Intersections of Race, Identity, and Co-Cultural Practices: A Qualitative Content Analysis of a 'White Black Woman'

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INTERSECTIONS OF RACE, IDENTITY, AND CO-CULTURAL PRACTICES: A QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF A ‘WHITE BLACK WOMAN’

by

Tammy Lynn Jeffries

A Thesis
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Western Michigan University
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Testament to the power of prayer and, in loving memory of my Grandfather, Robert Lowell Goens 1906-2003, whom I love and miss very much.

Tammy Lynn Jeffries
Notes of a White Black Woman by Judy Scales-Trent (1995) was the text used for this analysis and offered insight to the process of identity development, and the co-cultural communication practices of an African American woman whom others mistake as European American—a ‘White Black Woman.’ The basis for this body of research was embedded in the premise that co-cultural communication practices are intrinsically linked to the normal communication of the White Black person’s identity development negotiation process. The initial exploration of this study began with explaining Kich’s (1992) bi-racial identity model from a mono-racial perspective allowing for new interpretations of this particular model. The second phase of this analysis linked Kich’s (1992) biracial identity model to the co-cultural communication theory (Orbe, 1998c) which provided a theoretical frame for contextualizing the various stages of the model, this allowed for a simultaneous exploration of spoken words and the identity stage. This study also serves to prepare a foundation for future inquiry into this phenomenon and significantly contributes to the development of the White Black identity negotiation model (see Gilroy, 2000; Haley, 1976; Jeffries, 2002).
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If I don’t look Black by your standards, that’s just too damn bad. You and your rules created me... So deal with it. I am a proud Black woman, and yes, perhaps I could be something different, perhaps I could be mixed, but your rules say one drop and thank God I qualify (Jeffries, 2002, p. 51).

This passage is an excerpt of a journal entry I included in a previous autoethnographic study (Jeffries, 2002). In that study I explored my intrapersonal identity developmental process [via Kich’s (1992) biracial identity development model] and the difficulties of growing up as a Black child with a light skin tone, a White Black child. Within this passage it is clear that my inner thoughts revealed a strong sense of Black identity, but what this passage does not share is how that strong inner identity was communicated to others. How did I communicate my personal identity to others who questioned my declaration? Was the same sense of conviction I wrote about communicated to everyone around me, or was I selective in my communication tactics? These questions served as the impetus for the current study. Specifically, this study seeks to explore the juncture in the communicative process where intrapersonal and interpersonal communication intersects.
Background Information

“What are you?” To many in the U. S. this question is an innocent way to break the ice, a way of bonding to others. However to the White Black person it is not just an introductory question. To the White Black person the response to this question is not simple and demands careful consideration of various internal and external factors (Jeffries, 2002). This study addresses the socio-political construction of race, racial identity development, and the negotiation of racial identification as a member of a marginalized racial group. The main emphasis of this study focuses on the socio-political construction of race in the U. S. and the implications of and inherent confusion with identity negotiation within such a system.

Why is it that when the word race is spoken in the United States, so many emotions are brought to the surface? Use of the word ‘race’ ignites a host of personal and historical issues and consequentially often triggers a variety of emotions from pride, tradition, and honor of heritage to anger, guilt, jealousy, and suffrage (Hughes & Baldwin, 2002). As Orbe and Harris (2001) point out, in the United States our relation to the issue of race may even define who we are as a society. They suggest that the issue of race is a central “aspect in almost every facet of the national agenda of the United States” (p. 25).

Today how we communicate our race to others is also getting some much needed attention in the communication field. Race and race related issues are becoming more widely acknowledged as valuable adjuncts to the growing awareness of diversity and related issues in the communication field. Occurring on macro-level inquiry, communication scholars are introducing the significance of the African American
community. Further, within the parameters of community researchers are also addressing the differences between races and the importance of race in the everyday lives experiences of African Americans, in various areas such as pedagogy, interpersonal, intrapersonal, and mass media in our society (Hendrix, 2002; Jackson, 1999; Martin, Krizek, Nakayama, & Bradford, 1999; McPhail, 2002; Nicotera, 1999; Orbe & Hopson, 2002; Spellers, 2002; Wander, 1971). On the micro-level this study will explore the subtleties within the African American community, by specifically exploring the notion of racial ambiguity and identity negation.

Description of Study

This study will address the multilayered complexities of negotiating the communication of one’s identity from the standpoint of a marginalized member of a minority group in the United States of America. Specifically, it centralizes the experience of the “White Black woman”—an African American/Black woman with a light or white skin tone (Scales-Trent, 1995). Further, as previously mentioned this study is of personal interest to me, because like the author of the text used in this analysis I too am a Black woman with a light skin tone (a White Black woman), and had to negotiate questions of racial identity for much of my life (Jeffries, 2002). This research is meant as fodder to stimulate further exploration of the complexities of race and to promote White Black persons racial identity development. Additionally, for the purpose of this study it is important to understand one of the historically based societal definitions of a Black person, that which proclaims “one drop” of African blood makes a person Black (Jackson, 1999; Russell, Wilson, & Hall, 1993; Spickard, 1992).
What makes a woman with light skin declare she’s Black in the United States? The crux of this project focuses on the exploration of racial identity negotiation. Indeed, the identity negotiation of a Black woman is interesting to many and alone has garnered inquiry in the field of communication (Hendrix, 2002; Spellers, 2002). Yet little in the communication field has been revealed about the intrapersonal dialogic process and the interpersonal negotiation of a White Black woman. Understanding and appreciating the uniqueness of all African American/Black identity negotiation issues will contribute to a greater appreciation of the complexities of adapting one’s communication as “other.” This study is an analysis of the inner turmoil of negotiating both the Black and White culture simultaneously, by exploring one’s reality who is uniquely situated in both those worlds.

Rationale

The U.S. has made racial segregation a social and political priority for many years, and distinguishing one’s race by looks was crucial to determining which rights and privileges individuals will have in our society (Appiah & Gutmann, 1996). In the U.S., race is often declared by the selection of a preconceived category or box on a government issued form; as a result many U.S. Americans are suffering from what could be seen as a socially imposed identity crisis (Appiah & Gutmann, 1996). It is now important to develop an identity model that recognizes the possibility of a unique identity development process. This type of model would offer affirmation to those whose external identifying characteristics are inconsistent with their internal identity. The importance of this type of model would not be to simply explore and highlight the developmental
process of those who fit neatly within or at the margins of various racial categorizations, but to advance and extend existing models to include those who are situated outside the margins as well.

Many identity models have explored the identity process of a person belonging to one racial group (e.g., Banks, 1976; Hardiman, 1984; 1994; Jackson & Hardiman, 1983; Mead, 1934; Phinney, 1993; Ponteretto & Pederson, 1993). Other models explored the identity development process as it pertains to being a combination of two racial groups (Jacobs, 1992; Kich, 1992; Postons, 1990). However, few racial identity development models specifically explore the identity developmental process that occurs when a person internally identifies with one race, but externally represents another (Cross, 1991; Helms, 1990). This study will begin the process of establishing an identity development theory and ultimately a model which addresses this unique anomaly.

As a result of the 2000 U.S. Census’ expansion of the racial classification option, our society is now uniquely positioned to recognize the possibility of a variety of races and racial combinations (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003). Therefore a model of this nature would help to explain unique phenomenon (such as the White Black woman) and will aid in the understanding or help to clarify the confusion that occurs when one does not fit into society’s image of one specific racial categorization (Helms, 1990).

This study offers a theoretical perspective with which to view the phenomena of physically having a light skin tone as an African American woman and to help situate the socially constructed conflict this characteristic creates. I have selected a biracial identity development model as a point of developmental reference for this project. Monoracial identity development models may be perceived as more accurate when explaining the
identity of a person who declares to be of one race. However monoracial identity
development models do not capture the multifaceted identity negotiation process inherent
to this phenomenon (Cross, 1991; Helms, 1990; Jeffries, 2002). In addition, they lack
much of the socially holistic context needed to explore the complexities of this racial
issue. The physical characteristic of having white skin and an African American racial
composition makes declaring one’s monoracial identity as a Black woman complex.
Therefore the experiences of the White Black woman are somewhat comparable to that of
the biracial woman (Jeffries, 2002; Funderburg, 1994). One study has explored the White
Black/biracial connection via autoethnography. Therefore this study is offered as further
academic exploration to advance the inquiry regarding this phenomenon (Jeffries, 2002).

Further this study is presented to demonstrate parallels within co-cultural
communication practices and orientations presented in Orbe’s (1998c) co-cultural
communication theory, and Kich’s (1992) identity development process. One of the
primary reasons Orbe’s co-cultural communication theory was selected for this project is
because of the methodological approach used in the theory development. Through
phenomenological inquiry, the co-cultural communication theory has proven to be the
most substantial theory which identifies clear thematic categories which address the
issues of communication negotiation of individuals marginalized as “the Other” (Orbe,
1998c, p. 12). With this theory, this project can readily explore if co-cultural
communication practices were demonstrated in Scales-Trent’s (1995) book, thus allowing
for her behaviors to be regarded as a co-cultural practice within a particular co-cultural
communication orientation (an explanation of both co-cultural practices and orientations
is offered in Chapter Two). Relating them to the precision inherent in Orbe’s (1998c) 26 practices is something that would allow for a more structured content analysis of the text.

Ontologically, African American identity negation has many avenues for exploration. For example, one can explore this area via identity development (Hecht, Jackson, & Ribeau, 2003; Kich, 1992; Spikard, 1994), everyday communicative practices (Orbe, 1998c; Scales-Trent, 1995), or issues of belonging or social acceptance (Orbe, 1999). These articles and books all speak to the importance of having one’s societal contributions understood or at least acknowledged. Specifically, they all address the social and academic obligation we have to recognize the existence, and hear the voice, of marginalized group members.

Using a Biracial Model as Frame for the Text

Why explore the mono-racial identity via a biracial identity development model? As previously mentioned the selection of a biracial model was done because it more closely represents the duality of the author’s reality, a black woman with white skin. The racial ambiguity of the author uniquely creates an identity developmental phenomenon similar to that of a biracial person, a person who represents two distinct cultures. Exploring Kich’s (1992) biracial identity model from a marginalized monoracial (White Black) perspective allows for a new interpretive lens in which to view this particular framework. Additionally linking this model to the co-cultural communication theory (Orbe, 1998c) provides communicative structure to the various stages of the model, thus allowing for an extension of both the model and theory. Consequently this project will add a new level of awareness to the field of communication and issues of racial identity.
Kich's (1992) model of biracial identity development was chosen for its ease of interpretation. Consisting of three clearly defined stages, it allows for greater qualitative flexibility within an inherently ambiguous racial identity process. By extending this model, this study will expand societal understanding of the developmental process associated with the identity negotiation process of a monoracial woman with atypical physical characteristics—which are not socially accepted or understood. Using the biracial model as a starting point, this study will illustrate the similar, but different, negotiation process inherent to this phenomenon.

Judy Scales-Trent's (1995) *Notes of a White Black Woman* book is a wonderfully frank presentation of the complexities of being a Black woman with light skin in the twentieth century; this is why I have selected it as the primary text for the study. Via qualitative content analysis, this study focuses on the exploration and comparison of the biracial identity development process set forth by Kich (1994) in conjunction with the co-cultural communication practices and orientations (Orbe, 1998c) revealed in Scales-Trent's (1995) autobiographical book. Again, it is important that I make one very explicit distinction regarding the name of the book I have selected for this analysis. Although this book is titled *Notes of a White Black woman*, Scales-Trent (1995) does not declare a biracial identity. Rather, she writes of her experiences as a Black woman with white/light skin. As alluded to earlier, this research extends previous works in which the biracial identity development model selected was found to more closely represent the identity developmental process of a White Black woman (see Jeffries, 2002).
Overview of Remaining Chapters

Understanding communication challenges of identity negotiation are not unique to this phenomenon. It is the goal of this project to steer the trajectory of racial awareness beyond that of only monoracial and biracial negotiation, but onto the path of all of the deferential factors of multiracial categorization. To do so it is relevant for this project to address the historically sensitive and often taboo racial issues that contribute to the physical and social creation of the phenomenon termed as the White Black woman.

Chapter 2 of this study begins to address the historical implications of race and racial labels. This is first done by deconstructing the phenomenon of race, offering three possible approaches to the phenomenon of race helps to situate this study. The section on cultural identity and the politics of naming for Blacks/ African Americans helps to situate this study in a historical context and offers a context to understanding the social construction of race. The purpose of this brief history review is two fold. First, it educates the reader by offering insight into the importance of racial labels as it pertains to the psychological perpetuation of slavery and the maintenance of social power. Second, it addresses the issue of maintaining the racial status quo (more discussion on the implications of racial status quo follows). In light of a history whereby the social construction of racial categories relied on ones complexion, the physical characteristic of complexion has become central to the social construction of racial distinctions with a hierarchical scale determining who will become a social have and who will have less. Historically those with light skin have been placed closer to the top of this socially constructed hierarchy and those with darker skin tones tend to be pushed to the bottom. Understanding that this hierarchy is socially structured and maintained helps to situate the
next section discussed in Chapter Two, the privilege of White skin. This section reviews the social significance of White skin. Be it the light complexion of an African American (the White Black person) or the light complexion of a European American, the social privilege is still present (the repercussions and complexities of the White Black phenomenon will be discussed in great detail in Chapters Four and Five).

Even though complexion is a significant racial identity marker, it does not address the intrapersonal developmental process of racial identity. The next section explains various monoracial and biracial identity development models and specifically deconstructs Kich’s (1992) biracial identity model. (The explanation of this model is done in preparation to a more in-depth exploration and analysis which occurs in the Appendices B, Tables 1 and 2) Understanding the various levels of biracial identity development helps to situate the need to articulate the complexities of “Other” communication.

As the identity development models hint to the existence of intrapersonal dialogue, co-cultural communication theory offers insight into the interpersonal negotiation of one who identifies as “Other” (or co-cultural group member). The section on co-cultural communication theory explicates the theory and suggests an alternative communicative perspective through which to analyze the communicative practices of those who identify as the Other. The last section in Chapter Two posits two research questions which will help to further the communicative exploration of White Black identity negotiation.

Chapter Three of this study explains qualitative content analysis which is the method used for this analysis. This section includes a description of the text chosen for
this analysis and offers a suggested approach to managing the text and subsequent data for this analysis. In addition this section includes a strategy for isolating the themes that occur as a result of the analysis process.

As previously mentioned the fourth and fifth chapters present and discuss the analytic results of the study. To aid in the presentation of the findings, Appendix B Tables 1 and 2 are offered for further clarification. The inclusion of the appendices is significant because of the hierarchical deconstruction of the data. The details of this analysis are presented to offer clarity to the analytic process, findings, understanding and insight to the qualitative content analysis process. Chapter Five advances the analytic findings by further discussing the results and posits a more critical analysis of the findings and implications for future study on White Black identity negotiation.
Chapter One offered a rationale and context for this study. In this chapter the historical and theoretical background of this research will be shared to provided. This section first defines race and related issues. Biracial identity and the co-cultural communication theory are then explained to offer a theoretical grounding for this study.

To explore the multi-layers of identity negotiation and development presented in Scales-Trent’s (1995) book, an overview of key historical and communication concepts is needed. This is done to contextualize the various constructs discussed in the text and in this project. As such this literature review will define race and related constructs such as racial and biracial labeling, identity negotiation, privilege, the developmental process of biracial individuals and communicating identity from the perspective of the ‘other.’

Issues of Identity and Labels: Deconstructing the Phenomenon of Race

Race has been defined as a “subdivision of a species; it consists of a population that has a different combination of gene frequencies from other populations of the species” (Lasker & Tyzzer, 1982, p. 458). In its most simplistic definition, race itself is a distinction or characteristic that is common to one group and not common to others in that same species. With these characteristic distinctions come notable differences, and with differences, categorizations. Following the categorizations of racial characteristic is
the hierarchical placement of the most socially desirable characteristics to the less socially desirable characteristics (Appiah & Gutmann, 1996; Wander, 1971).

An extension of the notion of racial characteristics is the concept of racial identity (Appiah & Gutmann, 1996; Gilroy, 2000). Racial identity is one of the more complex of the communicated constructs, because embedded in the notion of racial identity is the definition of interpersonal communication (e.g., see Hecht, Collier, & Ribeau, 2003; Mead, 1934). However, as a social construct, racial identity embodies three key components: cognitive acceptance, experiential identity, and race as a socio-political tool (Azoulay, 1997; Gilroy, 2000).

Cognitive acceptance is when people know they belong to a specific group because biologically they are part of that group (Azoulay, 1997). As an example, I am a woman. I know I am a woman because biologically I can prove I am female, thus cognitively I believe I am a woman. Recently the notion of race as a biologically determined has been challenged. Some biologists and social scientists question race as a biological construct and have scientifically proven the biological differences in racial categories are a fallacy (Appiah & Gutmann, 1996; Graves, 2002). Social science researchers have focused on environmental influences and the social construction of race. These concepts are influenced by our life experiences and our relationships with others.

Experiential identity is when one identifies with a specific group because he/she has shared experiences (Azoulay, 1997). Environmental influences help to shape our perceptions of the world because this is the nexus in which we begin to navigate our racial identity. For example, a person who was raised in a Mexican village may not be
“Mexican,” but they may identify himself/herself as Mexican because that is the only reality/identity they know.

Racial identity can also be understood as a fluid and socially constructed political tool. Identity is a political tool when a person has chosen to identify with a particular group in order to make a political statement, or offer support to a cause that he/she feels passionate about (Gilroy, 2000). An example of this concept is best seen when you consider the life of a survivor of war or that of the sojourner. The person who has become so disenfranchised from their culture of origin that they choose to become a permanent resident of the country in which they live. This person may not physically look like the natives in their chosen country but the sojourner may have assimilated in such a way they feel more closely tied to their new home than they ever did in their country of origin. The act of rejecting significant racial distinctions from their original culture and only associating with the identifying characteristics of the new is an example of socially constructing ones race.

The other more obvious example may be understood when you consider the concept of passing, because some Black people “look White” they can consciously decide to no longer identify as a Black person (Gilroy, 2000). This is the practice many White Black people used in the past to escape the persecution, slavery, and segregation (Akbar, 1984). The notion of passing suggests that the individual is so disenfranchised with their current social status that they turn away from everything that ties them to that identity and create an alternative identity devoid of the persecutions of the original (Akbar, 1984). Although passing is another good example of the social construction of race I intentionally added it last to this section, recognize the White Black person is not
an example of passing because they do not turn away from their originating culture (Jeffries, 2002).

In this country, a great deal of the negotiation of social and racial identity is determined, or at least informed by one’s racial group (Asante, 2002; Baldwin & Hunt, 2002; Collins, 2000; Jackson, 1999; James, 2000; Spellers, 2002; Spickard, 1989).

Within the scope of this study, reviewing the phenomena of White privilege and racial categorization is paramount to understanding the lived experience of the White Black woman.

Cultural Identity and the Politics of Naming for Blacks/African Americans

Understanding the significance of the racial categorization of Blacks and African Americans in the U.S. begins with understanding the realities and cruelty of slavery in the U.S. Consequently it is important to recognize the denigrating origins of racial or ethnic grouping and the significance of the names and labels used to describe a group of individuals. The use of labels and names were salient to the control and construction of slaves (Akbar, 1984).

Many Africans were brought to the United States and sold as property to serve as slaves to White men known as masters (Appiah & Gutmann, 1966). Therefore, much of what goes into the racial label of Black or African American in the U.S. is tied to the notion of changing the mindset of a free citizen living in Africa and making a good and dutiful slave in the U.S. (Akbar, 1984; Walvin, 2001). To those whose ancestors have fought for the distinction of being considered human beings in the U.S. the significance of one’s name as a self identified label is a point of pride and should not be taken
callously. Unimaginable and unconscionable, this is a glimpse at the hideous origins of racial labeling; this knowledge helps to explain what it means to be Black/African American in the United States.

Understanding the significance of one’s birth name may help to clarify some tensions for those who are not familiar with the struggles associated with the labeling of Blacks/African Americans. As previously mentioned we do know slaves were brought from Africa to the United States and were considered property. As part of the dehumanization process the kidnapped Africans were not allowed to keep their original African birth names, the names selected by their birth parents (Akbar, 1984; Haley, 1976). This renaming process was done in order to establish the arrivals powerlessness, forcing them to assimilate to their new identity as slave (Appiah & Gutmann, 1996).

What followed in U.S. history is a dichotomous tension between those in authority to maintain their power by renaming and assigning new racial labels, and those struggling to maintain their personhood and preserve their names and originating culture. The dehumanizing process began with derogatory terms used to describe Africans such as the terms, Nigger, Negro, and mulatto (Akbar, 1984; Hecht & Ribeau, 1991; Huggins, Kilson, & Fox, 1971; Reed, 2003).

The end of the Civil War, the late 1800s and early 1900s were instrumental in the struggle to rename one’s self for African Americans. In the early 1900s the power to claim one’s identity through self appointed naming began to shift significantly when a Boston magazine titled Colored American Magazine was published. For many former slaves the label “colored” became a preferred label seen as a point of pride in the Black community moving away from the humiliating terms of old. The self established term of
colored and the birth of the magazine by the same title which centered on issues of importance to the African American community, served to give a voice to African Americans of that time breaking the psychological chains of slavery (Akbar, 1984; Gates & McKay, 1997, p. 569). The term “colored” as a description of the magazine was not seen as derogatory because it was a self-generated term. Similarly, Afro-American has been transformed to African American, the most widely accepted label because it allows those who so choose, to pay tribute, and show pride of their heritage (Gates & McKay, 1997).

Additionally, using the term Black to define the culture has become another term of empowerment, by offering those people of color a way of establishing community. This term offers a racial categorization alternative to those Blacks who feel too far removed from their originating culture of Africa to fully embrace African roots (Gilroy, 2000). Some may express confusion with all the various labels used to describe one race of people. However, Davis (1997) responds to these inquires by addressing the issue of having an all inclusive approach to categorizations of all Blacks as African American. He suggested the all-inclusive approach is not effective when one understands not all people with dark skin in the United States originated directly from Africa. For instance, Davis (1997) asserts that by categorizing all Blacks as African Americans does not recognize those Blacks who self identify as Caribbean-born. Breaking free of this type of general categorization may prove to be difficult for some (Gilroy, 2000). For many years people in the U.S. have made generalizations for all of those who are believed to be of African descent. These assumptions lead to confusion, so much so that when people see someone who does not fit into societal image of a stereotypical Black or African American,
confusion results (Davis, 1997). Accepting the self labels between those who declare Black as an identity and those who declare African American as an identity would allow us to break free from the socially imposed labels and start to lead us as a culture down the path of appreciating all of the subtle differences of the races (Akbar, 1984; Gilroy, 2000).

The Complexities of Color among Blacks/African Americans

Embedded in the discussion of the politics of racial labeling is the notion of classification by physical characteristics. This classification process speaks to the significance of skin tone among those outside and inside the Black community. However, within the African American community skin tone has functioned as a tool for classification and segregation. Just as the Jim Crow law and the one drop rule were enacted to insure the purity of the White race, guidelines such as the brown bag test, and eye ball test were enacted to insure a level of superiority among those of African descent within the African American community (Russell et al., 1993). The legacy of those simplistic and unscientific tests have manifested as measurable social and economic characteristics such as education, occupational prestige, and family income, with light skin tones being revealed as more advantaged than those medium or darker skin tones (Frazier, 1997). Skin tone becomes a more complex issue when one considers that within the Black community one's immediate family can contain a mixture of skin tones ranging from light to dark (Russell et al., 1993).
The Social Privilege of White Skin

Discussing the reality of being a Black woman with a light skin tone mandates some recognition of the societal implications of White privilege. In fact declaring African American or Black as a racial identity encompasses many noncongruent verbal and nonverbal messages when your skin tone is not seen as consistent with your declaration (Jeffries, 2002). In our society many members rely on nonverbal indicators more heavily than the verbal messages they receive (Ebesu & Burgoon, 1996). A review of the literature reveals that many use skin tone to determine ones race, making it one of the most salient nonverbal indicators used when determining ones race (Daniel, 1992; Horowitz, 1939). Because of the vast difference in racial identity education in our society many are unaware of the various shades of African Americans. Acknowledging the concept of White privilege offers a starting point for a greater understanding of the inherent confusion of identity declaration faced by the White Black woman anomaly (Walvin, 2001).

An exploration of racial identity and racial communication issues requires “an interrogation of the complexities or Blackness as well as the incoherence of Whiteness” (McPhail, 2002, p. 85). Consequently, we must re-examine the intrinsic privilege and confusion associated with each racial classification that results. In the United States being of European descent brings certain subtle privileges and unwritten rights, such as the privilege to benefit from societal norms (Akbar, 1984; Nakayama & Martin, 1999).

Supriya (1999), writes, “Culturally, whiteness is constructed in terms of having cultural powers of representation and celebration” (p. 141). Being European American or having a White skin tone in the United States means benefiting from societal power. It is
impossible to discuss White privilege in the United States without discussing the self-imposed position of power declared early in our nation’s formation by persons of European descent in our society. For example, an examination of the original U.S. census would show that White men, who owned land were counted as members of the civilized society then known as the new world (McIntosh, 1992). Only those of European descent could legally buy and sell land in the New World (McIntosh, 1992).

Now that the U.S. Census data has begun to collect information of those who identify as multiracial, the scope of these privileges have become clearer and the impact of social privilege is no longer hidden in inaccurate population statistics. Privilege and the disparities that follow can be more precisely documented and rectified (see U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). Examples of these subtle impacts of White privilege can be seen in a review of population when compared to things such as, lower Black admittance into college, lack of employment opportunities for Blacks, lower overall home and small business ownership and even average annual income levels (Graves, 2002). These injustices reinforce the notion of the privileged haves and the underprivileged have-nots (Appiah & Gutmann, 1996; Graves, 2002; U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

White privilege is revealed when you consider the socio-political factors that went into the development of the rules which governed racial classification, rules which are now being contested (see Orbe, 1999). Typically individuals born to parents whom both are not considered White are viewed “as non-white and are treated as such in their communities” (Cauce, Hirage, Mason, Aguilar, Ordonez, & Gonzales, 1992, p. 210). The non-whites are considered not pure, the Other. The original premise for this type of categorization was done in an attempt to keep the White race pure, as well as to oppress
and dehumanize people of color (Spickard, 1989). The concept of White purity mandates
the recognition of the non-pureness of races that do not qualify as White.

As previously mentioned, the rules that govern White purity rules are
indiscriminant and are governed by social perceptions, therefore they also affect non-
whites as well. Consequently these rules established the individual degree of Blackness.
An example of the recognition of those who are not purely of European decent spawned
the inception of the one drop and Jim Crow laws (Appiah & Gutman, 1996). The
underlying implication of the socially structure issues of race and White purity is
maintenance of the status quo and the issue of who has the power to create labels and
categories and who is rendered powerless (Orbe & Harris, 2001).

The politics of race and the current structure of our society determines much of
one’s potential is central to how one is identified within our culture (Akbar, 1984; Gilroy,
2000). However the notion of identity is a fluid concept (Kich, 1995). Just as racial
categorization addresses the social process of grouping like people in an attempt to
maintain social structure, identity development negotiation addresses the inner process of
maintaining balance or structure of ones racial and therefore social position (Horowitz,
1939).

Identity Development

Common thought suggests that if researching the identity development of a
person who declares to be of one race, the chosen frame of reference should be a mono-
racial identity model. However the White Black phenomenon mandates a shift in that line
of thought. Capturing the complexities of being a Black person with light skin is most
effectively approached from the perspective of a biracial identity model, this was determined after a thorough review of both mono-racial and biracial models (Jeffries, 2002). This study uses Kich’s biracial model because similar to the biracial person the White Black person negotiates dual identities, the inner and cultural identity (Black) and the socially imposed identity (White). As such, using a biracial model better explains the inner dialogic process one experiences when one is mistaken as a representation of the wrong culture (Jeffries, 2002). A central part of this study relies on the comprehension of both Kich’s (1995) biracial identity development model and a willingness to consider the complexities of what lies between the lines of what is written in his model. Further, this study will explore the tension that exists when a person is of one race but whose appearance or external characteristics are not consistent with the social definition of that racial categorization or their internal identity.

Kich’s Model of Biracial Identity Development

Kich’s (1992) model strives to clarify the identity development process for individuals whose parents represent two different races or cultures. First used to explore the identity development of Japanese-American children (Kich, 1982), the model has been broadened to allow for greater application. A clear benefit of reviewing this biracial model within this study is that it offers a theoretical framework for exploring the intrapersonal/interpersonal communication that occurs at different stages of one’s identity development.

Kich explains the identity development process of a biracial individual. What is biracial? Kich defines biracial as a child born to parents that represent two different races.
Kich's model of biracial identity development (1992), although a biracial model, can also apply to the experience of a White Black woman (Jeffries, 2002). This model was selected for a few specific reasons. Kich's model consists of only three stages of identity development, which are holistic in their application allowing for the exploration of the identity developmental stages via the experiences of a White Black woman. The second rationale used for selecting Kich's biracial identity model is the adaptability to the identity development stages. Although the model was introduced to help clarify the Japanese American developmental process it is applicable to many other unions which result in a biracial child (Phinney, 1993). The complexity and uniqueness of explaining the identification process of life as a White Black woman requires an identity development model with the flexibility and simplicity—two qualities found in Kich's biracial identity model. The biracial identity model presented by Kich (1992) describes three stages of identity development: (1) differentness and dissonance, (2) a struggle for acceptance, and (3) self-acceptance and assertion.

