

RACIAL DISTANCING AND SENSITIVITY TO STIGMATIZATION AMONG FUTURE
BLACK PROFESSIONALS

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ABSTRACT

Professional occupations requiring higher education have long been paths to upward mobility for Black people in the United States. This mobility has historically been tied to both social and economic advancement. Whether advancement was subjective or objective, there was some form of distancing from the broader Black community. The three studies of the present dissertation used national and regional samples to test the problem of whether future Black professionals endorsed racial distancing behaviors. Results showed that racial distancing was composed of economic and social components. Moreover, high levels of Black social interactions and high ratings of emotional bonds to the Black community were negative determinants of the social distance defined as group distancing. High levels of emotional bonds alone were negative determinants of economic distancing. Characteristics of high racial distancing included discomfort in Black social spaces and a desire to turn one's back on the Black community for advancement. Though racial distancing was present, approximately 73 percent of the national sample was low in economic and group distancing. In examining reasons for racial distancing, the regional sample results showed that a majority of respondents were highly sensitive to racial stigmatization whether or not they were from racially diverse communities or predominantly Black spaces. Racial distancing was observed in a small minority of the regional sample, indicated by a low desire to be identified by race in college and job applications.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my wife who grew from friend to girlfriend to fiancé to wife all during my time at The University of Alabama, my mother who always encouraged me to put forth my best effort in everything I did, my grandmother who believed in me from the beginning, and my grandfather for fostering my appreciation for family. It is also dedicated to those who came before me upon whose shoulders I stand and those who will come after me and stand on my shoulders.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

α	Chronbach's alpha coefficient for reliability
AIC	Akaike's Information Criterion
B	Standardized Beta statistic for factor loadings in structural equation modeling and coefficients in multiple linear regression
BIC	Bayesian Information Criterion
BRDI	Black Racial Distancing Inventory
df	Number of values in a statistical calculation that are free to vary
E-DIST	Economic Distancing
F	F -ratio used in general linear modeling
G^2	G-test; maximum likelihood significance test
G-DIST	Group Distancing
GFI	Goodness-of-fit Index
IRRS-B	Index of Race-Related Stress-Brief
M	Arithmetic average of a set of numbers
N	Population size
n	Sample size
RCQ	Racial Cohesion Questionnaire
RMSEA	Root Mean Square Error of Approximation
p	Probability associated with a given statistical test

<i>SD</i>	Standard deviation; degree to which scores deviate from the mean
SRMR	Standardized Root Mean Square Residual
χ^2	Chi-square; maximum likelihood significance test
\geq	Equal to or greater than
\leq	Equal to or less than

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INTRODUCTION

Racial distancing is the act of separating one's self from aspects of one's racial group that are deemed unsavory. It is derivative of research from psychologist Keisha Bentley-Edwards on racial dissonance. Racial dissonance was defined as ambivalence or antagonism toward one's racial community that included discomfort in predominantly Black social settings and lack of empathy for the impoverished (Bentley-Edwards, 2016; Bentley-Edwards & Chapman-Hilliard, 2015). Racial distancing differs from racial dissonance in that there is no ambivalence present. Behaviors indicative of racial distancing serve an adaptive purpose, especially for individuals entering spaces where he or she is a racial minority.

There is also a historical basis in racial distancing as professional or economic achievement for African Americans has long been associated with escape from the core Black community (Bentley-Edwards, 2016). Historically, achievement for African Americans has come from professional endeavors and the pursuit of education. Prior to the mass desegregation spurred by civil rights legislation, achievement was limited to select entrepreneurs and a small crop of professionals. Entrepreneurs included banker Maggie Lena Walker, cosmetics magnate Madam C.J. Walker, and hotelier Daniel Murray. Professionals who emerged during the height of Jim Crow segregation included surgeon Charles Drew and lawyer Charles Hamilton Houston. Though leaders such as Henry L. Morehouse and W.E.B. DuBois espoused a belief in a "Talented Tenth" of individuals that would lead the Black community through educational attainment, only 0.3 percent of college-age Black were pursuing higher education in 1910 (Anderson, 1988). After mass desegregation, achievement became more pervasive for African

Americans. Legislation such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Higher Education Act of 1965 opened white-collar professions and predominantly White colleges to non-Whites. Though distance had always been present in the Black community by status, the economic advancement spurred by civil rights legislation created a Black middle-class that sought spatial distance from the Black underclass. Middle-class Black people did not necessarily leave Black communities. Instead, many moved to middle-class Black communities (Lacy, 2007). It is at this intersection of status, class, and sociospatial distance where the present dissertation is focused, centered on the question, “Do some individuals distance themselves from the Black community?”

In an article titled “The middle-class Black’s burden,” journalist Leanita McClain detailed the nuances of being a minority in White spaces and the psychological struggle of a career that afforded her the chance to leave the housing projects of her youth. In her former community, she was forced to confront the perception that Black professionals “forgot where they came from.” In her workplace, she confronted the perception that she was not some exceptionally lucky person who received her job by chance. Describing her cultural dilemma, she wrote, “Whites won’t believe I remain culturally different; Blacks won’t believe that I remain culturally the same.”

McClain’s upwardly mobile position was uniquely tied to the core African American experience. Born in 1952, she was young enough to enjoy the fruits of civil rights legislation that launched a generation of educated Black people into white-collar positions yet old enough to be tied to the Great Migration from the South. She was connected to both the urban Black working-class of the North and the rural underclass of the South.

Fresh from a vacation in Paris, I may, a week later, be on the milk-run Trailways bus in Deep South backcountry attending a funeral of an uncle whose world only stretched 50

miles and never learned to read. Sometimes when I wait at the bus stop with my attaché case, I meet my aunt getting off the bus with other cleaning ladies on their way to do my neighbors' floors. (p. 13)

McClain was neither ashamed of her aunt being a maid nor apologetic for her success, but she was clear to highlight the point that her success did not make her less Black. She was still acutely aware that the advancement of a few Black people did not signal mass progress.

Black progress has surpassed our greatest expectations...In my heart, however, there is no safe distance from the wretched past of my ancestors or the purposeless present of some of my contemporaries; I fear such a fate can reclaim me. I am not comfortably middle class; I am uncomfortably middle class. (p. 13)

Yale Law professor Stephen Carter, in "The Black Table, the Empty seat, and the Tie," referenced a belief among some professionals that distance from one's ethnic group was imperative for professional success.

There are some intellectuals who have suggested that the fact of moving ahead in a predominantly White profession creates a necessary distance between oneself and one's ethnic community...they have argued that it is inevitable and perhaps even desirable to be thought of as (or to think of oneself as), say, a professor who happens to be Black, rather than a Black person who happens to be a professor. (p. 65-66)

Carter also described the common outside belief that when a Black person advances in some professional field, that he or she has forgotten his or her origins. He lamented, "The faster one advances in the White-dominated world of the professions, the greater the suspicions often generated that one had somehow left one's truest and best self behind."

As did McClain, Carter questioned the absurdity of the belief that professional success made one less Black. Giving the example of a physician, Carter stated,

To want to be a good doctor has nothing to do with wanting to be a White doctor. The fact that professional standards have been laid down before significant numbers of Black professionals came on the scene does not by itself prove racism...The market in a sense defines the tasks for which it will compensate, and moving up the ladder requires doing one of those tasks better than others. (p. 74)

McClain and Carter collectively described the burdens of upward mobility, one's relationship to the larger Black community, and pressure to assimilate into the predominantly White corporate culture. Upward mobility has historically been tied to class and status in the Black community. Professions such as those in which McClain and Carter were trained provided stable employment for Blacks relative to the majority of the Black community working in unskilled labor. What differed between McClain, Carter, and their predecessor journalists and lawyers was that journalism and law were not truly middle-class professions for Black people until after the 1960s. During that period, civil rights legislation created opportunities that allowed Black professionals to be paid comparably to their White peers. Regarding Black professionals' relationships to the larger Black community, they had always been granted a status separate from the masses. From the late-19th through the early-20th centuries as the first graduates of Black colleges emerged, the social hierarchy within the Black community changed. Starting from approximately the ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, education and occupation became the privileged status markers in the Black community.

Divisions between professionals and the larger Black community existed at the height of state-imposed segregation, but post-integration professionals such as McClain and Carter dealt

with the additional burden of class differences as they were demonstrably more economically secure than professionals of the previous generation. Moreover, the professional peers of McClain and Carter faced the additional pressure of assimilating into predominantly White spaces. Though dominant [White] cultural norms were also vogue prior to integration among the Black elite, mastery of the practices was related more to status within the Black community rather than economic advancement outside of it.

The present dissertation is comprised of three studies aimed at addressing racial distancing, the idea that a Black individual will distance one's self from his or her racial community. Though they were not characterized by a specific name, the phenomena described by Leanita McClain and Stephen Carter were examples of racial distancing. For both of them, distancing on the part of professionals was a label given by Black people outside of the professions. While the writing of both McClain and Carter endorsed community cohesiveness over assimilation, this is not always the case. Examining levels of racial distancing aims to show this diversity in beliefs among future Black professionals. At the center of the studies is the question of why individuals would choose to distance themselves from the Black community. Specifically, do future professionals who will one day likely work in predominantly White spaces maintain ties to the Black community or disassociate from it?

Class and Status

An understanding of the nuance in class and status for the Black community is vital to understanding the unique positioning of Black professionals in the present-day, post-integration economic structure and the scenarios described by McClain and Carter that undergird racial distancing. Professionals are uniquely situated to studying the intersection of class, status, and

race as they were historically middle-class professions for Whites but not economically comparable for Blacks.

Differentiating class and status is based on Max Weber's definitions of each. Status, a designation ignorant of economic conditions and determined by either positive or negative honor, can be shared by individuals of different economic classes (Weber, 1922). For example, Weber described having property and not having property as fundamental class situations. Someone lacking property would always be below his or her counterpart with property in economic class, but they could occupy the same social status. A class was a group of people who shared life chances determined by possession of goods and opportunities for income. A key point of distinguishing class versus status was full economic participation. If one's fate could not be determined by market conditions, then one could not vie for a class position. Slaves, for example, could have status groups within their informal groupings, but by virtue of being property, they were not of any class (Weber, 1922). Applying Weber's theory to the United States economic system, the first crop of African Americans who became professionals were either former slaves or the descendants of slaves (Woodson, 1934). In rare cases, some physicians learned the rudiments of medicine under supervisory physicians who were also slaveholders. Thus, there was status attached to their skills, but those skills did not often yield economic gain.

In *The New Black Middle Class*, sociologist Bart Landry applied Weber's theory to African Americans. Lacking full economic participation, African Americans were not truly able to take part in the economic system of the United States until civil rights legislation was passed in the 1960s (Landry, 1987). Landry (1987) outlined three phases of status and class that included the mulatto elite, the old Black middle-class, and the new Black middle-class. The

mulatto elite that emerged between 1865 and 1915 attained its status through closeness to Whites and skin complexion. They were skilled in trades that served a White clientele such as barbering, tailoring, and craftwork. The old Black middle-class, emerging roughly between 1890, was marked by the rise of hostile, upwardly mobile Whites who did not want to patronize businesses run by the mulatto elite. Coincidentally, Black colleges founded after emancipation began to confer Bachelor's degrees during this period (Anderson, 1988; Brooks, 2014). Moreover, the passing of Jim Crow laws also solidified state-imposed segregation. Prior to 1890s, the mulatto elite not only gained status from serving Whites but also living near them. The upwardly mobile old Black middle-class also included entrepreneurs who were responsive to a market created by Jim Crow segregation and Black urbanization. The combination of factors which included educational opportunities, segregation, and migration to cities coalesced to allow groups of Black entrepreneurs and professionals to exclusively serve Black communities. Though the mulatto elite was no longer vogue, status markers of the period still proliferated among the old Black middle-class. Newly-minted professionals married into families with honorable names, and the women who started social clubs in cities with identifiable Black communities were likely to come from mulatto elite families (Meier & Lewis, 1959). Though the old Black middle-class was built on meritocratic standards such as education and entrepreneurship, status became a proxy for economic success. This was because Black professionals and entrepreneurs still did not have parity of wages or business revenues with their White counterparts. The new Black middle-class was the only true class of the three groups outlined by Landry (1987). This was the only group able to compete for mainstream jobs with their White peers. Though professionals in the old Black middle-class had economic security relative to masses of Black people, this group marked the first crop of Black professionals that

would have incomes comparable to their White peers. Landry (1987) held that this group was the result of the coincidence of an American economic boom *and* civil rights legislation not one or the other. The United States saw significant economic improvement after World War II, and this trend of prosperity continued into the 1960s. Civil rights legislation that prevented discrimination in employment along with the economic conditions created an environment in which college-educated Blacks could attain white-collar jobs.

Scholars are consistent in identifying two different Black economic and status structures having emerged in the following Emancipation and preceding the Civil Rights Movement, but the timeline for changes differed. For clarity, they are called the old elite and economic-social elite rather than the mulatto elite and the old Black middle-class as termed by Bart Landry. Landry (1987) posited that the old elite epoch lasted from the end of slavery to about 1915, coinciding with the death of Booker T. Washington. In this description, Landry was careful to identify Black business leaders of the economic-social elite as *petite bourgeoisie*, both consistent with how Marx and Weber defined similar groups and true to the economic conditions. Black business owners who served a primarily Black clientele were not comparable to White business magnates. Meier (1962) held that the upwardly mobile crop of Black professionals arose well before 1915, and was largely the result of Booker T. Washington's espousal of self-help and racial solidarity in business that became popular as Tuskegee Institute gained a foothold in the 1890s. In fact, many of the mulatto elite made the transition from vocations serving Whites to small businesses in service to Blacks (Meier, 1962). While Meier pointed to lateral migration from rural towns to cities in the South such as Atlanta and New Orleans, Lacy (2007) cited the Great Migration to northern cities as the point of transition from the old elite to the economic-social elite. Meier and Lacy did concur in their characterizations of the economic-social elite.

Lacy (2007) held that despite the presence of the upwardly mobile group of professionals and their ability to gain economic security, they still did not enjoy the same social status as members of the old elite. Meier and Lewis (1959) held that it was very plausible for economic-social elite professionals to have economic standing demonstrably higher than members of the old elite but still not be able to join their social clubs due to subjective reasons.

Karyn Lacy and August Meier also highlighted examples of blurred lines between class and status in the pre-integration, economic-social elite for individuals who were not professionals. Lacy (2007) pointed to the fact that Pullman porters and postal workers had more stable incomes than some physicians but did not share the same status as education had precedence over income alone. In Boston, the Black elite was varied in its inclusion of a number of occupations from janitors and waiters to white-collar professionals and business leaders (Meier, 1962). These examples not only showed the difficulty of delineating class and status in the Black community, but they also bolstered Weber's (1922) assertion that individuals of differing economic standing could occupy the same status group. More importantly, since Black people did not have access to the mainstream economic market, status, whether based on family name or education, was paramount.

