recount certain experiences they began to express the frustration they had. Subjects stated how the fact that experiences similar to the examples shown were a great deal of frustration and irritability causing them to be disenfranchised with what they believed to be Kenyon culture.

Self-consciousness was most present when subjects were asked how their ethnicity affected the way people treated them. Subjects expressed that the more time they spent at Kenyon, the more self-conscious they became. An example of this was when one subject shared that; “at Kenyon you are almost forced to choose to hang out with either the black, or white students, which causes you to think about your place within the two groups”. Subjects said that before coming to Kenyon they did not pay much attention to their race or ethnicity. However, these were two topics that they felt pressured or forced to think about daily due to the fact that their peers constantly pointed it out. They felt that their race and ethnicity was constantly pointed out in conversation when people would hesitate before calling someone a black person due to their presence. This was also present because of misconception by fellow students as to their cultural background. Subjects expressed that constantly having to correct their peers as to their personal heritage caused them to constantly reflect upon their ethnicity and race. This excessive self-consciousness led subjects to feel that everything they did was measured against their race and ethnicity making their experience uncomfortable at times. Subjects

said that constantly having their race or ethnicity pointed out prevented them from being their “true” selves in order to avoid conflict with students that did not understand them. This “true” self that they felt they had to suppress included hiding their ethnic background. Subjects also believed they couldn’t act the way they do around their families. For example, one subject expressed that their peers found it weird or off putting when they would speak the patwa dialect native to their family’s country. Some subjects also stated they wish they could hear more Caribbean music at parties on campus. They also became excessively self-conscious to avoid being stereotyped by the people they knew to be quick to label someone.

Moodiness was one marginal personality trait that was almost non-existent among subjects. I suspect that this was due to irritability and excessive self-consciousness. It is possible that even though subjects were frustrated with certain aspects of their Kenyon experience, they had grown tired of getting angry or sad about their situation and had become indifferent to a certain degree. This coupled with excessive self-consciousness seems to be the reason for a lack of moodiness. Subjects excessive self-consciousness became a key part of helping them know not only how to avoid certain people or situations, but how to deal with them. By knowing a lot about them and their personality, they seemed like they understood that not everyone realizes how offensive they can be and therefore found no need to become moody and mope about it. They learned how to overcome it and keep moving along without allowing others’ ignorance affect their mood. Ambivalence was another marginal trait that was not very common among subjects’ experiences. There were many examples of confusion as to which group of students to associate with in the first year of attendance at Kenyon but seemed to be

dismissed quickly through interaction with other students. Subjects seemed to find a group of people that they relate to and feel comfortable with very quickly after their experiences with labeling or after finding their definition of Kenyon culture. The more they experienced this culture, the easier it became to find the best way to exist within this culture as well as who, or what, they wanted to associate themselves with. This tended to be people from a similar area of the United States if they were not of the same national origin.

The segmented assimilation theory outlined by Rumbaut and Portes did not seem to be very applicable to the subjects' experiences. This is because living in such a small community lead subjects to take the same path of acculturation. Although this theory's application is dependent on the experiences of the first generation, there were aspects that did in fact apply to the students interviewed. The path of acculturation was determined through students' description of their interactions with their family versus at Kenyon. For example, one student was thought to be "so American" by their parents they attempted to speak the language of their family's country. Every person interviewed exhibited signs of *selective acculturation*, this is because they felt forced to adopt some of Kenyon's cultural aspects in order to communicate with others and "survive" in this community. This seems to be the result of the excessive self-consciousness discussed earlier. Without an effort by the majority to learn or understand their cultural background, subjects were forced to learn about the majority in order to avoid creating more distance or barriers in between them and the rest of the community. This was exemplified when subjects were quick to label other students to an extent in the same way they observed to be characteristic of Kenyon culture. The one aspect of Kenyon culture that all the subjects

seemed to adopt was this idea of pretentiousness. This pretention manifested itself in the great deal of pride exhibited by the interviewees. The students interviewed seemed to be very proud of their heritage and the fact that they were attending a prestigious institution such as Kenyon. Conversely, subjects also made efforts *to* distance themselves from others and seemed to adopt cultural aspects only to prevent conflict when it was necessary to communicate with colleagues. So, in some ways, *selective acculturation* was a mechanism for separation. This is an interesting observation because Rumbaut and Portes described the different paths of acculturation as a mechanism second-generation Caribbeans used in order to assimilate into the surrounding community.

Conclusion

Second generation Caribbean immigrants' experiences at Kenyon are not as varied from each other as expected. They all have or are dealing with many of the same issues and are similar to other people(s) who fit into the marginal man 'mold'. It seemed that their experience at Kenyon has not been centered on assimilation into the majority. Rather it seemed that these students were more focused on figuring the best way to "deal with" the majority at Kenyon. The Kenyon experience as a second generation Caribbean immigrant teaches one a lot about them-self. The somewhat surreal, yet intense culture forces one to think about their position within Kenyon's community as well as their own. This provides evidence that these students create a new identity as Stonequist described was characteristic of marginal individuals. However, it seems as though they were forced to in order to communicate and live in this small, liberal arts college community.