**Stage One: Awareness of Differentness and Dissonance**

The first stage defined by Kich (1992) is the biracial child's awareness of differentness and dissonance. According to Kich (1992), the biracial identity development process begins between the ages of three and ten. This process is initiated with an awareness of their "differentness," the initial realization that they are "different" than others, even from their parents. "Dissonance" refers to the internal and external negative judgments about those revealed differences (p. 306). According to Kich (1992), the parent's awareness of the differentness and dissonance the child is experiencing is
essential to the biracial identity developmental process. It is through the parent’s honest negotiation of their partnership that allows the comfort and support the child needs in order to initiate open conversations about their own unique racial composition. As defined by Kich, the differences and dissonance stage is an integral stage in the development process of biracial children.

The purpose of this project is to explicitly state the distinctions and similarities between the lived experiences of biracial people and the mono-racial identity developmental process of the White Black woman. The biracial child is a unique mixture of both parents (Douglas & Douglas, 2003). This issue raises unique concerns for the biracial child’s parents whom typically need to address issues of racial negotiation before the child is old enough to question it herself/himself. For an example of this negotiation process, consider the work of Cauce et. al. (1992). They wrote about the advanced awareness of identity development for “the parents of biracial children,” who have to “come to terms with their own interracial differences and the reactions of society” (pp. 212-213). For the parents of the White Black child the parents do not have to negotiate the issue of looking different. However, they have other socially constructed issues to consider (Jeffries, 2002). With regards to their relationship, the parents of a White Black child do not have to come to terms with the same negative world views. Indeed socially their relationship is not seen as different; their child is not a combination of two cultures. Rather, their child is a unique product of one culture which the world views as different.

For a White Black child, the explanation of being different is not simply defined as being a combination of both parents. The White Black child may, in fact, have a similar skin tone to one or both parents. Accordingly, they may not fit into the social
norms of their inherent racial category. For the White Black child the recognition of
differentness comes when others in society attempt to redefine their race. And when they
attempt to report the information to their parents they are told by parents that without a
doubt they are indeed Black (Jeffries, 2002). In this situation the White Black child may
sense feelings of difference. Closer investigation may reveal that stage one for the White
Black child is negotiated from a slightly different social context or perspective than that
of the biracial child (Jeffries, 2002).

**Stage Two: Struggle for Acceptance**

The phrase Kich uses to explain the next stage of the identity development model
is the struggle for acceptance—a time when “the biracial child questions their identity”
(Kich, 1992, p. 309). The struggle for acceptance is “a manifestation of the inward
questioning and comparing themselves to others” and the outward questioning and
comparison to others (p. 309). According to Kich (1992) and Horowitz (1939), this
typically occurs when children go off to school or the community, a time when they leave
the comfort and protection of the parents and must learn to negotiate their own identity.
Kich (1992) noted that this is when biracial children are confronted with the “what are
you?” question. They must confront the discomfort of being different and also must deal
with the discomfort and complexity of negotiating a sense of communicating disloyalty to
the heritage one or both of their parents. Kich explains that typically the biracial child
answers the question of racial identification by declaring an “interracial label because
their parents gave it to them” (p. 310).
For the purpose of this study, consider how this stage is negotiated by the White Black child. When the White Black child first becomes aware of their uniqueness they typically begin to be outwardly compared or questioned by their peers or other members of their own race. They, in turn, are called upon to justify or at least explain the societal confusion that comes with their existence (Jeffries, 2002). They are forced to define, explain, and teach others who may question the truth of their heritage (Jeffries, 2002). Also, similar to the biracial child, the White Black child must confront the discomfort of being different according to societal perceptions and must deal with the discomfort of the social stigma associated with their race (Jeffries, 2002; Kich, 1992). During the end of this stage the biracial children begins to “slowly understand their personal feelings of identity” and starts to find comfort in the qualities that create their unique identity socially (Kich, 1992, p. 314). I offer that at the end of this stage the White Black child also beings to embrace the role of racial educator.

Stage Three: Self-Acceptance and Assertion of an Interracial Identity

Once the issues of racial identity differences have been explored, and the struggle with the issue has been addressed, the individual develops “self-acceptance (stage three)” (Kich, 1992, p. 310). For the biracial child this typically occurs after high school (Kich, 1992, p. 310). This indeed is the pinnacle of biracial identity development, yet “not every biracial child is able to fully achieve this level of awareness” (Kich, 1992, p. 314). This stage is articulated to others when the biracial child is able to “create congruent self-definitions rather than be determined by others’ definitions and stereotypes (Kich, 1992, p. 314). This level of awareness is the major achievement of a biracial and bicultural
identity. During this stage the biracial child will develop dialogues with immediate and extended family members; this is done in an attempt to understand a variety of standpoints and identities. The biracial child’s self-acceptance is also demonstrated in their acute awareness of “when to fit in and downplay racial differences” and “when to expose or confront distortions about differences” (Kich, 1992, p. 315). Kich posits that this awareness is done as “a conscious self-protective task for the biracial person” (Kich, 1992, p. 315).

Kich offers an interesting perspective on passing as part of this last stage of his biracial identity development model. Kich explains “passing” in stage three as having a more positive connotation; this is in contrast to the negative socio-political connotation of passing as a form of racial denial (Gilroy, 2000; Tatum, 1997). In Kich’s stage three, the notion of passing is used to explain the unique ability biracial people have “to move safely within differences, and the acknowledgment of different groups; languages and secrets, the ability to have an even larger field in which to expand self-acceptance” (Kich, 1992, p. 316). Passing becomes more a way of negotiating the differences “within rigid and limiting expectations,” found in societal stereotypes and cultural expectancies. For the biracial person, “passing becomes a temporary process to handle social confusion and a way to explore the limitations associated with race and identity” (Kich, 1992, p. 316).

For the White Black child, passing has different connotations. To understand this point more clearly consider the historical implications of passing for the Black person who looks White (Russell et al, 1993). In the African American community the concept of passing is not typically viewed as positive (Russell et al., 1993). For African Americans passing signifies a shunning of their African origins. Light skin Black people
are unique in that they have the ability/chose to convincingly deny their African heritage and assume a new less restrictive heritage. The White Black however, is one who embraces their heritage and helps to alter the perceptions of those who only see Blacks as having a dark skin tone (Gilroy, 2000). The White Black person typically serves as liaison and answers questions about the African American community asked by Whites who are intimidated by darker skin tones (Jeffries, 2002). Therefore, the White Black person settles into the role educator, seen as a living laboratory for those who are interested, curious and willing to learn (Jeffries, 2002). Because of the racial nature of these questions it is important the White Black person achieve stage 3 of their development. Differing from the biracial person, the final stage of self-acceptance is a necessary stage of development for the White Black person. It is intrinsically linked to their social role as cultural educator. For the White Black person the necessity of mastering this stage of identity development is more a reactive process than a proactive process because society demands this level of self awareness from the White Black person.

Co-Cultural Communication Theory

Kich’s identity development model offers conceptual insight into understanding how a person’s intrapersonal identity process is negotiated. But, how is identity revealed through our interpersonal communication? Deconstructing the intrapersonal interpersonal identity dialogue and negotiation of any individual is a difficult task because of the inherent cyclical nature of the identity process itself. However, deconstructing the negotiation process of the White Black person offers a greater challenge. More so
because of the interwoven challenges of exploring the negotiation of an individual who is often socially assumed to be a member of the dominant group yet, internally identifies as co-cultural group member or "Other" in many social circumstances. To aid in the challenge of deconstructing the identity development negotiation process of a White Black woman, this study will draw from the theoretical framework offered by the co-cultural communication theory, specifically relying on the co-cultural communication practices. The goal is to extend existing theory by exploring the communicative dimensions posited by Orbe (1998c) which focus on co-cultural practices, approaches, and strategic outcomes of a White Black woman.

The co-cultural communication theory is uniquely positioned in the field of communication to address issues by exploring the interplay of co-cultural dimensions "co-cultural oppression"—defined in this study as the inadvertent societal placement of a co-cultural group member into a position of perceived privilege via erroneous racial identification (Orbe, 1998c, p. 136). Many of our socially accepted norms are overtly centered on simple racial identification (Reed, 2003). Misinterpretation of ones race can influence and confuse the collective consciousness, thereby distorting the realities of racial stereotypes (Appiah & Gutmann, 1996). Additionally, to avoid the slippery slope of racial and gender stereotyping co-cultural communication theory rejects the phrasing of White or Black/majority and minority as a description of group membership (Orbe, 1998c), instead opting for more specific terminology which specifically addresses issues of social power dynamics. Therefore dominant group members are those in the contextual majority (or those with the greater socially negotiated power). Co-cultural group members are those individuals who feel as if they are in positions of less contextual
power or those in the minority. As we make the transition from Kich’s (1992) biracial identity developmental process to the co-cultural communication theory, one key distinction needs to be highlighted. Contrary to societal assumptions dominant group membership is not determined by one’s racial identification or gender, rather it is positioned to also include the social context. Before this school of thought was introduced researchers often made the assumption that the social power was central to one’s racial or gender identification only (Horowitz, 1939). Rather the social positioning of power is centered on the mutual negotiation of power by both dominant and nondominant group members (Ardener, 1975; Buzzanell, 1994; Orbe, 1998c).

Co-cultural communication theory addresses the issues of nondominant group member communication by asking, how does a member of the nondominant group communicate? What motivates them to say what—when—and where—they say the things they say? (Orbe, 1998a). Co-cultural communication theory specifically looks at the communication practices of non-dominant group members. This theory recognizes and explores the contextual uniqueness of various situations many co-cultural group members find themselves in when communicating with members of the dominant group.

This theory offers a context in which to explore not only the words spoken, but the co-cultural context in which those words originate as well. This situates the discourse, not as an abnormal communication practice of a marginalized individual, but rather as a conscious, communication tactic of an individual attempting to communicate from one’s own standpoint (Ardener, 1975; Buzzanell, 1994; Orbe, 1998c).

Co-cultural communication theory is rooted in two theories, the first being the muted group theory developed by Edwin and Shirley Ardener in the late 1970s, and
second, the standpoint theory developed by Hartsock (1983, 2003) and Smith (1987) in the 1980s.

Muted group theory began the exploration of communication negotiation from a sub-dominant group member’s perspective. Ardener (1975) acknowledges that “dominant model—male systems perceptions—may impede the free expression of alternative models of the world which subdominant groups may possess” (p. 6). The muted or co-cultural group members’ experiences are not recognized as factors in “normal” or dominant communication process (Orbe, 1998c). Specifically, not acknowledging sub-dominant group members perspectives “renders marginalized group members muted” because their experiences are not fully “represented” or recognized in the “dominant structure” (Orbe, 1998c, p. 4).

Additionally the standpoint theory brings an important dynamic to the co-cultural communication theory by being one of the first theories to recognize the saliency of a person’s “field of experience” to their daily communication experiences (Orbe, 1998c, p. 5). The recognition of a various fields of experience is the focus of the standpoint theory, best said by Buzzanell (1994) when she wrote, “the goal is to value the role of the subjective individual experience as a source of knowledge” while acknowledging the commonalities of group membership (p. 363). Hartsock (1983, 2003), contributes to the understanding of the standpoint theory by explaining that, a standpoint is the manifestation of specific societal positioning and experiences. This position serves as an experiential lens from which the subject interacts with society. This interaction is a significant communicative component, because it centralizes “Other” communication
strategies. The co-cultural communication theory is another theory positioned to investigate the communicative strategies of those once muted group members.

**Overview and Key Components of the Co-Cultural Communication Theory**

Because of their position as “Other” in society co-cultural group members are typically socially monitoring and adjusting their communication practices in an attempt to communicate their agenda to dominant group members (Miura, 2000; Orbe, 1998c). The desired communication goals of co-cultural group members are the attempt to achieve effective communication when communicating with dominant group members. This is done by assimilation, accommodation or separation (co-cultural preferred outcomes)—terms to be discussed later in this section (Orbe, 1998c).

With muted group theory and the standpoint theory as theoretical reference points, Orbe (1998c) conducted his research. After conducting in-depth phenomenological dialogues with 89 co-researchers, he identified 26 common tactics which he labels co-cultural communication practices. These practices are used by co-cultural group members as strategies for effective communication with dominant group members. Outcome and approach are important but are only two aspects which influence co-cultural communication theory practice selection. Additionally, when a nondominant group member desires to effectively communicate with members of the dominant group they rely on five other intertwined aspects known as “influential factors, abilities, situational context, perceived costs and rewards and their own field of experience” (Orbe 1998c, pp. 89-101). Those other factors will not be discussed in this paper but contribute to practice selection and overall outcome and approach of co-cultural communication (Orbe, 1998c).
The fundamental premise of the co-cultural communication theory is that co-cultural group members are constantly striving for effective communication by adapting their communication approach to the assumed norms of the dominant group. Co-cultural communication approach is therefore another important influencing factor to this theory, as approach explains the delivery of the message. Recognizing the three categories of co-cultural communication theory approach; nonassertive, assertive, aggressive (to be discussed in greater detail later in this section).

**Outcomes**

According to Orbe (1998c), the co-cultural group member approaches a communication situation with the dominant culture group members by, consciously or unconsciously, asking themselves “what communicative behavior will lead me to a preferred outcome in this situation?” (p. 89). Orbe (1998c) found that various communication practices lead to three primary preferred outcomes.

The first of the desired outcomes to be discussed is the notion of assimilation, trying to fit in with the dominant group conforming. Assimilation can also be seen as an attempt by the co-cultural group member to minimize those qualities that set them apart from the crowd. They may feel that while communicating with the dominant culture it is best to try and act or communicate the same as the dominant culture is acting and communicating, as to not draw attention to their differences. Another influential factor that was revealed by Orbe’s (Orbe, 1998a, 1998b, 1998c) research with his co-researchers is the outcome he labeled as accommodation. “Accommodation is the development of appreciation, interdependence, and communicative skills to effectively
work with people from other cultures.” (Orbe, 1998c, p. 91) In other words, accommodation takes on a more utopian perspective in its definition. It looks to incorporate the unique qualities of each cultural influence, working toward a more culturally inclusive and accepting communicative exchange. The last outcome presented is the notion of separation. This is a complete departure from any attempt to communicate with members of the dominant culture particularly with those who the co-cultural group member has deemed as incompatible to their communicative needs. With separation the co-cultural group member rejects the premise of “forming a common bond with dominant group members, and seeks a separate identity” independent of dominant group member cultural influences (Orbe, 1998b, p. 10).

**Approaches**

Once the desired outcome is consciously or unconsciously established a selected practice is verbally or nonverbally delivered (Orbe, 1998c). In the co-cultural communication theory this delivery is defined as the communication approach (Orbe, 1998b). Again there are three options the co-cultural group member can select when considering how to approach communicative situations. First is the idea of the nonassertive approach (Orbe, 1998b). Nonassertive is non-confrontational, this is when the co-cultural group member puts the needs of others in the dominant group first. Co-cultural group members who use this approach have chosen to adapt their communication style to appear more passive during the interpersonal exchange; this is done in an attempt to remain approachable and non-threatening to dominant group members (Orbe, 1998b). The assertive approach is both self-enhancing and does not violate the rights of others
(Orbe, 1998b). The aim is to balance the needs of the co-cultural group member with the needs of the dominant group member (Orbe, 1998c). The last approach is known as aggressive, an approach that is typically used by the co-cultural group member as a last resort when the other approaches have failed (Orbe, 1998b). The aggressive approach to communication is when self needs are emphasized. In other words, the co-cultural group member who uses this approach is no longer concerned with protecting the feelings of the dominant group member (Orbe, 1998c).

**Practices**

Once preferred outcome is desired and approach is delivered the result is what Orbe (1998c) defined as co-cultural communication practices. As previously mentioned, having completed phenomenological dialogues with 89 co-researchers Orbe (1998c) identified 26 co-cultural communication practices (see Appendix D). These practices are thematic representations of the expressed conversations each co-researcher had with members of the dominant group. The 26 practices are listed, however Orbe acknowledges that the list is not exhaustive. Because practices are the overtly expressed tactics of effective communication they are central to this study. Essentially practices are the “manifestation of the seven influential factors and can reveal much about the perceived intrapersonal dialogue of a co-cultural group member” (Orbe, 1998c, pp. 86-87).

Practices are not just determined by key words, they are more holistic and inclusive. For example the practice of educating others, this is when the educator places them self as the spokesperson for co-cultural group members. They accept the role as liaison and feel as though they are representing co-cultural group members when communicating with
dominant group members (Orbe, 1998b). They are expressing a manifestation of the preferred outcome (accommodation) and the approach (assertive) every practice and its corresponding approach and outcome work together to create, co-cultural communication orientations. Although not central to this study, orientations are defined as a “communication stance assumed through the conscious and unconscious processes of assessing—electing—implementing—and—evaluating communication behavior” (Orbe, 1998c, p. 108). Additionally, co-cultural communication theory does not assign meaning to the practices used. Further, this study suggests considering alternative meanings as to why we communicate the way we do, who is the perceived oppressed and oppressor and what happens when assumptions are disproved?

Summary and Research Questions

This section explained the historical factors which influenced the biological and sociological creation of a White Black woman, and introduced the theoretical frameworks to be used in this study. This study seeks further academic evidence that bi-racial identity development as defined by Kich (1992) can be adapted to the identity development of a White Black woman (see Jeffries, 2002). As previously mentioned the source of this analysis is the autobiographical book written by Scales-Trent Notes of a White Black woman (1992).

If it is determined that the stage of identity development of a White Black woman is similar to the stages of bi-racial identity development, the study will continue too explore Scales-Trent’s expressed interpersonal communication by pairing the revealed identity stage with the expressed co-cultural communicative practice. The intent is to
reveal a pattern of communicating identity for the White Black woman. The underlying implication of this study is to begin to investigate the notion of internal cognitive identity development and overtly expressed vocalizations of identity (i.e., Can White Black identity development be studied via co-cultural communication practices?).

As such, two research questions are posed:

**RQ1:** Is the identity developmental process of a biracial person, as revealed by Kich's (1992) biracial identity development model, similar to that of the identity negotiation of Scales-Trent's autobiographical reflections in *Notes of a White Black woman*?

**RQ2:** If White Black identity is similar to bi-racial identity, will using both Kich's biracial identity model and the co-cultural communication theory reveal that certain communication practices are most prevalent at particular stages of identity development?
CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGY

Chapter Two of this study identified the historical and theoretical background needed to understand the significance of this study. One such significance is the expansion to current theoretical models by interpreting them from a new perspective. This chapter helps to structure the qualitative data for interpretation by using the methodological tool of qualitative content analysis.

As an African American woman with White skin researching the lived experiences of another African American woman with White skin, the epistemological stance for this study is interpretivism (Spencer, Richie & O’Connor, 2003). The methodological strength of this study is the employment of qualitative content analysis to explore a population of the United States that is very difficult to study. The reason being, not only does the White Black woman look similar to the dominant culture, but she must identify (Black) and as a co-cultural group member. By exploring the autobiographical work of Judy Scales-Trent (1995) and linking co-cultural communication practices and orientations with Kich’s biracial identity development model (1992), this study is positioned to begin exploring this rarely examined area of racialized intrapersonal and interpersonal communication. Equally important to identity development analysis is the exploration of the construction or negotiation of one’s co-cultural reality from their own perspective (context). Qualitative content analysis offers the methodological structure
needed to explore the communicative process that informs Judy Scales-Trent’s reality as a White Black woman.

Qualitative Content Analysis Explained

The qualitative aim of this study is to uncover meaning contained in the text offered by Scales-Trent (1995). According to the work of Berdayes and Berdayes (1998), Kreps (1994) and Waitzkin, Britt, and Williams (1995), qualitative content analysis seeks to focus on themes as they are revealed in the selected text. Specifically qualitative content analysis is a method in which “both the content and context of documents are analyzed: themes are identified, with the researcher focusing on the way the theme is presented and the frequency of its occurrence” (Spencer, Ritchie & O’Connor, 2003 p. 200). This school of thought is important to the study because of the contextual allowances built into the method. The method of qualitative content analysis allows for the holistic exploration of the intrapersonal and interpersonal identity negotiation process of a White Black person. Analyzing the context with the content offers a holistic situating of the discourse, thus providing academic access to once muted voices and rarely explored communicative processes. Another distinguishing feature of qualitative content analysis is that it allows the researcher to “capture and interpret common sense, substantive meaning in the data” (Spencer, Ritchie & O’Connor, 2003, p. 202).

Based on the explanation of qualitative content analysis, this analysis seeks to qualitatively reveal “meanings associated with messages” and apply those meanings to the biracial identity model and co-cultural theory (Frey, Botan, & Kreps, 2000, p. 237). Specifically, this study is a qualitative content analysis of a text which represents a
section of our society that has been marginalized, the lived experiences of a White Black woman.

Description of the Text

I understand, in a very profound way, that in order for me to exist I must transgress boundaries. I think this makes people profoundly uncomfortable. Categories make the world appear understandable and safe. Nonetheless, in this essay I ask you to experience my vision of the world – a world where the categories do not clarify, but only confuse, a world where one must question the very existence of those categories in order to survive. (Scales-Trent 1995, p. 12)

Through insightful and forthright short essays composed of journal entries that are both reflective of past thoughts and current events, Scales-Trent’s (1995) 184-page book explores her identity negotiation process. Scales-Trent’s words artfully reveal the confusion inherent to “living life on the margins of race” (p. 7).

Scales-Trent (1995) lays out a foundation which supports the need of understanding and racial acceptance by all U.S. citizens, both White and Black alike. By exposing her personal struggle with being viewed as a White person, Scales-Trent offers a rich source of material for this qualitative content analysis. More specifically, this book is not just about her life as a Black woman with light skin. Rather, it’s about how she interacts with society while living her life as a White Black woman, and how she negotiates the perceptual inconsistencies that arise.
The text presented for qualitative content analysis is a collection of her work written over a span of some twenty years. Beginning in 1979, Scales-Trent began to document her inner thoughts and outward encounters as she negotiated her identity as a White Black woman. Her book is divided into something that represents quarters signifying stages of awareness or growth. The first quarter of this book is a collection of ten short journal entries which are woven into an essay titled *Commonalities: On being Black and White, different, and the same*. This section offers wonderful insight into the complexities of her life experiences and captures the process of questioning and resolving various identity issues that arise in the everyday existence of a White Black woman. After her first essay was published, she continued to write about having the freedom to explore more issues dealing with race and color in the U.S. and offers another set of essays to explore these topics. These essays are written from her own lived experiences and those of her family members; stories that were inherited by her in the form of family narratives. Her next set of essays are titled only by various chapter heading and specifically address the issue of race in the U.S. While still incorporating her own observations and feelings Scales-Trent takes a more scholarly approach to the exploration process in these essays. And finally, the last essay describes a racial utopia which she defines as “a dream of community” (Scales-Trent, 1995, p. 9).

Managing the Text for This Analysis

The selection of Scales-Trent’s (1995) work was in part due to the honest and concise presentation of her essays. Additionally, the text is exemplary in its descriptive nature revealing the tensions that exists in the identity negotiation of self identifying as an
African American with light skin in the U.S. (Funderburg, 1994; Jeffries, 2002). It also offers an intergenerational perspective of this anomaly by sharing the spoken words of her mother and father who faced similar identity issues. True to African American cultural norms, Scales-Trent (1995) shares family stories that also demonstrate the complexities of identity negotiation for those who do not fit into society’s stereotypical perception of a Black person (James, 2000).

**Defining the Themes and Concepts to be Used for This Analysis**

Thematizing requires a mixture of systematic searching and creativity (Richie et al., 2003). After having read the book once, I began the process of identifying possible themes related to identity development and negotiation within the text. This study used hierarchy presentation of the data which is an adaptation of the analysis framework developed by Richie and Spence (1994). Hierarchical presentation of the data “allows the analyst to move back and forth between different levels of abstraction without losing sight of the ‘raw’ data” (Richie et al., 2003, p. 220). There is no need to redefine the themes used for this analysis because the theoretical frameworks used to anchor this project have already established complete definitions of their fundamental components. It was the aim of this study to situate the text within those theoretical frameworks. Therefore Tables 1 & 2 (see Appendix A) were used for the purpose of organization. By concisely displaying the thought process used to determine the identity developmental stages or co-cultural practices presented in the text,...these tables offer clarity and insight into researcher interpretation (See Appendix A). Part of this organizational tool included a summary of the key components defined in Kich’s (1992) stages of biracial identity
development model (Appendix A, Table 1). For easy readability the twenty six co-cultural communication practices are offered within the same chart (Appendix A, Table 2). Additionally these two charts offer a thematic grounding to insure consistency throughout the analytic process.

Analyzing the Text

Beginning the analysis process offers a challenge for scholars in the communication field because as Spencer, et al., (2003) proclaim, “unlike quantitative analysis there are no clearly unified and agreed upon rules for procedures for analyzing qualitative data” (p. 200). However the hierarchical presentation of data helps to alleviate that problem somewhat. As previously mentioned the goal of this analysis is to begin the process of deconstructing the identity development, co-cultural communication practices and orientations of the text. To do so this analysis begins by first locating passages within the text that represent the identity developmental or negotiation process; a chart was created in a Microsoft windows program to organize the data for this study (See Appendix B). Passages from Scales-Trent’s (1995) book were entered into an analytical chart as raw data (Table 1, column A). When necessary in order to contextualize the concepts presented, selected parts of the passage were underlined but primarily left unedited in this column. Please note the passages were left as full as possible to include as much character description as possible, however in some instances the text did not include the assumed race of conversation participants and instead focused on their words or actions. Once the passage was entered, the raw data was ready for further deconstructing. A key word, words or themes were isolated and identified, underlined
when necessary. These word(s) or themes were then used to summarize the passage (Columns B of Table 1 and Column D of Table 2). The key word(s) and themes entered into column B & D represented a stage of identity development as revealed by Kich (1992) (Column B) or a co-cultural practice (Column D). The stage of identity development was identified for that analyzed passage (Column C). Because of the cyclical nature of Kich's (1992) biracial identity model and in an effort to preserve space, if the selected passage represents two stages of Kich's biracial identity development model, it was categorized as a transition ('T') in column C. In this instance both stages were identified and explained. The raw data (columns A and B) were not presented twice unless warranted for the purpose of clarity.

In keeping with the hierarchical presentation of data structure defined in the previous section, the raw data will not be presented again. However, to analyze the co-cultural communication practices the key words entered into column D were used to show the various co-cultural communication practices used by Scales-Trent (Appendix B, Table 2). The co-cultural communication practices were then deconstructed further in Column E. Staying as true to the raw data as possible it was necessary to consider the passage from various perspectives. Occasionally a second or third analysis of the same passage resulted in the selection of a different/alternative co-cultural communicative practice. Therefore, based on my interpretation of the data having read the full text, to indicate the practice which was most likely used by Sales-Trent in the passages when one or more co-cultural practices were identified, the primary practices were identified with a (P) in column E. Once the practices were revealed, the co-cultural approaches, outcomes were determined and therefore orientations were assigned (Table 2, column F).
Recognizing the notion of intrapersonal identity development does not always manifest in an interpersonal exchange or communicated practice, there will not always be a direct link from columns C to E. Those passages having a covertly expressed co-cultural communication practice, and identified as an example of biracial identity development, are labeled and further charted in Appendix C. Appendix C is included in order to simplify the identification of those interpersonally communicated co-cultural communication practices (Appendix C, Table 1). The final phase of the analysis (column F) is offered simply as a display. It is simply done to offer a foundation for future studies, and to offer tangible evidence for the further development of loosely structured qualitative interview questions or focus groups.

In summary, the significance of this theoretical investigation has already been declared. In addition the methodology also makes significant contributions to this study. This methodology allows social scientific access to a phenomenon once seen as inaccessible. By allowing themetization to be hierarchically charted, the researcher can demonstrate the "common sense" sequence of themetization thereby allowing for further qualitative inquiry and eventually quantitative investigation.
CHAPTER IV

ANALYTIC RESULTS

Chapters One, Two and Three presented a rational and literature review and explained the methodological course of this study by carefully explaining the process of exploring the phenomenon of White Black identity negotiation.

As a social scientist I know that identity development is not an easily defined variable via quantitative methods. Further exploration of White Black identity is academically nonexistent. Therefore the process of writing the results of this study, and linking the finds to previous findings (see Jeffries, 2002), helps to present an academic bases for future social scientific inquiry of this phenomenon. Now with the terms being qualitatively defined, the natural succession of social scientific inquiry may continue. Therefore Chapter 4 will present and discuss the analytic results of this qualitative content analysis simultaneously.

As earlier stated, Scales-Trent’s (1995) text was used to contextualize the intrapersonal dialogue (identity development) and interpersonal negotiation (co-cultural communication practice enactment) process, of a White Black woman. Scales-Trent’s definition of a White Black person is one whose parents obey/obeyed the socio-political rules of our country and has categorized themselves and their child as Black although they have a white skin tone. In short, though they may recognize the presence of European ancestry historically, society has not permitted them the right to claim European ancestry as their race (Akbar, 1984). True there are similarities in the physical
characteristics of the White Black person and White people. However this qualitative content analysis will also reveal differences unique to the White Black experience.