Study Population and Analytical Foci

The group of interest in the study, future Black professionals, implies that these individuals will enter careers that require at least a four-year college degree. This is consistent with Landry's (1987) classification of social workers and teachers with lawyers, physicians, and dentists as professionals such that each required a level of education higher than secondary grades. Though far removed from the economic-social elite professional period, these future professionals are still three-fold minorities among the population of the United States, within the

Black community, and among college degree recipients. In the United States, individuals identifying as Black constitute 13 percent of the population (Ryan & Bauman, 2016). Among individuals identifying as Black, about 23 percent have Bachelor's degrees. Among another statistical minority, four-year degree recipients, Black people are even more of a minority. Though approximately 33 percent of people 25 years of age and older hold a Bachelor's degree, only 8 percent of those people are Black. This small group is of interest in the dissertation studies because they represent a group that is similar by most objective criteria. Still, it is expected that they will have subjective differences in their beliefs around racial stigmatization and professional assimilation that could be influenced by their ethnic backgrounds, home environments, and cultural communities. Some might encounter people who label them as "forgetting where they come from," while others might hail from communities where high educational attainment is the norm. Others might feel the pressure of assimilating in a predominantly White space, while others may not feel the need to make significant cultural adjustments when they leave the comforts of home.

Study 1 utilizes structural equation modeling to establish two constructs of racial distancing, economic and group distancing. Two models are developed with differing design criteria with both holding that racial distancing is composed of economic and social components. A theoretical structural equation modeling is based on alignment with the items of the Black Racial Dissonance Inventory (BRDI). For example, "I distance myself from most Black people," is aligned with group distancing whereas, "Trying to improve poor communities is a waste of time," is aligned with economic distancing. The second model, the practical structural equation model, is based on items having factor loadings of 0.5 or greater ($B \geq 0.5$) onto the economic and group distancing factors.

Study 2 builds upon the practical models of Study 1 by transforming economic and group distancing into summative, continuous variables. These variables serve as dependent variables in regression analyses with independent variables that are proposed to explain the two forms of racial distancing. Also within Study 2, a quadrant model asserts that one individual can be simultaneously high in one form of racial distancing and low in another. The quadrant model, which describes racial distancing by construct (economic/group) and valence (high/low) is less mathematical than it is theoretical. Latent class analysis is used to examine whether responses fall into four classes that align with the theoretical quadrants.

Study 3 is the study that clearly identifies the group of interest in the collective dissertation: Black students who will one day pursue middle-class professions. This study tests a different sample of respondents from Studies 1 and 2, and it is also based in a different conceptual framework. In an effort to explore reasons why individuals choose to be racially distant, the research of Elijah Anderson on Black corporate professionals is the conceptual core. Using latent class analysis, the study examines respondents' alignment with the core-own and peripheral-own groups rather than quadrants as done in Study 2. The core-own consists of individuals from predominantly Black communities, while the members of the peripheral-own have origins in more diverse locales. Basing hypotheses on Anderson's research in "The Social Situation of the Black Executive," the two groups should differ in their orientations toward the larger Black community and toward White people in professional spaces.

PAPER 1

RACIAL DISTANCING AS A STANDALONE CONCEPT: TESTING THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL STRUCTURAL EQUATION MODELS

Racial distancing is a detachment between an African American individual and the broader Black community based on behaviors and beliefs. This detachment can be characterized by separation either from a particular segment of African Americans or African American cultural folkways. The disconnection from and uneasiness towards poor African Americans can be attributed to an attitude of associating success with an exodus from working-class communities (Bentley-Edwards, 2016). One final key characteristic of racial distancing is that an individual may distance him or herself from the Black community or not support initiatives for poor African Americans yet have a high appraisal of being African American (Bentley-Edwards & Chapman-Hilliard, 2015).

Conceptual Background

Racial distancing manifests itself in two ways. First, one's discomfort around other African Americans could be economic such that affluent Black people may show disdain toward their poor or working-class counterparts. This form of distancing does not entail a disconnection from the whole Black community. An individual high in economic distancing (E-DIST) may display a disdain toward African Americans of lower socioeconomic standing yet still choose to associate with or live in neighborhoods with other middle-to-upper class African Americans.

The second form of racial distancing, group distancing, is the act of distancing one's self from stereotypes or folkways associated with African Americans. Group distancing (G-DIST) can be a buffer to discrimination from Whites rather than a hostility toward other African Americans as described in economic distancing (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009). The belief guiding the behavior is that being less identifiable with stereotypes of African Americans will make one less likely to encounter discrimination. Moreover, these individuals might believe that the key to professional success is social acceptance from Whites.

Overview of Racial Distancing Background

The individual constructs of group and economic distancing are based in examples from research of racial ambivalence that emerged among Blacks in segregated spaces described in research on the Black middle-class by E. Franklin Frazier, St. Clair Drake, and Horace Clayton in *Black Bourgeoisie* and *Black Metropolis*, respectively. The study of racial distancing in the present paper positions the concept as being composed of an individual's beliefs regarding the larger African American community and African Americans of lower socioeconomic status. The former relationship places non-Black groups in the center such that individuals might want to distance themselves from negative stereotypes held by Whites. The latter relationship is intraracial and places non-Black groups on the periphery such that its primary focus is the African American community. Both are historically-based as elite African Americans of the late-19th and early-20th centuries sought to be the liaisons between the Black community and elite Whites by displaying particular behaviors and attempting to set themselves apart from their lower-class counterparts (Dorsey, 2004; Drake & Clayton, 1945; Driskell, 2012; Frazier, 1957). The present study also assumes the context of racially distant behaviors in the post-integration African American class structure detailed by sociologist Karyn Lacy in *Blue Chip Black* (2007).

This class structure emerged in the wake of 1960s civil rights legislation and ultimately led to objective class differences among African Americans. Class is a key component of the study as the sub-construct economic distance described in the conceptual framework implies a class divide among African Americans. Sociologists William Julius Wilson and Bart Landry asserted that the professionals that would come to make up the post-integration middle-class were the particular beneficiaries of civil rights legislation as they were the group uniquely qualified to compete with Whites for high-paying jobs (Landry, 1987; Wilson, 1978). Mimicking the behaviors of their pre-integration elite forebears, this affluent group was able to distance themselves both culturally and spatially from the Black working-class as they were able to move outside of core communities in America's cities (Lacy, 2007; Landry, 1987).

Framing the historical foundations of racial distancing in the actions of the pre-integration Black class structures detailed by Frazier, Drake, and Clayton shows examples of behaviors that predate the concept but qualify conceptually as racially distant. The Black class structure that predated the post-integration middle-class was marked by the two following epochs: the period between 1865 and 1890 and the time between 1890 and 1961. The first period started with the emancipation of slaves and ended with the passing of Jim Crow laws. This period also saw the emergence of a "mulatto elite." This group had been in closest contact with Whites as servants during slavery. The interracial contact exposed them to the culture of elite Whites and allowed them to be trained in trades that would be capitalized upon after emancipation (Hughes & Hertel, 1990; Keith & Herring, 1991). In their elevated status compared to darker-skinned Blacks, they developed standards for proper behavior that would ensure their upward mobility (Driskell, 2012). This group was concentrated in occupations such as barbering, catering, blacksmithing, and other areas where they served elite Whites. This

second period of Black class structure development would see a new elite group emerge based on education and occupation not the status of serving Whites. This group of entrepreneurs and professionals would become a necessity in segregated communities through a combination of events that included prejudice toward mulatto-owned businesses by White patrons and the passing of Jim Crow laws. The period known as the “nadir of American race relations” also saw a number of lynchings as the state adopted a laissez-faire position on racial violence. Riots occurred in cities throughout the South, driven by the racial animus of the time. Even as Black grocers, insurance agents, undertakers, physicians, and dentists served the needs of the Black community, they were subjected to constant threat of violence as evidenced by race riots that occurred in Wilmington, N.C, Lake City, S.C., and Atlanta, Georgia (Woodward, 1966). Though the class standing of the old Black middle class was more economically concrete than its mulatto elite predecessor, the threat of violence was graver.

New Black Middle-Class and Post-Integration Class Structure. Bart Landry (1987) asserted that neither the mulatto elite nor the old Black middle-class were true classes. The mulatto elite was considered to be more of a status group than a class as it was based on prestige rather than objective economic measures (Landry, 1987). The old Black middle-class was a blend of status and class such that the new Black elite had higher levels of education, but they often intermarried with members of the mulatto elite (Landry, 1987; Meier & Lewis, 1959).

Status-oriented divisions that existed between the mulatto elite and their dark-skinned counterparts became structural in the early-20th century as groups such as the NAACP began to seek civil rights for African Americans (Wilson, 1978). Lower-class Blacks were excluded from these efforts as they lacked the institutional credentials (e.g., formal education, professional occupation) for participation. Sociologist William Julius Wilson (1978) asserted that even the

major civil rights organizations that arose after 1955 did not include the working-class as the bulk of activists were either upwardly mobile college students or professionals who had already attained middle-class standing.

In *Blue-Chip Black* (2007), Karyn Lacy held that a true, objective Black middle-class did not emerge until after civil rights legislation of the mid-1960s. The “post-integration” Black middle class would differ from both the mulatto elite and the old Black middle-class in that its economic and educational credentials mirrored the White middle-class. As stated earlier, the mulatto elite had been based on status and the old Black middle class of the nadir period was not comparable to the White middle-class. Landry (1987) argued that middle-class Black professionals were the particular beneficiaries of the Civil Rights Movement as they were the group that held the aforementioned educational credentials and the qualifications to enter predominantly White professional spaces.

Historical and Contemporary Examples

The argument put forth in the present paper is that racial distancing manifests itself in two ways such that some individuals display ambivalent attitudes about the African American community as a whole while others point to a desire to distance oneself socially or spatially from poor and working-class African Americans.

Development of constructs was partly guided by behavioral examples from ethnographies that included Karyn Lacy’s *Blue-Chip Black* and St. Clair Drake and Horace Clayton’s *Black Metropolis*, both of which predated published research on racial distancing. Behavioral examples from *Blue-Chip Black* reflected both community and economic distancing. For example, one respondent from Lacy’s (2007) study stated,

You had people who weren't able to afford other places coming in...and you can almost pinpoint where the parents live. Because I used to go to my daughter's class, and I could see the little knucklehead kids, and I could just imagine the sections where they came from ... Every once in a while, you'd have someone from the more expensive section who was a knucklehead, but it was more likely that that knucklehead came from the cheaper section. (p. 176)

The above example is indicative of both community and economic distancing as the initial portions of the comment reflect how the respondent chose to distance himself spatially from the cheaper sections of the community, inferring distance from "knuckleheads" (economic distancing). The portion where he states that knuckleheads can also be found in more affluent communities reflects ambivalence toward African Americans across classes (group distancing).

An historical example was gleaned from Drake and Clayton's (1945) *Black Metropolis*. In it, a physician serving the Black community states,

"Are these my people?" he thought. "What in the hell do I have in common with them? This is 'The Race we're always spouting about being proud of.'" He had a little trick for getting back on an even keel when such doubts assailed him: he just let his mind run back over the "Uncle Tomming" he had to do when he was a Pullman porter; the turndown he got when he wanted to interne at the University of Chicago Hospital; the letter from the American Medical Association rejecting his application for membership; the paper he wrote for a White doctor to read at a Mississippi medical conference which no Negroes could attend. Such thoughts always restored his sense of solidarity with "The Race."
(p. 566)

In this example, the physician's comments also reflect explicit group distancing and implied economic distancing. His reference to "The Race" and attempting to set himself apart from it is exemplary of group distancing. Though he never refers to anyone as poor people, it can be inferred that he is referencing the poor people he served in segregated communities. It is also important to point out the economic situation of professionals during that time period in that he was not necessarily more economically secure than his clientele and wages for Black physicians were significantly lower than those of White physicians.

Study Purpose

The purpose of the present paper is to empirically test the theoretical claims of racial distancing being composed of two constructs, economic and group distancing. The present paper aims to develop a line of research that is distinct from previous research on racial dissonance by asserting that racial distancing is not a conflict between one's thoughts and actions. For example, if an individual believes that it is a waste of time to support poor African American communities, then he or she will not be involved in community service projects. Additionally, racial distancing places more emphasis on behaviors being rooted in historical and contemporary divisions within the Black community. Moreover, the study of racial distancing is interdisciplinary as its conceptual framework is based in anthropology, history, law, sociology, and psychology. Drake and Clayton's (1945) anthropological study of Chicago's Black community in *Black Metropolis* serves as a key historical example for pre-integration racially distant behaviors. Post-integration examples of racial distancing and insights about the African American class structure are guided by Karyn Lacy's sociological study of the African Americans in the Washington, D.C. area. The research of sociologists Bart Landry and Williams Julius Wilson figure prominently in critically examining the class divisions within the Civil

Rights Movement. Finally, the present study seeks to address the following research question: Can the constructs of group (G-DIST) and economic distancing (E-DIST) be confirmed through factor analysis testing two-factor models against a single-factor model?

Method

Participants

The participant pool consisted of a national sample of 242 ($N = 242$) undergraduate and graduate students from 102 institutions in the United States that included both historically Black colleges (HBCUs) and predominantly White institutions (PWIs) ranging from ages 17 to 31 with a median age of 21 ($M_{age} = 21.47$, $SD_{age} = 2.96$). All participants identified as Black, but the sample consisted of the following ethnic groups within the Black community: African American ($n = 182$), Biracial ($n = 9$), Black Hispanic ($n = 2$), Caribbean ($n = 20$), and Multiracial ($n = 11$). Of the 242 participants, 183 were women and 59 were men.

Measures

Economic and Group Distancing. Racial distancing constructs—G-DIST and E-DIST—were originally derived from the Black Racial Dissonance Inventory (BRDI), a 7-item survey measure. Items associated with the G-DIST construct examine attitudes related to one's social distancing from racial stereotypes and social relations with African Americans (5 items; $\alpha = .66$, $M = 10.1$, $SD = 2.71$). Sample items include the following: 'I keep my distance from most Black people,' 'I don't want people to think I'm like a typical Black person,' and 'I can barely deal with my own issues let alone those of the Black community.' E-DIST items were aimed at capturing hostility toward poor Black people, the futility of helping poor communities, and maintenance of distance from those impoverished people and places (2 items; $\alpha = .62$, $M = 2.72$,

SD = 1.05). Example items include the following: ‘I have to turn my back on poor Black people to get ahead’ and ‘Trying to improve poor Black communities is a waste of time.’

Data Analysis

Table 1.1 shows the combination of model fit indices that shape the analyses of measurement models. Within models, factor loadings, as measured by unstandardized beta statistics (B) will be examined for practical significance as recommended by Hair, Anderson, Tatham, and Black (1998). Specifically, Hair et al. (1998) recommended that factor loadings of +/- 0.3 indicated a small effect, +/- 0.4 denoted medium effect, and +/- 0.5 indicated practical significance. Across models, model fit will be compared by model fit indices. Both Hu and Bentler (1999) and Schumacker and Lomax (2010) recommended a set of model fit indices, which can be observed in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1
Model-Fit Criteria

Criterion	Acceptable Level	Interpretation
Factor loading (b)*	+/- 0.3 (small), +/- 0.4 (medium), +/- 0.5 (large)	Larger effects indicate meaningful effect on latent variables
Chi-square (χ^2)*	Tabled χ^2 value, $p \geq .05$	Compares obtained χ^2 value with tabled value for given df
Root-mean square error of approximation (RMSEA)**	.05 to .08	Values between .05 and .08 indicate a close fit
Standardized root-mean square residual (SRMR)**/**	SRMR \leq .05	Values less than .05 indicate a good model fit
Goodness-of-fit index (GFI)**	0 (no fit) to 1 (perfect fit)	Values close to .90 to .95 reflect a good fit
Chi-square to degree of freedom ratio (χ^2/df)***	1 to 2	Values indicates good model fit

Note. * = Hair et al. (1998), **=Schumacker & Lomax (2010), ***=Hu & Bentler (1999).