This study also indicates that living in such a small community like Kenyon can be a lot to bear for someone who is new to it. However, it would be interesting to learn

more about the experiences of more students, both majority and minority, who someone might assume to easily assimilate into Kenyon's culture and compare the different recounts. It would also be helpful to gather a larger sample of second generation Caribbean immigrants from similar schools in order to have more pertinent data. However, due to time constraints and limited resources, this was difficult to do, hence the smaller sample. A larger sample would be able to answer questions such as: Is Kenyon truly a unique place in its own "bubble"? Do all second generation Caribbean immigrants experience this marginality while attending college? Are the experiences of these subjects indicative of what it is like to be a second generation Caribbean immigrant attending college? It help to interview more students to also know if some of the experiences described by second generation Caribbean students is unique just to them? Or do majority of college students have similar experiences?

Some other things to take into account would also be the factor that time and gender played. Many of my subjects expressed that as time progressed, they learned to be more accepting of Kenyon and what it had to offer. Although, none of my subjects overtly expressed that they were enchanted with Kenyon, they just expressed that they learned how to deal with their current 'situation'. Gender also played an important role in the types of interactions subjects said they had. Those interviewees who were women described some of the ways they were objectified by their peers. They told stories of men expecting them to be more sexually active or called them "exotic creatures" due to their ethnicity. Had this been taken into account, it would have provided a whole new perspective to this research.

Although insightful, none of my subjects expressed joy or happiness when asked about their experience as a whole. This research, though it may not be applicable outside of Kenyon College, is very eye opening and shows another side of Kenyon that few seem to acknowledge. This entrance into a different Kenyon could hopefully be the catalyst to spark change among the community in order to make it a memorable and enjoyable experience for all people(s).

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Kenyon Demographic information was collected from Kenyon College Registrar's office

Appendix A
E-Mail to participants.

Hi,

My name is Alex Dowell. For my senior project I am researching information on second-generation Caribbean immigrants, or people whose parents were born in the Caribbean. I am particularly interested in members from this group currently going to school at Kenyon . In order to gain insight into these people's experiences, I am conducting interviews with people who represent this group at the two schools. If you are willing, I would like to interview you so I can gather invaluable information for my research. Any and all information given will remain confidential and you are in no way required to participate. If you wish to refuse to answer a question or at any time feel uncomfortable, you are not obligated to continue and may stop the interview. This is because you will be asked to recount experiences with discrimination but are in no way obligated to. Each interview will take no longer than one hour and does not require any prior or further reading in order to be done. If you wish to participate, please reply to this email expressing that consent. If you wish to know more or would like to see any examples of potential interview questions please email me: dowella@kenyon.edu. Professors Jennifer Johnson, John Macionis, as well as the Kenyon College Sociology department will be my advisors throughout the duration of my senior exercise. A copy of this email as well as your emailed consent will be given to my professors. Should you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, please contact the Kenyon College Institutional Review Board, Edelstein House, College Drive, Gambier, OH 43022, (740 427-5748) email: peelle@kenyon.edu.

Thank you for your participation,
Alex Dowell,
Kenyon College '10

Appendix B: Interview Schedule

Alex Dowell

- How many years have you been at Kenyon?
- Where were you born?
- What city/state do you live in? How long have you been living there?
- Family country of origin?
- What traditions or celebrations that you know to be unique to your family or country of origin?
- How much emphasis is put upon them (examples)
- What language does your family's native country speak?
 - Can/do you speak it?
 - Do you have any friends that speak the same language?
 - Do you speak that language at school? If so, when and with whom do you usually speak?
- Where are most of your friends or their families from?
 - School vs. home
 - Do you continue any of your family traditions while at school?
 - How does your emphasis on certain traditions or celebrations change when at school?
- How does your neighborhood compare to Kenyon in terms of cultural makeup?
- How would you define "Kenyon" culture?
- What groups/activities do you participate in at Kenyon?
- How has this participation affected your view of Kenyon Culture?
- How do you feel about your place within this culture? Are you part of it? Do you relate to it?
- How do you identify yourself while at school?
 - In terms of race? National origin?
 - How do people usually react when they learn about your heritage? Any particular experience you might remember?
 - Do you feel emphasize your national identity more at school or home?
- Do you consider yourself an American? Why/why not?
 - How do you feel you relate to your American friends at Kenyon?
- Do people regularly mistake you for a certain race/ethnicity? What race/ethnicity?
 - If so, how do you handle this misconception?
- What ways do people treat you differently based on your ethnicity?
- Have you ever experienced incidents of discrimination due to your ethnic origin?
- Do you ever feel like you are two different people or like you are stuck in a cultural transition between your cultural experiences at home vs. at college?
- Do you feel you downplay certain aspects of your culture or heritage in order to fit in with certain situations? Why?

- Do you think your cultural background creates a social barrier or creates distance between you and your college friends?
- How has your experience changed over time?
- How do you feel about your experience over all?