The following section will serve to showcase the uniqueness of the White Black phenomenon. By first deconstructing Kich’s biracial model and offering a White Black interpretation of the three original stages of biracial identity development, (RQ1) and by introducing a fourth stage of White Black identity negotiation. The second part of this section will offer various interpretations of White Black co-cultural communication practice enactment, (RQ 2) and will showcase passages which represent the uniqueness of communicating as a co-cultural group member while representing the dominant culture.

**White Black Applications of Kich’s (1992) Biracial Identity Development Model**

Kich defines the biracial person as one who represents two different races/cultures a definition similar to the lived experiences of a White Black woman. Similar to biracial persons, the White Black woman identity negotiation process begins at the intrapersonal dialogic level which for this study, is framed in Kich’s biracial identity developmental model (1992): (1) differentness and dissonance, (2) a struggle for acceptance, and (3) self-acceptance and assertion.

As previously described Kich’s definitions and co-cultural communication practices were presented for this qualitative content analysis. The themes used to guide the process offered by Kich and Orbe were identified in Chapter 2. When passages in the text met the thematic criteria of representing either an identity stage or a co-cultural communication practice established in Chapter 2 of this study they were displayed as full
passages (Appendix B Table 1). The raw qualitative data/passages were then ready for further exploration.

The first analytic reading of Scales-Trent’s text resulted in an initial identification of 127 passages with potential for analytic exploration. A second reading of the text narrowed the number of the total passages to 94 –those passages having characteristics representative of a stage of Kich’s (1992) model, and/or a co-cultural communication practice. The 94 passages which showed characteristics of either a identity stage or co-cultural practice were then used for further deconstruction resulting in 186 White Black interpretive applications of a stage or a practice.

Making a Case for White Black Identity Exploration

Is the identity developmental process of a biracial person, similar to that of the identity negotiation of a Scales-Trent (a White Black woman)? Passage number 52 of Appendix B Table 1 is exemplary of the answer in regards to biracial/White Black similarities. In this passage Scales-Trent (1995) explained how she viewed her role as a White Black woman in the U. S. “I am torn by my understanding of both truths...It is holding both these truths in my hand at the same time that is so difficult—and so important” (p. 65).

Just as the biracial person must learn to identify with both cultures, so must the White Black woman. She must learn to make peace with both her white exterior and her Black interior. The inner dialogue of the White Black person was similar to that of the biracial person; both must adapt and grow comfortable with their racial makeup, while learning to negotiate the dichotomy of two different and distinct cultures. Consequently,
the answer to RQ1 can be answered in the affirmative. White Black identity negotiation experience is similar to the biracial experience and therefore can be explored via biracial identity developmental model. With the initial RQ1 answered, the analysis process went further into revealing the similarities and differences of White Black identity negotiation, starting with stage 1 of Kich’s model.

**White Black Applications of Stage One**

Determining the differentness and dissonance of a White Black woman posed unique challenges. Throughout the text, Scales-Trent declares her allegiance to her Black identity, therefore by definition, she is monoracial. However because I chose qualitative content analysis as a method I was able to adapt Kich’s definition to words and themes revealed in the text using common sense assumptions (Spencer, Richie, & O’Connor, 2003). I specifically looked for key issues which highlight the tension/dissonance experienced by Scales-Trent as she lived life as a Black woman with White skin, not claiming European ancestry.

From the onset, passages indicating stage one of her identity developmental process were not readily abundant. One possible consideration for the lack of evidence at this stage may be that the book is written while she is negotiating stage 3. In other words, her identity developmental process had evolved beyond stage 1, to the point that any minor differentness or dissonance she felt was identified in the text as a struggle for acceptance (stage 2) in the text. Another explanation may be that the dissonance of stage 1 may not be as blatantly obvious to the White Black child (more on that later in this section).
Eleven passages were isolated as representations of stage one of Kich’s model differentness and dissonance (see, for example, passages 10, 21, 30, 31, 38, 58, & 67 of Table 2). Of the eleven, passage number 10 represents a good example of a young Scales-Trent’s struggle to negotiate her White Black identity (the others will be discussed later in this section). In passage 10, Scales-Trent is questioning her mother as to which water fountain she is to drink from. This passage is evidence of stage 1 surfacing when the White Black child is exposed to the social rules of race. It is not an example of the child recognizing differences between them (the child) and their parents as expressed in Kich’s model. It is this difference that allowed the common sense adaptation of stage 1 of Kich’s model. This adaptation is what I feel is the genuine White Black experience as demonstrated by Scales-Trent (1995) and Jeffries (2002). Differentness and dissonance represents a negotiation of differences in physical characteristics between parents and children and/or noticing an inequality between the races in society and feeling a sense of estrangement.

Kich (1992) is clear in his definition of the biracial child regarding physical characteristics, the biracial child is a unique representation of both parent’s cultures. This notion is skewed when it is viewed from the White Black perspective. Typically, when considering characteristics such as skin tone the White Black child typically looks the same as both of their parents, and extended family members, there are no distinguishing characteristic that blatantly separates them from either parent to initiate the dissonance process needed for stage one (Scales-Trent, 1995). Kich’s model explains that the primary role of the parents during this stage is empathetic support. He explains that the monoracial parents of a biracial child cannot fully comprehend the child’s dilemma as
their lived experiences do not allow for full sympathy to occur because they themselves are not biracial. However, this analysis focuses on the White Black child, and consequently, the role of the parents must be redefined. Scales-Trent’s parents did what many parents of Black children do. That is they prepared her for negotiating issues of race in society before she had become fully immersed (Cross, 1991). This is done as a way to prepare and protect the Black child for the harshness of the reality of race and racial differences. Further because child rearing in the Black community is seen as the responsibility of many —extended family, church, community members (Hecht, Collier, Ribeau, 2003)—I made another common sense assumption (Spencer, Ritchie, O’Connor, 2003) by including in my analysis those passages which show Scales-Trent’s full dissonance and difference process, via family stories. This was done by including passages written by Scales-Trent about similar lessons of identity negotiation that she learned from her parents and extended family members. Unlike parents of the biracial child Scales-Trent’s parents had experiential empathy to the identity negotiation process of a White Black child. They were able to prepare their child for the upcoming barrage of questions she would receive later in life (for example see section on co-culture in this chapter and passages 10, 31, & 38). They knew first hand of similar experiences, and offered the young Scales-Trent quips and stories of their experiences preparing her for future encounters.

So now the question becomes, how did Scales-Trent’s parents prepare their White Black child for the inevitable questions of racial identification once their child was exposed to members of society unfamiliar with this phenomenon? Before Scales-Trent’s physical uniqueness triggered social dissonance, her parents began educating their child
via their past lived experiences. This was done by telling family narratives (James, 2000). Scales-Trent’s parents taught their White Black child how to negotiate the socio-political implications embedded in her skin tone, eye color, hair texture and blood lines.

Of the 11 passages identified as stage one, 4 passages showed immediate and extended family cohesion in the messages pertaining to racial identity negotiation (see, for example, passages 21, 30, 31 & 58 of Appendix B Table 1). As she grew older Scales-Trent’s parents and extended family members offered her many examples of how to negotiate the socio-political fallout of racial ambiguity. They taught her “lessons” of elegant and direct identity negotiation (p. 39) and they prepared her to “laugh” (p.55) when the turbulence of dissonance and differentness occurs. Because of their personal experiences Scales-Trent’s parents knew that the moment of differentness realization was not only going to occur during certain ages 3-10 (Kich, 1992, p. 306) as with the biracial child. Scales-Trent’s parents understood differentness and dissonance of the White Black person occurs not only when a child but young adult as well. They were aware that dissonance for the White Black person was not triggered by difference between the child and the parent/s. Rather dissonance for the White Black child occurs later in the child’s life between the family’s identity and society (see, for example, passages 31, & 60).

White Black Interpretations of Stage Two

By definition the struggle for acceptance belongs to stage 2 but as previously mentioned for the White Black person the line between stage 1 and 2 is razor thin. As previously alluded to in the explanation of stage 1, stage 1 and stage 2 have significant overlap. This is when the White Black person is not only exposed to society but left to
negotiate in a society that assumes they have identified experienced and negotiated stage 1 already. Society assumes the White Black child has taken the time to fully understand their uniqueness and can fully explain when asked. When the White Black child self identifies as Black in society, because of their racial ambiguity and U.S. stereotypes regarding race, dissonance will occur. For Scales-Trent this dissonance was revealed in terms of a struggle for acceptance and a questioning of belonging.

Twenty-two of the 94 passages identified were found to be White Black representations of stage 2 of Kich’s (1992) identity model, a struggle for acceptance. Aside from the duo negotiation of stages 1 and 2; the text revealed that Scales-Trent’s White Black identity development struggle was similar to that of the biracial child. The questioning of self identity and comparing to others were similar and closely resembled questions of identity asked by biracial children.

Scales-Trent’s stage 2 includes passages where she is looking to dominant group members to understand, accept and embrace her declared identity without question. Similar to Kich’s biracial identity development stage 2, Scales-Trent’s identity negotiation reflects an intrapersonal and interpersonal conflict which occurs when her racial declaration is not accepted by dominant group members. It also included times when she herself was confused and/or struggled with the tension of having an ambiguous identity. Many of the passages representing Scales-Trent’s stage 2 focused on the intrapersonal dialogic conflict which occurred as a result of negotiating both her declaration of Black identity and her white physical characteristics. In many instances she demonstrates dominant group membership guilt or confusion searching for forgiveness from others for looking White yet identifying as Black. This struggle hints to the power
of social labels and the tensions felt when one dares to defy the social norms and rigidity of racial categories. A good example of this dichotomy is found in passages 16 and 17 of Appendix B, Table 1.

Passage 16 is a good example of Scales-Trent’s inner dialogue regarding the struggles of her White Black identity. In this passage she writes “There is no way around it [looking White].” This is a demonstration of her struggle with her skin tone and fitting into society. “I am passing all the time as I walk through the world”...“And I feel like a fraud. And I hate it...And I hate Black people and White people for putting me out there” (p. 17). This last sentence is most telling of the social tension she is forced to negotiate simply by existing, it does not declare one race the friend and the other at the enemy. Rather both are assigned to the dominant group and Sales-Trent is the co-cultural group member. Another passage revealing this tension is passage 18. Passages 18 demonstrates the sense of shame she feels because of her identity “I heap ashes on my head and beg for forgiveness. Sackcloth and ashes. If I am forgiven, perhaps I will be allowed back into the fold. Will someone forgive me?”(p. 17). Again the pain of not feeling a sense of belonging is evident.

However, because identity is circular and not a linear process, Scales-Trent’s quest for identity and struggle for acceptance is revisited many times in this text, via transition to and from stage 3. Passage 47 shoes this transitional process clearly. The passage is included in the chapter titled Choosing up sides. Alone the title of the chapter shows the dichotomous nature of her dual identities. In this passage Scales-Trent writes about her strong desire to fit in with the dominant group. She writes “I was fearful my disguise might not hold.” (p. 61) This speaks to the uneasiness she felt by representing
the dominant group and even interacting as an in-group member. Her "laughter" (p. 62) is an indication of her desire to fit in. However, the expressions of joy are not sincere because she in fact is a member of the out-group and admits to feeling as if she were existing as an imposter inside that group and in her mind.

Scales-Trent’s moves through stage 2 making several bold declarations. For example passage 14 demonstrates the tension felt by Scales-Trent to fit in yet remain an individual. After watching a beautiful dark-skinned dancer she wrote, “I wish my skin were that color. But that thought was immediately replaced by ‘That’s not true. I like the way I look.’ I was startled pleased.” This passage is evidence of Scales-Trent’s evolution as a White Black person. She is coming to accept both her internal and external identity. Stage 3 is revealed as a personal paradigm shift in her thinking about race. Scale-Trent no longer shoulders the brunt of society’s quandaries and now begins to reject the feeling of guilt or shame she had once accepted in stage 2. She has decided to no longer allow societies struggle to affect her person.

Applications of Stage Three

Although it seems Scales-Trent is caught in an unfair tug-of-war between races, Kich reminds us that stage 2 is an important process to enter into and exit from as we, (biracial and White Black, see Jeffries, 2002; Kich, 1992; Scales-Trent, 1995) move toward identity acceptance. Stage 2 is the process that propels us into stage 3 as we learn to understand and accept our unique racial identity. Moving toward her identity acceptance Scales-Trent writes on that pivotal moment in passage 19. “As I have moved into adulthood this year, I have come to a strong sense of my own self-worth, I have
learned to make my home within myself” (p. 19). In this passage Scales-Trent acknowledges the turbulence of stage 2 and alludes to the acceptance of identity to follow. In passage 19 she continues “my definition of myself is steady and is not shaken by the definition of others” (p. 19). This passage shows that her intrapersonal dialogue is resulting in acceptance. Scales-Trent understands that she has been uniquely positioned by her heritage and society, to call attention to greater issues of identity classification and negotiation, by giving voice to those who society sees as ‘Other.’

This new level of maturity influences a new perspective, a new way of understanding differences as seen in passage 55. This passage shows an acceptance and awareness of her identity. Again it demonstrates that she has successfully shifted the struggle to place her in a racial category from her to society. She has made the decision to stay secure in her identity and is now allowing others to experience the dissonance instead. Evidence of this decision is when she wrote “I am not shaken by the definition of others,” at this point she has decided to stop questioning her identity and allow others to question their stereotypes of race instead (p. 74). This passage shows her intrapersonal dialogue transitioning and resulting in acceptance. Additionally she demonstrates a confidence in her identity declaration when others try to tilt her from one side to the other. “I let him know that I was Black,” he replied “no, you’re not.” I said, “You are wrong. I am Black” (pp.73-74). Her tenacity to not be swayed away from her identity declaration is clear. This is an indication that the struggle has subsided and acceptance has begun to occur. This is not to say that Scales-Trent does not experience dissonance, or struggle anymore; the struggles still occur, however, they are placed in a different context and negotiated differently.
A total of 39, with 20 transitional passages, were identified as White Black illustrations of stage 3 (self-acceptance & assertion of identity). Scales-Trent illustrates this stage as written realizations of the socio-political complexities of her White Black identity. During stage 3 Scales-Trent demonstrates an ability to effectively handle the socio-political inquiries of race, as well as negotiate the cultural divide between White and Black. She does this by effectively adapting her communication skills to function in both cultures—two seemingly opposing cultures (see Akbar, 1984; Reed, 2003).

Society understands the identity declaration of a biracial person, our society has accepted their existence, and they are allowed to challenge some societal stereotypes of racial categories. However, no such allowances are given to the White Black person. The White Black person is defying social norms by declaring Black identity. When faced with the question of race, White Black people must demonstrate and negotiate the situation using communication practices established by the dominant culture. A good example of this political understanding is seen in passage 33 when she negotiates with her boss for the control over revealing her racial identification,

I have just found out that you are a Negro...So I thought I would make an announcement over the P.A...Just to avoid trouble...I calmly explained it was very unlikely that anything untoward would take place...I had years of experience handling such comments. (p. 44).

This passage does more than show how she handles the complexities of racial ambiguity. It demonstrates the social norms held in our society regarding race and exposes society's inability to handle racial ambiguity. The idea of making an announcement is over-reaching; that Scales-Trent was able to defuse the situation speaks to the communicative
adaptability and developmental process of a White Black person. Had her parents and extended families members not prepared her for this transaction and taught her to make peace with her identity this situation may have ended differently. Instead her response defused the situation which could have elevated out of control. Additionally this passage demonstrates the social norms regarding race and exposes society’s inability to handle racial ambiguity this reveals societies concerns about racial classification and societies need to accurately categorize others.

Similar to passage 33, passage 26 also demonstrates the manifestation of the notion of control as it pertains to racial declaration. In this passage Scales-Trent wrote, “The decision to publish came later: And that decision was less about publishing than it was about finding a way to speak about the unspeakable” (p. 34). This passage is significant in understanding the depth of Scales-Trent’s commitment to educate others and explain her racial situation. This passage shows her desire to reveal her thoughts and concerns about issues of race and gain a voice in the U.S. Scales-Trent’s experiences at this stage show an understanding of her unique social positioning, and the social impact she can have by broadening society’s perceptions of race by sharing her thoughts publicly. Expressing her racial concerns in this forum goes beyond that of self-acceptance; it shows a security of identity, an acceptance of social positioning (as anomaly) and an ability to communicate her racial experience.

Publishing her book allows Scales-Trent to assume the responsibilities of ambassador by communicating the need to re-structure the socio-political construction of race to include the White Black perspective. Kich explains that many biracial children are aware of their social role as ambassador, working as the liaison between cultures. Further
as ambassadors biracial children know when it’s important to co-culturally emphasize commonalities or highlight similarities and when it is important to emphasize differences. As evident in passage 41, Scales-Trent has also learned to be the liaison. Although not biracial she negotiates the role as cultural liaison just as biracial people do. At times being the liaison meant she had to be forgiving of dominant group member’s blatant reaction to her ambiguity but also recognized her role and handled the situation with poise and control (see, for example, passages 16, 41, 44, 45, 51, 72 and 91).

Passage 45 is particularly revealing of her role as liaison or ambassador. This passage explains a situation she found herself in when she was having lunch with a friend. As she and her friend were preparing to leave, a woman (–stranger) demanded to know “where she (Scales-Trent) was from.” After a long exchange Scales-Trent explained that she was Black and still the lady did not believe her. The friend then asked “if this happens all the time?” which Scales-Trent responded, “Yes.” (p. 58-59). In this passage Scales-Trent works to educate both on different levels. First she helps the stranger understand the socio-political construction of race, by explaining that she was Black and how society has positioned her as a Black person although her skin is White. This helps to broaden the stranger’s perceptions of race and racial categories. Additionally, her friend who is present during this exchange may have viewed Scales-Trent as another Black person or as just a person. Having witnessed this exchange helped to broaden her understanding of the social significance of racial labeling. Had Scales-Trent been identified as a Black woman simply by her skin tone, neither party would have had the opportunity to expand their perceptions of race and racial categorizations.
Scales-Trent’s awareness of her role as liaison can also be seen as the manifestation of both a sensitivity and an understanding of what it means to be viewed as different in our society. This greater sense of awareness or understanding as revealed in the text is the common theme found in part three of her text. Passage 72 states this understanding perfectly, “But we do blur the margins. We are more different than is acceptable. We exist in ways that confuse the categories. And categories are acceptable; a continuum is not” (p. 107). Her own understanding of categories was challenged when she saw a picture of Siamese twins in a magazine and realized their existence made her uncomfortable. In passages 73 she explains her reaction and thoughts thereafter.

Suddenly, unexpectedly, I am looking into the eyes of two sisters joined at the head. I am enraged at the magazine editors. I turn the page quickly, refusing to look at them, refusing to participate in their exploitation. Or do I simply refuse to acknowledge their existence? (p. 108)

This passage again shows a dissonance but it is ignited from her understanding of categories. Her dissonance now turns inward and it is directed at herself, challenging her own understanding those who live in the crossroads of the human race, those who are different than the norm. Scales-Trent writes about understanding herself as she never had before. She sees that she too used categories to label and identify people in an attempt to keep her world working smoothly. When an ‘Other’ came along and challenged her perceptions of what is normal she too had to adjust her categories to include this new perspective.

I suggest that this adjustment is done more easily in the minds of White Black people at advance stages of identity development. Because they know intimately the pain
of negotiation from the margins and cannot easily ignore the stereotyping of others. When faced with a new and different perspective the White Black person thinks twice before closing their eyes: Because they too have been on the receiving end of social ignorance. As a result of this discovery, I have isolated passages that fit into what I see as a fourth emerging stage of White Black identity negotiation—a new stage four of Scales-Trent’s identity developmental process.

Proposing a Stage Four: Broadening the Lens

Because Scales-Trent lives as a racial anomaly she knows intimately the social difficulties of life without a clear racial definition. She understands her role as racial ambassador. She accepts her role by introducing those who are not familiar with the White Black phenomenon to it. Just as society learns to accept racial ambiguity through Scales-Trent, she too demonstrates a broadening of her understanding of what is stereotypically seen as human and a member of the human race.

Scales-Trent uses the last section of her book as an educational tool to point out other irrational or incongruent notions of human categorization. This is what I see as a new level of White Black identity development which I have labeled broadening the lens. Scales-Trent elevates her understanding of the construction of race to a level of heightened awareness or hypersensitivity to all anomalies. Scales-Trent demonstrates an understanding that reaches beyond that of simply accepting and understanding her own race to a broader understanding of what is considered “normal.” She explains her weaknesses by offering this insight, “in a society comfortable with racial boundaries and categories, she too had become comfortable with human boundaries and categories” (p.
107). An example of this awareness can be seen in passage number 74 as she discusses her thoughts after having seen a man in the airport with no legs or arms. “I was aghast, stunned...He did not fit comfortably into my category ‘man’—‘person—even disabled person’. He was in his own category, somewhere in the margin—way out in the margin. And I was repulsed by my new understanding of myself” (p. 108).

This passage highlights the self criticism needed to cognitively advance her self awareness. Although she has broadened her understanding of human, by doing so, she has entered into dissonance again. This involves challenging her assumptions and unharmonious feelings of what it means to belong to the human race. She has been brought to a heightened level of enlightenment by personally negotiating the dissonance she is experiencing. Scales-Trent is at an advanced level of thought which challenges her once assumed definition of human. She now has to broaden her definition to include those who live at the cross-roads of the human race (i.e., elephant men, hunch backs, conjoined twins, and men in airports with no arms and legs). Her definition must now incorporate others who are considered not easily defined. This heightened level of awareness/thought is quite possibly the result of Scales-Trent’s reflections of her own struggle and acceptance process. As Scales-Trent has had years of experience living in the margins as a White Black woman, she understands fully the repercussions of human/social judgment and inquiry and the personal integrity and tenacity it takes to stay true to one definition when others are insisting there is no definition for you. Of course further exploration is needed to fully develop stage 4 (broadening the lens).

For instance, it must be determined if others share this experience and if so who? And if so does it affect their manner of communication? Do those who reach this level
come to a mature understanding/acceptance of those who naively question/demand that they redefine? Does this new stage advance the one enlightened to such a level that they accept their social assignment as advocate? Typical of a new theoretical development the questions are rapid and seem endless but the possibilities are intriguing, and will be explored in later studies.

Co-Cultural Communicated Practices of a White Black Woman

One possible way to frame/explore some of these questions is through the use of a second theory which offers a frame of reference for spoken words and actions of co-cultural group members. RQ2 sought to connect the intrapersonal identity development process with the intrapersonal communication process. Specifically, this was accomplished through searching for emergent patterns, and linking the internal development process to the expressed negotiation process. The question then becomes, can a stage of identity development be explored/revealed via co-cultural communication? Will the isolation and presentation of co-cultural communication practices expand our social understanding of “Other” identity negotiation?

To answer RQ2, I completed a second analytic reading of the original 94 passages. This second reading resulted in 74 passages possessing characteristics of one or more co-cultural communication practice(s). These identified passages were further analyzed distinguishing between explicit (vocalizations or non-verbal action scientifically measurable) and implicit (expressed and consciously shared dialogic conversation with the reader), delivery of communicated practice. Following the hierarchical analysis guidelines established by Richie et al. (2003), a total of 90 practices, which included 30
vocalized (indicated by quotations marks in the text) 15 nonverbal actions, and 45 practices shared through dialogic thought.

The primary purpose of this study was to test the exploratory process between White Black identity negotiation and co-cultural communication. Once the process was conceptualized the next objective was to identify any possible patterns between identity development stages and co-cultural communicated practices. The solution to this dilemma was more complicated. Driven by RQ2, I began this next phase by identifying passages in the text which show explicit vocalizations and nonverbal actions. After some reflection I added dialogic thought, although not a direct or explicit word or action. One could argue that the act of writing and sharing her thoughts via the text did demonstrate an action. In order to organize, and discuss the results of this phase of the analysis, I approached it from two different perspective. The first isolated passages of vocalizations, nonverbal actions and dialogic thoughts, and the second isolated passages of common practices. Since both perspectives reveal findings that are significant to this study I will explain the results of each perspective.

As previously determined, if there was a vocalization of words in the passage I looked for statements set out by quotation marks. I would label it as a spoken word, sentence, or paragraph and assigned it to the vocalization section of this analysis. The results were 30 overall incidents of vocalized co-cultural communicated practices with 23 of the 30 connected to a stage of identity development. This was significant as it was a direct answer to RQ2. Further, of the 23 practices revealed, there were 15 passages that fit into both a co-cultural practice and stage 3.
Once this initial connection was made, I did not stop. The more I analyzed and interpreted the text the more I recognized and understood the importance of the nonverbal actions as a part of White Black/co-cultural communication. Consequently, I analyzed those passages as well. The nonverbal or action passages resulted in 15 occurrences with 9 linking to an identity development stage; again, stage 3 had the most occurrences offering more promising insight into the possibilities of scientifically measuring this phenomenon.

The next logical step in the analytic process was to analyze the passages representing dialogic thought. Although not easily measured by social scientific standards, the act of writing her thoughts merited attention and added rich insight to understand this phenomenon. Forty five incidents of dialogic manifestations of co-cultural practices were revealed in the text. Thirty five of the 45 practices were tied to a stage of identity development. In addition it could be argued that the act, of writing the book is a verbal act bringing exploration of dialogic thought into the realm of the enacted, using the co-cultural communication practice of educating others, communicating self and/or (considering the context of the impetus), perhaps even confronting.

The results gleaned from the vocalization, action, and dialogic thought perspective offer insight into the future for White Black exploration by linking identity development to the spoken words or actions. But only half of RQ2 is answered when the practices are analyzed from this approach. Therefore I reorganized the results to search for more specific themes revealed by specific co-cultural practice selection. Although no blatant practice/stage pattern was seen, this new approach allowed for richer
interpretation of the practice/stage connection and offered in-depth insight into the core of White Black identity negotiation.

Finding Meaning in White Black Practice Selection

The phenomenon of the White Black woman and her identity negotiation might be intrinsically linked to her co-cultural group member status. Now consider how this co-cultural group member identity is complicated when she externally represents dominant group membership. Under this condition negotiating identity is complex and multifaceted. To structure the many possible interpretations of White Black practice selection I re-organized the co-cultural communication practice data this time organizing not by vocalizations or dialogic thought but by occurrence of practice selection, (this was done by counting and categorizing by practices used, a separate table was not created). This new perspective offers a new lens in which to view the White Black phenomenon. Scales-Trent understands that socio-politically her racial identity is a source of great confusion and discomfort for some. In order to alleviate some of the confusion she adapted to various situations by, at times, censoring her words and actions.

Censoring Self and White Black Identity Negotiation

Representing five of the 90 co-cultural passages, the co-cultural practice of censoring self is interesting when examined from the White Black perspective. The definition of this practice is when the co-cultural group member makes a conscious effort to ignore offensive comments made by dominant group members (Orbe, 1998c). However this practice is skewed when the co-cultural group member is mistaken as a
dominant group member. All of your communication and co-cultural practices are first filtered through the keen awareness you have of being a false representative of the dominant group.

A good example of this sense of co-cultural isolation is seen in passage 62. In this passage Scales-Trent wrote, “It is more than bizarre to be Black and to fear attack for being, White” (p. 86). She writes further about an incident she had when faced with a homeless man who had misdirected his anger at Scales-Trent when he saw her as White. “You white bitch,” he said, I did not respond...this is my nightmare” (p. 86). This passage illustrates the practice of censoring self but more than that it shows why she had to censor herself. True she is protected in some incidents because of her skin tone but she must also deal with being the recipient of the anger her co-cultural cohorts feel when they see her and identify her as White. She is left to negotiate their anger, because she understands where it is coming from. She censors herself because she understands there is no excuse for society’s mistreatment of others and braces herself for the pain of guilt by association.

Confronting Society as a White Black Person

Usage of the co-cultural communication practice of confronting was identified in the passages eight times with four incidents of specific vocalizations. Another significant finding is of the eight episodes of confronting used by Scales-Trent four of these occurred while negotiating stage 3 of her identity development. This last result is significant when coupled with the acceptance and understanding needed to navigate stage 3. As evidenced in the text, confrontation for the White Black person can also be seen as a declaration of
identity in a society that refuses to accept their identity. By using this practice the White Black person is also confronting the social construction of race.

Scales-Trent uses confronting to declare identity, by using this practice as a tool to maintain control of her personhood. Throughout the passage when confronting is used she is in a struggle against stereotyping, be it with other Blacks who see her as the ‘privileged other’ who has not earned her right to declare Black as an identity as seen in passage 54. It also can include Whites who see her as the naive ‘Other’ who therefore needs to be redefined by well intended dominant group members who refuse to understand her racial situation. An example of the first is seen in passage 55.