Table 1.2 shows the items of the Black Racial Dissonance Inventory (BRDI) and their corresponding theoretical constructs. It is key to point out that the constructs are based on theory as a two-factor model with practical factor loadings will be tested against the theoretical two-factor model. Between the two-factor models, item alignment with the constructs may change.

Both two-factor models will be tested against a single-factor model to confirm if the E-DIST and G-DIST constructs are appropriate modeling for racial distancing.

Table 1.2
Black Racial Dissonance Inventory Items and Constructs

Theoretical Construct	Items
G-DIST	10. I keep my distance from most Black people. 29. I fit in more with White people than Black people. 37. I can barely deal with my own issues, let alone those in the Black community. 38. I wish I were more comfortable around other Blacks. 39. I don't want people to think I am like typical Black people.
E-DIST	27. I have to turn my back on poor Black folks in order to get ahead. 28. Trying to improve poor Black communities is a waste of time.

Results

Factor Loadings

Figure 1.1 shows all of the items of the BRDI loaded onto one factor. According to the practical significance criteria outlined by Hair et al. (1998), items 10 ($b = .61, t = 8.82, p < .001$), 27 ($b = 0.59, t = 8.48, p < .001$), 29 ($b = .6, t = 8.64, p < .001$), and 38 ($b = .51, t = 7.28, p < .001$) were practically significant. Items 28 ($b = .41, t = 5.70, p < .001$), 37 ($b = .49, t = 6.92, p < .001$), and 39 ($b = .4, t = 5.51, p < .001$) demonstrated medium effects.

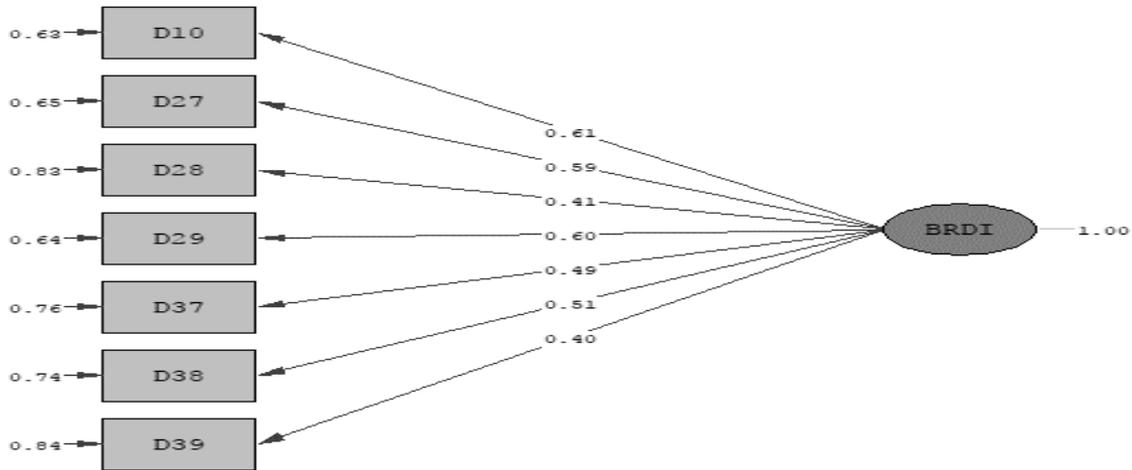


Figure 1.1. Single-Factor Confirmatory Factor Analysis. Key: BRDI, Total Racial Distancing.

Figure 1.2 shows the two-factor model. Regarding economic distancing (E-DIST), the factor loadings of items 27 ($b = .9, t = 7.83, p < .001$) and 28 ($b = .5, t = 5.98, p < .001$) are practically significant. Items 37 ($b = .42, t = 5.85, p < .001$) and 39 ($b = .39, t = 5.33, p < .001$) on the G-DIST construct yielded medium effects, which suggested that these items could be moved to the E-DIST construct in the practical two-factor model.

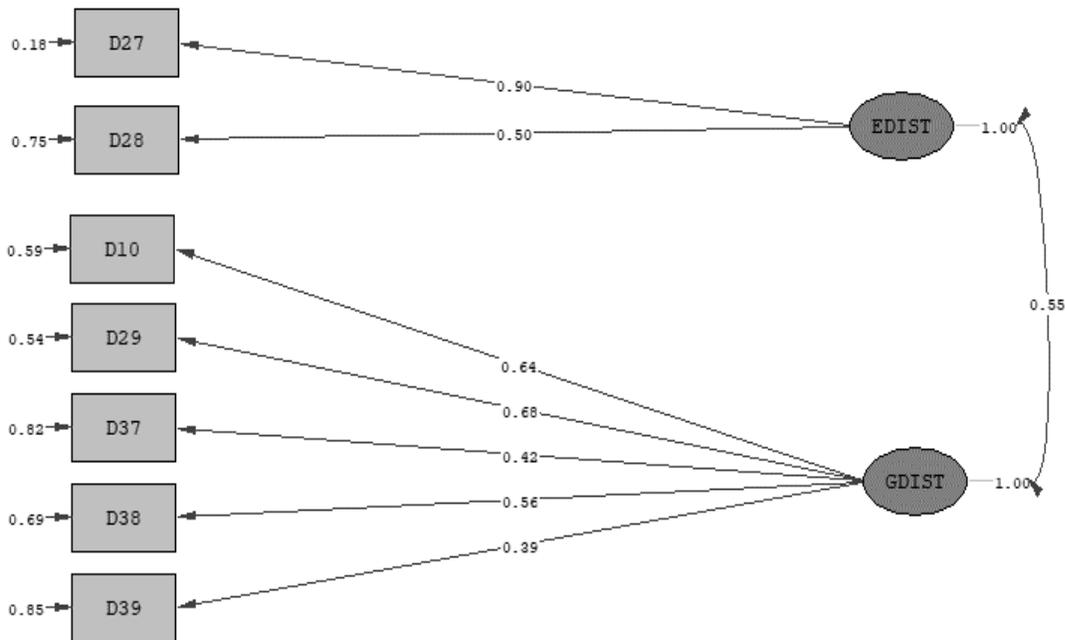


Figure 1.2. Two-Factor Theoretical Confirmatory Factor Analysis. Key: GDIST, Group Distancing; EDIST, Economic Distancing.

The two-factor practical model for racial distancing is based in the model specifications of Hair et al. (1998) regarding factor loadings. After moving items 37 and 39 from the G-DIST to the E-DIST construct, item 39 still lacked practical significance to economic distancing. Thus, item 39 was dropped from the model. Item 37 ($b = 0.55$, $t = 7.44$, $p < .001$) yielded practical significance after being loaded onto the E-DIST construct. The final model shown in Figure 1.3 shows that each construct has three items that load significantly with a total of six items.

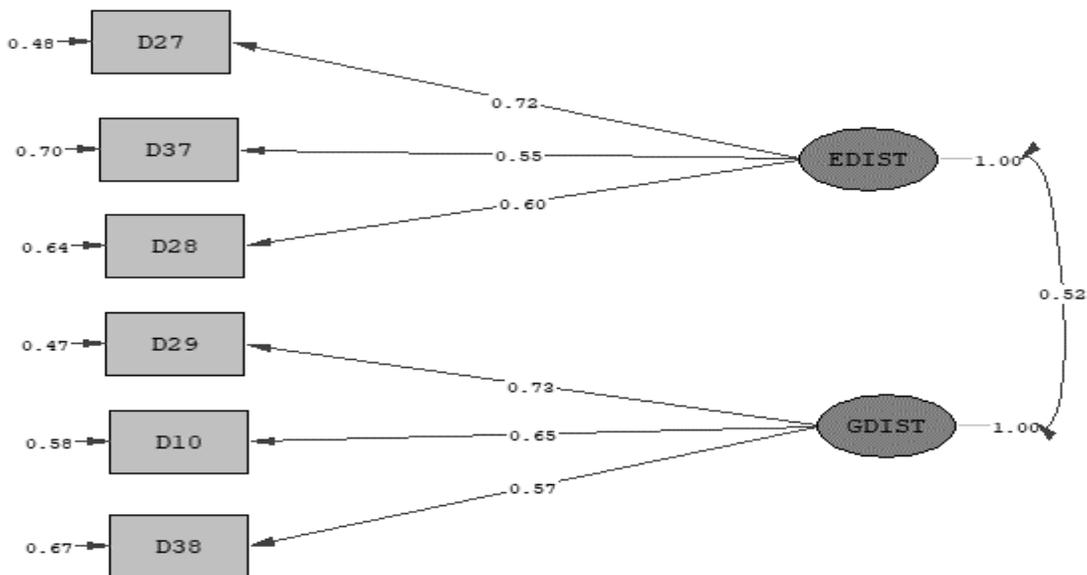


Figure 1.3. Two-Factor Practical Confirmatory Factor Analysis. Key: GDIST, Group Distancing; EDIST, Economic Distancing.

Fit Statistics

In first comparing chi-square statistics, the practical two-factor model is the only structural equation model that produced a non-significant result, indicating that it was ideal. Regarding the chi-square to degrees of freedom ratio, an improvement was seen in each model. Between the single-factor and theoretical two-factor models, the statistic came closer to the ideal range. The practical two-factor model was the only model of the three in which that model fit

index fell within the acceptable range. The acceptable range for the RMSEA was between .05 and .08. As demonstrated with the chi-square to degrees of freedom ratio, there was an improvement from the single-factor to the theoretical two-factor model, but the practical two factor model was the only one that was within the acceptable range. Regarding the SRMR, the single-factor and theoretical two-factor models were well outside the recommended range ($SRMR \leq .05$). The practical two-factor model was the only model that fit the SRMR criterion with an obtained statistic less than 0.05. Goodness-of-fit (GFI) statistics were greater than .90 for each model, and there was a gradual improvement between each model, but as observed with the other fit statistics, the practical two-factor model demonstrated the highest GFI.

Table 1.3

Model Fit Statistics for Racial Distancing Confirmatory Factor Models (N = 242)

Models	χ^2	df	χ^2/df	RMSEA	SRMR	GFI
Single-Factor	69.43***	14	4.96	.128	.802	.913
Theoretical 2-Factor	40.32***	13	3.10	.093	.902	.953
Practical 2-Factor	15.43 [†]	8	1.93	.064	.046	.979

Note: [†] = non-significant, *** = $p < .001$.

Discussion

Results showed the practical two-factor model was the most parsimonious measurement model for the data. Though it was based on measurement rather than theory, there were still theoretical considerations in the model. Item 37, which stated, “I can barely deal with my own issues let alone those of the Black community,” was an item which was a good theoretical fit for economic distancing (E-DIST) though it was proposed to be exemplary of group distancing (G-DIST). The item was kept in the model because it could be implied that the issues of the Black community were those of economic disadvantage. Item 39, which stated, “I don’t want people to think I am like typical Black people,” was proposed to be aligned with group distancing (G-

DIST) as it demonstrated a desire to distance one's self from a set of cultural folkways, but it did not produce practically significant factor loadings in the single-factor nor the theoretical two-factor models. Thus, it was not meaningful in the context of the present paper. Using the practical factor loading criteria also aided in confirming the theory, particularly economic distancing. Item 28, which stated, "Trying to improve poor communities is a waste of time," was not practically significant in the single-factor model, but loading in onto the E-DIST latent variable yielded a significant factor loading. Additionally, it confirmed that racial distancing had an economic component.

Though the present study did establish a good model for racial distancing and confirmed it to be a distinct concept from racial dissonance, the G-DIST and E-DIST must be tested for convergent validity alongside other measures. This is key in confirming the events highlighted in the literature regarding distancing behaviors among Black people through measurement. Moreover, it would be a link between ethnographic research that has observed the occurrence of events characteristic of racial distancing and quantitative research that can actually produce data on the phenomena.

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CONNECTING PAPERS 1 AND 2

The initial study of the dissertation established a model to distinguish economic and group distancing. This use of structural equation modeling was key to asserting that racial distancing was distinct from its foundation, racial dissonance. Another vital part of the first study was basing the concept in a different set of literature that directed attention to historical divisions within the Black community. One limitation of the analysis was that the Black Racial Dissonance Inventory (BRDI) did not necessarily address the conceptual framework. Still, it defined the novel concept of racial distancing as being composed of economic and social components. According to the alignment of items from the BRDI, group distancing was characterized by a disconnect from the larger Black community, admission of social comfort in White spaces, and a desire to have more social competence with Black people. Economic distancing, on the other hand, was defined by a belief in the futility of improving poor community, the need to turn one's back on Black people for advancement, and a disconnection from issues faced by Black people.

The second study utilizes an analytical method derived from creating summative measures using the items of the BRDI that correspond to the economic and group distancing constructs from the structural equation models in the first study. The summative measures are used to assert relationships between racial distancing and a set of variables that include racism stress, racial interaction, community service, social justice, psychological cohesion, and racial agency. The use of each variable is based on hypothetical relationships to group and economic distancing. For example, racism stress should be negatively related to racial distancing such that

individuals who weakly identify with a marginalized group are less likely to be discriminated against. Therefore, racial distancing behaviors or beliefs can be buffers to racism stress. Racial interactions, specifically interactions with Black people, should also be negatively related to racial distancing. This assertion is chiefly based in racial distancing being partly defined as a discomfort in Black spaces. This should mean that individuals with fewer interactions with Black people will be racially distant. Community service and social justice are subscales of a community engagement tool that is a measure of the frequency with which one participates in community-oriented activities. Community engagement implies interaction with underserved communities, so community service and social justice should particularly be negatively related to economic distancing. If one finds it useless to improve poor communities, then he or she will be less likely to be engaged. Psychological cohesion and racial agency are two constructs derived from the Racial Cohesion Questionnaire (RCQ) developed by Keisha Bentley-Edwards. Psychological cohesion is characterized by emotional bonds to one's racial-ethnic community, and racial agency entails active efforts for community improvement such as mentoring and sociopolitical participation (Bentley-Edwards, 2016). Given these definitions, individuals high in psychological cohesion should be low in group distancing because they have a psychological connection to the community that would not be present for an individual who was more comfortable in White social settings. Agentic efforts in the form of racial agency should be negatively related to economic distancing specifically, as hypothesized with the community engagement measures. An economically distant individual who deems it necessary to turn one's back on poor Black people for advancement would not be likely to mentor kids in poor areas, a feature of racial agency.

Another analytical method applied in the second study will hold that racial distancing is not as simple as outlined. There might be an individual who shuns mentoring kids from poor communities but prefers Black social clubs. Similarly, there might be another individual who mentors kids in underserved communities yet does not feel comfortable in heavily Black social spaces. Latent class modeling will be used to assert that individuals might be classified into different groups based on their orientation toward the items of the BRDI.