This passages shows how confronting is effectively aggressive as a communication practice and showcases Scales-Trent’s co-cultural identity negotiation skills in a direct and frank manner. In passage 54 Scales-Trent wrote,

Halfway through the evening I started to talk with a black man with dark skin. We discovered that we had both grown up in Harlem at about the same time. “Where did you live?”...I gave him the address. “Oh,” he responded, “you lived on Sugar Hill, up there with the rich folks,...” (An unsmiling smile. A sneer?) “I was raised at the bottom of the hill,...The poor side.” “Well,” I answered, “I guess you win.” He was thrown off, confused. “Win what?” “I guess you win the ‘who-suffered-most contest,’” I said. I dropped the line, dropped the subject, and moved on to talk with someone else...He pushed the middle-class-kid-with-light-skin guilt button? I was supposed to feel awkward, confused, embarrassed, guilty at my good fortune (pp. 69-70).
In this passage Scales-Trent admits she was confrontational by writing, “I answered his sneaky meanness with open meanness,...But let me tell you, it felt good to push that guilt away...It felt good to say, “I know that game, and I’m not playing...Sorry, buddy. Work out your own stuff by yourself” (p. 70). This passage is a wonderfully illustrative example of the fluidity of the dominant culture group membership when explored from the perspective of the White Black woman. At times the dominant group member is represented by a White person, at other times it is a Black person who represents dominant group membership. For the White Black person like skin or similar declarations of racial identities does not equal like mind.

Another example of the flexible definition of dominant group membership from the White Black perspective is seen in passage 55. This passage exemplifies the complexity of identity negotiation for Scales-Trent. Even when she is in comfortable and familiar surroundings she is never far away from the realities of racially motivated controversy. In passage 55 Scales-Trent wrote,

While talking with one of the men, the topic turned to civil rights issues. Even more treacherous, the topic turned to affirmative action. In an attempt to warn him that racist comments would be inappropriate, in an attempt to avoid having to leave the party after such comments, I let him know that I was black. But clearly he had been forewarned, because he was not surprised. He was, indeed, ready. And he replied, with a smile: “No, you’re not.” I am used to this denial...Sometimes,...it is said calmly, with a certainty that the speaker, not I, controlled my
identity...He was clear that it was he who would tell me who I was: I would not name myself (pp. 73-74).

This passage demonstrates the complexity of negotiation experienced by Scales-Trent when she attempts to declare her identity in our society. It is not clear if this denial is a result of cultural naivety, lack of exposure, or lack of desire to learn about the diversity of our country’s racial make-up. Throughout the text one issue is made very clear, that is for Scales-Trent being Black is not simply a declarative statement; rather it is not a linear process, a continuous struggle for her own personhood on what seems to be a daily basis. At times the co-cultural practice of confronting takes on a softer feel and therefore was interpreted as educating others.

Educating Others on the White Black Experience

Scales-Trent’s writing indicate that the co-cultural communication practice of educating others has proven to be a consistent negotiation tool for her as she attempts to explain her unique racial stance/positioning to those who are unaware of the White Black phenomenon. Educating others (11 passages) occurs when the educator places their self as the spokesperson representing the co-cultural group members when communicating to dominant group members; the co-cultural group member who chooses to educate has chosen to “enlighten peers and acquaintances on the aspects of their co-cultural identity” (Orbe 1998c, p. 73) (see, for example, passages 45, 63, & 93). Because Scales-Trent is an educator, much of her text is written around her experiences as a White Black educator and the lessons she has learned through her experiences as a White Black person.
In passage 63, Scales-Trent uses educating others as her chosen co-cultural communication practice. This passage is an example of Scales-Trent’s sophisticated level of awareness regarding race, racial labels and word selection. In this passage she wrote,

[a response written by Scales-Trent when asked to report on the number of Blacks in attendance] But now I answer that question differently. When someone asks me ‘How many Black people were there?’ I say, ‘I have no idea. How can you tell who is Black? How can I?’ For although I can count all the brown faces in a room, there is no way that I can count the ‘black’ faces. For brown does not equal ‘Black (p. 88).

By recognizing the many shades of blackness this passage showcases Scales-Trent’s level of awareness of the true meaning of Blackness in the U.S. This passage shows that being Black in the U.S. does not always include having a dark skin tone.

Passage 93 offers another perspective on the co-cultural communication practice of educating others. In this passage Scales-Trent shares her experiences as a White Black woman and college professor when she wrote,

Cox was, I reminded them, urging the demonstrators to violate a state law that required eating establishments to segregate diners by race. I asked the class whether the Constitution protects speech that urges others to violate state statutes?...one student said: “You mean, there used to be laws like that?” I was aghast. Could it really be that...society was now pretending that those laws had never existed? As a result of...what they did not know, what they had not been taught, I modified the course syllabus (p.168).
This passage demonstrates Scales-Trent’s relentless struggle to educate others about issues of race in our society. Additionally this passage demonstrates the flexibility she has to modify her lesson in order to educate her students on race and racial issues in the U.S. as evidenced by the student’s lack of knowledge. Scales-Trent take up the challenge of racially educating her students when many in her position would choose to overlook student’s ignorance in favor of more socially acceptable/ safe lessons (see for example passage 33).

Co-Cultural Communication Practices and Perceived Dominant Group Member Guilt

During the co-cultural practice analysis I noticed a powerful underlying pattern revealed by Scales-Trent’s dialogic thought and co-cultural practice selection. This pattern can be understood as “co-cultural oppression” (Orbe, 1998c, p.136). In many instances Scales-Trent is negotiating the guilt of her ambiguous identity. For instance, in passage 18, she remains silent while a man in an elevator yells and pushes her Black friend. Scales-Trent, although also Black, does not receive the physical violence. Yet Scales-Trent must now live with the guilt of not only watching her friend’s abuse but not receiving her share of the assault. She must also negotiate the guilt associated with physically representing the dominant group member who inflicted the humiliation. She writes “I am spared that craziness by looking White...I have my own craziness from being White Black, but I am not damaged the same way” (p. 18). This passage demonstrates the guilt that is present in many of the passages. This survivor’s guilt is a powerful tension because it pulls on both sides of Scales-Trent. She represents White when the dominant group is Black and must always manage the fear of misidentification.
When with Whites she offers disclaimers and warnings if the subject moves into racial territory. Having been a fly on the wall in many situations she knows first hand that the alleged abuses do indeed occur. And she feels compelled to stop inappropriate conversation about racial differences before it starts.

Another interesting passage is 37. This passage is a dialogic thought but it is telling of the tremendous influence being a White Black person has on Scales-Trent’s life decisions. In passage 37, Scales-Trent admits to “thinking seriously” about the future father of her children and the skin tone her children would live with depending on her choice. This passage does not suggest that others don’t face these same questions of color. But Scales-Trent knows first hand the power and persecution of skin tone and when she wrote the passage she was offering insight to the all encompassing tension of having White skin on the surface yet self identifying as Black.

Scales-Trent also employs new co-cultural practice such as questioning socially accepted norms (passage 91) or avoiding the bargain (passage 54) and she shows signs of reflective uncertainty (passage 23) which are all very similar to perceived dominant group member guilt. Although the text does not clearly demonstrate if these are common strategies of White Black negotiation, the new practices were identified and therefore will be discussed for future implications and possible exploration.

The results explicated in this chapter a new perspective for exploring identity negotiation and begins to develop a strategy for social scientific exploration of White Black identity negotiation. Scales-Trent goes beyond a call for utopia; she does not plea for a color blind society. Her cries for acceptance are far more deliberate than the “can’t we all just get along?” anthem of the early nineties. Rather Scales-Trent is saying yes get
along but more than that understand, look into my eyes long enough to see yourself. Look at me long enough so that you can begin to see my perspective of the world. Yes, walk in my shoes and try on my coat and eat my food and talk to my elders and try to fully understand why I choose to communicate the way I do.
CHAPTER V
DISCUSSION

The previous chapters presented in this study serve as a framework for future studies of this phenomenon. As this scholarly phenomenon is new, the potential for inquiry is limitless. Therefore this section will serve to suggest a few possibilities for further exploration of White Black identity negotiation using the findings of this study as a guide.

By linking intrapersonal thought and interpersonal communication, this study is positioned to offer insight into the complexities of identity negotiation as a White Black woman in a culture dominated by socially constructed rules of racial classification. This study helps to highlight the ambiguous nature of racial identity and the over-reliance of physical characteristics as a racial indicator. Additionally this study adds depth to current research regarding issues of race and racial identity by examining race from an alternative perspective.

The Future for White Black Inquiry

Although there may be several caveats to a qualitative content analysis of this nature, this study was positioned as the first in what is viewed as a long line of future qualitative studies regarding this phenomenon. As such, this study focuses solely on the identity development and negotiation process of one White Black woman. Consequently,
this study offers several significant inquiries for future research to the field of communication.

One significant point of analysis is the notion of identity development exploration via autobiographic text. This is a significant critique because the text was written by one who has negotiated all three stages and writes passages as reflections and not current experiences. In other words by the time the White Black person has decided to write about their struggles they have already achieved Stage 3 of their developmental process and the struggles revealed are recollections of conversations therefore may be biased in some way. However the criticisms worked to the advantage of this study by condensing the data into 94 passages of rich insight. The passages representing stage 1 of the developmental process were limited. However, they did offer new insight into the significance of family narratives in helping the White Black child adjust. Had the book been written from her current state of mind when hearing those stories Scales-Trent –like many children—may have dismissed these narratives as idle chatter and inconsequential lessons. Pushing this critical point of information away as trivial and insignificant thereby not offering it in the text. The time given to Scales-Trent to develop and prepare the proper context to present her identity process allowed her the time to develop the exacting words and passages placement for impact (Chapter titled Lessons and the Stories we tell). Had the information presented been tied up in other less precise words, I am not sure I would have been able to discover this unique nuance of White Black identity negotiation.

Further important to the interpretive nature of this study is the notion of epistemology. As I stated in Chapter 1, I too identify as Black but I also have white skin.
I intimately understand the issues of guilt, fear of full disclosure, anger at racial rules and resolution that Scales-Trent writes about. I have personally identified with the entire text and nothing written on the pages was new or different from many of my own personal experiences with race and racial identity negotiation. It is in regards to my familiarity that some may view this as a hindrance, bringing me too close to the subject I am researching. I challenge that my familiarity served a greater service to this analysis by allowing me to offer insight and interpretations that may have gone unnoticed. That is to say, being a White Black woman was a great advantage and added to the depth of analysis. I was able to understand subtle nuances which may have been overlooked by others who are not as intimately familiar with this phenomenon such as parental influences, and perceived dominant group member guilt. As previously mentioned, my goal is to one day open this phenomenon up for more deductive or quantitative analysis, thereby allowing for researcher/subject distance in the interim. A future study of this phenomenon may include a focus group discussion, or survey of White Black participants which centers around the co-culturally communication practices and perceived dominant group status guilt. However, at this moment, we are not there and this phenomenon must be introduced into the field by those who are familiar with the subtle nuances.

Similarly some may critique the use of an identity model which isolates a process of identity development into three stages. I too saw problematic potential in offering a linear model to explain a cyclical process. Yet, in an attempt to advance inquiry of this phenomenon I had to start with clearly defined themes and labels for those themes. This identity model and the co-cultural communication practices were ideal for this type of complex exploration; they offered boundaries and guidelines for the initial exploration of
this phenomenon. Now that the intrapersonal interpersonal communicative linkage has been introduced, it can be expanded or explored further. These models serve to offer order and structure for future research. This can be done via written survey by asking key questions that identify a stage and practice, whereas offering empirical evidence that intrapersonal stages do manifest as interpersonal negotiation.

Expanding Kich’s Model

While analyzing the data for this qualitative content analyses, an interesting pattern began to emerge with regards to what is considered normal and abnormal in our society, and what social structures are in place to manage racial and human ambiguities. These questions were triggered when I read passage 73 of Scales-Trent’s book. Her reaction to the conjoined twins and the man at the airport prompted this thought process. Scales-Trent acknowledges the need for greater understanding of the human race. My response to her call for awareness was to ask: Does every White Black person grow to this level—to feel dissonance not only for themselves but for others who live between categories? Are White Black people uniquely positioned to ‘relate’ to others in a personal therefore connected way? Are we not only the liaisons for Black White communication but are we also the voice of the ambiguous?

My response to these questions is to suggest a fourth stage addition, thereby creating a new White Black identity negotiation model (Appendix E). Kich’s (1992) model ends at the individual but as I saw in the analysis of this text, acceptance of oneself is not the ending when you are a White Black person. Rather acceptance of self positions the White Black person to be acutely aware of other who are socially erroneously defined
or considered indefinable. The experience of identity negotiation is translated into empathy for all those who struggle for social definition, therefore reigniting the process of awareness of differences and dissonance.

This new version of a nonlinear identity model would still consist of the first three stages as identified by Kich. However the definition of stage 1 will be expanded to include the possibility of delayed dissonance therefore recognizing that when children look similar to their parents they may not experience dissonance until they are away from the protective environment of their home and family. As did Scales-Trent, the current model is structured in a way that when differentness and dissonance occurs they are able to question their parents and can experiment with the negotiation process prior to facing society. They are able to work on these issues in a safe and protected surrounding so they are prepared with answers when questioned about their unique look. The White Black person is also prepared by the parents. The difference is the parents of the White Black child are preparing their child for future negotiation conflicts and not current conflicts— as the parents of the biracial child. For the White Black child the world is made up of various skin tones and unique feature, there is no dissonance they are not different.

The continuous process of dissonance first surfaces when the White Black child begins to venture out on their own and have to deal with issues of belonging and race negotiation simultaneously. Therefore the stage 2 of Kich’s model is magnified and ongoing. They are in essence feeling a flood of dissonance and are drowning in the struggle for acceptance. They feel like impostors in society and even begin to question the community which once embraced them. Aside from the slight adjustment to Stages 1 and 2, these stages as defined by Kich (1992) remain the same. However stage 4 take on
a new responsibility by further explaining the cognitive development and identity
development of a White Black woman.

Broadening the Lens

Stage 4 would incorporate the notion of dissonance felt when the White Black person attempts to place people into categories. I see this as significant for the White Black person because their lived experiences allow them to understand with more certainty the pain they cause when they try to redefine others. This new stage can be seen as the missing link to bring the model back to stage 1 (creating a nonlinear process). The dissonance felt is no longer isolated to their feelings of unease and wonder but are now broadened to include other anomalies as well. Of course this study makes no claims of finality or absolutes. Rather, it is positioned as a beginning. Presentation of this analysis and this new stage is done to promote the discussion of a rarely discussed phenomenon. As a result of this qualitative content analysis, I am interested in investigating the notion of biracial or White Black categorization and the possibility of adding a fourth stage to Kich’s model.

This process is not only triggered by racial incongruence, there are many impetus’ that can trigger this cycle. Future areas of exploration and application of this proposed model might include ‘Other’ identification and identity exploration, adapting the model to include other unique perspectives. Using the White Black negotiation model proposed in this study, a future research project might include further development of the notion of sameness. This could be done by investigating other marginalized persons identity and the socio-political assumptions, and the ensuing negotiation process. This new model can
be adapted to many socially constructed situations of ambiguity such as GLBT issues, or bicultural adoption. In this regard, it can be seen less as an identity model and more as a model of the human condition. This model signifies an individual’s ever present desire to adapt, assimilate without compromising their integrity, and to grow and understand new and unique phenomena. Thereby the model tests the perpetual upward spiraling motion of dissonance—struggle—acceptance—growth (broadening)—dissonance…which occurs at all levels of our development.

White Black Identity Negotiation Model and Perceived Dominant Group Member Guilt

During the second part of the co-cultural communication practice analysis several interesting findings regarding the co-cultural group membership status and communication practices began to surface. As mentioned in Chapter four, the first and main point of interest is the fluidity of dominant group membership which was overtly showcased in this text. This is a very interesting point of analysis and a worthwhile future study as it would complement Orbe’s (1998b) original findings on the qualifications of co-cultural group membership and offers support to his definition of co-cultural oppression. Future exploratory projects might include combining the White Black identity negotiation model and co-cultural communication practices to target only the episodes of flexible co-cultural group membership status and how it is negotiated. Or perhaps a content analysis counting the episodes of White Black co-cultural group membership may shift. Also the investigation of perceived dominant group member guilt is not limited to simply explaining White Black identity negotiation. It could also
investigate the perspective of ‘Others’ who find themselves negotiating two separate and seemingly opposing identities.

The Future for White Black Identity Negotiation Research

And finally, more specific to the area of White Black identity negotiation, would be interesting to explore the co-cultural communication practices of more White Black people to determine which practices are the most commonly used for this specific group of individuals. Because this study has offered a foundation, the next study might include a semi-structured qualitative interview protocol coupled with a quantitative measurement which identifies the most common co-cultural communication practices used and if the practices can help to determine the stage of identity development.

In addition to the aforementioned suggestions for additional research, the future of White Black identity negotiation is limitless. It is my intention to conduct more studies similar to this with more participants in an attempt to advance existing findings. Ultimately these studies will lead to a theoretical approach to White Black identity negotiation model.

Conclusion

This study was initiated by an interest in issues of diversity, racial identity and co-cultural or ‘other’ negotiation. Further, it was inspired by, and focuses on, the multilayered complexities of negotiating the communication of one’s identity, as a marginalized member of a minority group in the U.S. (Buzzanell, 1994; Orbe, 1998c). Specifically, the aim was to deconstruct the intra- and inter-personal lived experiences of
a White Black woman (Scales-Trent, 1995). The result was beginning the process of
demystifying one aspect of the every day lived experiences of the White Black woman,
and presenting a model of White black identity negotiation for future White Black
identity negotiation inquiry. My intention with this study was to explore the intersections
of co-cultural communicated practices and racial identity development. This project is
now positioned to serve as a catalyst to prompt others to explore the gray area of
communication found between intrapersonal dialogue and interpersonal negotiation.

The goal of this study was not to determine one great “Truth” regarding White
Black identity negotiation. Rather it was to reveal the many truths of racial identity,
labels, categories, and assumptions. This exploration was positioned not as an ending but
as a beginning. As such, this study has presented answers to the two research questions
posted. The first, with 74 passages confirming, the identity developmental process of a
biracial person, is similar to that of the identity negotiation of Scales-Trent’s
autobiographical reflections in Notes of a White Black woman?

The second research question (Does using both Kich’s biracial identity model and
the co-cultural communication theory reveal that certain communication practices are
most prevalent at particular stages of identity development?) yielded a total of 45
nonverbal actions and vocalized co-cultural communication practice passages. The 23
vocalizations of co-cultural practices identified in the text offer empirical evidence of a
link between intrapersonal and interpersonal communication. Additionally, a co-cultural
communication practice connection between stage 2 and stage 3, and the White Black
negotiation process of perceived dominant group membership guilt has surfaced and has
proven that further exploration on this linkage is merited.
Again, it is my intent that this project serve to add a deeper level of consciousness to the field of communication on issues related to racial identity and serve as a catalyst to future projects that explore this complex and intriguing phenomenon. In addition this study brings race and its construction to the forefront. As an area of study, race is significant because of its prominent position in our society. As such more research on the social construction and perpetuation of stigmatizing racial assumptions is warranted. And finally, I end this exploration where I began, questioning social acceptance. In the words of Scales-Trent she asks, "Why must life—and we—be seen in either 'white' or 'black,' with no shades in between"? (Scales – Trent, 2000, p. 32).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key idea(s) representing stage one</th>
<th>Key idea(s) representing stage two</th>
<th>Key idea(s) representing stage three</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Awareness of differentness &amp; dissonance</strong>&lt;br&gt;The initial recognition and parental assisted negotiation of one’s unique racial make-up.</td>
<td><strong>Struggle for acceptance</strong>&lt;br&gt;The manifestation of the inward questioning and comparing of one’s unique racial characteristics to others, and the outward questioning and comparing to others in their cohort.</td>
<td><strong>Self-acceptance &amp; assertion of identity</strong>&lt;br&gt;Ability to articulate and defend one’s unique racial make-up with a full awareness of the obvious differences and stereotypical assumptions associated with their racial identity.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Some ideas that represent this stage may include but are not limited to the initial identity developmental process of establishing identity, such as:  
- Family narratives that reinforce racial heritage.  
- Community involvement, i.e. Church, school, family outings.  
- Seeking and/or receiving parental guidance in negotiating racial identity | Some ideas that represent this stage may include but are not limited to the inward and outward inquiry process of identity developmental, such as:  
- Asking or looking to others from outside the family unit to help in defining their racial makeup  
- Being questioned or noticing physical characteristics that are not the same as others who share their racial identity. | Some ideas that represent this final stage may include but are not limited to:  
- The self-acceptance of one’s unique identity  
- The assertion of one’s identity  
- The process of educating others about their unique racial make-up. |
APPENDIX A

TABLE 2
## Co-cultural Communication Theory

### Communicative Practices (Orbe, 1998c, pp. 16-17)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Co-cultural Communication Practice</th>
<th>Co-Cultural Communication Practice Defined</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Emphasizing commonalities</td>
<td>Focusing on human similarities while downplaying or ignoring co-cultural differences</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 Developing positive face</td>
<td>Assuming a gracious communicator stance in which one is more considerate, polite, and attentive to dominant group members.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Censoring self</td>
<td>Remaining silent when comments from dominant group members are inappropriate, indirectly insulting, or highly offensive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Averting controversy</td>
<td>Averting communication away from controversial or potentially dangerous subject areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Extensive preparation</td>
<td>Engaging in an extensive amount of detailed (mental or concrete) groundwork prior to interactions with dominant group members.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Overcompensating</td>
<td>Conscious attempts—consistently employed in response to a pervasive fear of discrimination—to become a “superstar”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Manipulating stereotypes</td>
<td>Conforming to commonly accepted beliefs about group members as a strategic means of exploit them for personal gain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Bargaining</td>
<td>Striking a covert or overt arrangement with dominant group members in which both parties agree to ignore co-cultural differences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Dissociating</td>
<td>Making a concerted effort to elude any connection with behaviors typically associated with one’s co-cultural group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Mirroring</td>
<td>Adopting dominant group codes in attempts to make one’s co-cultural identity less visible or invisible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-cultural Communication Theory</td>
<td>Communicative Practices (Orbe, 1998c, pp. 16-17)</td>
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<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>11     Strategic distancing</td>
<td>Avoiding any association with other co-cultural group members in attempts to be perceived as a distinct individual.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12     Ridiculing self</td>
<td>Invoking or participating in discourse, either passively or actively, which is demeaning to co-cultural group members.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13     Increasing visibility</td>
<td>Covertly, yet strategically, maintaining a co-cultural presence within dominant structures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14     Dispelling stereotypes</td>
<td>Myths of generalized group characteristics and behaviors are countered through the process of just being oneself.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15     Communicating self</td>
<td>Interacting with dominant group members in an authentic, open, and genuine manner; used by those with strong self-concepts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16     Intragroup networking</td>
<td>Identifying and working with other co-cultural group members who share common philosophies, convictions, and goals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17     Using liaisons</td>
<td>Identifying specific dominant group members who can be trusted for support, guidance, and assistance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18     Educating others</td>
<td>Taking the role of teacher in co-cultural interactions; enlightening dominant group members of co-cultural norms, values, and so forth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19     Confronting</td>
<td>Using the necessary aggressive methods, including ones that seemingly violate the “rights” of others, to assert one’s voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20     Gaining advantage</td>
<td>Inserting references to co-cultural oppression to provoke dominant group reactions and gain advantage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21     Avoiding</td>
<td>Maintaining a distance from dominant group members; refraining from activities and/or locations where interactions is likely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Co-cultural Communication Theory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Communicative Practices (Orbe, 1998c, pp. 16-17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maintaining barriers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Exemplifying strengths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Embracing stereotypes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Attacking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Sabotaging others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B

TABLE 1
## Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman

(Identity)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
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<th>Column B</th>
<th>Column C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>page # of passage</td>
<td>Key word(s) identifying stage of b-</td>
<td>The stage represented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>racial identity model</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Introduction

Stories about my life as a white black American also show that creating and maintaining a racial identity takes a lot of effort on my part, and on the part of other Americans. “Race” is not something that just exists. It is a continuing act of imagination. It is a very demanding verb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p. 3</th>
<th>creating and maintaining a racial identity takes a lot of effort on my part…“Race” is not something that just exists. It is a continuing act of imagination. <strong>It is a very demanding verb.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### Commonalities: On being black and white different, and the same

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2</th>
<th>There again I argued that the categories seen as so pure were not pure, that the boundaries thought impermeable were not impermeable. Looking at all of my work, I now understand that I have been working at the intersection of race and sex because I exist at the</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p. 12</td>
<td>I argued that the categories seen as so pure were not pure, that the boundaries thought impermeable were not impermeable—I now understand that I have been</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I now understand Understanding= Stage 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman (Identity)

<table>
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<td>page # of passage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Working at the intersection of race and sex</td>
<td>Key word(s) identifying stage of bicharacter identity model</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Nonetheless, in this essay I ask you to experience my vision of the world—a world where the categories do not clarify, but only confuse, a world where one must question the very existence of those categories in order to survive.</td>
<td>p. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>He sang out: What did I do to be so black and blue? And I wept: What did I do to be so black, so white?</td>
<td>p. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>I wish I had a name to make my home in, to hide inside of. Maybe we should bring back the name “mulatto.” For a woman, the French would say “mulâtresse.” An identity. A group to belong to. You say “mulatto,” and it conjures up meaning a person despised by dark-skinned brothers and sisters.</td>
<td>pp. 12-13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman (Identity)

| Passage # | Data charted taken form Scales-Trent's (1995) 'Notes of a White Black woman' | page # of passage | Key word(s) identifying stage of biracial identity model | The stage represented |
|-----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------------------------ Dictated as a specific identity development stage. | No way to determine the identity developmental stage represented in this passage. |
| 6         | Cast out, cast out, always cast out from the only home, the only safe place, the only refuge in a terrifying, vicious land. Cast out, and alone. No home. No home. No place to belong. No place to rest a frightened and lonely heart. No place to hide. White people would let me in, of course. They think that I belong with them. They smile at me. They welcome me. They think I'm their sister. | p. 13 | No clear key words or themes identified as a specific identity development stage. | I'm always waiting, ... Please don't say it. A struggle for acceptance = Stage 2 |
| 7         | They think I'm on their team. And so I'm always waiting, waiting for them to say it. Please don't say it. Don't do that to me. Jesus God, cabbie, can't I even go across town in a cab without having my whole identity called into question? Always wary. Always fighting their silent thoughts, their safe assumptions. Fighting for control of who I am. | p. 13 | And so I'm always waiting, waiting for them to say it. Please don't say it. ... They think I'm on their team. ... Always wary. Always fighting their silent thoughts, their safe assumptions. Fighting for control of who I am. | (T) Transition Fighting for control of who I am demonstrates a clear idea of who she is. = Stage 3 |
### Appendix B, Table 1

#### Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman

(Identity)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>Page of passage</th>
<th>Key word(s) identifying stage of bi-racial identity model</th>
<th>The stage represented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>p. 14</td>
<td>No clear key words or themes identified as a specific identity development stage.</td>
<td>No way to determine the identity developmental stage represented in this passage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>p. 14</td>
<td>What do you do if you’re rejected by one world, and are constantly rejecting the other? And yet I’m me all the time. Jerked back and forth by other people’s needs and fears ‘til it gets hard for me to figure out who I am in all this.</td>
<td>What do you do ..... it gets hard for me to figure out who I am demonstrates a struggle for identity = Stage 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>p. 14</td>
<td>Mommy, which water fountain should I drink out of, white or colored?</td>
<td>Questioning &amp; parental guidance = Stage 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>p. 14</td>
<td>Sometimes I feel... I’m black, passing for white. Sometimes I feel... I’m white, passing for black</td>
<td>Realization of differences = Stage 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix B, Table 1

### Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman (Identity)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column A</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Passage #</strong></td>
<td><strong>Data charted taken form Scales-Trent's (1995) 'Notes of a White Black woman'</strong></td>
<td><strong>Key word(s) identifying stage of bi-racial identity model</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td><strong>A way of avoiding the anxiety of last night's chamber recital. For you see, color makes it all more complicated. The concert hall seats maybe eight hundred, a thousand, people. It was almost full. And I didn’t see anyone who was not white. I felt very anxious and frightened. I was losing control of my identity as a black person. It was slipping away. Wasn’t this proof that I was white? By their perception, didn’t I fit in just perfectly? And wasn’t it obvious that I wouldn’t have been there if I weren’t white? (1. all people who go to hear chamber music are white. 2. I go to chamber music recitals. 3. Therefore, I am white.)</strong></td>
<td><strong>I was losing control of my identity as a black person…Wasn’t this proof that I was white?</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td><strong>but at intermission, I saw about half a dozen black people. The pendulum tilted back to center and I was steadied. I must gain better control over who I am. I must learn to live squarely, steadily, and surely in the middle of ambiguity, centered strongly in my own No-Name. I must define the No-Name and make it my home.</strong></td>
<td><strong>I saw about half a dozen black people. The pendulum tilted back to center and I was steadied. I must gain better control over who I am….. steadily, and surely in the middle of ambiguity,</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix B, Table 1

#### Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman (Identity)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>Column A: Data charted taken form Scales-Trent's (1995) 'Notes of a White Black woman'</th>
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<th>Column C: Key word(s) identifying stage of biracial identity model</th>
<th>The stage represented passage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I must gain .... control over who I am; this passage speaks to the transitional process because she is trying to gain control over her identity = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 14        | Then last week I saw “Death and the King’s Horseman,” a play by the Nigerian playwright Wole Soyinka. I was watching the beautiful dark-skinned women dancing and started my standard thought of how I wished my skin were that color. But that thought was immediately replaced by “That’s not true. I like the way I look. I look just fine.” I was startled. Pleased. Hopeful that the thought will return. | p. 16 | I was watching the beautiful dark-skinned women dancing and started my standard thought of how I wished my skin were that color. But that thought was immediately replaced by “That’s not true. I like the way I look. I look just fine.” I was startled. Pleased. Hopeful that the thought will return. | I wished my skin were that color comparing to others = Stage 2 (T)=transition passage  
I like the way I look. Acceptance of racial identity = Stage 3 |
## Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman (Identity)

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<th>The stage represented</th>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>How can I say “No, don’t be nice to me. I’m black” How can I try to keep from passing when all I’m trying to do is catch a fucking cab?”</td>
<td>p.17</td>
<td>How can I say “No, don’t be nice to me. I’m black”</td>
<td>Recognizing and questioning differences = Stage 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>There is no way around it. I am passing all the time as I walk through the world. I can only correct the perceptions of those persons I deal with on a more than casual basis. And I feel like a fraud. And I hate it. I hate myself for not being able to solve the dilemma. And I hate black people and white people for putting me out there.</td>
<td>p. 17</td>
<td>There is no way around it I am passing all the time ....I can only correct the perceptions of those persons I deal with on a more than casual basis....And I feel like a fraud. And I hate it....And I hate black people and white people for putting me out there.</td>
<td>no way around it ....I am passing all the time I can only correct the perceptions; Acceptance and awareness of unique racial make-up = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Inner thought regarding her “white disguise” that</td>
<td>p. 17</td>
<td>If I am forgiven, perhaps I will be</td>
<td>searching for others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Appendix B, Table 1
## Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman (Identity)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>Data charted taken from Scales-Trent's (1995) 'Notes of a White Black woman'</td>
<td></td>
<td>The stage represented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>follows her ... I heap ashes on my head and beg for forgiveness. Sackcloth and ashes. If I am forgiven, perhaps I will be allowed back into the fold. Will someone forgive me?</td>
<td>allowed back into the fold. Will someone forgive me?</td>
<td>to define self for them = Stage 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Today, as Pat was getting off the elevator, a white man grabbed her and pushed her back, saying, &quot;No nigger is going to get off this elevator before me!&quot; I am spared that craziness by looking white. I am not pushed, abused, humiliated on a daily basis. I have my own craziness from being white/black, but I am not damaged the same way. I get to meet the test of what is called &quot;beautiful&quot; because I look white.</td>
<td>I am not pushed, abused, humiliated on a daily basis. I have my own craziness from being white/black, but I am not damaged the same way. I get to meet the test of what is called &quot;beautiful&quot; because I look white.</td>
<td>I get to meet the test of what is called &quot;beautiful&quot; because I look white; Comparing and observing the differences between her existence to others with whom she identifies = Stage 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>As I have moved into adulthood this year, as I have come to a strong sense of my own self-worth, I have learned to make my home within myself. My definition of who I am is steady, and is not shaken by the definition of others. I do not have to cut myself or</td>
<td>I have come to a strong sense of my own self-worth, I have learned to make my home within myself. My definition of who I am is steady, and is not shaken by the definition of others.</td>
<td>Defining self = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>p. 19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>to define self for them = Stage 2</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I get to meet the test of what is called “beautiful” because I look white; Comparing and observing the differences between her existence to others with whom she identifies = Stage 2</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Defining self = Stage 3</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>stretch myself into one procrustean bed or another. I am content to be who I am, and leave to others the comfort of their own definitions. I claim only myself, and define myself by my own name.</td>
<td>of others.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>This does not mean that there is not, will never be, confusion or pain at being a white black woman. What it means is that it does not control me. It cannot claim me. It is a dilemma I live within. I center myself in myself, in ambiguity of myself, and move on with life.</td>
<td>pp. 19-20</td>
<td>Full understanding of unique racial identity, Defining self = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Now I return to the South to visit my parents. And once again, as I go with them into the black Southern community—the church, the bridge club meetings, the college convocation—I am transported back to my childhood, to the safe embrace of family and community and church.</td>
<td>pp. 24-25</td>
<td>safe embrace of family and community and church; Confirmation of her racial foundation via family, community, and church = Stage 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>But there is something about moving from the southern black community to the northern white community that</td>
<td>p. 25</td>
<td>the sense of loss, of homelessness;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman (Identity)

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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>page # of passage</td>
<td></td>
<td>The stage represented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adds to the sense of loss, of homelessness.</td>
<td>to the sense of loss, of homelessness.</td>
<td>awareness of dissonance = Stage 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>These are issues I deal with also. When do I tell someone that I am black? And how? And how will they respond? And if I don't tell people (the apartment rental agent, the cab driver), aren't I “passing”? But Lord knows there’s no reason for me to get into self-revelation with someone who’s paid to drive me from home to the car shop.</td>
<td>These are issues I deal with also. When do I tell someone that I am black? And how? And how will they respond? And if I don’t tell people (the apartment rental agent, the cab driver), aren’t I “passing”?</td>
<td>aren’t I “passing”; Questioning identification = Stage 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>p. 28</td>
<td>(T) = Transition passage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>When do I tell someone that I am black: Awareness of racial identity = Stage 3</td>
<td>When do I tell someone that I am black: Awareness of racial identity = Stage 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>As I write the words, I know why they must come out. They must be clear about who they are. As I do. This is also why I “come out.” And, with them, I brace myself for the flinch, the startled look, the anxious intake of breath, the wary eye. I come out to white people to say to them: “Beware. I am Other. Proceed with caution.”</td>
<td>As I do. This is also why I “come out.”... I come out to white people to say to them: “Beware. I am Other. Proceed with caution.” And I come out to black people—how painful it is to have to do it, to say</td>
<td>Understanding, acceptance and assertion of racial identity = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>And I come out to black people—how painful it is to have to do it, to say “I am family. You are safe with me. I am you.”</td>
<td>p. 29</td>
<td>“I am family. You are safe with me. I am you.”</td>
<td>how safe are you; Questioning = Stage 2 (T) = Transition passage For I am still Other; Acceptance and awareness of unique racial identity = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>But, of course, if you have to say that you are black, if your skin doesn’t say it for you, then how safe are you, really? How can you be family? And again, I brace myself not so much for the startled look (black people are used to white black people) but for the wary eye. For I am still Other. Coming out only proclaims how I am different, not that I am the same.</td>
<td>p. 34</td>
<td>But, of course, if you have to say that you are black, if your skin doesn’t say it for you, then how safe are you, really?...And again, I brace myself not so much for the startled look (black people are used to white black people) but for the wary eye. For I am still Other. Coming out only proclaims how I am different, not that I am the same.</td>
<td>Publishing as a way to speak the unspeakable: Self</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Afterword and preface

The decision to publish came later. And that decision was less about publishing than it was about finding a way to speak about the unspeakable.
### Appendix B, Table 1

**Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman (Identity)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Perhaps I would have made a different decision had I been able to have conversations in secret with others—if, for example, others had written poems or stories about their life as a white black person. I could have whispered my story to them as they confided in me. But I found no such stories or poems, and we do not speak of such things in the black community. We make fun of others, we shun others because of their color, but that only means that we move the pain outside of ourselves and put it onto someone else. We do not do the hard work about color, perhaps because so much else is difficult for us.</td>
<td>p. 34</td>
<td>unspeakable.</td>
<td>acceptance = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Column C**

- Perhaps I would have made a different decision...; this passage is stage 3 but reflection of past action indicates present understanding of racial identity and can be interpreted as a tensional pull working as a transition from stage 2 into = Stage 3

- (T) = Transition passage

- Perhaps conversations in secret; Using others
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Identity</strong></td>
<td><strong>Notes of a White Black woman</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Column A</strong></td>
<td><strong>Column B</strong></td>
<td><strong>Column C</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passage</td>
<td>Key word(s) identifying stage of b...</td>
<td>The stage represented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data charted taken from Scales-Trent's # (1995)</td>
<td>identifying stage of bi-...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>page # of passage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>29</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would have to publish in order to force the beginning of a conversation.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I gave myself a way to proceed. Cautiously, I would force myself to show &quot;commonalities&quot; to twenty people. Then, and only then, would I allow myself to send it out to publishers. I would wait as long as it took. It took more than six months. I sent a first copy out by mail. I would have to publish in order to force the beginning of a conversation.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>P. 34</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What would they think? Would they punish me for talking about these issues? Would they be aghast at finally knowing who I was? Would they be polite and distant?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Silent...what had my reader to help define self identity, concerned about the thoughts of others is societies reluctance to speak of racial make-up and an eagerness to help others understand = Force the beginning of conversation.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stage 3</td>
<td>Stage 2</td>
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</table>
### Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman (Identity)

<table>
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<tr>
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<td>Data charted taken form Scales-Trent's (1995) 'Notes of a White Black woman'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dropped another into a mail chute in a front door. I asked for comments, and I waited. Anxious. Fearful. What would they think? Would they punish me for talking about these issues? Would they be aghast at finally knowing who I was? Would they be polite and distant? Silent?........what had my reader seen?</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>The action of seeking publication shows security with racial identification = Stage 3</td>
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</table>

### The lesson

| Passage | Place: An elegant reception in New York City. Time: Some time in the fifties. The white man was astonished, perplexed. He stared at the tall, distinguished-looking man standing next to him. A man clearly of some substance. A man with white skin, straight hair, aquiline nose. “But how can you tell that you’re a Negro?” he asked innocently, stupidly. And my father answered: “Because America tells me so.” | A man with white skin, straight hair, aquiline nose. “But how can you tell that you’re a Negro?” he asked innocently, stupidly. And my father answered: “Because America tells me so.” | “Because America tells me so.”; Parental guidance, communicated as a reflection and offers an example of identity negotiation to the young Scales-Trent, her father is teaching her how to |
### Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman (Identity)

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<tr>
<td>The stories we tell</td>
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<tr>
<td>The bus was almost full, a few seats here and there, black and white scattered throughout the bus. And then, at one stop, a dark-skinned black woman got on, looked for a seat, and went over and sat down next to a white woman. And this is why I think the buses hadn't been p. 42</td>
<td>Aunt Midge, a black woman with porcelain skin and baby blue eyes. She settled in with a haughty glance at the other bus riders, a glance that said: “No, indeed! Some people</td>
<td>But then Aunt Midge peered around ... and waved at them. ; Parental (Familial) guidance in</td>
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<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>desegregated for very long—because this white woman was outraged. How dare this colored woman come and sit down next to her without so much as a by-your-leave! The white woman noisily gathered up all her bags and packages, rolled her eyes, muttered under her breath, and flounced over to sit next to Aunt Midge—Aunt Midge, a black woman with porcelain skin and baby blue eyes. She settled in with a haughty glance at the other bus riders, a glance that said: “No, indeed! Some people may be willing to sit next to niggers, but I am not one of them.” The other black riders, friends and neighbors of my aunt, tried to suppress a grin. But then Aunt Midge peered around this white woman and her packages, and smiled and waved at them, and they couldn’t contain themselves any more. They exploded with laughter. They laughed until tears rolled down their cheeks. They laughed until they had to hold their sides. They laughed until they were out of breath. “Lord, Lord, white folks sure can be a fool, can’t they!” and I guess we have to say, “Yes, they sure can.”</td>
<td>may be willing to sit next to niggers, but I am not one of them.” The other black riders, friends and neighbors of my aunt, tried to suppress a grin. But then Aunt Midge peered around this white woman and her packages, and smiled and waved at them, and they couldn’t contain themselves any more. They exploded with laughter. They laughed until tears rolled down their cheeks. They laughed until they had to hold their sides. They laughed until they were out of breath. “Lord, Lord, white folks sure can be a fool, can’t they!” and I guess we have to say, “Yes, they sure can.”</td>
<td>negotiating identity this passage is an illustration of the identity negotiation support system unique to the identity development of the White Black person = Stage 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>It was, of course, as bad as we had expected. Everything that was “available” over the phone was “already</td>
<td>p. 43</td>
<td>No clear key words or themes identified.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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## Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman (Identity)

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<tr>
<td><strong>'rented’ when we arrived and the owners saw us. They probably thought we were an interracial couple, but that was bad enough. One day, in the faculty lounge, I told a few colleagues we were having a hard time finding a place to stay because we were black—did they know of anything available in the area? It did not take long for the word to spread. I was called into the principal’s office the next day. He looked uncomfortable.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>developmental stage represented in this passage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>'Mrs. Ellis, I have just found out that you are a Negro, I am worried that something might happen in the school, some kind of disruption or violence. So I thought I would make an announcement over the P.A. system and let everyone know that you are Negro. Just to avoid trouble. You understand.” I was stunned by his fear and his seeming irrationality. Nonetheless, I calmly explained that it was very unlikely that anything untoward would take place in a French class, but that if anything inappropriate were said, I had years of experience handling such comments. He seemed relieved. I left the office.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I had years of experience; Understanding and awareness of unique racial makeup and the ability to communicate the understanding to others = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>p. 44</td>
<td>but that if anything inappropriate were said, I had years of experience handling such comments</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>No P.A. announcement was made. But let me tell you, I</td>
<td>p. 44</td>
<td>No clear key words or themes</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>No way to determine</td>
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<td></td>
<td>have told this story plenty of times to my black brothers and sisters. And we roar with laughter as we imagine what the P.A. announcement would have been.......We tell them as a way of stating allegiance, of claiming kinship. We tell them in order to remind our darker brothers and sisters that we too know what white people are really like. We know it in a different way and have special knowledge to share. We are in the family too.</td>
<td></td>
<td>identified.</td>
<td>the identity developmental stage represented in this passage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>We tell our stories. And we are everywhere, white folks. Beware.</td>
<td>p. 44</td>
<td>No clear key words or themes identified.</td>
<td>No way to determine the identity developmental stage represented in this passage.</td>
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### Family Pictures

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<td></td>
<td>When you look at the photograph of my mother and her sisters, you see that two of the women have white skin. So did my uncle, Big Buddy. But then, when you turn the page to look at the paragraph of the grandchildren, it almost takes your breath away, for these are all brown-skinned children. Their skin color ranges from light</td>
<td>p. 48</td>
<td>of my mother and her sisters, you see that two of the women have white skin. So did my uncle, Big Buddy. But then, when you turn the page to look at the paragraph of the grandchildren, it almost takes your</td>
<td>Possible point of further exploration shows a deeper understanding and questioning of her own racial identity</td>
</tr>
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### Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman (Identity)

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<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>brown to dark brown, but it is clear these are not white children. I don't remember anyone ever talking about color in my family when I was growing up. I certainly never heard anyone urge us to pick dark-skinned spouses so our children would not be mistaken for white. And the color change over two generations could be the merest coincidence—and not even a remarkable one at that, since most black people do have brown skin. But it does make me stop and wonder to what extent the question of color entered into our choice of a spouse.</td>
<td>key word(s) identifying stage of biracial identity model</td>
<td>and partner selection which offers another interesting point of analysis by being positioned in society to constantly reflect on issues of race and identity. Additionally, White Black people are uniquely positioned to negotiate the social tension of marrying one who shares the same internal identity or marrying one who more closely resembles ones external identity = Stage 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>breath away, for these are all brown-skinned children. Their skin color ranges from light brown to dark brown... I don't remember anyone ever talking about color in my family when I was growing up... it does make me stop and wonder to what extent the question of color entered into our choice of a spouse.</td>
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<td></td>
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37 This is how I felt. This is what I thought. And I am just—-and perhaps others in my possible stage 4
## Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman (Identity)

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<td>49</td>
<td>now realizing that I was so anxious about how they viewed my color that I did not consider the value I attached to theirs. For it is very likely that without any instruction, without conscious plan, without even thinking about it, I—and perhaps others in my family—thought seriously about skin color when I thought about who would be the father of my children. For this is a country where it is dangerous to be too dark, and where it is wrong to be too light. And we try to protect our children.</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>family—thought seriously about skin color when I thought about who would be the father of my children. For this is a country where it is dangerous to be too dark, and where it is wrong to be too light. And we try to protect our children.</td>
<td>because she is now the parent preparing her child for the potential identity negotiation developmental process of a white black person. = Stage 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Africa in my hair</td>
<td>51-52</td>
<td>My mother used the techniques all black mothers use—braids, barrettes, ribbons, curling irons, hot comb.</td>
<td>My mother (another White Black woman) used the techniques all black mothers used to manage her curly hair reinforcing her identity as Black; Parental guidance = Stage 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Africa in my hair

When I was a child, my hair was long, thick, wild, out of control. How I longed for the wavy hair of my older sister, the curly ringlets of the younger, or the straight hair of my parents. My mother used the techniques all black mothers use—braids, barrettes, ribbons, curling irons, hot comb. She asked the hairdresser to thin it out; she used a soft brush for those short frizzy edges around my face, and a hard brush for the rest. I have strong childhood memories of sitting on the floor every morning while she struggled with my hair. And I...
### Appendix B, Table 1

**Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman (Identity)**

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<tr>
<td>remember how she fixed it: two long braids in the back, with one in the front.</td>
<td>p. 52</td>
<td>no more wild hair .... a friend told me one day that I looked like a model from Seventeen magazine, I was delighted. Finally, I had straight hair to match my light skin. Finally I looked beautiful. Finally, I really looked white.</td>
<td>no more wild hair .... a friend told me .... Finally, I had hair to match my skin.; Struggle for acceptance = Stage 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How marvelous that was—no more wild hair, no more terror of the rain. When a friend told me one day that I looked like a model from Seventeen magazine, I was delighted. Finally, I had straight hair to match my light skin. Finally I looked beautiful. Finally, I really looked white.</td>
<td>p. 52</td>
<td>And I didn’t know how content I had become with my share of Africa until now, when I am threatened with its loss.</td>
<td>content I had become with my share of Africa = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White people, as usual, never understand. When they look at my hair, they know. They see Italy or the Middle East. But when black people see my hair, they know. They see Africa. And I didn’t know how content I had become with my share of Africa until now, when I am threatened with its loss.</td>
<td>p. 53</td>
<td>I thanked them, told them the “curl” was natural</td>
<td>Acceptance of racial make-up = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
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(Laughter Helps!)
## Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman (Identity)

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<td>42</td>
<td>But by the third time, I had had it with not-quite-true politeness, and the truth just pushed its way out: “This is not a permanent. This is just the way my hair is. And you can’t get it from a beauty parlor. You have to be born colored and wait forty years for nappy hair to come into style.”</td>
<td>pp. 55-56</td>
<td>This is just the way my hair is ..You have to be born colored and wait forty years for nappy hair to come into style.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>I was still simmering later that day when I went to the beauty salon near my office for a haircut. So I told this story to Alice, the young white woman who trimmed my hair every month. And she jumped up and down with glee: “Oh no, Judy, don’t tell them that! Tell them I gave you the perm! Send the business to me!”</td>
<td>p. 56</td>
<td>No clear key words or themes identified.</td>
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### Shock and Fear in America

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<td>44</td>
<td>The first incident took place some time back, when my hair was thick and curly—true African hair! I had gone into a drugstore to buy—I have no idea what. All I remember is standing at the checkout counter, where the clerk was looking down, glancing back and forth from the items I was buying to the cash register. When he got</td>
<td>pp. 57-58</td>
<td>I told him nothing was wrong with my hair, that this was just how the hair of black Americans looked.</td>
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## Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman (Identity)

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<td>the final tally, he looked up to tell me how much I owed. And that’s when his mouth dropped open and his eyes got big and round. He was shocked. “What happened to your hair?” he said, aghast. (Reader, this was not a Bad Hair Day!) I told him nothing was wrong with my hair, that this was just how the hair of black Americans looked. My guess is that he had seen my white hands on the counter and expected to see straight hair that would match. He was not finding the match. And it shocked, frightened, him. But he had a way to address his fear: “You should go and get something to put on your hair that will straighten it. That way people will think you are white.” By then, I was speechless. I paid for my goods and left the store.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>pp. 58-59</td>
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The second incident took place just last year right here in Buffalo. I had met a friend for lunch at a restaurant, where we had a good time talking and laughing and eating good food. After lunch, as we got up to go pay our bill, a middle aged white woman came over and asked me where I was from. Thinking we might have met before, I said “Washington, D.C., New York City, North Caro—,” But she interrupted me: “No, not that. I mean where did your family come to America from?” I replied, “Africa and Europe.” She shook her head—still not good enough. “No, no. What country in Europe?” Still patient and smiling after such a nice visit with my friend, I tried to No, not that. I mean where did your family come to America from?... I was not giving her the right answer, I was saying things she didn’t want to hear...
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<td>mean where did your family come to America from?” I replied, “Africa and Europe.” She shook her head—still not good enough. “No, no. What country in Europe?” Still patient and smiling after such a nice visit with my friend, I tried to answer her question once again: “I really don’t know.” By now, she was almost beside herself. “What do you mean? How can you not know?” So I told her: “Because the slave owners did not keep genealogical records on their slaves and distribute them to the slaves before they escaped or were freed.” And that’s when she hit me. Now, it wasn’t a punch or anything like that. It was just a slap on the arm, delivered with a tight smile and a “now you know what’s not what I meant!” It was the kind of thing you might do to a friend, to say, “Oh, you’re just teasing me!” But I didn’t know this woman from Adam, and she was definitely angry. I was not giving her the right answer, I was saying things she didn’t want to hear. Well, it turns out that she had friends in Germany, and she thought I might be related to someone she knew there. But as we were finally leaving the restaurant, my friend said: “Good heavens! Does this happen to you often?” And I answered, wearily, “Yes.”</td>
<td>answer her question once again: “I really don’t know.” By now, she was almost beside herself. “What do you mean? How can you not know?” So I told her: “Because the slave owners did not keep genealogical records on their slaves and distribute them to the slaves before they escaped or were freed.” ….. But I didn’t know this woman from Adam, and she was definitely angry. I was not giving her the right answer, I was saying things she didn’t want to hear….“Good heavens! Does this happen to you often?” And I answered, wearily, “Yes.”</td>
<td>Good heavens! Does this happen to you often?” And I answered, wearily, “Yes.”</td>
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Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman (Identity)

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<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>“Whatever he does, he had better not bring home a white girlfriend!” she exclaimed. We laughed. There were three of us, black women friends who had gotten together after a long absence, talking about our lives, our work, our men, and, of course, our children. I laughed too, but I sensed a vague discomfort at her words.</td>
<td>pp. 61</td>
<td>I laughed too, but I sensed a vague discomfort at her words.</td>
<td>Stage 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>But I finally understood that I was uneasy because she had rejected part of me, the white part, with her statement. And I was uncomfortable—fearful that my disguise might not hold, fearful that she might suddenly “see” that I was a white black woman. Michelle Cliff says it well: “She who was part-them felt on trembling ground.” I also finally recognized that my laughter was dishonest: why laugh at my own rejection? But I did laugh. I laughed because, at that moment, my hunger to belong to that group of friends was stronger than my</td>
<td>pp. 61-62</td>
<td>But I finally understood that I was uneasy because she had rejected part of me, the white part, with her statement. And I was uncomfortable—fearful that my disguise might not hold, fearful that she might suddenly “see” that I was a white black woman..., my hunger to belong to that group of friends was stronger than my ability to be</td>
<td>Stage 3</td>
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Choosing up sides

By laughing Scales-Trent demonstrates a need to belong, but the discomfort she feels shows the inner struggle of identity negotiation, A struggle for acceptance = Stage 2

But I finally understood that I was uneasy because she had rejected part of me, the white part, with her statement. And I was uncomfortable—fearful that my disguise might not hold, fearful that she might suddenly “see” that I was a white black woman..., my hunger to belong to that group of friends was stronger than my ability to be understood that I was uneasy because she had rejected part of me, the white part; passage indicates an acceptance and understanding of unique racial make-up = Stage 3
Appendix B, Table 1

Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman

(Identity)

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<td>ability to be true to myself.</td>
<td>true to myself.</td>
<td>(T) = Transition passage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I thought about this for days. And what kept returning to my mind during that period were thoughts of Grandpa Tate, my father’s maternal grandfather and the only white blood relative I ever heard of. I know little enough about him. I know that he was born sometime in the 1860s, and that he was a barber. I know that he married</td>
<td>I respect and honor his memory and claim him as a cherished relative. Racism is so deeply embedded in our consciousness that we don’t often realize that society asks us, on a regular basis, to reject part of our family; Begins to address the social implications of being</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>#1</td>
<td>My great-grandmother Mary in 1886. I think he loved and respected her. I have a silver-plate dish inscribed “1886-1911” that he gave her on the occasion of their twenty-fifth anniversary. I know he made enough money investing in real estate to raise ten children in comfort and send them off to college. I have a picture of Grandpa Tate with his wife and children, taken around 1905. They all look healthy and well-dressed and well-groomed. It is clear that Grandpa Tate took good care of them. I know he was white, of Scottish origins. I also know that his wife, and therefore all of his children, were black. I think of the contribution Grandpa Tate made to my family, to me, and I am not willing to reject him. I respect and honor his memory and claim him as a cherished relative. Racism is so deeply embedded in our consciousness that we don’t often realize that society asks us, on a regular basis, to reject part of our family when we are required to take sides in this tragic war-game of race and color. “Which side are you on, black or white? There is a war going on. Allegiance must be clear. Choose!”</td>
<td>Key word(s) identifying stage of bi-racial identity model</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(T) = Transition

This passage also shows that Scales-Trent is uncomfortable with the problems/tensions of the socio-political construction of racial and the social mandate to select one race over the other, rejection of the need to identify one way or the other = Stage 4
### Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman (Identity)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>Data charted taken form Scales-Trent's (1995) <em>Notes of a White Black woman</em></td>
<td>page # of passage</td>
<td>Key word(s) identifying stage of bi-racial identity model</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>You are not a member of the white family that might also claim you. That family must renounce you, and you must renounce it. You are in the black family, as will all of your children and your grandchildren and your great-grandchildren. It is by thus redefining “family” to exclude their black family members that white Americans keep themselves and their “family” white. The notion of “family” stops where “black” begins.</td>
<td>p. 63</td>
<td>You are in the black family, as will be all of your children and your grandchildren and your great-grandchildren.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>We renounce the reality of our real families, and we embrace the unreal reality of a social construct.</td>
<td>p. 63</td>
<td>we embrace the unreal reality of a social construct.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(T) = Transition*

unreal reality; acknowledges the social-political construction of race;
## Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman (Identity)

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<tr>
<td>51</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Let me be clear. I am not claiming that I always see these complications. I often think and speak as if the categories &quot;black&quot; and &quot;white&quot; are real. I am just as hungry for a place to belong as anyone else. I am just as willing as others to choose up sides. But living on the margins forces me to live with, and therefore to see, the complications. And it is very complicated indeed. For the truth is that all Americans with some African ancestry are indeed &quot;black,&quot; since we also have ancestors who came from Europe and Asia and South America and the South Pacific; we have ancestors who were Cherokee, Choctaw, Lumbee.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I often think and speak as if the categories &quot;black&quot; and &quot;white&quot; are real. I am just as hungry for a place to belong as anyone else. I am just as willing as others to choose up sides. But living on the margins forces me to live with, and therefore to see, the complications. And it is very complicated indeed.</td>
<td>p. 64</td>
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<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>I am torn by my understanding of both truths, which exist side by side at the same time, for it means that we both can and cannot choose up sides. It is holding both these truths in my hand at the same time that is so difficult—and so important—to do.</td>
<td>p. 65</td>
<td>I am torn by my understanding of both truths, which exist side by side at the same time, for it means that we both can and cannot choose up sides.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>And one of the wonderful things about being black in academia is that because you speak both black and white you get to poke fun in two languages. So it was with yelps of delight and hoots of recognition that I listened while Anna, a light-skinned black professor, described her &quot;Mo' Black Theory of Adaptation.&quot;</td>
<td>pp. 67-68</td>
<td>No clear key words or themes identified.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Halfway through the evening I started to talk with a black man with dark skin. We had mutual friends. We also discovered that we had both grown up in Harlem at about the same time. &quot;Where did you live?&quot; he asked. I gave him the address. &quot;Oh,&quot; he responded, &quot;you lived on Sugar Hill, up there with the rich folks, up in the</td>
<td>p. 69-70</td>
<td>&quot;Well,&quot; I answered, &quot;I guess you win.&quot; He was thrown off, confused. &quot;Win what?&quot; &quot;I guess you win the 'who-suffered-most contest,'&quot; I said. I dropped the line, dropped the subject, and moved on to talk with</td>
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</table>
## Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman (Identity)

### Column A

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<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>fancy part of Harlem.” (An unsmiling smile. A sneer?) “I was raised at the bottom of the hill, on the other side of the park. The poor side.” “Well,” I answered, “I guess you win.” He was thrown off, confused. “Win what?” “I guess you win the ‘who-suffered-most contest,’” I said. I dropped the line, dropped the subject, and moved on to talk with someone else... He pushed the middle-class-kid-with-light-skin guilt button: how high would I jump? I was supposed to feel awkward, confused, embarrassed, guilty at my good fortune. He also pushed the “mo’ black” button—for the more deprived your childhood, the “mo’ black” you be! I answered his sneaky meanness with open meanness, and I guess I don’t get points for that. But let me tell you, it felt good to push that guilt away. I didn’t want it. It felt good to say, “I know that game, and I’m not playing. I know my lines and I won’t say them Sorry, buddy. Work out your own stuff by yourself.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Column B