PAPER 2

EXPLANATORY FACTORS AND ADVANCED MODELING OF ECONOMIC AND
GROUP DISTANCING

In *Blue-Chip Black*, sociologist Karyn Lacy studied segments of middle-class African Americans living in the suburbs of Washington, D.C. Respondents in the study either lived in predominantly White neighborhoods or majority Black areas. The beliefs of the respondents by differing neighborhood racial composition demonstrated the complexity of studying racial distancing. African Americans in predominantly Black suburbs of Maryland questioned the racial authenticity of their counterparts living in Virginia. Virginia's middle-class Black sample disparaged all-Black neighborhoods of the Maryland suburbs as not being reflective of the "real world." Maryland residents assumed that not living around other Black people indicated a discomfort with other Blacks. African Americans living south of Washington in Virginia implied that all-Black neighborhoods did not reflect the White professional workplaces that each group encountered in their jobs.

Lacy (2007) asserted that both groups of the Black middle-class participated in the cultural practice of creating boundaries between themselves and Black lower-classes by economics and between other members of the Black middle-class, as seen with their differing opinions regarding neighborhood racial composition. Even within the group of African Americans in Maryland, there was a rift between the upper- and lower-middle-class. Lower-middle-class respondents called the upper-class enclaves occupied primarily by Black

professionals as “bougie” (bourgeoisie). Conversely, upper-middle-class displayed a disdain for Black people of lower economic classes.

Explanatory Factors for Racial Distancing

Racial distancing is composed of two forms of detachment from the African American community. Economic distancing is particular to one’s attitudes and behaviors to the Black underclass. Group distancing encompasses beliefs about stereotypes particular to Black people. The present study aims to test if community and economic distancing can be explained by the external factors of racism stress, Black social interaction frequency, commitment to community service, beliefs about social justice, emotional bonds to the Black community, and active participation in the community. Not only would the measures seek to explain the constructs of economic and group distancing but also establish the convergent validity of economic distancing (E-DIST) and group distancing (G-DIST) (see Measurement Implications).

A considerable body of research has examined the question of whether strongly identifying with a minority culture made one susceptible to discrimination (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009; Sellers, Copeland-Linder, Martin, & L’Heureux Lewis, 2006; Sellers & Shelton, 2006). Sellers and Shelton (2006) found that people who strongly identified with being a racial minority reported more incidents of racial discrimination. Sellers et al. (2006) that individuals who believed that public regard for African Americans was positive were more likely to be negatively impacted psychologically by discriminatory experiences. Kaiser and Pratt-Hyatt (2009) found that groups of Whites displayed negative attitudes toward strongly identified racial minorities. Thus, those who did not strongly identify with minority culture were less likely to experience racial prejudice. In the context of the present study, this could mean that distancing behaviors in the form of attempts to be less stereotyped might prevent discrimination.

Discomfort in Black racial contexts was defined as a feature of racial dissonance, the conceptual root of racial distancing (Bentley-Edwards, 2016). Therefore, Black social interaction should be related to racial distancing. Racial dissonance was also described in a way consistent with racial distancing should that individuals sought distance from other Black people to avoid being stereotyped (Bentley-Edwards & Chapman-Hilliard, 2015). It is expected that individuals low in racial distancing will have more frequent Black interactions and fewer Black interactions will be observed in those who are racially distant.

Individuals high in racial distancing (or racial dissonance) are not likely to support initiatives that support the broader Black community (Bentley-Edwards & Chapman-Hilliard, 2015). Community service, social justice, psychological cohesion, and racial agency all addresses engagement with the community both psychologically and with regard to active participation. People who are high particularly in economic distancing (E-DIST) will not be likely to have high appraisals of community service activities. Individuals high in G-DIST who aim to distance themselves from the social contexts of the Black community might not have high psychological cohesion, or emotional bonds, to the broader Black community. Similarly, those who are high in forms of racial distancing might not rate the importance of social justice or racial agency, which both indicate active participation in community service activities.

Racial Distancing as a Four-Quadrant Model

The purpose of a four-quadrant model is expressing community and economic distancing in terms of valence (high or low). In the previous section, it was expressed that someone who is high in E-DIST would be less likely to perform community service. This might not necessarily be the case of an individual high in G-DIST who simply wants to distance one's self from stereotypes. These individuals, who might actually have high appraisals of being Black, may

actively participate in community service activities to disprove stereotypes (Bentley-Edwards & Chapman-Hilliard, 2015; Bentley-Edwards & Flannigan, 2014). The goal of the model is to show through measurement that E-DIST and G-DIST are distinct. The four-quadrant model holds that an individual can be either high or low in community and economic distancing. Therefore, an individual could simultaneously be high in one form of racial distancing and low in the other.

Below, Figure 2.1 presents the 2 x 2 (distancing concept x valence) model of racial distancing. The horizontal axis of the plane denotes economic distancing (E-DIST) while group distancing (G-DIST) is represented by the vertical axis. Figure 2.1 also displays the approximate profile description for each quadrant. Each quadrant is supported conceptually by the findings of Karyn Lacy's *Blue-Chip Black*. In *Blue-Chip Black*, Lacy (2007) highlighted the point that adults in an integrated society do not exist exclusively in Black and White social spaces. Moving between home, work, and social settings required a set of social maneuvering behaviors. Additionally, members of the Black middle-class negotiated with class boundaries within the African American community which were largely dependent upon both the racial composition of their neighborhoods and economic standing.

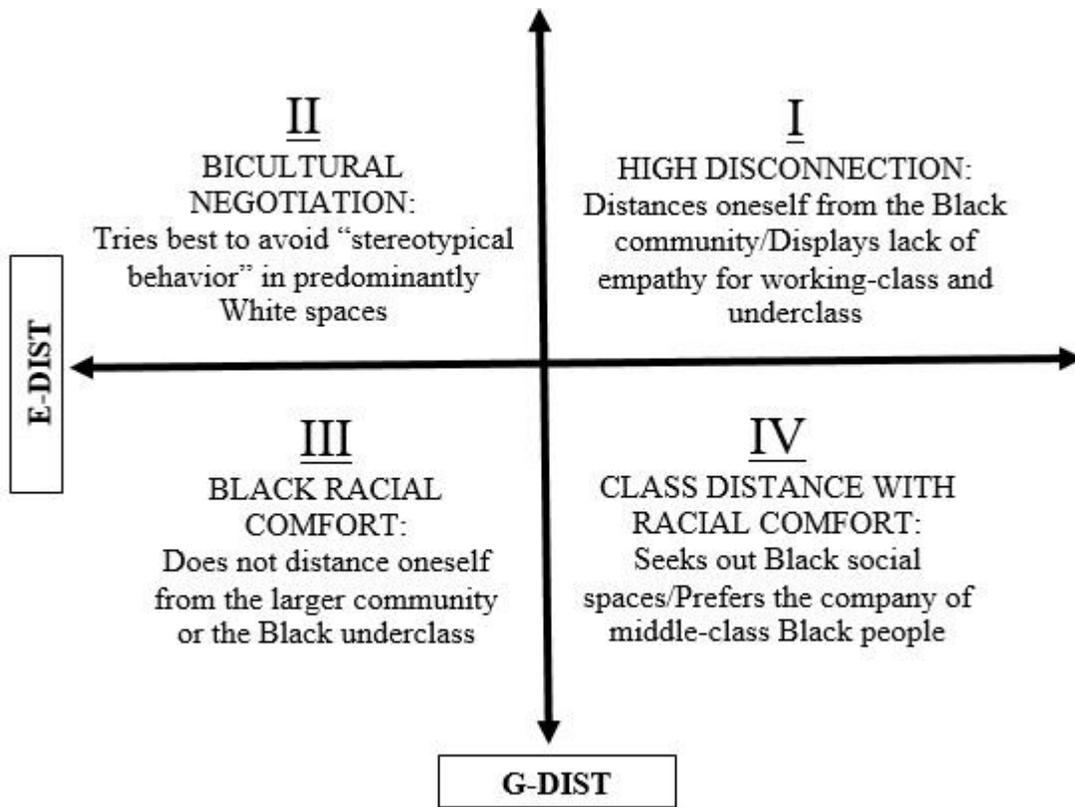


Figure 2.1. Racial Distancing Quadrant Model.

Descriptions of Quadrants

Quadrant I: High Disconnection. An individual who is high in both economic and group distancing would fall into Quadrant I. This quadrant is designated as high disconnection as it sought to capture a set of respondents from *Blue-Chip Black* who believed that separation from Black neighborhoods was integral to preparation for the “real world.” These respondents also set boundaries between themselves and poor African Americans in surrounding areas. In one example from the study, some parents did not approve of African American students from poor areas being bussed into the more affluent schools. This quadrant could also be characterized by individuals who are antagonistic toward the cultural folkways of the African American community. This could be seen in a desire for people outside of the Black community to not acknowledge the myriad ways that race affects their lives. Relating it back to conceptualization

consistent with racial distancing, this is an individual who attempts to avoid stereotypical behavior and lacks empathy for poor African Americans. All quadrants with descriptions can be observed in Figure 2.1.

Quadrant II: Bicultural Negotiation. Quadrant II, called bicultural negotiation, indicates that an individual might avoid stereotypical behavior as someone in Quadrant I does, but they also retain connections to poor communities. Another set of respondents in *Blue-Chip Black* believed that White institutions were crucial for educational and eventual economic advancement but a connection to the Black community was vital for eventual encounters with discrimination. Lacy (2007) defined this set of behaviors as strategic assimilation such that this individual might act accordingly in a predominantly White workplace or institution, but they will not show the desire to live in a White neighborhood.

Quadrant III: Black Racial Comfort. A Quadrant III respondent, denoting Black racial comfort, would be low in both forms of distancing. They would be similar to individuals in the bicultural negotiation quadrant in their desire to be connected to poor communities, but they would differ in that they would not be concerned with proper professional comportment in predominantly White settings. This respondent profile is hypothetical as all respondents in *Blue-Chip Black* performed some form of identity negotiation or distancing.

Quadrant IV: Class Distancing with Racial Comfort. Finally, Quadrant IV individuals share the same open embrace of African American culture as Quadrant III respondents, but they distance themselves from poor African Americans. This respondent profile is consistent with both Lacy's (2007) assessment of the Black middle-class in the Greater Washington, D.C. area and with more foundational research from Garreau (1987). Among Lacy's (2007) respondents, this group was more likely to enroll their children in middle-class

social clubs such as Jack and Jill and attend Black churches than their counterparts who lived in predominantly Black areas. Garreau (1987), calling this group “the new Black middle-class,” held that this group maintained connections to Black-owned restaurants and nightclubs. Though an individual who fits this profile might embrace Black culture, he or she might not necessarily identify with the Black working-class or underclass. Highlighting the nightclub example, one who fits into this group might enjoy the same music as his or her underclass counterparts yet prefer to attend nightclubs that are not located in areas that are associated with a heavy presence of the Black underclass. Similarly, they might attend Black churches, but the churches may be more prominent churches that attract more affluent parishioners.

Modeling Racial Distancing Constructs in Quadrants

The racial distancing quadrants shown in Figure 2.1 mimicked the four quadrants of a Cartesian coordinate system. The horizontal axis of the plane denoted economic distancing while group distancing was represented by the vertical axis. Rather than the right and left sides of the horizontal axis denoting positive or negative valence, they denoted high and low levels of economic distancing, respectively. Similarly, high and low group distancing were represented on the vertical axis. The quadrants were designed more for theoretical modeling than computation, though. Rather than being computed with economic-group distancing score pairs, alignment with the quadrants will be based on latent class analysis (see Method).

Measurement Implications

Two hallmark features of racial distancing are active hostility toward segments of the Black community and distancing from stereotypes associated with African Americans. The construct of economic distancing (E-DIST) identifies poor people as the targets of the aforementioned hostility. Distancing behavior may entail discomfort in predominantly Black social spaces as distancing behavior implies a preference for predominantly White spaces.

Measurement implications guided by the theoretical definitions of racial distancing will be examined through correlations between racial distancing and variables that include community engagement, community service, social justice, Black interaction and racism stress (see Method). It is expected that racial distancing will be negatively related to community engagement as it is defined as a disconnection between an individual and the broader community. Of the two constructs, it would be more likely to find a negative relationship between community engagement and economic distancing (E-DIST) and no relationship between the variable and group distancing (G-DIST). Since an economically distant individual would find community efforts to be futile, a negative relationship would be likely. On the other hand, group distancing (G-DIST) is characterized by social distance, which means a conflict in feelings. Therefore, a person with group distancing (G-DIST) will have lower levels of psychological cohesion to the Black community.

Racial interactions are composed of Black interaction and White interaction, respectively. Uneasiness in Black spaces is a feature of racial distancing, specifically group distancing. This is because an economically distant individual might display disdain toward poor African Americans yet want to surround themselves with other members of the Black middle-class. Parents in *Blue Chip Black* who placed their children in programs such as Jack and Jill where their children would be introduced to their middle-class Black peers or those who wanted to live in predominantly Black neighborhoods were symbolic of this assertion. Racism stress is vital in its potential relationship to racial distancing as it is an amalgamation of racism, stereotypes, and stigmatization (Bentley-Edwards, 2016). Also, considering the assertion that racial distancing is a buffer to discrimination, racism stress should be negatively related to racial distancing such that it would be alleviated by acts of racial distancing.

Method

Participants

The participant pool consisted of a national sample of 242 ($N = 242$) undergraduate and graduate students from 102 institutions in the United States that included both historically Black colleges (HBCUs) and predominantly White institutions (PWIs) ranging from ages 17 to 31 with a median age of 21 ($M_{age} = 21.47$, $SD_{age} = 2.96$). All participants identified as Black, but the sample consisted of the following ethnic groups within the Black community: African American ($n = 182$), Biracial ($n = 9$), Black Hispanic ($n = 2$), Caribbean ($n = 20$), and Multiracial ($n = 11$). Of the 242 participants, 183 were women and 59 were men.

Measures

Economic and Group Distancing. Racial distancing constructs—G-DIST and E-DIST—were derived from the Black Racial Dissonance Inventory (BRDI), a 7-item survey measure, but a previous study recommended dropping one of the items. The BRDI is rated on a 4-point Likert scale with rating ranging from 1 for strong disagreement to 4 for strong agreement. For latent class modeling, Likert scale responses were collapsed to dichotomous codes with ratings of disagreement becoming “no” and agreement being converted to “yes” such that BRDI responses of 1 and 2 became 1 and ratings of 3 and 4 became 2.

Racism Stress. Racism stress is composed of responses from the Index of Race Related Stress-Brief (IRRS-B), a measure developed by Utsey (1999). Specifically, racism stress is the composite score from the 22 items of the IRRS-B (22 items; $\alpha = .90$, $M = 61.89$, $SD = 18.48$). Example items include the following: ‘White people or other non-Blacks have treated you as if you were unintelligent,’ ‘you have seen or heard other Black people express a desire to be White because they disliked being Black,’ and ‘you have observed situations where other Blacks were

treated harshly or unfairly by Whites/non-Blacks due to their race.’ Item responses were rated on a scale from 0 to 4 that included the following ratings: 0 (*This never happened to me*), 1 (*This happened, but it did not bother me*), 2 (*This happened and I was slightly upset*), 3 (*This happened and I was upset*), and 4 (*This happened and I was extremely upset*).