<table>
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<tr>
<td>someone else...He pushed the middle-class-kid-with-light-skin guilt button: how high would I jump? I was supposed to feel awkward, confused, embarrassed, guilty at my good fortune. He also pushed the “mo’ black” button—for the more deprived your childhood, the “mo’ black” you be!</td>
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</table>

### Column C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The stage represented</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>awareness of the socio-political construction of race = Stage 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Definitions

| 55 | All white. While talking with one of the men, the topic turned to civil rights issues. Even more treacherous, the | In an attempt to warn him that racist comments would be inappropriate, I let him know that I was black..... I am |
Appendix B, Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>topic turned to affirmative action. In an attempt to warn him that racist comments would be inappropriate, in an attempt to avoid having to leave the party after such comments, I let him know that I was black. But clearly he had been forewarned, because he was not surprised. He was, indeed, ready. And he replied, with a smile: “No, you’re not.” I am used to this denial. If I look like you, and if you are comfortable talking with me, then I cannot be Other. Sometimes it is said in shock, dismay: “No! you can’t be!” Sometimes, in confusion: “But you don’t look black.” Sometimes, like this time, it is said calmly, with a certainty that the speaker, not I, controlled my identity. I was polite but firm: “You are wrong. I am black. You probably just don’t know what black people look like.” He did not press further. But I was stunned, as I am so often stunned by the sense of entitlement to define that so many white people have. He was clear that it was he who would tell me who I was: I would not name myself.</td>
<td>in an attempt to avoid having to leave the party after such comments, I let him know that I was black.... I was polite but firm: “You are wrong, I am black. You probably just don’t know what black people look like.”</td>
<td>black: Declaration of racial identity demonstrated and understanding of when to expose differences = Stage 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Do you know that those government bureaucrats you talk to are checking little boxes marked “black” or “white” during your conversation? Assume it. They do.</td>
<td>p. 74</td>
<td>Do you know that those government bureaucrats you talk to are checking little boxes marked “black” or “white”? I correct them; Acceptance and assertion of unique identity.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>In a society based on racial stratification, the state must keep track of who is who. I always assume also that the race-namers will get it wrong. I correct them. Often they are embarrassed. They mutter “Oh,” avert their eye, correct the form. But sometimes they get a real attitude.</td>
<td>p. 74</td>
<td>“black” or “white” during your conversation? Assume it. They do. In a society based on racial stratification, the state must keep track of who is who. I always assume also that the race-namers will get it wrong. I correct them. Often they are embarrassed.</td>
<td>racial identity = Stage 3 (T) transition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>I remember one time in particular, after the cab I was in crashed into the car in front, then backed into the one behind. A policeman stopped to help. He took down the story. As he was taking down my name and address, I noticed that he had checked the “white” box. “Officer,”</td>
<td>p. 74</td>
<td>you made an error on your form. I am not white. I am black,.... if I say so” indeed. No, you cannot give that to me. I am not the one who said so.” You are, Mr. White Cop.</td>
<td>Acceptance and assertion of racial make-up = Stage 3 (T) Transition</td>
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Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman
(Identity)

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<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>I said politely, “you made an error on your form. I am not white. I am black,” he gave me a long, bored look, decided not to discuss it, and said, “sure, lady. If you say so.” If I say so? If I say so! As if it were my idea! I was enraged at his assumption that all of this—the categories, the racial purity laws, the lives that are stomped, mangled, ruined because of those categories and those laws—was based on my say-so. If I said so, we would do away with all of it—the sickness and fear, the need to classify as a way to control, the need to make some appear smaller so that others can appear larger. “If I say so” indeed. No, you cannot give that to me. I am not the one who “said so.” You are, Mr. White Cop. It is all smoke and mirrors, but it’s your smoke, your mirrors.</td>
<td>It is all smoke and mirrors, but it’s your smoke, your mirrors.</td>
<td>Understanding of the social political construction of race and who has the power to assign racial labels = Stage 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>I am willing to go by the rules to the extent that these rules gave me a home, for I intend to keep my home. But you don’t get the chance to construct and reconstruct my reality any way you choose every twenty minutes. That decision was made some fifty years ago when I was born, when the state required that my parents indicate my race for the birth certificate. They quite correctly, “colored.” And so I am Parental</td>
<td>pp. 74-75</td>
<td>That decision was made some fifty years ago when I was born, when the state required that my parents indicate my race for the birth certificate. They obeyed the state’s laws of racial purity and wrote, “colored.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>am. Like you, I have a piece of paper that tells me where I belong in the state’s system of racial hierarchy.</td>
<td>pp. 77</td>
<td>(T) = Transition colored. And so I am. Like you, I have a piece of paper that tells me where I belong in the state’s system of racial hierarchy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>Like the matter of race, it only works if you believe. If you believe that having a lot of pretty rocks means you may have food and shelter, it will be true. Only believe that people can be sorted out by “race,” and that that sorting has meaning, and that too will be true. Tinkerbell will live, if you just believe. And, fools that we are, we do.</td>
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**Appendix B, Table 1**

**Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman (Identity)**
### Appendix B, Table 1

#### Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman (Identity)

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<td>60</td>
<td>It is both amazing and profoundly disheartening to learn that even DuBois did not understand that rejecting someone because of their color (dark) is the same as rejecting someone because of their color (light). It is hard not to lose hope.</td>
<td>p. 82</td>
<td>It is both amazing and profoundly disheartening to learn that even DuBois did not understand that rejecting someone because of their color (dark) is the same as rejecting someone because of their color (light). It is hard not to lose hope.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>The second lesson I remember came from a black friend at a summer picnic in the park. Again, I attended with my date, a dark-skinned African American. We were all dressed for fun: I was wearing shorts, a tee shirt, sandals. And as we walked into the park to greet our friends—a cluster of black people at one picnic area</td>
<td>p. 85</td>
<td>I have thought a long time about his statement. It was very powerful and very frightening. I wondered if he was exaggerating the risk.... That one African American man, at least, was clear: I could get someone—a</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>surrounded by many groups of whites—this friend came up to us quickly and said, with an anxious tone, “Girl, you’re going to get him killed dressed like that! Don’t you have something you can put on to cover up?” He laughed nervously as he said it, trying to pretend that it was a joke. But we both knew full well that he meant it seriously. It was no joke. I have thought a long time about his statement. It was very powerful and very frightening. I wondered if he was exaggerating the risk. Perhaps he was responding to his own sexual feelings as he looked at me, trying to dismiss them by dismissing me. Or did I really pose such a threat of danger at a picnic in a Washington D.C., park on a summer’s afternoon in the 1970s? That one African American man, at least, was clear: I could get someone—a black man—killed. And it would be all my fault for forgetting for an instant that I was “white” and that the rule for me was not to “date black.”</td>
<td>p. 86</td>
<td>black man—killed. And it would be all my fault for forgetting for an instant that I was “white” and that the rule for me was not to “date black.”</td>
<td>Stage 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>It is more than bizarre to be black and to fear attack for being “white.” Walking down the street in Berkeley, I was accosted by a homeless man who was irate when I did not respond to his entreaties: “You white bitch!”</td>
<td></td>
<td>No clear key words or themes identified as a specific identity development stage.</td>
<td>No way to determine the identity developmental stage represented in this</td>
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### Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman (Identity)

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**Black does not equal brown**

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<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>But now I answer that question differently. When someone asks me “How many black people were there?” I say, “I have no idea. How can you tell who is black? How can I?” For although I can count all the brown faces in a room, there is no way that I can count the “black” faces. For brown does not equal “black.”</td>
<td>placebo-</td>
<td>p. 88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Not only do I know black people who are not brown, I also know black people who did not know they were black until they found out by accident in their later years. And I know of black people whose parents have decided to never tell them they are black. So tell me: And I know of black people whose parents have decided to never tell them they are black. So tell me: how can you and I be sure when the players themselves do not know?</td>
<td>placebo-</td>
<td>p. 89</td>
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<td></td>
<td>how can you and I be sure when the players themselves do not know? Do not know? Do not know yet? May never know?</td>
<td></td>
<td>Do not know yet? May never know?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Here is a list of some people I know who are African Americans with white skin, black Americans generally mistaken for white: dentist....doctor.</td>
<td>p. 89-90</td>
<td>No clear key words or themes identified as a specific identity development stage.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>My role is to point out the paradoxes, to emphasize the contradictions until the system collapses of its own insanity. But I am only one voice, and the dream of racial purity is still very valuable to those who own this country.</td>
<td>p. 91</td>
<td>But I am only one voice, and the dream of racial purity is still very valuable to those who own this country.</td>
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## Appendix B, Table 1

### Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman

(Identity)

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<td>Key word(s) identifying stage of bi-racial identity model</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>I like to think that he had a good life in this new land—that he learned the new language and the new ways, and that he survived. And because, like everyone else, I would rather my relative be decent folks, not knaves, I</td>
<td>p. 98</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Instructions (for the “white” person who wants to understand)

A: How to tell if a person with white skin is “white” 1. ask the person, 2. assume that he or she will tell you the truth. 3. assume that he or she knows the truth.

B: How to tell if you are “white” 1. ask your parents, 2. assume that they know the truth. 3. assume that they will tell you the truth.

A: How to tell if a person with white skin is “white” 1. ask the person, 2. assume that he or she will tell you the truth. 3. assume that he or she knows the truth.

p. 93

A: How to tell if you are “white” 1. ask your parents, 2. assume that they know the truth. 3. assume that they will tell you the truth.

p. 98

Ask your parents; Parental guidance = Stage 1

(T) = Transition

Understanding of racial identity = Stage 3

This passage reveals something about the white/black identity developmental
### Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman

**Identity**

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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>also like to think that he did in fact “send something back” to his family in the old country. I like to think that he was the “white” man who stopped those white hoodlums from killing a black teenager whose car broke down in “their” neighborhood. He was the “white” merchant who hired black workers when no one else in town would. He was the anonymous donor who sent a hundred-dollar check to the black church after it was firebombed and those four little girls were killed. I like to think that he took care of all his family as best he could.</td>
<td></td>
<td>The stage represented process but it does not fit neatly into the model chosen for this analysis. This passage reveals a greater understanding of the socio-political construction of race and the implications speaks the notion of white privilege = Stage 4</td>
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### On being like a mule

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>What is gained by comparing those with ancestors from both Europe and Africa to a mule, “a sterile hybrid”?......I makes clear that people from Africa and people from Europe are two different animal species, species that should lead separate lives, species that cannot be family. It also emphasizes the notion of hierarchy, for it seems obvious to me that our culture values horses more than donkeys. There are legends, poems, movies about horses; they are swifter creature in this unnatural couple. And what happens when this superior animal violates the normal order of things, transgresses strict boundaries to have sexual union with an inferior being, a creature of</td>
<td></td>
<td>There are legends, poems, movies about horses; they are swifter creature in this unnatural couple. And what happens when this superior animal violates the normal order of things, transgresses strict boundaries to have sexual union with an inferior being, a creature of</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p. 101</td>
<td>This passage reveals something about the white/black identity developmental process but it does not fit neatly into the model chosen for this analysis. This</td>
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### Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman (Identity)

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<th>Column B</th>
<th>Column C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Data charted taken form Scales-Trent's (1995) 'Notes of a White Black woman'</td>
<td>page # of passage</td>
<td>Key word(s) identifying stage of biracial identity model</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>poems, movies about horses; they are swifter creature in this unnatural couple. And what happens when this superior animal violates the normal order of things, transgresses strict boundaries to have sexual union with an inferior being, a creature of another species? Nature herself is offended, and condemns this union by presenting it with a deformed offspring—one that cannot reproduce. Thus, the image of the “sterile hybrid”—the mule, the mulatto—has enormous value. It teaches the lesson that America wants us all to remember. It reminds us of concepts of difference and opposition between African American and European American.</td>
<td>p. 102</td>
<td>another species?... Thus, the image of the “sterile hybrid”—the mule, the mulatto. The stage represented passage reveals a greater understanding of the socio-political construction of race and the implications speaks the notion of racial labels and name calling = Stage 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>But no, we have only the mule, and the word “mulatto.” We have only messages of opprobrium, disdain, ridicule—images of stupidity, slavery, and powerlessness.</td>
<td>p. 102</td>
<td>we have only ... the word “mulatto.”; Comparing to others = Stage 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102-103</td>
<td>But it was there, for the first time, that someone named me “a hankety-haired yellow heifer.” Well, no—not me directly, but it felt direct, because the dark-skinned scholar who made the reference in her presentation was</td>
<td>p. 102-103</td>
<td>But it was there, for the first time, that someone named me “a hankety-haired yellow heifer.” She was angry because a white naming me after yet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Appendix B, Table 1**

- **Column A**: Data charted taken form Scales-Trent's (1995) 'Notes of a White Black woman'
- **Column B**: Key word(s) identifying stage of biracial identity model
- **Column C**: The stage represented
## Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman (Identity)

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>angry when she made it. She was angry because a white black woman—a nineteenth-century writer—had made derogatory comments in her writing about black Americans with dark skin. Now this scholar laughed when she said the words, as if to diminish their force. She also apologized before using it, and called it &quot;a phrase from my youth,&quot; as if it was really not her using those words that day. But it was. It was a phrase she used to wound, and she meant it for that moment and for the pain she felt that day. I have decided not to travel down the path of trying to figure out all that she meant by naming me after yet another farm animal: a heifer, a &quot;hankety-haired yellow heifer.&quot; I know enough. It sure wasn't good.</td>
<td></td>
<td>black woman—a nineteenth-century writer—had made derogatory comments in her writing about black Americans with dark skin..... I have decided not to travel down the path of trying to figure out all that she meant by naming me after yet another farm animal: a heifer, a &quot;hankety-haired yellow heifer.&quot; I know enough. It sure wasn't good.</td>
<td>another farm animal; Comparing to others = Stage 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## (Dis)continuities

| 72        | But we do blur the margins. We are more different than is acceptable. We exist in ways that confuse the categories. And categories are acceptable; a continuum is not. | p. 107 | We are more different than is acceptable. We exist in ways that confuse the categories. |
|           |                                                                                      |       | We are more different than is acceptable. We exist in ways that confuse the categories. |

We are more different than is acceptable. We exist in ways that confuse the categories. 
Understanding of racial identity = Stage 3
Appendix B, Table 1

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</table>
|         | **Suddenly, unexpectedly, I am looking into the eyes of two sisters joined at the head, smiling into the camera. “They have just started college. They have lots of friends. Isn’t life grand!” I am enraged at the magazine editors. I turn the page quickly, refusing to look at them, refusing to participate in their exploration. Or do I simply refuse to acknowledge their existence? This is not how things are supposed to be. This is not how bodies are supposed to look.** | p. 108 | (T) Transition  
We exist in ways that confuse the categories; A greater awareness of the socio-political construction of race = Stage 4  
Questioning others who are strikingly different, a greater awareness of the categories society places different people into. Demonstrates Scales-Trent’s ability to recognize her own desire to categorize and classify other |
### Appendix B, Table 1

<table>
<thead>
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<td>page # of passage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>But I am haunted by my picture of him. I was aghast, stunned, repulsed by how different he was from me. He did not fit comfortably into my category “man,” which I thought I had seen as a broad, widely encompassing word. He did not really fit into my category “person,” even “disabled person.” He was in his own category, somewhere in the margin—way out in the margin. And I was repulsed by my new understanding of myself.</td>
<td>p. 108</td>
</tr>
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### Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman (Identity)

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<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>I had not seen someone who looked like him before. He was the water creature with three heartbeats. And I see once again how difference at the margin frightens us. As the anthropologist Mary Douglas explains: “...all margins are dangerous.</td>
<td>p. 109</td>
<td>Mary Douglas explains: “...all margins are dangerous.</td>
<td>all margins are dangerous.</td>
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<td>Key word(s) identifying stage of bi-racial identity model</td>
<td>The stage represented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>That is not our way. We do not kill those who do not fit within the categories we create. We marginalize, we reject, we shun. We hide them away. There might well be many more young men like the man in the airport hidden in homes, in veterans' hospitals around the country, afraid of how they will be treated if they come out. For the categories must remain pure. Life must be understandable. &quot;The quest for purity,&quot; Douglas writes, &quot;is pursued by rejection.&quot; She is right. It is we who put that sadness into his eyes. It is you who put it in mine.</td>
<td>p. 109</td>
<td>We do not kill those who do not fit within the categories we create. We marginalize, we reject, we shun. We hide them away.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>inclusion of this statement shows that Scales-Trent uniquely understands the social need and the dangers of human categorizations = Stage 4</td>
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The re-vision of marginality
# Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman (Identity)

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>I am as moved by Schubert’s Trout Quartet as I am by the songs of Sweet Honey I the Rock. I weep when I hear a choir sing “Precious Lord, Take my Hand,” and I am filled with joy when I hear Puccini’s “Messa di Gloria.” I embrace all the treasures these two cultures offer me. Why choose less, when one could have more? And why cheat our children out of all this richness?</td>
<td>p. 115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Affirmative action and stigma: The education of a professor

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Column A</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Passage #</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>The stage represented</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>He gave more suggestions, then concluded: “But really, you don’t need to worry, because you’re black. You will get tenure anyhow. “His statement hit me like a smack across the face. How dare he try to invalidate all my past and future work so easily! I stammered a response: “If that is so, why have none of the black law professors who came here before me been granted tenure?” But once again, the facts seemed irrelevant, a feeble answer to his charge—a charge that my work would not be judged on merit, a charge that the only reason he did not get tenure was because he was white (because, surely, his credentials were impeccable), a charge that the only</td>
<td>p. 120</td>
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<td>Passage #</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>reason that I might get tenure was because I was black. Irrefutable</td>
<td>p. 122</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>charges, both. Perhaps he was right. And how would I ever know? Or was</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>it ultimately impossible to know?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>How can one live inside the stigma? And yet remain enough untouched by</td>
<td>How can one live inside the stigma? And yet remain enough untouched by</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>it to do one's work? How can we live inside the stigma and still “sing”?</td>
<td>it to do one's work? How can we live inside the stigma and still</td>
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<td></td>
<td>How can we fight against the stigmas, fight against the belief that we</td>
<td>“sing”?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>are “unqualified,” and still retain enough energy and belief in</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ourselves to enable us to get our work done? This is hard, but clearly</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>it can be done. Black poets do sing.</td>
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<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>One way to survive at living and working within stigma is to keep in</td>
<td>p. 122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>close contact with others who wear that stigma, to try to see each other</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>honestly, and to give each other the encouragement and honest assessment</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>of our work that we all need.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>There is a danger, however, in being successful at this (having</td>
<td>Stigma is used for a reason—for social structure and for social control.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>knowledge of those who identify as other yet have managed to succeed in</td>
<td>It tells you what your place is, and it tells you to stay in your</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>society). The oppressor groups expend enormous energy creating and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stigma is used for a reason—for social structure and for social control;</td>
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**Appendix B, Table 1**

Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman (Identity)
### Appendix B, Table 1

#### Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman (Identity)

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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Passage</strong></td>
<td>maintaining the purity of these categories and definitions. If society has stigmatized you and you act as if you are not stigmatized, you are violating some serious social norms. Stigma is used for a reason—for social structure and for social control. It tells you what your place is, and it tells you to stay in your place. And there is dislocation, there is confusion, there is rage if you act inappropriate ways. There is a sense in which you are “out of control” (out of its control, that is). And society does not tolerate well those who are out of control.</td>
<td>p. 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>82</strong></td>
<td>So this is the dilemma: You are punished if you are controlled by the stigma, for then you cannot get your work done. And you are punished if you transcend the stigma, for then you can get your work done. Society has created a “lose-lose” situation for us. What we have to do is turn that situation around and see it for the free—ing gift that it is.</td>
<td><strong>Skinwalkers, race, and geography</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix B, Table 1

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>Thinking about the lives of these two young girls—one whose life was thrown into disarray by lines drawn on a map; the other, who was turned inside out by lines marked down in a book of rules—thinking about these two girls makes me think about the relationship between race and geography.</td>
<td>p. 130</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**"Where're your people from?": Thoughts on ethnicity and race.**

<table>
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<tr>
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<th><strong>The stage represented</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>“Trent...Trent...That name rings a bell. Did any of your people teach school?” “Well, sure,” relied. “There’s my aunt Estelle and my aunt Altona—“ He cut me off, excited. “That’s it! I knew it! Your aunt Estelle taught me in the third grade when we lived in Greensboro. You sure do favor her.” We both smiled at the link we had found—two strangers up north, people who would likely never see each other again, but connected by family and by place.</td>
<td>No clear key words or themes identified as a specific identity development stage.</td>
<td>No way to determine the identity developmental stage represented in this passage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>A group of us went to dinner at a restaurant, where I discovered that a colleague sitting across the table was</td>
<td>No clear key words or themes identified as a specific identity</td>
<td>No way to determine the identity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>also from North Carolina. “Where’re your people from?” I asked. And we discovered that his people are from Winston-Salem, as are mine; and that they lived on Fourteenth street, which is where my grandparents lived and where I spent my childhood summers: and that his grand-mother’s church was Mount Pleasant, where my uncle was pastor. “What?” he exclaimed. “You’re Reverend Crawford’s niece?” We were astonished and delighted, and I started to call him “cousin.” We were kin.</td>
<td>p. 136-137</td>
<td>development stage.</td>
<td>developmental stage represented in this passage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>We are still members of a race, not an ethnic group. Thus, when black Americans suggest replacing the term “black” with the term “African American,” it is more than a word game. It is about moving our group definition—and hence ourselves—from a racial group to an ethnic group. It is about wanting to become a more integral part of the American community, to move closer to the norm.</td>
<td>p. 140</td>
<td>For isn’t it true that life started in</td>
<td>And aren’t we all just...</td>
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## Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman (Identity)

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<td></td>
<td>around the world from there? And aren't we all just variations on an African theme?</td>
<td>p. 140</td>
<td>What countries did your people travel through on their way here from Africa?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>I think the difficulty in understanding the notion of ethnicity comes from asking the wrong question all along. The question should not be “Where did your people come from?” but rather “What countries did your people travel through on their way here from Africa?” Or maybe “What was the most recent stop your people made on their trek to this place from Africa? Was it Denmark? Turkey? Bolivia? Vietnam?”</td>
<td>p. 140</td>
<td>The question should not be “Where did your people come from?” but rather “What countries did your people travel through on their way here from Africa?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>I add one final complication to a very clear question. Remember that the American rule of racial purity states that Americans who can trace any ancestry back to Africa are black, African American. Then remember that all the people in this country started out on their journey to America from Africa. The result is startling, but cannot be escaped. Those Americans who call themselves white are all pretending to be something else—“passing.” But they deny her to no avail. For Mother Africa is mother to us all. And we are all</td>
<td>p. 140</td>
<td>The result is startling, but cannot be escaped. Those Americans who call themselves white are all pretending to be something else—“passing.” But they deny her to no avail. For Mother Africa is mother to us all. And we are all</td>
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<td>African Americans.</td>
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**An ordinary day**

More recently, I have been giving copies of the Enchanted Hair Tale, a story about a little black boy who is teased because he wears his hair in dreadlocks. It is a gentle book—one of those books where you can’t tell which is more lovely, the text or the pictures. But recently, as I was about to buy this book for a new baby, I hesitated—for I was planning to give it to people who were not-quite-yet good friends and who are not African American. All of a sudden I was anxious. I was not sure how they would respond to the gift of a book that was, to me, so very personal—a gift from inside my culture, across the wall, to them, in their culture. Would they be able to see the beauty and the love? Would they understand that the story could illuminate their lives too? Or would they be embarrassed to receive a book about a black child, see only stigma devalue the book as we black Americans are devalued?

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(T) Transition

The action of giving the book and considering it a reflection of her culture shows acceptance and assertion of racial identity = Stage 3
# Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman (Identity)

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>It was important that the white students see the fierce and ancient hunger of black Americans for learning. I also wanted them to see how we love and honor those black Americans who came before us and paved our way. For why would one want to find common ground with a people who did not love and respect itself?</td>
<td>p. 160</td>
<td>I also wanted them to see how we love and honor those black Americans who came before us and paved our way.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>All of this happened because he was black and brave. And because others followed when he decided the time had come to lead.</td>
<td>p. 161</td>
<td>No clear key words or themes identified as a specific identity development stage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Cox was, I reminded them, urging the demonstrators to violate a state law that required eating establishments to segregate diners by race I asked the class whether the Constitution protects speech that urges others to violate state statutes. After a long silence, one student said: “You mean, there used to be laws like that?” I was aghast. Could it really be that although I had lived more than half my life under those laws, society was now pretending</td>
<td>p.168</td>
<td>After a long silence, one student said: “You mean, there used to be laws like that?” I was aghast. Could it really be that although I had lived more than half my life under those laws, society was now pretending</td>
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## Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman

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<tr>
<td>aghast. Could it really be that although I had lived more than half my life under those laws, society was now pretending that those laws had never existed? As a result of this new understanding of what they did not know, what they had not been taught, I modified the course syllabus. During the next class we read and discussed the black laws of Virginia between 1866 and 1922.</td>
<td>that those laws had never existed? As a result of this new understanding of what they did not know, what they had not been taught, I modified the course syllabus.</td>
<td>understanding of the biological and socio-political construction of race = Stage 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is abundantly clear, therefore, why so few people work at the crossroads, or even acknowledge that they are standing there: it is unpopular, it is disorienting, it makes decision-making even more troublesome. Nonetheless, for better or worse, because I live at the crossroads, this is the only way I can teach. I don’t always meet my own goals. I have my own problems with sameness and difference. The best I can do is show the students that it can be done, and that it can open up the world.</td>
<td>It is abundantly clear, therefore, why so few people work at the crossroads, or even acknowledge that they are standing there: it is unpopular, it is disorienting, it makes decision-making even more troublesome. Nonetheless, for better or worse, because I live at the crossroads, this is the only way I can teach.</td>
<td>why so few people work at the crossroads,... this is the only way I can teach.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>p. 184</td>
<td>A greater understanding of the role racial identity plays in society =</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Qualitative content analysis of a White Black Woman

(Identity)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>Column A</th>
<th>Column B</th>
<th>Column C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Data charted taken form Scales-Trent's (1995) 'Notes of a White Black woman'</td>
<td>page # of passage</td>
<td>Key word(s) identifying stage of bi-racial identity model</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stage 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B

TABLE 2
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</th>
<th>C-CCT practice represented</th>
<th>C-CCT orientation represented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Commonalities: On being black and white different, and the same</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Nonetheless, in this essay <em>I ask you to experience my vision of the world</em>—......a world where one must question the very existence of those categories in order to survive.</td>
<td>No specific vocalization of a C-CCT practice used. However the word <em>asks</em> is used in this passage. Thus the passage becomes a conversation with the reader as such this passage shows the C-CCT practices of <em>educating others</em> (P)</td>
<td>Assertive/ Accommodation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>He sang out: What did I do to be so black and blue? And I wept: What did I do to be so black, so white?</td>
<td>No specific vocalization of a C-CCT practice used. Similarly because she is asking the reader to experience her vision she is attempting to <em>dispel stereotypes</em></td>
<td>Nonassertive/ Accommodation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix B, Table 2
Qualitative content analysis of a White Black woman
(Co-cultural communication practices and orientations)
## Appendix B, Table 2

**Qualitative content analysis of a White Black woman**  
*(Co-cultural communication practices and orientations)*

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<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
<td><em>I wish I had a name</em> to make my home in, to hide inside of. Maybe we should bring back the name “mulatto.” For a woman, the French would say “mulâtresse.” An identity. A group to belong to. You say “mulatto,” and it conjures up meaning a person despised by dark-skinned brothers and sisters.*</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>The C-CCT practice of <strong>intragroup networking</strong> applies because she is showing a similar struggle for racial acceptance and understanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
<td><em>I wish I had a name</em> to make my home in, to hide inside of. Maybe we should bring back the name “mulatto.” For a woman, the French would say “mulâtresse.” An identity. A group to belong to. You say “mulatto,” and it conjures up meaning a person despised by dark-skinned brothers and sisters.*</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>However the C-CCT practice of <strong>Bargaining</strong> applies because she covertly asking for acceptance from the dominant culture (both Blacks and/or Whites) when she writes <em>I wish I had a name</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
<td><em>I wish I had a name</em> to make my home in, to hide inside of. Maybe we should bring back the name “mulatto.” For a woman, the French would say “mulâtresse.” An identity. A group to belong to. You say “mulatto,” and it conjures up meaning a person despised by dark-skinned brothers and sisters.*</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>However the C-CCT practice of <strong>strategic distancing</strong> applies because she is expressing a dislike for the term <strong>Mulatto</strong>, a term which is used to segregate blacks by skin tone. In addition she is searching for a term that unifies not segregates via skin tone.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix B, Table 2