Black Interaction. Black interaction is a variable obtained from the Racial Interactions Scale, a 6-item survey of interracial contact developed by Bentley & Stevenson (2007) ($M = 30.80$, $SD = 12.82$). The six items of the Racial Interactions assessed the percentage of contact with Black, White, Asian, Hispanic, and individuals who did not identify with either of the other groups during a respondent’s senior year of high school. As a proxy for percentages, respondents rated from 0 to 10 their racial interactions by contexts. Each response summed to 10, indicating 100 percent. For example, one item stated, “If there were 10 people in your neighborhood (your senior year of high school), how many of your neighbors would be...” If a respondent lived in an all-Black neighborhood, then he or she would have marked 10 for the response, indicating that the racial composition of the neighborhood was 100 percent Black. Another item states, “If there were 10 teachers at your school (your senior year in high school), how many of your teachers would be...” If the racial composition of the teachers was 40 percent White, 30 percent Black, 20 percent Asian, and 10 percent Hispanic, then a respondent would mark 4 for White, 3 for Black, 2 for Asian and 1 for Hispanic. This response would total to 10, and per the goal of the times, serve as a proxy for 100 percent of a respondent’s teachers. The variable of interest, Black interaction, is the sum of all six items.

Community Service and Social Justice. Community service (2 items, $M = 5.10$, $SD = 1.74$) and social justice (6 items, $M = 10.30$, $SD = 3.77$) are subscales from a revision of Youniss, McLellan, Su, and Yates’ (1999) community engagement tool (8 items; $\alpha = 0.82$, $M = 15.40$, SD

= 4.81). The 8-item survey assessed the frequency of community service with the responses of never, a few times monthly, weekly, and daily. An example from the community service subscale was, ‘how often have you performed community service involving the poor?’ An example from the social justice subscale was, ‘have you participated in civic affairs?’

Psychological Cohesion and Racial Agency. Psychological cohesion and racial agency are derived from the Racial Cohesion Questionnaire (RCQ) developed by Bentley-Edwards (2016). The RCQ is a 16-item assessment of raced-based connections. Similar to the BRDI, the RCQ is rated on a 4-point Likert scale with rating ranging from 1 for strong disagreement to 4 for strong agreement. The psychological cohesion construct is based on distal emotional connection driven by a legacy of discriminatory experiences (8 items; $\alpha = 0.69$, $M = 24.91$, $SD = 3.49$). An example item would be, ‘I owe my success to the support of friends and family.’ The eight items associated with the racial agency construct are characterized by activity in Black spaces and support of institutions in Black communities (e.g., churches, social organizations, businesses) (8 items; $\alpha = 0.78$, $M = 21.81$, $SD = 4.92$). An example item would be, ‘I participate in activities that help Black people in need.’

Removal of Missing Data Observations

All 242 participants completed both the BRDI and RCQ, but observations were missing from the community engagement tool and racism stress measure (IRRS-B). A total of 10 observations were missing for the engagement tool, and an additional eight participants completed neither the IRRS-B nor the community engagement tool. Therefore, 18 observations were deleted from analyses, and 224 participants were considered in all of the analyses for the study.

Results

Measures explaining Community and Economic Distancing

Table 2.1 shows that the measures of Black interaction, community service, psychological cohesion, and racial agency are significantly related to economic distancing. Specifically, economic distancing is negatively correlated to each measure. Group distancing had significant, negative relationships with Black interaction, community service, psychological cohesion, and racial agency.

Table 2.1
Correlation Matrix for Racial Distancing and Other Measures (N=224)

	ED	GD	RS	BI	CS	SJ	PC	RA
ED	1.00							
GD	.34***	1.00						
RS	-.04	-.12	1.00					
BI	-.21**	-.44***	-.002	1.00				
CS	-.25***	-.16*	.30***	.07	1.00			
SJ	-.07	-.06	.42***	-.001	.50***	1.00		
PC	-.41***	-.43***	.41***	.36***	.26***	.24***	1.00	
RA	-.32***	-.30***	.39***	.31***	.50***	.46***	.55***	1.00
Mean	4.80	5.45	61.89	30.80	5.10	10.30	24.91	21.81
SD	1.58	1.97	18.48	12.82	1.74	3.77	3.49	4.92

Note. * = $p < .05$. ** = $p < .01$. *** = $p < .001$. Key: ED, Group Distancing; CD, Group Distancing; RS, Racism Stress; BI, Black interaction; CS, Community Service; SJ, Social Justice; PC, Psychological Cohesion; RA, Racial Agency; SD, Standard Deviation.

Economic Distancing

Regression analysis was used to test the variability in economic distancing explained by Black interaction, community service, psychological cohesion, and racial agency. Each variable was negatively related, so it was expected that each would be a negative explanatory variable for E-DIST. The combination of variables explained 18.46 percent of the variability in economic distancing, $F(4, 219) = 13.57, p < .001$. Psychological cohesion ($b = -.15, t = -4.36, p < .001$) was a significant, negative explanatory variable. Black interaction ($b = -.01, t = -1.08, p = .281$),

community service ($b = -.12, t = -1.89, p = .06$), and racial agency ($b = -.02, t = -.63, p = .531$) were not significant explanatory variables.

A reduced model for economic distancing was tested with psychological cohesion as a single explanatory factor. The reduced model explained 16.71 percent of the variability in economic distancing, $F(1, 222) = 45.73, p < .001$. Psychological cohesion ($b = -.19, t = -6.76, p < .001$) was a significant, negative explanatory variable. It can be concluded that high levels of psychological cohesion would result in low economic distancing.

Group Distancing

Regression analysis was used to test the variability in group distancing explained by Black interaction, community service, psychological cohesion, and racial agency. Each variable was negatively related, so it was expected that each would be a negative explanatory variable for G-DIST. The combination of variables explained 26.36 percent of the variability in group distancing, $F(4, 219) = 20.95, p < .001$. Black interaction ($b = -.05, t = -5.16, p < .001$) and psychological cohesion ($b = -.16, t = -4.12, p < .001$) were significant, negative explanatory variables for group distancing. Community service ($b = -.06, t = -.85, p = .397$) and racial agency ($b = -.002, t = -.09, p < .93$) were not significant explanatory variables.

A reduced model for group distancing was tested with Black interaction, psychological cohesion, and the interaction between the two variables. The reduced model explained 26.53 percent of the variability in group distancing, $F(3, 220) = 27.85, p < .001$. Neither Black interaction ($b = -.009, t = -.16, p = .876$), psychological cohesion ($b = -.13, t = -1.96, p = .051$), nor the interaction term ($b = -.002, t = -.72, p = .469$) were found to be significant. Additionally, Black interactions and the interaction term both had variance inflation and tolerance statistics that indicated multicollinearity.

A final model of group distancing dropped the interaction term to test the amount of variability in group distancing explained by Black interaction and psychological cohesion. The reduced model explained 26.69 percent of the variance in group distancing, $F(2, 221) = 41.60, p < .001$. Black interaction ($b = -.05, t = -5.25, p < .001$) and psychological cohesion ($b = -.18, t = -5.05, p < .001$) were significant, negative explanatory variables. It can be concluded that high levels of Black interaction and psychological cohesion would result in low group distancing.

Latent Classes for Quadrant Model

Table 2.2 shows that the majority of respondents would be considered low in racial distancing based on disagreement with the items. Over 90 percent of respondents disagreed with keeping social distance from Black people, turning one's back on Black people to get ahead, and the statement that attempting to improve poor communities is futile. Responses to the other three items hovered around 75 percent disagreement, also indicating low feelings of racial distancing.

Table 2.2
Frequencies of Latent Class Indicators (N = 224)

Indicators	Response	<i>N</i>	Response	<i>n</i>
I keep my distance from most Black people. (G-DIST)	Disagree	205	Agree	19 (8.48%)
I turn to turn my back on Black people to get ahead. (E-DIST)	Disagree	207	Agree	17 (7.59%)
Trying to improve poor communities is a waste of time. (E-DIST)	Disagree	215	Agree	9 (4.02%)
I fit in more with White people. (G-DIST)	Disagree	171	Agree	53 (23.66%)
I can barely deal with my own issues let alone those of Black people. (E-DIST)	Disagree	167	Agree	57 (25.44%)
I wish I were more comfortable around Black people. (G-DIST)	Disagree	153	Agree	71 (31.7%)

Note. G-DIST, group distancing; E-DIST, economic distancing.

Table 2.3 shows that a three-class model had the lowest AIC and BIC fit statistics. These indicators of the best fitting model can be observed as the number of latent classes are added. When classes are added the AIC and BIC should decrease. The best fitting model can be determined when either the AIC or BIC increased after reaching a minimum point. In Table 2.3, it can be observed that the AIC decreased between two and three latent classes but increased when four classes were tested. Thus, the best fit for the data was a three-class model.

Table 2.3
Comparison of Latent Class Models

Number of classes	G ²	χ^2	AIC	BIC
2	55.64	88.41	1029.45	1073.81
3	33.64	38.48	1021.46	1089.69
4	27.06	23.44	1028.87	1120.99

Note. Boldface type indicates the selected model. AIC, Akaike’s Information Criterion; BIC, Bayesian Information Criterion.

Table 2.4 displays the latent classes and the probability of each class’s responses to items. The latent class names were based on the original theoretical quadrant model and choices on particular items. Black racial comfort was the most numerous latent class with approximately 73 percent of respondents. Respondents in this class were not likely to agree with any of the items. The only item that elicited any varying responses for the Black racial comfort class was the item stating, “I can barely deal with my own issues let alone those of the Black community.” Approximately 18 percent of individuals in this latent class were likely to agree with the statement, indicating that even among the least racially distant, there was some economic detachment. The social discomfort class, the second most numerous, was slightly more likely to agree with the item at 18.9 percent. The high disconnection class, with an 89 percent likelihood of agreement, had the strongest responses to the item. Additionally, 54 percent of the high disconnection class was likely to believe that it was necessary to turn one’s back on other Black people to get ahead. There was also a 53 percent chance that individuals in the high disconnection class were more comfortable in White social spaces. The social discomfort class appeared to be higher in group distancing primarily due to social reasons. They were even more likely to be comfortable in White spaces than the high disconnection class at 76 percent, but they were more likely to desire to be more comfortable around Black people (88 percent). Among the

social discomfort class, there was not a high probability of feeling a need to turn one’s back or disconnect from segments of the Black community as observed in the high disconnection class.

Table 2.4
Probability of Reporting Yes on Each Item Given Latent Class Membership

	Black Racial Comfort (72.81%)	Social Discomfort (17.39%)	High Disconnection (9.8%)
I keep my distance from most Black people.	0.00	0.30	0.29
I have to turn my back on Black people to get ahead.	0.01	0.06	0.57
Trying to improve poor communities is a waste of time.	0.00	0.02	0.37
I fit in more with White people.	0.07	0.76	0.53
I can barely deal with my own issues let alone those of Black people.	0.18	0.19	0.89
I wish I were more comfortable around Black people.	0.14	0.89	0.59

Discussion

Characteristics of Economic and Group Distancing

Explanatory factors for the two racial distancing constructs were clearly established. Higher levels of psychological cohesion and Black interaction explained lower group distancing while higher psychological cohesion was a negative determinant of economic distancing. Regarding the quadrant model tested through latent class analysis, results were conclusive but

not precise in capturing the theory that shaped the proposed quadrants. Latent class results did not support the 2 x 2 Quadrant Model, but they did support some of the model's theoretical assertions. The Black racial comfort quadrant was supported by the finding that one class was low in items that corresponded to both racial distancing constructs, and the high disconnection group was supported by a high likelihood of agreement for items that corresponded to economic and group distancing. The social discomfort latent class established that racial distancing was characterized by a lack of comfort in Black spaces. Theoretical support was not found for the bicultural negotiation nor class distance with racial comfort classes. Those who were socially distant were not necessarily purposeful in that distance as proposed. Respondents did not appear to endorse "code-switching" behaviors for personal advancement nor did they appear to be simultaneously high in economic distancing and low in group distancing. As seen with the High Disconnection and Social Discomfort classes, they were simply individuals who appeared to have been more competent in White social spaces. The majority of respondent in both latent class had a desire to be more comfortable in Black spaces, indicating that racial distancing was unintentional in most instances.

Future Directions

A more appropriate modeling of the problem would be connecting racial distancing to an established conceptual framework that addresses behaviors consistent with the bicultural negotiation and class distance with racial comfort classes. Specifically, this framework should explore why individuals would distance themselves from other Black people for social advancement. In "The Social Situation of the Black Executive", Elijah Anderson (1999) classified Black corporate professionals into three groups borrowing his framework from Goffman (1963). The "own" consisted of core and peripheral groups which had strong connections to the Black community. The core own emerged from traditional Black

communities (e.g., churches, HBCUs, etc.) and majority Black social networks. The peripheral own consisted of individuals who came from more diverse backgrounds but maintained solidarity with the larger Black community. The “wise” were upper management who interacted with the “own” and mentored them. Anderson also held that there was a fluidity between the peripheral own and wise such that an individual could simultaneously be part of both groups. The “normal” group was composed of individuals who chose to ignore all forms of stigmatization and discrimination and perpetuate social structures that marginalized underrepresented groups.

Connecting this framework to the present paper, Black racial comfort would most resemble the “own,” and high disconnection bears similarity to the “normal.” The proposed bicultural negotiation group would have been similar to the “wise.” Applying a new framework to the problem would require a different set of items that addresses why individuals choose to be racially distant and elicits responses consistent with the theory outlined in the theoretical layout of the quadrant model.

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CONNECTING PAPERS 2 AND 3

Neither the proposed bicultural negotiation nor racial comfort with class distance groups emerged as latent classes. This did not lead to a definitive conclusion that there were segments of people who did not perform identity negotiation or prefer the company of only middle-class African Americans. Rather, the measure used did not contain items to address those behaviors. Another key finding gleaned from the latent class analysis was that a sizable group of individuals were very low in racial distancing. For the most of racially distant respondents, who fell into the social discomfort latent class, there was no indication of any instrumental purpose behind racial distance. Rather, they lacked social competence in Black social contexts. The findings for the social discomfort class also confirmed the findings of the regression analyses which showed that Black interaction was a significant, negative explanatory factor for group distancing such that fewer Black interactions explained higher group distancing. Indications of high racial distancing and few Black interactions were observed in their high likelihood to be more comfortable in predominantly White social settings and agree with the statement that they fit in more in White people. Though the overwhelming majority appeared to be low in both forms of racial distancing, close to 10 percent of respondents appeared to be high in both. Latent class analysis results among the high disconnection class did show an instrumental purpose behind racial distancing. This group was the most likely to believe that it was necessary to disconnect from Black people in pursuit of some form of advancement. It cannot be definitively concluded what “get ahead” meant in the statement, “I have to turn my back on Black people to get ahead,” but a number of possibilities can be implied.

The third study asserts that “getting ahead” is professional advancement. Using latent class analysis, this study aims to find reasons why respondents in the second study fell into the Black racial comfort, social discomfort, and high disconnection classes. Whereas the second study showed both the presence of racial distancing among a minority and lack thereof among the majority of respondents, the third study utilizes latent class analysis to gather underlying reasons for the degree to which one connects to or distances oneself from the Black community.