**Qualitative content analysis of a White Black woman**  
*(Co-cultural communication practices and orientations)*

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>p. 13</td>
<td>Cast out, cast out, always cast out from the only home, the only safe place, ... No place to hide. White people would let me in, of course. They think that I belong with them. They smile at me. They welcome me. <em>They think I'm their sister.</em></td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>tone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>p. 13</td>
<td>They think I'm on their team. And so I'm always waiting, waiting for them to say it. Please don't say it. Don't do that to me... can't I even go across town in a cab without having my whole identity called into question? Always wary. Always fighting their silent thoughts, their safe assumptions. <em>Fighting for control of who I am.</em></td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>tone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>p. 14</td>
<td>Suddenly, the world was opened to me: streets,</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>tone.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix B, Table 2

### Qualitative content analysis of a White Black woman

*(Co-cultural communication practices and orientations)*

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>movies, schools, restaurants. I put one foot into the world of white-Jewish-liberal-intellectuals when I was in the fifth grade, and <em>I've been straddling two worlds ever since.</em></td>
<td>However the C-CCT practice <strong>censoring self</strong> is used because she is negotiating both realities. The inward identity and the outward perception of her identity, the act of living fully in two cultures that neatly coexist.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>What do you do if you’re rejected by one world, and are constantly rejecting the other? <em>I am perceived by some as white, by some as black,</em> by yet others as a black person but “really white,” so (a) you can trust her and (b) you can’t trust her. <em>And yet I’m me all the time.</em> Jerked back and forth by other people’s needs and fears ’til it gets hard for me to figure out who I am in all this.</td>
<td><strong>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>These are the notes of a white black woman. *(&quot;Mommy, which water fountain should I drink out of, white or colored?&quot;)...*A question she asked her mother as a child in an attempt to communicate co-</td>
<td><strong>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>C-CCT practice of using a liaison (P) is revealed in this passage because to a child</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Assertive/Accommodation</strong></td>
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Qualitative content analysis of a White Black woman
(Co-cultural communication practices and orientations)

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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>p. 14</td>
<td>cultural group member status in society.</td>
<td>the adult is a member of the dominant group.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>p. 15</td>
<td>Sometimes I’m black/white. Sometimes I’m white/black. On a good day, <em>I just live my life.</em></td>
<td><strong>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>avoiding the <em>anxiety</em> of last night’s chamber recital... color makes it all more complicated...<em>anxious and frightened</em>...co-culture member making covert arrangement to ignore co-cultural differences</td>
<td><em>I just live my life.</em> Shows awareness of her authentic self, social contradictions and all therefore <strong>Communicating self</strong> is the C-CCT for this passage.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>p. 15</td>
<td>I felt very anxious and frightened. I was <em>losing control of my identity as a black</em> person.</td>
<td><strong>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</strong></td>
<td>I was <em>losing control of my identity as a black</em> person.</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>p. 15-16</td>
<td>but at intermission, <em>I saw about half a dozen black people</em>. The pendulum tilted back to center and <em>I was steadied</em>. I must gain better control over who I am. I must learn to live squarely, steadily, and surely in the middle of ambiguity, centered strongly in my own No-Name. I must define the No-Name and make it my home.</td>
<td><em>of identity</em>; by admitting (via attendance) to enjoying a stereotypically white (dominant cultural pastime) Scales-Trent is showing fear of <em>emphasizing commonalities</em>.</td>
<td>Nonassertive/Separation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>p. 16</td>
<td>Then last week I saw “Death and the King’s Horseman,” .....I was watching the beautiful dark-skinned women ...and thought... I wished my skin were that color....that thought was immediately</td>
<td><em>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</em> was verbally expressed however the sentence <em>I like the way I look</em> indicates a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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### Appendix B, Table 2

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(Co-cultural communication practices and orientations)

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<td>15</td>
<td>p.17</td>
<td>replaced by “That’s not true. <em>I like the way I look. I look just fine.</em>”</td>
<td>confidence and a authenticity of identity acceptance therefore I have assigned the C-CCT of communicating self to this passage.</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>p.17</td>
<td>How can I say “No, don’t be nice to me. I’m black” How can I try to keep from passing when all I’m trying to do is catch a fucking cab?”</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>No verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>There is no way around it. I am passing all the time as I walk through the world. <em>I can only correct the perceptions of those persons I deal with on a more than casual basis.</em> And <em>I feel like a fraud.</em></td>
<td>No verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
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Scales-Trent’s field of experience offers her a keen sense of awareness and she fully

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Understands that she is going to have to employ the practice of <strong>educating others</strong>.</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>within this same passage the statement <em>I feel like a fraud</em> reveals the practice of <strong>maintaining barriers</strong>.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>If I am forgiven, perhaps I will be allowed back into the fold. <em>Will someone forgive me?</em></td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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# Qualitative content analysis of a White Black woman

## (Co-cultural communication practices and orientations)

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>p. 18</td>
<td>I am spared ..... (physically aggression) .... I have my own craziness from being white/black, but I am not damaged the same way.</td>
<td>Will someone forgive me? Scales-Trent strikes a overt agreement with dominant group members Bargaining</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>p. 19</td>
<td>I have come to a strong sense of my own self-worth .... I claim only myself, and define myself by my own name.</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>No verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Assertive/Accommodation</td>
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(Co-cultural communication practices and orientations)

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<tr>
<td><strong>23</strong></td>
<td>p. 28</td>
<td>When do I tell someone that I am black? ....And if I don’t tell....are I “passing”?</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>Reflective uncertainty of co-cultural group membership and perceived dominant group member guilt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>p. 29</td>
<td>As I write the words, I know why they must come out. They must be clear about who they are. As I do. This is also why I “come out.” .....I come out to white people to say to them: “Beware. I am Other....”And I come out to black people......to say “I am family. You are safe with me. I am you.”</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>Beware. I am Other. The assertion of her warning indicates aggression and the clarity of her words indicates this conversation has taken place at one time in her life. Therefore the C-CCT practice of confronting has been assigned to this statement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>p. 29</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
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<tr>
<td>24 p.29</td>
<td><em>You are safe with me</em> she shows an awareness and confidence of her unique characteristic implying that this statement can also be considered as the C-CCT practice of <strong>communicating self</strong>.</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>Intragroup networking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 p.29</td>
<td><em>For I am still Other.</em> Coming out only proclaims how I am different, not that I am the same.</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td><em>For I am still Other</em> shows an awareness of her unique characteristic implying that this statement can be considered as the C-CCT practice of <strong>communicating self</strong>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Afterword and preface</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>p. 34</td>
<td>The decision to publish came later. And that decision was less about publishing than it was about <em>finding a way to speak about the unspeakable.</em></td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT the process of making the decision and writing the book is a way of introducing this phenomenon into the world of racial identity and race related issue for discussion. Therefore this statement is assigned the C-CCT practice of <em>educating others.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>p. 34</td>
<td>In a holistic context, the process of writing the book shows that she has also used the C-CCT practice of <em>extensive preparation</em> in order to communicate her message and the thoughtfulness of her message by editing and rewriting clearly extends this passage into communicated action.</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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(Co-cultural communication practices and orientations)

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</table>
| 27        | had I been able to have *conversations in secret with others*—if, ... others had written....stories about their life as a white black person. | **Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT**
Using others to help define self is the C-CCT practice of *Intragroup networking*
Additionally, she does this to manage tension of *perceived dominant group member guilt* |                              |
| 28        | I would have to publish *in order to force* the beginning of a conversation. | **No verbal vocalization of a C-CCT**
But *in order to force* becomes the action word I needed to take this passage from thought to communicative action therefore she is explaining the C-CCT practice of *confronting* | **Aggressive/ Accommodation** |
| 29        | *Cautiously*, I would force myself to show “commonalities” to twenty people. I would speak the unspeakable to twenty. | **Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT**
By showing “commonalities” (the working title of her book) her book to 20 people she is hoping they will appreciate the message |                              |
Qualitative content analysis of a White Black woman
(Co-cultural communication practices and orientations)

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<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>p. 34</td>
<td>Then, and only then, would I allow myself to send it out to publishers......I waited. Anxious. <em>Fearful.</em> <em>What would they think?</em></td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>Emphasizing commonalities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>p. 39</td>
<td>Place: An elegant reception in New York City. Time: Some time in the fifties. The white man was astonished, perplexed. .....“<em>But how can you tell that you’re a Negro?</em>” he asked innocently, stupidly. And my father answered: “<em>Because America tells me so.</em>”</td>
<td>No verbal vocalization of a C-CCT by Scales-Trent</td>
<td>Assertive/Accommodation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The lesson

However, this is the only passage in this chapter show the significance this story has in her life, therefore her communication of her identity. This passage shows the generational process of educating White Black children on how to negotiate questions of racial identity. Because it is
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(Co-cultural communication practices and orientations)

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<td>30</td>
<td>p.39</td>
<td>spoken I assigned it C-CCT practice status and have designated it as communicating self (P).</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>Assertive/Accommodation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>p. 43</td>
<td>One day, in the faculty lounge, <em>I told a few colleagues we were having a hard time finding a place to stay</em> because we were black—did they know of anything available in the area?</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>Assertive/Accommodation</td>
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# Qualitative content analysis of a White Black woman

(∗Co-cultural communication practices and orientations∗)

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<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>p. 44</td>
<td>“Mrs. Ellis, I have just found out that you are a Negro, ....... Nonetheless, I calmly explained that it was very unlikely that anything untoward would take place in a French class, but that if anything inappropriate were said, I had years of experience handling such comments. He seemed relieved. I left the office.</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>Nonassertive/Assimilation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>p. 44</td>
<td>In addition the statement I had years of experience handling such comments. implies a greater sense of self awareness therefore it also show the C-CCT practice of communicating self</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>Assertive/Accommodation</td>
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(**Co-cultural communication practices and orientations**)

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<tr>
<td>33 p.44</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>Also in this statement <em>He seemed relieved</em> shows that she affectively used the C-CCT practice of <strong>educating others</strong></td>
<td>Assertive / Accommodation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34 p.44</td>
<td>No verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>However, the overt action of telling her stories to others in what she sees as the same co-cultural group as her as a means of showing allegiance shows that she is using the C-CCT practice of <strong>intragroup networking (P)</strong></td>
<td>Assertive / Accommodation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34 p.44</td>
<td>No verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>By telling these stories she also does it to remind others in her perceived co-cultural group that she belongs is a way of</td>
<td>Nonassertive / Assimilation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B, Table 2

Qualitative content analysis of a White Black woman
(Co-cultural communication practices and orientations)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>page # of passage</th>
<th>Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</th>
<th>Column E: C-CCT practice represented</th>
<th>Column F: C-CCT orientation represented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>p. 44</td>
<td>We tell our stories. And we are everywhere, white folks. Beware.</td>
<td>maintaining barriers but not to distance but to provide proof of allegiance to members of the Black community (The other dominant group to the white black person)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>pp. 48-49</td>
<td>I thought seriously about skin color when I thought about who would be the father of my children. For this is a country where it is dangerous to be too dark, and where it is wrong to be too light. And we try to protect our children.</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Scales-Trent is using the reader as the other member of this interpersonal transaction. By offering a warning, the sarcasm and her word selection she is using the C-CCT practice of confronting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I...thought seriously about skin color; in this passage Scales Trent indicates a desire to protect her children from the White Black phenomenon; strategic distancing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Qualitative content analysis of a White Black woman

## (Co-cultural communication practices and orientations)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
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<th>C-CCT practice represented</th>
<th>C-CCT orientation represented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>pp. 48-49</td>
<td>Africa in my hair</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>p. 52</td>
<td>How marvelous that was—no more wild hair, no more terror of the rain. When a friend told me one day that I looked like a model from Seventeen magazine, I was delighted. Finally, I had straight hair to match my light skin. Finally I looked beautiful. Finally, I really looked white.</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>p. 53</td>
<td>White people, as usual, never understand… They</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B, Table 2

Qualitative content analysis of a White Black woman (Co-cultural communication practices and orientations)

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<td>Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</td>
<td>C-CCT practice represented</td>
<td>C-CCT orientation represented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>see Africa. And <em>I didn’t know how content I had become</em> with my share of Africa <em>until</em> now, when <em>I am threatened with its loss.</em></td>
<td><em>I didn’t know how content I had become</em> with my share of Africa <em>until</em> now, when <em>I am threatened with its loss.</em> The C-CCT practice of <em>Communicating self</em> is used because she is content and embraces her hair texture.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td><strong>Increased visibility</strong>, strategically maintaining a co-cultural presence with dominant group members her hair is now seen as a point of pride connecting her to her internal identity.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td><em>I am threatened with its loss.</em> Shows that she is trying to maintain visibility; her hair indicates difference from the dominant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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### Appendix B, Table 2

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(Co-cultural communication practices and orientations)

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>p. 55</td>
<td>The first two times, I was polite to these absolute strangers. <em>I thanked them</em>, told them the “curl” was natural.</td>
<td>group membership therefore Scales-Trent wants to maintain the only physical characteristic that overtly declares her co-cultural group member status.</td>
<td>Nonassertive/Assimilation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>p. 55</td>
<td><em>I thanked them</em>; Additional this statement can be interpreted as Scales-Trent using the C-CCT of <strong>developing positive face</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nonassertive/Assimilation</td>
</tr>
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#### Qualitative content analysis of a White Black woman

(Con-cultural communication practices and orientations)

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<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>p. 55</td>
<td>But by the third time, I had had it with not-quite-true politeness, and the truth just pushed its way out: &quot;This is not a permanent. This is just the way my hair is. And you can't get it from a beauty parlor. &quot;You have to be born colored and wait forty years for nappy hair to come into style.&quot;</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>Nonassertive/Assimilation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>pp. 55-56</td>
<td>But by the third time, I had had it with not-quite-true politeness... You have to be born colored and wait forty years for nappy hair to come into style.&quot; The forcefulness of delivery turned to a declaration of co-cultural group membership indicates the C-CCT practice of confronting</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>Aggressive/Accommodation</td>
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<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>p. 56</td>
<td>I was still simmering later that day when I went to the beauty salon near my office for a haircut. So I told this story to Alice, the young white woman who trimmed my hair every month. And she jumped up</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>Assertive/Accommodation</td>
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Qualitative content analysis of a White Black woman
(Co-cultural communication practices and orientations)

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<tr>
<td>and down with glee: “Oh no, Judy, don’t tell them that! Tell them I gave you the perm! Send the business to me!”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shock and Fear in America</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He was shocked. “What happened to your hair?” he said, aghast. (Reader, this was not a Bad Hair Day!) I told him nothing was wrong with my hair, that this was just how the hair of black Americans looked…….But he had a way to address his fear: “You should go and get something to put on your hair that will straighten it. That way people will think you are white.” By then, I was speechless. I paid for my goods and left the store.</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>Assertive/Accommodation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I told him nothing was wrong with my hair Scales-Trent’s frank but honest words show a sense of understanding and a desire to educate. Therefore the C-CCT practice of educating others (P) is selected as the primary practice for this statement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By then, I was speechless: the act of not saying anything more on this topic indicates</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>Nonassertive/Assimilation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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## Appendix B, Table 2

**Qualitative content analysis of a White Black woman**  
*(Co-cultural communication practices and orientations)*

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<tr>
<td>I had met a friend for lunch .... After lunch, as we got up to go pay our bill, a middle aged white woman came over and asked me where I was from. Thinking we might have met before, I said “Washington, D.C., New York City, North Caro—,” “...How can you not know?” <em>So I told her:</em> “Because the slave owners did not keep genealogical records on their slaves and distribute them to the slaves before they escaped or were freed.”...“Good heavens! Does this happen to you often?” <em>And I answered, wearily,</em> “Yes.”</td>
<td><strong>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</strong></td>
<td>Assertive/ Accommodation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I laughed too; this action indicates that at this moment Scales-Trent was using the C-CCT practice of <strong>censoring self</strong></td>
<td><strong>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</strong></td>
<td>Assertive/ Accommodation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Whatever he does, he had better not bring home a white girlfriend!” she exclaimed. We laughed. There were three of us, black women friends who had gotten together after a long absence, talking about our lives,</td>
<td><strong>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</strong></td>
<td>Nonassertive/ Assimilation</td>
<td></td>
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### Appendix B, Table 2

**Qualitative content analysis of a White Black woman**
*(Co-cultural communication practices and orientations)*

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>p. 61</td>
<td>our work, our men, and, of course, our children....<em>I laughed too</em>, but <em>I sensed a vague discomfort</em> at her words.</td>
<td>CCT practice of censoring self (P)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>p. 61</td>
<td>But I finally <em>understood that I was uneasy because she had rejected part of me, the white part</em>, with her statement. And I was uncomfortable—fearful that my disguise might not hold, fearful that she might...</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>Nonassertive/Assimilation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>pp. 61-62</td>
<td><em>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</em></td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>Aggressive/Assimilation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>But I finally <em>understood that I was uneasy because she had rejected part of me, the white part</em>, with her statement. And I was uncomfortable—fearful that my disguise might not hold, fearful that she might...</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
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## Qualitative content analysis of a White Black woman

(Cont-culturul communication practices and orientations)

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>p. 62</td>
<td>suddenly “see” that I was a white black woman..., <em>my hunger to belong to that group of friends was stronger than my ability to be true to myself.</em></td>
<td>was stronger than my ability to be true to myself. By focusing on the act of laughing, and understanding that this thought was added as a reflection to the situation Scales-Trent felt as if she had to maintain a disguise the C-CCT practice of <strong>mirroring</strong> is being used in this passage. Averting controversy and censoring self does not fit because it was only when she had time to reflect on her actions did she question her behavior.</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Mo’ Black”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The C-CCT practice of communicating self is used in this passage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>pp. 67-68</td>
<td>And one of the wonderful things about being black in academia is that because you speak both black and</td>
<td><strong>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</strong></td>
<td>Assertive/ Separation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Qualitative content analysis of a White Black woman
(Com-culture communication practices and orientations)

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>176</td>
<td></td>
<td>white you get to poke fun in two languages. So it was with yelps of delight and hoots of recognition that I listened while Anna, a light-skinned black professor, described her “Mo’ Black Theory of Adaptation.”</td>
<td>Her responding to the presentation of the theory with delightful yelps and hoots indicates that the C-CCT practice of embracing stereotypes is being used</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>pp. 69-70</td>
<td>Halfway through the evening I started to talk with a black man with dark skin.....“Well,” I answered, “I guess you win.” He was thrown off, confused. “Win what?” “I guess you win the ‘who-suffered-most contest,’” I said. I dropped the line, dropped the subject, and moved on to talk with someone else</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT The force of this comment takes this passage past educating others and reveals the C-CCT practice of confronting (P)</td>
<td>Aggressive/ Accommodation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>pp. 69-70</td>
<td></td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>Her ability to deflect others motives when they are not genuinely trying to discuss issues of race. Therefore the C-CCT practice of communicating self applies to this statement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Appendix B, Table 2
# Qualitative content analysis of a White Black woman

## (Co-cultural communication practices and orientations)

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<td><strong>54</strong></td>
<td>pp. 69-70</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>Assertive/ Separation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In an attempt to warn him that racist comments would be inappropriate, in an attempt to avoid having to leave the party after such comments, I let him know that I was black.... I was polite but firm: “You are... I let him know that I was black..... I am black the words firm but polite imply that</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Definitions

**Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT**

This passage can also imply a breach of trust. Because Scales-Trent identifies as Black she may have felt safe discussing her personal history with the man. However when he used the information to intentionally force a sense of guilt Scales-Trent reversed the intent identified his intent and refused to accept the guilt therefore she employed the C-CCT of avoiding bargaining, by refusing to accept perceived dominant group member status guilt.
Qualitative content analysis of a White Black woman  
(Co-cultural communication practices and orientations)

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<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>wrong. <em>I am black</em>. You probably just don’t know what black people look like.*</td>
<td>she was confronting (P)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>pp. 73-74</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>Assertive/Separation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>I always assume also that the race-namers will get it wrong. <em>I correct them.</em> Often they are embarrassed. They mutter “Oh,” avert their eye, correct the form.</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>Assertive/Accommodation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>pp. 73-74</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>56</td>
<td>p. 74</td>
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*(Co-cultural communication practices and orientations)*

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<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>As he was taking down my mane and address, I noticed that he had checked the “white” box. “Officer,” <em>I said politely</em>, “you made an error on your form. I am not white. <em>I am black,</em>**</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>Nonassertive/Assimilation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td><em>I am willing</em> to go by the rules to the extent that these rules... <em>But</em></td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td><em>I could get someone—a black man—killed. And it would be all my fault</em> for forgetting for an instant that I was “white” and that the rule for me was not to</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td></td>
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<td>57</td>
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<td>“date black.”</td>
<td>attempt to protect her co-cultural group membership status, because of the perceived dominant group member status.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>“I did not respond to his entreaties: “You white bitch! You’ll learn one day that black men are entitled to respect!”</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>The act of not responding indicates that at this moment she chose to use the C-CCT practice of censoring self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black does not equal brown</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>But now I answer that question differently. When someone asks me “How many black people were there?” I say, “I have no idea. How can you tell who is black? How can I?” .... For brown does not equal “black.”</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>Scales-Trent indicates that “I have no idea. How can you tell who is black? How can I?” is her standard response when asked to identify the number of Blacks present at events therefore the C-CCT practice of educating others is assigned to this</td>
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(Co-cultural communication practices and orientations)

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<td>65</td>
<td>University, no specific vocalization</td>
<td>No specific verbal vocalization of a C-CCT practice</td>
<td>Assertive/ Separation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Here is a list of some people I know who are African Americans with white skin, black Americans generally mistaken for white: dentist, doctor.</td>
<td>However, This passage speaks to the issue of C-CCT exemplifying strengths in an attempt to gain a voice in the larger social context by listing all those who are White Black people, Scales-Trent is in effect saying we are here we exist and we are thriving.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>My role is to point out the paradoxes But I am only one voice, and the dream of racial purity is still very valuable to those who own this country.</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>The re-vision of marginality</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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(Co-cultural communication practices and orientations)

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<tr>
<td><strong>77</strong></td>
<td><strong>p. 115</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am as moved by Schubert's Trout Quartet as I am by the songs of Sweet Honey I the Rock. I weep when I hear a choir sing &quot;Precious Lord, Take my Hand,&quot; and I am filled with joy when I hear Puccini’s “Messa di Gloria.” <em>I embrace all the treasures these two cultures offer me.</em></td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>Uniquely positioned to <em>sing the praises</em> of both White and Black cultures alludes to the C-CCT practice of <strong>exemplifying strengths</strong> in employed.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>77</strong></td>
<td><strong>p. 115</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>I embrace all the treasures these two cultures offer me...</em> this action demonstrates Scales-Trent’s desire to communicate self by appreciating all those things that are pleasing to her personally and not allowing herself to be tied to cultural stereotypes. Therefore the C-CCT practice of <strong>resisting stereotypes</strong> in employed.</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>77</strong></td>
<td><strong>p. 115</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B, Table 2

Qualitative content analysis of a White Black woman
(Co-cultural communication practices and orientations)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>page # of passage</th>
<th>Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</th>
<th>C-CCT practice represented</th>
<th>C-CCT orientation represented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>p. 120</td>
<td>Affirmative action and stigma: The education of a professor</td>
<td>Additionally the action of embracing all the treasures offered to her shows that she is resisting stereotypes.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>How dare he try to invalidate all my past and future work so easily! <em>I stammered a response: “If that is so, why have none of the black law professors who came here before me been granted tenure?”</em> But once again, the facts seemed irrelevant, a feeble answer to his charge.</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>Aggressive/Accommodation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 79        | p. 122            | How can one live inside the stigma?… fight against the stigmas, fight against the belief that we are “unqualified,” and still retain enough energy and belief in ourselves to enable us to get our work done?…. it can be done. Black poets do sing. | Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT | Promoting recognition of co-cultural group members strength this passage is an example of the C-CCT practice of
Qualitative content analysis of a White Black woman
(Co-cultural communication practices and orientations)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>page # of passage</th>
<th>Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</th>
<th>C-CCT practice represented</th>
<th>C-CCT orientation represented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>p. 122</td>
<td>One way to survive at living and working within stigma is to <em>keep in close contact with others</em> who wear that stigma, to try to see each other honestly, and to give each other the encouragement and honest assessment of our work that we all need.</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td><em>keep in close contact with others</em> who wear that stigma, is the C-CCT practice of <strong>Intragroup networking</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>p. 134</td>
<td>He cut me off, excited. “That’s it! I knew it! <em>Your aunt Estelle taught me in the third grade</em> when we lived in Greensboro. You sure do favor her.” ……two strangers up north……, but connected by family and by place.</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>using others in the same co-cultural group to assure or validate identity status as other. <strong>C-CCT intragroup networking</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>p. 134</td>
<td>I started to call him “cousin.” <em>We were kin.</em></td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td><strong>Assertive/Accommodation</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Qualitative content analysis of a White Black woman

(Com-cultural communication practices and orientations)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>Column D</th>
<th>Column E</th>
<th>Column F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>page # of passage</td>
<td>Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</td>
<td>C-CCT practice represented</td>
<td>C-CCT orientation represented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 140</td>
<td>“What countries did your people travel through on their way here from Africa?”</td>
<td>Using others in the same co-cultural group to assure or validate identity status as other. <strong>C-CCT intragroup networking</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 142</td>
<td>But recently, as I was about to buy this book for a new baby, I hesitated—for I was planning to give it to people who were not-quite-yet good friends and who are not African American. <strong>All of a sudden I was anxious. I was not sure how they would respond to the gift of a book that was, to me, so very personal—</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>No verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</strong></td>
<td>Assertive/Accomodation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Qualitative content analysis of a White Black woman
(Co-cultural communication practices and orientations)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</th>
<th>C-CCT practice represented</th>
<th>C-CCT orientation represented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a gift from inside my culture, across the wall, to them, in their culture.</td>
<td>Educating others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sameness and difference in a law school classroom: Working at the crossroads</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It was important that the white students see the fierce and ancient hunger of black Americans for learning. <em>I also wanted them to see how we love and honor those black Americans who came before us</em> and paved our way... <em>For why would one want to find common ground with a people who did not love and respect itself?</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>Assertive/Separation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>91</strong></td>
<td>p. 160</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The desire to teach the students about African American history is on the surface the C-CCT practice of educating others however if you read into the passage you will understand that she is actually <em>exemplifying the strengths</em> of other co-cultural group members.</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>Assertive/Accommodation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>91</strong></td>
<td>p. 160</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passage #</td>
<td>page # of passage</td>
<td>Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</td>
<td>C-CCT practice represented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>92</strong></td>
<td>p. 161</td>
<td>All of this happened because he was black and brave. And because <em>others followed... when he decided the time had come to lead.</em></td>
<td><em>For why would one want to find common ground with a people who did not love and respect itself?...</em> The advanced level of thoughtfulness used by Scales-Trent shows a heightened awareness to issues regarding race and therefore leading to the C-CCT of <strong>questioning socially accepted norms or challenge social boundaries.</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Appendix B, Table 2**

Qualitative content analysis of a White Black woman (Co-cultural communication practices and orientations)
### Appendix B, Table 2

#### Qualitative content analysis of a White Black woman

**Co-cultural communication practices and orientations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>Page #</th>
<th>Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</th>
<th>C-CCT practice represented</th>
<th>C-CCT orientation represented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>p.168</td>
<td>After a long silence, one student said: “You mean, there used to be laws like that?” <em>I was aghast. Could it really be that although I had lived more than half my life under those laws, society was now pretending that those laws had never existed?</em> As a result of this new understanding of what they did not know, what they had not been taught, I modified the course syllabus. During the next class we read and discussed the black laws of Virginia between 1866 and 1922.</td>
<td>Reverently following a co-cultural group leader when they have decided to lead. Initiating socio-political awareness/movement of subordinates.....taking action</td>
<td>Assertive/ Accommodation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>p. 184</td>
<td>It is abundantly clear, therefore, <em>why so few people work at the crossroads, ....it is unpopular, it is disorienting, ....because I live at the crossroads, this is the only way I can teach.</em></td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Indicates that the C-CCT practice of educating others was used.*
### Qualitative content analysis of a White Black woman

(Conflict cultural communication practices and orientations)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage # of passage</th>
<th>Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</th>
<th>C-CCT practice represented</th>
<th>C-CCT orientation represented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>passage shows that Scales-Trent acknowledges that others in our society also must negotiate a dual identities and not just those with racial ambiguities therefore the C-CCT practice of emphasizing commonalities is used.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT this is the only way I can teach indicates that she is not willing to compromise her co-cultural group member status therefore she is communicating self</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>page # of passage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>189</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>p. 184</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX C

TABLE 1
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Questioning &amp; parental guidance = Stage 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>safe embrace of family and community and church; Confirmation of her racial foundation via family, community, and church = Stage 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>&quot;Because America tells me so.&quot; ; Parental guidance, communicated as a reflection and offers an example of identity negotiation to the young Scales-Trent, her father is teaching her how to negotiate her White Black identity he is telling this story as an example of parental guidance to identity negotiation. Also the context of this story is (its own chapter in the book) indicates that this story has great significance in her life and how she negotiates her identity = Stage 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>But then Aunt Midge peered around ...and waved at them, : Parental (Familial) guidance in negotiating identity this passage is an illustration of the identity negotiation support system unique to the identity development of the White Black person = Stage 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>My mother (another White Black woman) used the techniques all black mothers used to manage her curly hair reinforcing her identity as Black; Parental guidance = Stage 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>my parents indicate my race.... They obeyed the state’s laws of racial purity and wrote,... “colored.” And so I am ; Parental guidance with understanding social construction of race = Stage 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(T)</td>
<td>Transition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(T)</td>
<td>colored.” And so I : Understanding of racial identity = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passage #</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67 (T)</td>
<td>Ask your parents; Parental guidance = Stage 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(T) = Transition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Understanding of racial identity = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX C