To accomplish this analytical goal, another conceptual framework is presented that is founded in the research of both Erving Goffman and Elijah Anderson. Goffman originally created a typology to describe social groups based on their relationship to stigmatization. The “own” were the stigmatized, the “wise” were mentors to the stigmatized, and the “normals” perpetuated the dominant culture that marginalized the “own.” Anderson’s study of Black professionals split the “own” into the core-own and peripheral-own. The core own emerged from predominantly Black communities, while their peripheral own counterparts came from more diverse communities. Given the findings of the second study that Black interactions were negatively related to group distancing, the peripheral-own should be more racially distant by virtue of having come from neighborhoods, schools, and other spaces where there were fewer Black people. On the other hand, the paper will argue that there is a division within the peripheral-own. Some might choose to distance themselves for advancement while others will advocate for other Black people. This analysis will somewhat explore the quality of one’s social relationships with Black people, something that was not observed in the regression analyses of Paper 2. Additionally, the core-own might be split into groups. The latent class results of Paper 2 did not address nuances that might have been present in the Black racial comfort group. The analysis will examine whether it is possible to identify that some members of the core-own are

either extremely uncomfortable in White spaces or simply have affinities for being Black. This theory could address the issue of over 70 percent of respondents from Paper 2 being clustered into the Black racial comfort group.

PAPER 3

THE SOCIAL SITUATION OF FUTURE BLACK PROFESSIONALS

Sociologist Elijah Anderson implemented a typology originally developed by Erving Goffman to classify social groups regarding stigmatization to examine Black professionals in “The Social Situation of the Black Executive.” Goffman (1963) asserted that these groups were named the “own”, “normal”, and “wise”. The “own” were historically marginalized, while members of the “wise” and “normal” groups did not have histories of marginalization. Of the two non-stigmatized groups, the “wise” served as supporters of the “own”, and the “normal” sought to maintain the dominant culture that excluded the “own”.

Goffman (1963) primarily studied the sociological stigmas such as deviance, physical disability, mental illness, and drug addiction in the development of the stigmatization typology. In modifying the conceptual framework, Anderson (1999) argued that social advancements prompted by civil rights legislation of the 1960s altered future analytic treatment of stigmatization using Goffman’s theory. Focusing attention on the corporate setting, Anderson held that race could be applied to the study of stigmatization as African Americans began to hold positions as white-collar professionals, positions from which they had been historically barred. Anderson (1999) argued that being Black or African American automatically qualified an individual for membership in the “own”. However, the “own” was nuanced in that it included two subgroups: the core-own and peripheral-own. The “core own” was composed of Black professionals who emerged from traditional Black communities including predominantly Black schools, neighborhoods, and churches. The “peripheral own” consisted of individuals who grew

up in diverse neighborhoods that were not racially identifiable or spaces with high socioeconomic profiles. Another factor that separated the two groups was social relationships with Whites. Both the core-own and peripheral-own forged relationships with White counterparts in the workplace, but they differed in nature. For the core-own, those relationships were more professional or instrumental in nature, while the peripheral-own were more likely to have socially interactions with their White associates outside of the work setting.

The “Own” and Relationships to the Black Community

Membership in the “own” is determined by race, but subgroup categorization in “own” subgroups is complicated by racial composition of one’s community of origin, class, and behaviors. As established earlier, any Black or African American individual is grouped into the “own” within a predominantly White setting by reason of a historical legacy of societal discrimination, but within this group, subgroup membership is nuanced. For example, an individual who is a first-generation college student from a Black neighborhood will enter a professional or collegiate space as a member of the core-own. His or her counterparts whose parents were college-educated professionals or economically secure military veterans would be group in the peripheral-own. This conjecture is based on the likelihood of one living in a neighborhood with a higher socioeconomic profile or growing up in military settings where the racial composition of neighborhoods and schools was more diverse.

The peripheral-own, with their perceived multicultural competence, might sometimes serve as intermediaries between the core-own and the White majority. As a result of this intercessory status, some members of the peripheral-own distance themselves from the core-own. The racially distant peripheral-own would bristle at the idea of being liaisons between the White

majority and the core-own, while the proximally attached peripheral-own might value the opportunity to advocate for the core-own.

The former segment of the peripheral-own is presumed to not want to be identified as someone who is preoccupied with race or one who prefers to associate with Black people. This subgroup acknowledges the existence of racial discrimination and overcoming odds related to stigmatization, but they believe that their professionalism can transcend race (Anderson, 1999). In their attempts to adopt mainstream cultural practices, they alienate themselves from the core-own. For them, racial distancing serves as a buffer to stigmatization. Attention to manners, speech, dress, and performance ingratiate them to Whites.

The proposed latter segment of the peripheral-own might maintain close relationships with the core-own. Their intermediary status may allow them opportunities to mentor members of the core-own such that this culturally-connected subgroup of the peripheral-own might seek to help members of the core-own through teaching them how to navigate the cultural barriers of a predominantly White setting.

The “Own” and Racial Distancing

Anderson (1999) argued that a secondary characteristic for membership in the core-own behind racial community origin was insecurity about racial stereotype. This insecurity was one that made members of the core-own constantly vigilant about the possibility of negative performance evaluation. Another feature of the core-own, social comfort in Black spaces, bore similarity to a group identified by Carter (2018b) in a study of racial distancing. In Carter’s (2018b) modeling of racial distancing orientation into latent classes, the Black racial comfort group was proposed to be low in economic and group distancing. Latent class modeling found that close to 73 percent fell into this class. Around 17 percent of respondents were classified into

the social discomfort class, a grouping characterized by a high likelihood of being uncomfortable in Black social spaces. The remaining 10 percent were classified into a group named high disconnection and characterized by the belief that success meant turning one's back on the Black community. There was no evidence of any stereotype fear, but the measure did not examine sensitivity to stigmatization as is the goal of the present study.

Considering those findings, membership in their core-own might not necessarily mean racial insecurity; it is possible that these individuals in the core-own might simply appreciate the sociocultural bonds they share with their Black peers as did members of the Black racial comfort class. Additionally, racial distancing, as studied by Carter (2018b), only examined social and economic distance, so the cultural considerations of the peripheral-own and the proposed stereotype-consciousness of the core-own were outside the scope of measurement.

Still, the theoretical perspectives of both Anderson and Carter must be incorporated in connecting racial distancing to stigmatization. If both theories are considered, then the core-own will resemble the Black racial comfort class from Carter's (2018b) study. Moreover, it will be split into two camps such that one latent class might align with the stereotype insecurity asserted by Anderson's (1999) core-own while another might simply enjoy being around other Black people as observed in the Black racial comfort latent class. Similarly, the two camps of the peripheral-own would mimic the respective social discomfort and high disconnection classes found by Carter (2018b) such that the one group might be socially uncomfortable yet connected to the Black community while another latent class might plainly seek distance from other Black people.

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of 112 ($N = 112$) undergraduate and graduate students at a predominantly White institution (PWI) in the southeastern United States ranges from ages 19 to 65 with median age of 25 years ($M_{age} = 27.74$, $SD_{age} = 9.16$). The sample included 92 women and 20 men. All 112 participants identified as Black, but the sample consisted participants identifying with African ($n = 4$), African American ($n = 94$), Caribbean ($n = 5$), Latino/a ($n = 1$), Multiracial ($n = 6$), and other ($n = 2$) ethnic groups.

Measures

Stigmatization. Stigmatization items were derived from Link, Struening, Neese-Todd, Assmussen, and Phelan's (2002) study of mental illness and Smith's (2002) study of social stigmatization. Items were modified to specifically examine issues of racial stigmatization (11 items, $\alpha = .35$) with a minimum summative score of 11 and a maximum of 22.

Racial Distancing. The Black Racial Dissonance Inventory (BRDI) is 7-item survey measure developed by Bentley-Edwards (2016), but previous studies by Carter (2018a; 2018b) recommended dropping one of the items. Originally rated on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 to 4, items with ratings of 1 and 2 were transformed to 1 for "no" and ratings of 3 and 4 were transformed to 2 for "yes" ratings (6 items, $\alpha = .44$).

Data Analysis

The Goffman/Anderson typology presents another analytical technique for examining racial distancing behaviors. Previous studies by Carter established measurement models, scales, and predictive factors for racial distancing, but they did not establish reasons why Black or African American individuals engaged in racially distant behaviors (Carter 2018a; Carter 2018b).

Smith (2012) was the first to develop a quantitative model to test Goffman's own-wise-normal typology. A four-class model was found to be the best fit for the data. Classes included stigmatized, stigmatizers, active supporters, and passive supporters. The stigmatized class corresponded to the "own", stigmatizers to "normal", and the "wise" differed between those who openly challenged stigmas and those who advocated behind the scenes. Since the present study only examines Black respondents, only the nuance of the "own" group will be separated into latent classes.

The proposed latent class model is similar to Smith's (2012) model in that it is composed of four groups. The groups expressed as latent classes will hypothetically include the following: peripheral own-advocate, peripheral own-distant, core own-comfort, and core own-stigmatized. As the "own" is stigmatized by virtue of only consisting of a historically marginalized group, the latent class model will not include a stigmatizer class as did Smith's (2012) model. Though the peripheral own-distant cannot stigmatize, they can adopt the folkways of a culture that upholds stigmatization. The peripheral own-advocate is a cognate to the active supporters' class outlined by Smith (2012). The two core-own groups correspond to Smith's stigmatized class. Within the group, the core own-stigmatized class is similar to the stereotype-conscious core-own defined by Anderson (1999) whereas the core own-comfort class is based in the defining features of Black racial comfort group modeled by Carter (2018b).

It is expected that latent classes will be determined by the responses elicited by certain items from the stigmatization measure. Items can be observed in Table 3.1. For example, the core own-stigmatized and peripheral own-distant groups should agree with the following sentiments from items: people might categorize me based on my speech and behaviors, stereotypes bother me, and I worry about behaviors that will confirm stereotypes about Black

people. This is because both groups are conscious of stereotypes, but they differ in both their cultural origins and their responses to stigmatization. Regarding cultural origins, the distinguishing item between the core own-stigmatized and the peripheral own-distant should be the item stating, “I have had the same cultural and life experiences as most Black people.” Theoretically, peripheral own-distant will have different cultural experiences than most Black people while the core own-stigmatized group will indicate agreement with the item. The aforementioned item should not only distinguish the core own-stigmatized from the peripheral own-distant but also between the core-own and peripheral-own groups as a whole.

Table 3.1
Stigmatization Items

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. People might categorize me based on my speech and behaviors. 2. Stereotypes bother me. 3. I worry about behaviors that will confirm stereotypes about Black people. 4. I act differently around White people or in predominantly White spaces. 5. Other races question the intelligence of Black people. 6. I have the same problems with racism that other Black people have. 7. I have had the same cultural and life experiences as most Black people. 8. Race should be included in college and job applications. 9. Schools and workplaces should have safe spaces or special interest groups where Black people can socialize with one another. 10. I am comfortable educating people about race. 11. If I was in a position of power, I would make sure that Black people had a fair chance to be successful.

Whereas the core own-stigmatized and peripheral own-distant were stereotype-conscious, this should not be observed in the proposed core own-comfort and peripheral own-advocate classes. Similar to the break between peripheral own-distant and core own-stigmatized, core own-comfort and peripheral own-advocate will be distinguished by whether or not they have similar cultural experiences to both Black people. Both groups should have similar ratings across all items regarding their willingness to advocate for Black people and educate others about race.

Carter's (2018b) latent class model using the items of the Black Racial Dissonance Inventory (BRDI) will also be tested. The three-class model, which found the latent classes of Black racial comfort, social discomfort, and high disconnection, will be tested using the present sample of respondents. Testing this model will be both an effort to confirm the previous latent class alignment and examine if the present classifications mirror the latent classes associated with stigmatization.

Study Implications

The present study has implications for identifying reasons that people distance themselves from either their racial groups or the stigmas associated with the groups. Sampling respondents at a predominantly White institution best simulates the professional spaces that respondents will enter after the completion of their studies. Moreover, the use of stigmatization and racial distancing latent class models serves to offer a more holistic view of how racial distancing can be defined and how individuals respond to racial stigmatization.

Results

Latent Classes for Stigmatization

Table 3.2 shows that over 80 percent of respondents expressed some angst over stereotypes, indicated by responses the first three items. Another item that drew a strong response was the one that stated, "Other races question the intelligence of Black people." Approximately 98 percent of respondents agreed that this was a common belief. Respondents also indicated overwhelming agreement on the need for schools and workplaces to have special interest groups, the importance of educating others about race, and advocating for Black people if they were in positions of power. Items that drew more even disagreement and agreement were the items with regard to acting differently in the presence of White people, having the same

problems with racism, having the same cultural experiences as most Black people, and the inclusion of race in applications. Close to 46 percent of respondents indicated that they did not change their behaviors depending on the racial composition of their social spaces. Moreover, 32 percent of respondents indicated that they did not share the same problems with racism as most Black people, and 40 percent did not believe that they shared the same cultural experiences with most Black people. Finally, a majority of respondents (58.93%) disagreed with the inclusion of race in college and job applications. Overall, the items where responses were split might also capture distinguishing factors between groups in latent class analyses.

Table 3.2
Frequencies of Latent Class Indicators (N = 112)

Indicators	Response	<i>N</i>	Response	<i>n</i>
People might categorize me.	Disagree	26	Agree	86 (76.79%)
Stereotypes bother me.	Disagree	22	Agree	90 (80.36%)
I worry about stereotypical behaviors.	Disagree	22	Agree	90 (80.36%)
I act differently around White people.	Disagree	51	Agree	61 (54.46%)
Other races question intelligence.	Disagree	2	Agree	110 (98.21%)
Same problems with racism	Disagree	36	Agree	76 (67.86%)
Same cultural and life experiences	Disagree	45	Agree	67 (59.82%)
Race should be included in college and job applications.	Disagree	66	Agree	46 (41.07%)
Schools and workplaces should have safe spaces.	Disagree	13	Agree	99 (88.39%)
I am comfortable educating people about race.	Disagree	15	Agree	97 (86.61%)
I would advocate for other Black people.	Disagree	1	Agree	111 (99.11%)

Table 3.3 shows that latent class models with two, three, four, and five latent classes for stigmatization were tested. The four-class model was the best fit for the data. This was indicated by both the AIC and BIC reaching their respective minimum points across the models in the four-class model. The AIC decreased with the addition of classes from two to three to four

but increased when five classes were tested. The BIC statistic increased between the two- and three-class models but decreased in the four-class model.

Table 3.3
Comparison of Latent Class Models

Number of classes	G ²	χ^2	AIC	BIC
2	243.46	10326.84	1148.04	1210.86
3	187.64	4003.4	1140.21	1267.98
4	186.44	4259.57	1139.02	1266.78
5	168.23	2187.69	1144.80	1305.20

Note. Boldface type indicates the selected model. AIC, Akaike’s Information Criterion; BIC, Bayesian Information Criterion.

Table 3.4 shows the reporting probability for each stigmatization item by the latent classes. The four class were named for the two original core-own and peripheral-own typologies then split by distinguishing features into two subgroups within each typology. Core-own classes were determined by the probability that respondents shared cultural experiences with most Black peoples, consistent with theoretical expectations outlined in the data analysis. The classes in which respondents were less likely to have had similar cultural experiences as most Black people were defined as peripheral-own. The core-own classes were respectively 90 and 84 percent likely to indicate that they had the same cultural experiences as most Black people, while the both peripheral-own classes were zero percent likely to agree with the statement.

As stated in the opening of the results, four items would be key to identifying the distinguishing features of classes. The item stating, “I have had the same cultural experiences as most Black people,” were identified earlier as markers for the overarching core- and peripheral-own latent classes. That left three distinguishing items. Regarding the item, “I act differently around White people,” one of the core-own classes expressed the lowest likelihood of agreeing with the statement. This group was identified to be consistent with the core own-comfort class that was proposed to have low sensitivity to stereotypes. The second lowest class was one from

the peripheral-own groups. This class was identified as peripheral own-advocate. Though not as low as the core own-comfort in likelihood of agreement, the peripheral own-advocate class still had a lower likelihood of agreement than two other classes with likelihood of agreement equal to or greater than 60 percent. The core-own group with a likelihood of 66 percent agreement was identified as core own-stigmatized while the corresponding peripheral-own group was identified as peripheral own-distant. The second key item, “I have the same problems with racism that other Black people have,” had 68 percent agreement among all respondents (see Table 3.1). Within the latent class analysis, it was shown that the core own-stigmatized and core own-comfort expressed 87 and 76 percent likelihood of agreement, respectively. These figures were marked differences from the aggregate results. Moreover, low likelihood of agreement in the peripheral-own classes, 19 and 36 percent, respectively, indicated that the bulk of respondents who did not share similar experiences with racism as most Black people were likely to be from the peripheral-own classes. The final item, “race should be included in college and job applications,” elicited similar likelihoods of agreement between the core own-comfort and peripheral own-advocate classes at 51 and 52 percent, respectively. The core own-stigmatized were 35 percent likely to agree with the statement, and the peripheral own-distant group was zero percent likely to express agreement.

Table 3.4

Probability of Reporting Yes on Each Item Given Latent Class Membership

	Core Own- Stigmatized (51.40%)	Core Own- Comfort (15.92%)	Peripheral Own- Distant (4.42%)	Peripheral Own- Advocate (28.27%)
People might categorize me	0.81	0.94	0.00	0.71
Stereotypes bother me	0.93	0.46	1.00	0.75
I Worry about Stereotypical Behaviors	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.87
I Act Differently around White people	0.66	0.26	0.60	0.49
Other races question intelligence	1.00	0.94	0.80	1.00
Same problems with racism	0.87	0.76	0.19	0.36
Same cultural experiences	0.90	0.84	0.00	0.00
Race should be included in college and job applications	0.35	0.51	0.00	0.52
Schools and workplaces should have safe spaces	0.84	0.78	1.00	1.00
I am comfortable educating people about race	0.89	0.78	0.40	1.00
I would advocate for other Black people	1.00	0.94	1.00	1.00

Latent Classes for Racial Distancing

Table 3.5 shows the frequencies of binary choices for the items of the Black Racial Dissonance Inventory (BRDI). There was 98 to 100 percent disagreement for three of the items. Almost all respondents indicated that they did not keep social distance from Black people, believe that it was necessary to turn one's back on Black people, nor feel that trying to improve underclass communities was a waste of time. Disagreement was also high for the items "I fit in more with White people" and "I can barely deal with my own issues let alone those of Black people," but agreement was also considerable at 15 and 19 percent for the respective items. The final item, "I wish I were more comfortable around Black people," generated the highest agreement with 30 percent of respondents indicating agreement with the sentiment. Similar to the results observed for the stigmatization items, latent class analysis might be useful in disaggregating the three items where there was considerable agreement from respondents.

Table 3.5
Frequencies of Latent Class Indicators (N = 112)

Indicators	Response	<i>N</i>	Response	<i>n</i>
I keep my distance from most Black people. (G-DIST)	Disagree	110	Agree	2 (1.79%)
I have to turn my back on Black people to get ahead. (E-DIST)	Disagree	110	Agree	2 (1.79%)
Trying to improve poor communities is a waste of time. (E-DIST)	Disagree	112	Agree	0 (0%)
I fit in more with White people. (G-DIST)	Disagree	95	Agree	17 (15.18%)
I can barely deal with my own issues let alone those of Black people. (E-DIST)	Disagree	91	Agree	21 (18.75%)
I wish I were more comfortable around Black people. (G-DIST)	Disagree	78	Agree	34 (30.36%)

Note. G-DIST, group distancing; E-DIST, economic distancing.

Table 3.6 shows that the AIC and BIC statistics decreased between the one- and two-class models, but both information criteria increased between the two- and three-class models. The minimum for both statistics was found in the two-class model. Thus, the two-class model was the best fit for the data.

Table 3.6
Comparison of Latent Class Models

Number of classes	G ²	χ^2	AIC	BIC
1	42.53	52.80	391.11	404.70
2	6.82	8.66	367.40	397.30
3	2.99	2.49	375.57	421.78

Note. Boldface type indicates the selected model. AIC, Akaike’s Information Criterion; BIC, Bayesian Information Criterion.

Table 3.7 displays the latent classes and the probability of each class’s responses to items. Though all six items were reported in Table 3.5, the item that stated, “Trying to improve poor communities is a waste of time,” was not able to be analyzed in the latent class analysis because 100 percent of respondents disagreed with the statement. Results shown in Table 4 indicated that there would not be much variability between latent classes in the first two items shown in Table 6 such that there was 98 percent likelihood of agreement for both. Considerable responses for the last three items indicated that latent class analysis could disaggregate responses by class. The first item, “I fit in more with White people,” had 15 percent overall agreement. When examining the two latent classes, one class was 33 percent likely to agree with the item while the other class was eight percent likely. The second item, “I can barely deal with my own issues let alone those of Black people,” had 19 percent agreement among all respondents. As observed with the first item, likelihood of agreement in one latent class, 44 percent, was higher than observed agreement among all respondents. The final item, “I wish I were more comfortable around Black people,” had 30 percent agreement among all respondents. This item had the most marked increase from the observed percentage to latent class likelihood for agreement as respondents in one latent class were 100 percent likely to agree.

Naming of latent classes was based on the alignment with classes from Carter's (2018b) study. Item likelihood for the Black racial comfort class mirrored the response likelihood from the group observed in the previous study. The discomfort-distance latent class had features from both the social discomfort and high disconnection classes originally identified by Carter (2018b) based on three features. First, the social discomfort and high disconnection from Carter's study had likelihood of agreement with fitting in more in White settings of 76 and 53 percent, respectively. The discomfort-distance class was lower than both classes in the previous at 33 percent likelihood, but it was still considerably higher than the likelihood for the Black racial comfort latent class. Second, the likelihood of agreeing with the sentiment that one could not be concerned with the issues of the Black community was lower than that observed in the high disconnection class but higher than the likelihood of agreement observed in the social discomfort class. Third, in Carter's (2018b) study, the social discomfort class was 89 percent likely to have a desire to be more comfortable in Black social spaces, and the high disconnection was 59 percent likely to agree. The discomfort-distance was 100 percent likely to agree with the statement, higher than the observed likelihood in both classes from the previous study.

Table 3.7
*Probability of Reporting Yes on Each Item Given
 Latent Class Membership*

	Black Racial Comfort (69.64%)	Discomfort- Distance (30.36%)
I keep my distance from most Black people.	0.00	0.06
I have to turn my back on Black people to get ahead.	0.03	0.00
I fit in more with White people.	0.08	0.33
I can barely deal with my own issues let alone those of Black people.	0.08	0.44
I wish I were more comfortable around Black people.	0.00	1.00

Discussion

Summary

The study tested both a four-class model for stigmatization and a three-class model for racial distancing. The stigmatization model was based in the theoretical classes described by Anderson (1999), while the racial distancing model tested a three-class model originally confirmed by Carter (2018b). The four-class latent class stigmatization model confirmed the proposed classes while the three-class racial distancing model was compressed into two classes.

The four latent stigmatization classes included core own-stigmatized, core own-comfort, peripheral own-advocate, and peripheral own-distant. The core own-stigmatized class was

characterized by high levels of stereotype consciousness. The peripheral own-distant, the least numerous class, had stereotype consciousness similar to the core own-stigmatized class, but they differed in cultural experiences and their beliefs about the inclusion of race in college and job applications. The core own-stigmatized were more likely to have similar cultural experiences to most Black people and indicate that race should be included in applications than the peripheral own-distant. The core own-comfort class displayed the lowest stereotype consciousness of the four classes. They were less likely than other groups to worry about stereotypical behaviors, act differently around White people, or be bothered by stereotypes. The peripheral own-advocate group displayed stereotype consciousness similar to the core-own stigmatized and peripheral own-distant, but the groups differed in their shared cultural experiences.

Racial Comfort or Low Distancing

Latent class analysis results hinted at the possibility that the Black racial comfort class in the racial distancing model was not the same as core own-comfort in the stigmatization model. This was indicated by at least two factors. First, the core own-comfort class only made up 15 percent of respondents while close to 70 percent of the respondents in the racial distancing analysis were classified as encompassing the Black racial comfort class. If they were the same, then the core own-comfort class would have constituted a larger portion of respondents in the latent class model for stigmatization. Second, the core own-comfort class had defining features that appeared to indicate true comfort with racial identity. These included a lower likelihood to worry about displaying stereotypical behaviors and deviate from one's typical social manners in White social spaces. Moreover, it was likely that the core own-comfort group would acknowledge that they would be labeled yet still not be overly conscious of their behaviors. The features of the Black racial comfort class indicated low racial distancing rather than high racial

comfort. The Black racial comfort class had a very low likelihood of believing in a need to keep social distance from Black people, turning one's back on Black people for advancement, fitting in more with White people, disregarding the Black community, and desiring more social comfort in Black spaces. Though they did not indicate a desire for more comfort in Black spaces, comfort could not be assumed by the latent class results. The concept of racial comfort was only established in the stigmatization model such that it contained items that indicated true racial comfort.

Reasons for Distancing

Carter's (2018b) proposed four-class model was conceptually grounded in Karyn Lacy's *Blue-Chip Black*, a study of the Black middle-class. In *Blue-Chip Black*, two segments of the Black middle-class were identified. Both were described as setting social boundaries between themselves and other Black people. First, the core middle-class set boundaries against the Black underclass within their communities and from other communities. The second group, the elite middle-class, set social boundaries between their group and the core middle-class. Lacy's core and elite middle-classes appeared to mirror the core- and peripheral-own groups identified by Elijah Anderson in "The Social Situation of the Black Executive." In *Blue-Chip Black*, Lacy (2007) acknowledged Anderson's study as foundational such that it expanded the study of the Black middle-class from workplaces to neighborhoods.

Carter's (2018b) model included the proposed classes of bicultural negotiation, high disconnection, racial comfort with class distancing, and Black racial comfort. Two classes were particularly based in behaviors of different groups of respondents identified in *Blue-Chip Black*. First, bicultural negotiation was consistent with a segment of the core Black middle-class who lived in predominantly White spaces. These individuals remained connected to the Black

community through social organizations but believed in being connected to predominantly White spaces for professional advancement. Second, racial comfort with class distancing was guided by a combination of elite and core middle-class Blacks who both lived in predominantly Black neighborhoods. These groups held pride in the racial composition of their communities but paradoxically displayed disdain for African Americans of lower economic standing. Black racial comfort and high disconnection were respective opposites. Theoretically, the Black racial comfort group was low in both economic and group distancing, while the high disconnection group would be high in both. The bicultural negotiation group was proposed to be high in group distancing yet low in economic distancing, and the racial comfort with class distancing group was expected to be low in group distancing yet seek separation from Black people of different economic classes. A defining feature of bicultural negotiation was stereotype consciousness such that individuals would avoid stereotypical behavior in predominantly White spaces. The racial comfort with class distancing group was not proposed to be low in stereotype consciousness but high in economic distancing such that individuals preferred the company of middle-class to working-class and underclass Black people.

Latent class modeling did not identify the bicultural negotiation nor the racial comfort with class distancing groups. Though Black racial comfort and high disconnection were identified in results, Carter's (2018b) model for racial distancing did not actually assess behaviors consistent with racial comfort. As stated in the previous section of the discussion, Black racial comfort did not assert any true comfort in one's racial identity.

The latent class model for stigmatization in the present study was a place where Lacy's (2007) study of the Black middle-class, Anderson's (1999) study of Black professionals, and Carter's (2018b) quantitative study of racial distancing conjoined. The core own-stigmatized,

which made up the majority of respondents, mirrored the stereotype-conscious bicultural negotiation group. Where the racial distancing measure was limited in identifying behaviors consistent with proposed classes, the stigmatization model captured sensitivity to stereotypes and identity negotiation across racial contexts. The peripheral own-distant group also displayed characteristics consistent with the bicultural negotiation class. Where this group differed from the core own-stigmatized was in its unwillingness to be identified by race in college and job applications. The key differences between the core own-comfort and peripheral own-advocate groups were their cultural backgrounds. Though Lacy's elite and core middle-classes were similar to Anderson's peripheral- and core-own groups, the present study showed that respondents from the peripheral-own and core-own only differed in terms of cultural experiences. The social boundaries asserted qualitatively by Lacy between the core and elite Black middle-classes were not observed quantitatively by the core-own and peripheral-own respondents.

Conclusion

The findings of the present study quantitatively confirmed that members of the core- and peripheral-own emerged from differing cultural communities. Still, these culturally diverse Black people expressed a common belief in the presence of racial discrimination. In some cases, there were more commonalities across the cultural communities than there were within them. This phenomenon was observed in the bicultural negotiation of the peripheral own-distant and core own-stigmatized classes, both of whom indicated changes in social behaviors in the presence of White people. Despite differing cultural communities, Black people appeared to perceive racial stigmatization similarly. As for the presence of distancing from one's racial group, it did not appear that it was the case. Close to 100 percent of respondents indicated that

he or she would have advocated for other Black people if in position of power. In the rare case that one wanted to be distant from race, it was observed in a small group, one that wanted race to be secondary to academic ability or job competence.

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CONCLUSION

The papers of the collective dissertation were centered on the question, “Do some individuals distance themselves from the Black community?” Additionally, each study has its own set of sub questions. Paper 1 examined the question, “Can racial distancing have economic and social components?” The study did indeed find that items from the Black Racial Dissonance Inventory were particularly aligned with the constructs of economic and group distancing. Economic distancing was particular to maintaining distance from the Black underclass, while group distancing was social distance from Black spaces. As class was an underlying interest of the studies and background literature positioned professions as paths to the middle-class. Group distancing was of interest as it related to how individuals functioned in predominantly White professional spaces with the assumption that distance from Black cultural folkways facilitated one’s professional success.

Paper 2 asked, “What factors explained the two forms of racial distancing and how was distancing nuanced?” It was found that high levels of Black social interactions and high emotional bonds to the Black community would result in lower group distancing. High levels of emotional bonds alone were found to result in lower economic distancing. Two conclusions could be drawn from these findings. First, if an individual had more contact to Black people in one’s neighborhood, school, and other contexts, then one was less likely to seek racial distance from the Black community. Second, if someone believed that the Black community was an integral part of his or her personal development, then he or she was less likely to seek distance from the Black underclass and Black people as a whole. Latent class results in the second part of

the study added robustness to defining racial distance. Results showed that individuals could be classified into three different orientations toward racial distancing. One group, the Black racial comfort class, was found to be low in both forms of racial distancing, as measured by each item of the Black Racial Dissonance Inventory. Another group, the high disconnection class, was particularly likely to be distant in economic distancing such that they strongly believed that it was futile to try to deal with issues affecting Black people. The final group, social discomfort, had considerable ratings on items related to their level of comfort with other Black people such that they indicated more comfort in White spaces but also a desire to be more comfortable in predominantly Black spaces. Based on those results, group distancing could be defined as discomfort in Black spaces rather than a disdain for Black folkways. Economic distancing was confirmed and clearly observed in the high disconnection latent class.

Paper 3 approached the question, “Can a different theoretical model address racial distancing?” Economic distancing had been supported in the final results of Paper 2, but group distancing was not confirmed to be a distancing from stereotypes as proposed in Paper 1. To address the issue, Paper 3 was anchored in sensitivity to stigmatization with the expectation that some individuals would seek distance from forms of racial discrimination. Though not explicitly called group distancing, stigmatization survey items were aimed at eliciting responses indicative of the construct. Grounded in research on Black corporate professionals, it was proposed that respondents would initially be split into the core-own and peripheral-own classes solely based on different cultural experiences. These groups would be further split to find two subgroups within each. The core-own was divided into the core own-stigmatized and the core own-comfort. The core own-stigmatized group was characterized by its high consciousness of stereotypes, while the core own-comfort group was signified by its comfort with Black racial identity and cultural

folkways. The two peripheral-own groups were initially classified by the indication that their cultural experiences differed from the majority of Black people. Within the peripheral-own, the peripheral own-advocate and peripheral own-distant differed most markedly in their willingness to be identified by race and comfort in educating others about race. The peripheral own-distant group was less likely to want race to be included in college and job applications, and the peripheral own-advocate group was more likely to be comfortable discussing race. The findings of Paper 3 not only established that group distancing involved a detachment from cultural folkways but that it also meant that individuals would shun any discussion of race. A group of respondents, albeit less than five percent, wanted to be distant from both being identified by race and even discussing race.

As stated at the beginning of the conclusion, the key question of the collective work was, “Do some individuals distance themselves from the Black community?” By Paper 3, it was clear that the Black community was not the community outside of professional spaces. Though relationships to the broader Black community were important to Studies 1 and 2, the predominantly White professional setting and how Black people congregated in that space was the focus of the final study and undergirded the collective dissertation. Though the foundational literature shaping Paper 3 asserted that the core-own emerged from traditional (read: segregated) Black communities and the peripheral-own came more diverse locales, the analytical focus was not on the relationship of either group to the core Black community necessarily. Rather, the foci were nuanced and included their sensitivity to racial stereotypes, willingness to advocate for other Blacks, educate other groups about race, and beliefs about the need for Black people to have meeting places or special interest groups in predominantly White spaces.

Black people in the United States are not a monolithic group. People who identify as Black could include African Americans who were descendants of slaves, Africans who immigrated to the United States for safety or economic opportunities, Afro Latino-as from Spanish-speaking nations, and Blacks from the Caribbean islands. In addition to ethnic differences, Blacks may differ in their beliefs about a number of topics. Ethnic differences were beyond the sphere of the dissertation as African Americans alone constituted about 80 percent of respondents across the national and regional samples. Even among a sample heavily consisting of African Americans, diversity of beliefs around race and racial discrimination was observed.

The dissertation is not suggestive of a need for racial solidarity. It does bring to question why individuals might choose to distance themselves from elements associated with one's race. Evidence has shown that distancing is not often intentional. It has most often been a result of not having exposure to Black spaces. This could be encouraging as it suggests that these people have been direct or indirect beneficiaries of civil rights legislation that has opened neighborhoods, schools, and workplaces to Black people. This also brings to question what social comfort around Black people really means. It could be something totally different for an individual who grew up middle-class in Alexandria, Virginia involved in Jack and Jill than what it does for his or her counterpart who grew up poor in Liberty City Miami but managed to make it to Florida State University Law School. It could also mean something different for a middle-class parent who wants his or her kids to attend predominantly White schools to prepare them for the navigation of a predominantly White professional environment than what it does for another middle-class parent who chooses to enroll his or her children in predominantly Black schools to nurture their racial identities.

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APPENDIX A

THE UNIVERSITY OF
ALABAMA® | Office of the Vice President for
Research & Economic Development
Office for Research Compliance

March 22, 2018

Coddy Carter
Department of EXPRMC
College of Education
The University of Alabama
Box 870231

Re: IRB # EX-18-CM-031 "Racial Distancing and Stigmatization among Black College Students"

Dear Mr. Carter:

The University of Alabama Institutional Review Board has granted approval for your proposed research. Your protocol has been given exempt approval according to 45 CFR part 46.101(b)(2) as outlined below:

(2) Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior, unless:
(i) information obtained is recorded in such a manner that human subjects can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; and (ii) any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

Your application will expire on March 21, 2019. If your research will continue beyond this date, complete the relevant portions of Continuing Review and Closure Form. If you wish to modify the application, complete the Modification of an Approved Protocol Form. When the study closes, complete the appropriate portions of FORM: Continuing Review and Closure.

Please use reproductions of the IRB approved informed stamped consent form to obtain consent from your participants.

Should you need to submit any further correspondence regarding this proposal, please include the assigned IRB application number.

Good luck with your research.



Director & Research Compliance Officer
Office for Research Compliance

358 Rose Administration Building | Box 870127 | Tuscaloosa, AL 35487-0127
205-348-8461 | Fax 205-348-7189 | Toll Free 1-877-820-3066

AAHRPP DOCUMENT #192
UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
HUMAN RESEARCH PROTECTION PROGRAM

Study title: Racial Distancing and Stigmatization among Black College Students

Coddy L. Carter, Graduate Student, ESPRMC, The University of Alabama

You are being asked to take part in a research study examining your perceptions of racial stereotypes and connectedness to the Black community. This study is called RACIAL DISTANCING AND STIGMATIZATION AMONG BLACK COLLEGE STUDENTS. The study is being conducted by Coddy L. Carter, who is a graduate student in Educational Psychology at the University of Alabama. Mr. Carter is being supervised by Dr. Steve Thoma, professor of Educational Psychology at the University of Alabama.

What is this study about? What is the investigator trying to learn?

Racial distancing is the act of detaching oneself from segments of one's racial group. It can manifest itself in distancing from either racial stereotypes or economically disadvantaged communities. An underlying thread of racial distancing is associating achievement with escape. African Americans who will one day enter predominantly White professional spaces will possibly encounter the dilemma of racial distancing. The study seeks to understand why individuals are either high or low in racial distancing by examining their perceptions of racial stigmatization.

Why is this study important or useful?

The act of racial distancing can be used as a buffer to discrimination for racial minorities who enter predominantly White spaces. This can apply to a variety of settings including colleges/universities and professional workplaces. The study will both diagnose the presence of racial distancing behaviors and reasons why individuals choose whether or not to display those behaviors.

Why have I been asked to be in this study?

You have been asked to be in this study because you identify as Black or African American. Black ethnic backgrounds may include African, African American, Caribbean, and Black Latino/a.

How many people will be in this study?

About 50 to 100 respondents will participate in the study.

What will I be asked to do in this study?

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA IRB
 CONSENT FORM APPROVED: 3-22-18
 EXPIRATION DATE: 3-21-19

If you meet the criteria and agree to be in this study, you will be asked to complete an online survey that contains items related to the central interest of the study.

How much time will I spend being this study?

Completing the survey for the study will take 5 to 10 minutes.

Will being in this study cost me anything?

There are no costs for participating in the study.

Will I be compensated for being in this study?

You will not be compensated for being in this study.

Can the investigator take me out of this study?

All survey responses will be used in the data analysis for the study. Therefore, it is unlikely that a respondent will be removed from the study unless the survey is incomplete.

What are the risks (dangers or harms) to me if I am in this study?

There is minimal risk involved in the study. The risks of participating are no more likely or serious than those you encounter in daily activities.

What are the benefits (good things) that may happen if I am in this study?

Participation in this study will add to a growing body of research that examines the nuance of Black life and culture. The topics of interest in the study are highly relevant to racial minorities. It is vital to have literature that disseminates these issues to the scientific community.

How will my privacy be protected?

You will not answer any questions in the survey that will risk your privacy. It is designed to ensure that your privacy will be protected. The most personal survey items are demographics, but they still do not allow respondents to be identified.

How will my confidentiality be protected?

Raw data identifiers will be removed by the researcher during the processing of data cleaning.

What are the alternatives to being in this study? Do I have other choices?

The alternative to being in this study is not participating or exiting the online survey.

What are my rights as a participant in this study?

Taking part in this study is voluntary. It is your free choice. You can refuse to be in it at all. If you start the study, you can stop at any time. There will be no effect on your relations with the University of Alabama.

The University of Alabama Institutional Review Board ("the IRB") is the committee that protects the rights of people in research studies. The IRB may review study records from time to time to be sure that people in research studies are being treated fairly and that the study is being carried out as planned.

Who do I call if I have questions or problems?

If you have questions, concerns, or complaints about the study, please contact Cuddy L. Carter via email (ccarter3@crimson.ua.edu).

You may also contact Cuddy L. Carter's faculty advisor Dr. Steve Thoma via email at sthoma@ua.edu or via phone at 205-348-8146.

If you have questions about your rights as a person in a research study, call Ms. Tanta Myles, the Research Compliance Officer of the University, at 205-348-8461 or toll-free at 1-877-820-3066.

You may also ask questions, make suggestions, or file complaints and concerns through the IRB Outreach website at http://osp.ua.edu/site/PRCO_Welcome.html or email the Research Compliance office at participantoutreach@bama.ua.edu.

After you participate, you are encouraged to complete the survey for research participants that is online at the outreach website or you may ask the investigator for a copy of it and mail it to the University Office for Research Compliance, Box 870127, 358 Rose Administration Building, Tuscaloosa, AL 35487-0127.

Proceeding to the attached questionnaire/survey constitutes your consent to participate and certifies that you are 18 years of age or older. Please keep a copy of this informed consent form for your records

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 CONSENT FORM APPROVED: 3-22-18
 EXPIRATION DATE: 3-21-19

APPENDIX B

Racial Distancing and Stigmatization Study

Start of Block: Racial Cohesion and Dissonance Study

AGE Indicate your age in years.

ETHNIC Indicate your ethnic background.

- African
- African American
- British
- Caribbean
- Latina/o
- Multiracial
- Other

STUDY Indicate your year of study.

- Undergraduate
 - Master's (M.A., M.S., M.B.A)
 - Doctoral (PhD)
 - Professional (Law School, Medical School, Dental School, etc.)
-

MOTHER Indicate your mother's educational background.

- Less than High School
 - High School Diploma/GED
 - Some College/Associate's
 - Bachelor's Degree
 - Graduate Degree (Master's, PhD, J.D., M.D., etc.)
 - Military without College Degree
 - Not Applicable
-

FATHER Indicate your father's educational background.

- Less than High School
 - High School Diploma/GED
 - Some College/Associate's
 - Bachelor's Degree
 - Graduate Degree (Master's, PhD, J.D., M.D., etc.)
 - Military without College Degree
 - Not Applicable
-



STIGMA1 People might categorize me based on my speech or behaviors.

- No
 - Yes
-



STIGMA2 Stereotypes bother me.

- No
 - Yes
-



STIGMA3 I worry about behaviors that will confirm stereotypes about Black people.

No

Yes

X→

STIGMA4 I act differently around White people.

No

Yes

X→

STIGMA5 Other races question the intelligence of Black people.

No

Yes

X→

STIGMA6 I have the same problems with racism as most other Black people.

No

Yes

X→

STIGMA7 I have had the same cultural and life experiences as most Black people.

- No
 - Yes
-



STIGMA8 I want my race to be secondary to my performance and skill.

- No
 - Yes
-



STIGMA9 Schools and workplaces should have safe places where Black people can socialize with one another.

- No
 - Yes
-



STIGMA10 I am comfortable educating people about race.

- No
 - Yes
-



STIGMA11 If I was in a position of power, I would make sure that Black people had a fair chance to be successful.

No

Yes

D10 I keep my distance from most Black people.

Strongly Disagree

Disagree

Agree

Strongly Agree

D27 I have to turn my back on poor Black people in order to get ahead.

Strongly Disagree

Disagree

Agree

Strongly Agree

D28 Trying to improve poor Black communities is a waste of time.

- Strongly Disagree
 - Disagree
 - Agree
 - Strongly Agree
-

D29 I fit in more with White people than Black people.

- Strongly Disagree
 - Disagree
 - Agree
 - Strongly Agree
-

D37 I can barely deal with my own issues, let alone those in the Black community.

- Strongly Disagree
 - Disagree
 - Agree
 - Strongly Agree
-

D38 I wish I were more comfortable around other Black people.

- Strongly Disagree
 - Disagree
 - Agree
 - Strongly Agree
-

D39 I don't want people to think I am like stereotypical Black people.

- Strongly Disagree
 - Disagree
 - Agree
 - Strongly Agree
-

PC21 I owe my success to the support of friends and family.

- Strongly Disagree
 - Disagree
 - Agree
 - Strongly Agree
-

PC24 I feel like I am only doing well if Blacks as a whole are doing well.

- Strongly Disagree
 - Disagree
 - Agree
 - Strongly Agree
-

PC25 I understand how hard it is for poor Black people.

- Strongly Disagree
 - Disagree
 - Agree
 - Strongly Agree
-

PC26 I like living around people who look like me.

- Strongly Disagree
 - Disagree
 - Agree
 - Strongly Agree
-

PC31 We have to change the problems in the Black community ourselves.

- Strongly Disagree
 - Disagree
 - Agree
 - Strongly Agree
-

PC33 Black people need to stick together.

- Strongly Disagree
 - Disagree
 - Agree
 - Strongly Agree
-

PC35 Having a Black president made me feel like I could do more to help my community.

- Strongly Disagree
 - Disagree
 - Agree
 - Strongly Agree
-

PC36 Being Black is an important part of who I am.

- Strongly Disagree
 - Disagree
 - Agree
 - Strongly Agree
-

RIS_Neighborhood If there were 10 people in your neighborhood (your senior year in high school), how many of your neighbors would have been....(must total 10).

Black : _____
White : _____
Asian/Pacific Islander : _____
Hispanic/Latino : _____
Other : _____
Total : _____

RIS_School If there were 10 students at your school (your senior year in high school), how many of them would have been....(must total 10).

Black : _____
White : _____
Asian/Pacific Islander : _____
Hispanic/Latino : _____
Other : _____
Total : _____

RIS_Teachers If there were 10 teachers at your school (your senior year in high school), how many of your teachers would have been....(must total 10).

Black : _____

White : _____

Asian/Pacific Islander : _____

Hispanic/Latino : _____

Other : _____

Total : _____

RIS_Social If you hung out with 10 people (your senior year in high school), how many of them would have been....(must total 10).

Black : _____

White : _____

Asian/Pacific Islander : _____

Hispanic/Latino : _____

Other : _____

Total : _____

RIS_Attract If there were 10 people you were attracted to (your senior year in high school), how many of them would have been....(must total 10).

Black : _____

White : _____

Asian/Pacific Islander : _____

Hispanic/Latino : _____

Other : _____

Total : _____

RIS_Date If there were 10 people that you have dated, how many of them would have been....(must total 10).

Black : _____

White : _____

Asian/Pacific Islander : _____

Hispanic/Latino : _____

Other : _____

I do/did not date (Mark 10) : _____

Total : _____

End of Block: Racial Cohesion and Dissonance Study

Start of Block: Block 1