TABLE 2
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Stage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>I'm always waiting, .... Please don't say it. A struggle for acceptance = Stage 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(T) Transition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Fighting for control of who I am demonstrates a clear idea of who she is. = Stage 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>What do you do .... it gets hard for me to figure out who I am demonstrates a struggle for identity = Stage 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Realization of differences = Stage 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Looking to others to help define self show a struggle to define self, or looking to others to define self = Stage 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>I saw ....black people. The pendulum tilted back to center; looking to others to define self = Stage 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(T) = transition passage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>I must gain .... control over who I am; this passage speaks to the transitional process because she is trying to gain control over her identity = Stage 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(T)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>I wished my skin were that color comparing to others = Stage 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(T) = transition passage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passage #</td>
<td>Content</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>I like the way I look. Acceptance of racial identity = Stage 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Recognizing and questioning differences = Stage 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>no way around it .... I am passing all the time I can only correct the perceptions; Acceptance and awareness of unique racial make-up = Stage 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(T)</td>
<td>Transition passage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>I feel like a fraud; Questioning differences = Stage 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>searching for others to define self for them = Stage 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>I get to meet the test of what is called “beautiful” because I look white.; Comparing and observing the differences between her existence to others with whom she identifies = Stage 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>the sense of loss, of homelessness ; awareness of dissonance = Stage 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>aren’t I “passing ; Questioning identification = Stage 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(T)</td>
<td>(T) = Transition passage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passage #</td>
<td>Passage</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>When do I tell someone that I am black: Awareness of racial identity = Stage 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>how safe are you; Questioning = Stage 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(T) = Transition passage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>For I am still Other; Acceptance and awareness of unique racial identity = Stage 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perhaps I would have made a different decision...; this passage is stage 3 but reflection of past action indicates present understanding of racial identity and can be interpreted as a tensional pull working as a transition from stage 2 into = Stage 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(T) = Transition passage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 (T)</td>
<td>Perhaps …conversations in secret; Using others to help define self (others is societies reluctance to speak of this phenomenon = Stage 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 (T)</td>
<td>What would they think? ; Questioning consequences of revealing racial identity, concerned about the thoughts of others = Stage 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(T) = Transition passage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The action of seeking publication shows security with racial identification = Stage 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passage #</td>
<td>Content</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>no more wild hair... a friend told me... Finally, I had hair to match my skin; Struggle for acceptance = Stage 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>By laughing Scales-Trent demonstrates a need to belong, but the discomfort she feels shows the inner struggle of identity negotiation, A struggle for acceptance = Stage 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>understood that I was uneasy because she had rejected part of me, the white part; passage indicates an acceptance and understanding of unique racial make-up = Stage 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>(T) = Transition passage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>fearful that she might suddenly “see” that I was a white black woman... my hunger to belong to that group of friends was stronger than my ability to be true to myself; Looking to others to help define racial identity = Stage 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>disheartening to learn that even DuBois did not understand that rejecting someone; Struggle for acceptance looking to others to define racial category = Stage 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>we have only ... the word “mulatto.”; Comparing to others = Stage 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>someone named me “a hankety-haired yellow heifer... naming me after yet another farm animal; Comparing to others = Stage 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>I was not sure how they would respond to the gift of a book that was, to me, so very personal; struggle for acceptance = Stage 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black Woman
(Stage 2)

Column C from Appendix B, Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>(T) Transition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The action of giving the book and considering it a reflection of her culture shows acceptance and assertion of racial identity = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX C

TABLE 3
# Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black Woman

(Stage 3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1 | creating and maintaining racial identity = Stage 3  
It is a very demanding verb; Full understanding of the social implications of racial identity = Stage 3 |
| 2 | I now understand  
Understanding = Stage 3 |
| 7 | I'm always waiting,. Please don't say it. A struggle for acceptance = Stage 2  
(T) Transition  
Fighting for control of who I am demonstrates a clear idea of who she is. = Stage 3 |
| 13 | I must gain .... control over who I am; this passage speaks to the transitional process because she is trying to gain control over her identity = Stage 3 |
| 14 | I wished my skin were that color comparing to others = Stage 2  
(T) = transition passage |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I like the way I look. Acceptance of racial identity = Stage 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no way around it ... I am passing all the time I can only correct the perceptions; Acceptance and awareness of unique racial make-up = Stage 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(T) = Transition passage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>I feel like a fraud; Questioning differences = Stage 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Defining self = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Full understanding of unique racial identity, Defining self = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aren’t I “passing ; Questioning identification = Stage 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(T) = Transition passage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>(T) When do I tell someone that I am black : Awareness of racial identity = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Understanding, acceptance and assertion of racial identity = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passage #</td>
<td>Passage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>how safe are you; Questioning = Stage 2 (T) = Transition passage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>For I am still Other; Acceptance and awareness of unique racial identity = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Publishing as a way to speak the unspeakable; Self acceptance = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Perhaps I would have made a different decision...; this passage is stage 3 but reflection of past action indicates present understanding of racial identity and can be interpreted as a tensional pull working as a transition from stage 2 into = Stage 3 (T) = Transition passage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Perhaps ...conversations in secret; Using others to help define self (others is societies reluctance to speak of this phenomenon = Stage 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Force the beginning of conversation; indicates and acceptance of unique racial make-up and an eagerness to help others understand = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>What would they think?; Questioning consequences of revealing racial identity, concerned about the thoughts of others = Stage 2 (T) = Transition passage</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black Woman  
(Stage 3)

Column C from Appendix B, Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>The action of seeking publication shows security with racial identification = Stage 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>I had years of experience; Understanding and awareness of unique racial makeup and the ability to communicate the understanding to others = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>content I had become with my share of Africa = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Acceptance of racial make-up = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Acceptance of racial make-up = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Acceptance of racial make-up = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>No, not that. I mean where did your family come to America from?... I was not giving her the right answer, I was saying things she didn’t want to hear... Good heavens! Does this happen to you often?” And I answered, wearily, “Yes.”; Understanding and awareness of unique racial make-up and the differences = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>understood that I was uneasy because she had rejected part of me, the white part; passage indicates an acceptance and understanding of unique racial make-up = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(T) = Transition passage
### Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black Woman

#### (Stage 3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Fearful that she might suddenly “see” that I was a white black woman, my hunger to belong to that group of friends was stronger than my ability to be true to myself; Looking to others to help define racial identity = Stage 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>That society asks us, on a regular basis, to reject part of our family; Begins to address the social implications of being a White Black woman; Aware of racial identity and the social implications = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>This passage also shows that Scales-Trent is uncomfortable with the problems/tensions of the socio-political construction of racial and the social mandate to select one race over the other, rejection of the need to identify one way or the other = Stage 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>You are in the black family; Understanding of social structures of race = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>We embrace the unreal reality of a social construct; A greater understanding of racial identity and racial classifications = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Unreal reality; acknowledges the social-political construction of race; also demonstrates the inherent tension of White Black identity negotiation = Stage 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>But living on the margins forces me to live with, and therefore to see, the complications; Understanding and acceptance of racial identity = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black Woman  
(Stage 3)

Column C from Appendix B, Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>Transition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Awareness of unique identity highlights the ever present realization/tension that she belongs to both races and neither race = Stage 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>understanding of both truths, …side by side at the same time, Understanding of racial identity = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>I let him know that I was black…. I am black : Declaration of racial identity demonstrated and understanding of when to expose differences = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 56        | I correct them; Acceptance and assertion of unique racial identity = Stage 3  
(T) Transition |
| 56 (T)    | government bureaucrats …. are checking little boxes marked “black” or “white”…. Assume it; demonstrates societies need to maintain the status quo regarding issues of racial classification and categorization = Stage 4 |
| 57        | Acceptance and assertion of racial make-up = Stage 3  
(T) Transition |
<p>| 57 (T)    | Understanding of the social political construction of race and who has the power to assign racial labels = Stage 4 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>Passage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>my parents indicate my race.... They obeyed the state's laws of racial purity and wrote.... “colored.” And so I am; Parental guidance with understanding social construction of race = Stage 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(T) = Transition colored.” And so I am; Understanding of racial identity = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Ask your parents; Parental guidance = Stage 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(T) = Transition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Understanding of racial identity = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>We are more different than is acceptable.; Understanding of racial identity = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(T) Transition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>We exist in ways that confuse the categories; A greater awareness of the socio-political construction of race = Stage 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>He did not really fit into my category “person,”... And I was repulsed by my new understanding of myself.; Greater understanding of her own unique racial identity = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(T) = Transition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passage #</td>
<td>Text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>And yet remain enough untouched by it to do one's work? Understanding and acceptance of unique racial identity = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>Society has created a “lose-lose”… turn that situation around and see it for the free—ing gift that it is.; an Understanding of unique racial identity = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90 (T)</td>
<td>The action of giving the book and considering it a reflection of her culture shows acceptance and assertion of racial identity = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>Using the word we indicates acceptance and assertion of racial identity = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94 (T)</td>
<td>why so few people work at the crossroads…, this is the only way I can teach. Awareness of unique racial identity = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black Woman
(Stage 3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>Column C from Appendix B, Table 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A greater understanding of the role racial identity plays in society = Stage 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX C

TABLE 4
### Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black Woman

(Stage 4)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Possible point of further exploration shows a deeper understanding and questioning of her own racial identity and partner selection which offers another interesting point of analysis by being positioned in society to constantly reflect on issues of race and identity. Additionally, White Black people are uniquely positioned to negotiate the social tension of marrying one who shares the same internal identity or marrying one who more closely resembles one's external identity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Possible stage 4 because she is now the parent preparing her child for the potential identity negotiation developmental process of a white black person.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>That society asks us, on a regular basis, to reject part of our family; Begins to address the social implications of being a White Black woman; Aware of racial identity and the social implications.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(T)</td>
<td>Transition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>This passage also shows that Scales-Trent is uncomfortable with the problems/tensions of the socio-political construction of racial and the social mandate to select one race over the other, rejection of the need to identify one way or the other.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(T)</td>
<td>Transition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>We embrace the unreal reality of a social construct; a greater understanding of racial identity and racial classifications.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(T)</td>
<td>Unreal reality; acknowledges the social-political construction of race; also demonstrates the inherent tension of White Black identity negotiation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passage #</td>
<td>Content</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>But living on the margins forces me to live with, and therefore to see, the complications. Understanding and acceptance of racial identity = Stage 3. (T) = Transition. Awareness of unique identity highlights the ever present realization/tension that she belongs to both races and neither race = Stage 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>I was supposed to feel awkward, confused, embarrassed, guilty at my good fortune: Understanding and awareness of the socio-political construction of race = Stage 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>I correct them; Acceptance and assertion of unique racial identity = Stage 3. (T) transition. Government bureaucrats .... are checking little boxes marked “black” or “white”.... Assume it; demonstrates societies need to maintain the status quo regarding issues of racial classification and categorization = Stage 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Acceptance and assertion of racial make-up = Stage 3. (T) Transition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passage #</td>
<td>Content</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Understanding of the social political construction of race and who has the power to assign racial labels = Stage 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>race, it only works if you believe; beyond self-acceptance and assertion of identity to a greater awareness of the socio-political construction of racial categories and calls to question the personal choices we as individuals make to perpetuate the social construction of race = Stage 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>I was “white”… the rule for me was not to “date black.”; A greater understanding of the socio-political construction of race = Stage 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Awareness of the subtleties of skin tone understands the socio-political construction of race = Stage 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>I know of black people whose parents have decided to never tell them they are black; A greater understanding of the socio-political construction of race = Stage 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>dream of racial purity is still very valuable to those who own this country; A greater understanding of the socio-political construction of race and speaks to the distribution of power, questions and calls to action those who desire social change with regards to racial categorization = Stage 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>This passage reveals something about the white/black identity developmental process but it does not fit neatly into the model chosen for this analysis. This passage reveals a greater understanding of the socio-political construction of race and the implications speaks the notion of white privilege = Stage 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black Woman  
(Stage 4)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>This passage reveals something about the white/black identity developmental process but it does not fit neatly into the model chosen for this analysis. This passage reveals a greater understanding of the socio-political construction of race and the implications speaks the notion of racial labels and name calling = Stage 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 72        | *We are more different than is acceptable.* ; Understanding of racial identity = Stage 3  
(T) Transition  
We exist in ways that confuse the categories; A greater awareness of the socio-political construction of race = Stage 4 |
| 73        | Questioning others who are strikingly different, a greater awareness of the categories society places different people into. Demonstrates Scales-Trent’s ability to recognize her own desire to categorize and classify other humans, further this passage show that she is concerned by her need for categories and shows that she has taken action to change her desire to label as others have labeled her = Stage 4 |
| 74        | He did not really fit into my category “person,”... And I was repulsed by my new understanding of myself.; Greater understanding of her own unique racial identity = Stage 3  
(T) = Transition  
Questioning others who are strikingly different, a greater awareness of the categories society places different people into, again |
Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black Woman
(Stage 4)

Column C from Appendix B, Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Scales-Trent questions her own need for placing humans into specific categories and again alters her expectations to include those who do not fit into her categories. = Stage 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>all margins are dangerous. ; An understanding of the socio-political construction of racial categories, the inclusion of this statement shows that Scales-Trent uniquely understands the social need and the dangers of human categorizations = Stage 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>We marginalize, we reject, we shun. ; An understanding of the socio-political construction of racial categories = Stage 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Stigma is used for a reason—for social structure and for social control; a greater understanding of the socio-political construction of the racial categories = Stage 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>makes me think about … race and geography. = A greater awareness of the social political construction of race Stage 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>It is about moving our group definition … to move closer to the norm. ; A greater understanding of racial categories = Stage 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>And aren’t we all just variations on an African theme? ; A greater understanding of the biological and socio-political construction of race = Stage 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>What countries did your people travel through on their way here from Africa?” ; A greater understanding of the biological and socio-political construction of race = Stage 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black Woman
(Stage 4)

Column C from Appendix B, Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>The result is startling, but cannot be escaped. Those Americans who call themselves white are all pretending to be something else; A greater understanding of the biological and socio-political construction of race = Stage 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Why so few people work at the crossroads, ... this is the only way I can teach. ; Awareness of unique racial identity = Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>(T) = Transition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(T)</td>
<td>A greater understanding of the role racial identity plays in society = Stage 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX C

TABLE 5
Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black woman
(Co-cultural Communication Practices)
Vocalization of C-CCT Practice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>Column D</th>
<th>Column E</th>
<th>Column C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</td>
<td>C-CCT practice represented</td>
<td>Identity stage</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 10        | **Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT**

C-CCT practice of **using a liaison (P)** is revealed in this passage because to a child the adult is a member of the dominant group. | **using a liaison** | Stage 1 |
| 32        | **Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT**

This is an example of an attempted C-CCT practice of **using liaisons**, I say attempted because the text does not reveal if she received information on an apartment by this action. | **using liaisons** | None |
| 33        | **Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT**

Although Scales-Trent indicated that she was stunned by her employer’s suggestions she chose to **calmly** explain the situation to him. Therefore in this statement she was implementing the C-CCT practice of **developing positive face (P)** as a result of her **perceived dominant group member status guilt**. | **developing positive face (P) as a result of her perceived dominant group member status guilt** | Stage 3 |
| 33        | **Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT** | **communicating self** | Stage 3 |
Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black woman  
(Co-cultural Communication Practices)  
Vocalization of C-CCT Practice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</th>
<th>C-CCT practice represented</th>
<th>Identity stage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In addition the statement <em>I had years of experience handling such comments.</em> implies a greater sense of self awareness therefore it also show the C-CCT practice of <strong>communicating self</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td><strong>Educating others</strong></td>
<td><strong>educating others</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>The action of <em>Thanking</em> members of the dominant group when they offered what they thought was a compliment when she would have preferred explaining to that she was Black is an example of the C-CCT practice of <strong>censoring self (P)</strong></td>
<td><strong>censoring self (P)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td><em>I thanked them</em>; Additional this statement can be interpreted as Scales-Trent using the C-CCT of <strong>developing positive face</strong></td>
<td><strong>developing positive face</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passage</td>
<td>Column D</td>
<td>Column E</td>
<td>Column C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</td>
<td>C-CCT practice represented</td>
<td>Identity stage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>averting controversy</td>
<td>Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>I thanked them; And this statement also suggests the C-CCT practice of averting controversy</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>confronting</td>
<td>Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>But by the third time, I had had it with not-quite-true politeness... You have to be born colored and wait forty years for nappy hair to come into style. &quot; The forcefulness of delivery turned to a declaration of co-cultural group membership indicates the C-CCT practice of confronting</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>using liaisons</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The action of telling her hair dresser is the C-CCT practice of using liaisons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>educating others (P)</td>
<td>Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>I told him nothing was wrong with my hair Scales-Trent’s frank but</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black woman
(Co-cultural Communication Practices)
Vocalization of C-CCT Practice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</th>
<th>C-CCT practice represented</th>
<th>Identity stage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>honest words show a sense of understanding and a desire to educate. Therefore the C-CCT practice of <strong>educating others</strong> (<strong>P</strong>) is selected as the primary practice for this statement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td><strong>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</strong>&lt;br&gt;&lt;br&gt;By then, I was speechless: the act of not saying anything more on this topic indicates that Scales-Trent chose to use the C-CCT practice of <strong>censoring self</strong></td>
<td>censoring self</td>
<td>Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td><strong>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</strong>&lt;br&gt;&lt;br&gt;Although this passage represents two conversations with two people the C-CCT practice of <strong>educating others</strong> is the same</td>
<td>educating others</td>
<td>Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td><strong>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</strong>&lt;br&gt;&lt;br&gt;I laughed too; this action indicates that at this moment Scales-Trent was using the C-CCT practice of <strong>censoring self</strong> (<strong>P</strong>)</td>
<td>censoring self (<strong>P</strong>)</td>
<td>Stage 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passage #</td>
<td>Column D</td>
<td>Column E</td>
<td>Column C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</td>
<td>C-CCT practice represented</td>
<td>Identity stage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>averting controversy</td>
<td>Stage 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Because she indicates having a vague discomfort at the words spoken this passage can also be interpreted as applicable to the C-CCT practice of averting controversy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>ridiculing self</td>
<td>Stage 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Although not as blatant as the other practices this statement can also be interpreted as ridiculing self</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>embracing stereotypes</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Her responding to the presentation of the theory with delightful yelps and hoots indicates that the C-CCT practice of embracing stereotypes is being used</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>confronting (P)</td>
<td>Stage 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The force of this comment takes this passage past educating others and reveals the C-CCT practice of confronting (P)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black woman

(Communicating Co-cultural Practices)

**Vocalization of C-CCT Practice**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</th>
<th>C-CCT practice represented</th>
<th>Identity stage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>communicating self</td>
<td>Stage 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Her ability to deflect others motives when they are not genuinely trying to discuss issues of race. Therefore the C-CCT practice of communicating self applies to this statement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>54</strong></td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>avoiding bargaining, by refusing to accept perceived dominant group member status guilt.</td>
<td>Stage 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>This passage can also imply a breach of trust. Because Scales-Trent identifies as Black she may have felt safe discussing her personal history with the man. However when he used the information to intentionally force a sense of guilt Scales-Trent reversed the intent identified his intent and refused to accept the guilt therefore she employed the C-CCT of avoiding bargaining, by refusing to accept perceived dominant group member status guilt.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>confronting (P)</td>
<td>Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>I let him know that I was black..... I am black</em> the words firm but polite</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black woman
### (Co-cultural Communication Practices)

### Vocalization of C-CCT Practice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</th>
<th>C-CCT practice represented</th>
<th>Identity stage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>imply that she was <strong>confronting</strong> (P)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td><strong>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</strong></td>
<td>communicating self</td>
<td>Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In addition she was <strong>communicating self</strong> by informing him of her racial identity.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td><strong>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</strong></td>
<td>maintain positive face</td>
<td>Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In this passage Scales-Trent is also attempting to maintain positive face because she attempting to remain polite in a difficult situation, she is in the home of a friend and it is a professional situation, aware of the potential for controversy if she were to select a different C-CCT practice.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td><strong>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</strong></td>
<td>educating others</td>
<td>Stage 3 (T) 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>I correct them</em> indicates the C-CCT practice of educating others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td><strong>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</strong></td>
<td>developing positive face</td>
<td>Stage 3 (T) 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>I said politely .... I am black</em> is an indication that she used the C-CCT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black woman  
(Co-cultural Communication Practices)  
Vocalization of C-CCT Practice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</th>
<th>C-CCT practice represented</th>
<th>Identity stage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>practice of developing positive face</td>
<td></td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The act of not responding indicates that at this moment she chose to use the C-CCT practice of censoring self</td>
<td>censoring self</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stage 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scales-Trent indicates that “I have no idea. How can you tell who is black? How can I?” is her standard response when asked to identify the number of Blacks present at events therefore the C-CCT practice of educating others is assigned to this statement</td>
<td>educating others</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td></td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The act of responding to the charges presented by stammering a response indicates a elevated level of emotion thus indicating a more aggressive practice was intended this action shows that the C-CCT of confronting</td>
<td>confronting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black Woman
(Co-cultural Communication Practices)
Vocalization of C-CCT Practice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>Column D</th>
<th>Column E</th>
<th>Column C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</td>
<td>C-CCT practice represented</td>
<td>Identity stage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>was used</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td><strong>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>using others in the same co-cultural group to assure or validate identity status as other. C-CCT <strong>intragroup networking</strong></td>
<td><strong>intragroup networking</strong></td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td><strong>Verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Using others in the same co-cultural group to assure or validate identity status as other. C-CCT <strong>intragroup networking</strong></td>
<td><strong>intragroup networking</strong></td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX C

TABLE 6
Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black Woman
(Co-cultural Communication Practices)
No Specific Vocalization (Nonverbal Action) of a C-CCT Practice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column D</th>
<th>Column E</th>
<th>Column C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Passage #</td>
<td>Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</td>
<td>C-CCT practice represented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>No specific vocalization of a C-CCT practice used.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>However the word <em>asks</em> is used in this passage. Thus the passage becomes a conversation with the reader as such this passage shows the C-CCT practices of educating others (P)</td>
<td>educating others (P)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>No specific vocalization of a C-CCT practice used.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Similarly because she is asking the reader to experience her vision she is attempting to dispel stereotypes</td>
<td>dispel stereotypes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>No specific vocalization of a C-CCT practice used.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>However, her nonverbal action implies a covert communicative action. This passage addresses the issue of seeking commonalities in the non-verbal characteristic of skin tone therefore maintaining interpersonal barriers (P) is the most appropriate practice to assign to this passage.</td>
<td>maintaining interpersonal barriers (P)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>No verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>However, I feel her statement <em>I can only correct .......more than a casual</em> educating others.</td>
<td>educating others.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black Woman  
(Co-cultural Communication Practices)  
No Specific Vocalization (Nonverbal Action) of a C-CCT Practice

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Column D</th>
<th>Column E</th>
<th>Column C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td><em>basis</em> Scales-Trent’s field of experience offers her a keen sense of awareness and she fully understands that she is going to have to employ the practice of <em>educating others</em>.</td>
<td>No verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>Communicating self</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 28        | No verbal vocalization of a C-CCT  
the action of having a strong sense of self and claiming self hint to action but it is not clear when or how this action was communicated; | Communicating self (P) |
| 30        | No verbal vocalization of a C-CCT by Scales-Trent  
However, this is the only passage in this chapter show the significance this story has in her life, therefore her communication of her identity. This passage shows the generational process of educating White Black children | Communicating self (P) |
Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black Woman
(Co-cultural Communication Practices)
No Specific Vocalization (Nonverbal Action) of a C-CCT Practice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
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<th>Column C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</td>
<td>C-CCT practice represented</td>
<td>Identity development stage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>on how to negotiate questions of racial identity. Because it is spoken I assigned it C-CCT practice status and have designated it as communicating self (P).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>No verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stage 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>This passage shows the generational process of educating White Black children on how to negotiate questions of racial identity. Because it is spoken I assigned it C-CCT practice status and have designated it as C-CCT practice <strong>using a liaison</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Using a liaison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td><strong>No verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>However, the overt action of telling her stories to others in what she sees as the same co-cultural group as her as a means of showing allegiance shows that she is using the C-CCT practice of <strong>intragroup networking (P)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Intragroup networking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td><strong>No verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>By telling these stories she also does it to remind others in her perceived co-cultural group that she belongs is a way of <strong>maintaining barriers</strong> but not to</td>
<td></td>
<td>Maintaining barriers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black Woman**
(Co-cultural Communication Practices)

No Specific Vocalization (Nonverbal Action) of a C-CCT Practice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Passage #</td>
<td>Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</td>
<td>C-CCT practice represented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>distance but to provide proof of allegiance to members of the Black community (The other dominant group to the white black person)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No specific verbal vocalization of a C-CCT practice</td>
<td>Exemplifying strengths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>However, This passage speaks to the issue of C-CCT exemplifying strengths in an attempt to gain a voice in the larger social context by listing all those who are White Black people, Scales-Trent is in effect saying we are here we exist and we are thriving.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>No verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>Exemplifying strengths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Wanted them to see how we love and honor those black Americans who came before us</em>; The desire to teach the students about African American history is on the surface the C-CCT practice of educating others however if you read into the passage you will understand that she is actually exemplifying the strengths of other co-cultural group members.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>91</strong></td>
<td>No verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td>Questioning socially accepted norms/ challenging social boundaries</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black Woman
(Co-cultural Communication Practices)
No Specific Vocalization (Nonverbal Action) of a C-CCT Practice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Column C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Passage #</td>
<td>Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</td>
<td>C-CCT practice represented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>92</strong></td>
<td><em>love and respect itself</em>...The advanced level of thoughtfulness used by Scales-Trent shows a heightened awareness to issues regarding race and therefore leading to the C-CCT of <strong>questioning socially accepted norms</strong> or <strong>challenge social boundaries</strong>.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>No verbal vocalization of a C-CCT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>This passage reveals a combination of three C-CCT practices, communication self, Intragroup networking, and educating others plus it incorporates overt action. Therefore this passage represents a possible new C-CCT practice because she is showing an alertness to the opportunities others are using to teach/model the proper behavior of co-cultural communication. <strong>Reverent subordinate movement</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reverently following a co-cultural group leader when they have decided to lead. Initiating socio-political awareness/movement of subordinates.....taking action</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>No verbal vocalization C-CCT</strong></td>
<td>Educating others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black Woman
(Co-cultural Communication Practices)
No Specific Vocalization (Nonverbal Action) of a C-CCT Practice

<table>
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<th>Column C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Passage #</td>
<td>Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</td>
<td>C-CCT practice represented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>However <em>I was aghast</em> ..... society was now pretending that those laws had never existed? Indicates that the C-CCT practice of <em>educating others</em> was used</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX C

TABLE 7
## Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black Woman
(Thin-cultural Communication Practices)
Dialogic Thought (Inner Reflection) C-CCT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</th>
<th>C-CCT practice represented</th>
<th>Identity Development stage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 4         | Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT
The C-CCT practice of **intragroup networking** applies because she is showing a similar struggle for racial acceptance and understanding. | Intragroup networking | None |
| 5         | Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT
However the C-CCT practice of **Bargaining** applies because she covertly asking for acceptance from the dominant culture (both Blacks and/or Whites) when she writes *I wish I had a name*. | Bargaining | None |
| 5         | Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT
However the C-CCT practice of **strategic distancing** applies because she is expressing a dislike for the term *Mulatto*, a term which is used to segregate blacks by skin tone. In addition she is searching for a term that unifies not segregates via skin tone. | Strategic distancing | None |
| 6         | Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT
However the C-CCT practice of **bargaining** was used because she | Bargaining | None |
### Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black Woman
(Con-cultural Communication Practices)
Dialogic Thought (Inner Reflection) C-CCT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>Column D: Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</th>
<th>Column E: C-CCT practice represented</th>
<th>Column C: Identity Development stage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>was verbally expressed however the C-CCT practice of <strong>bargaining</strong> was used because she indicates that she is in a fight for the right to declare her own identity. Her approach in this passage reads as a passive action by waiting she is giving control to the dominant group, or those who are willing to label without regards to the other.</td>
<td>Bargaining</td>
<td>Stage 2 (T) 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>However the C-CCT practice <strong>censoring self</strong> is used because she is negotiating both realities. The inward identity and the outward perception of her identity, the act of living fully in two cultures that neatly coexist.</td>
<td>Censoring self</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>However <strong>educating others</strong> is revealed because she is keenly aware of the contradiction she lives by default.</td>
<td>Educating others</td>
<td>Stage 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black Woman  
(Chocultural Communication Practices)  
Dialogic Thought (Inner Reflection) CCT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage</th>
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<th>C-CCT practice represented</th>
<th>Identity Development stage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>Communicating self</td>
<td>Stage 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>I just live my life.</em> Shows awareness of her authentic self, social contradictions and all therefore <strong>Communicating self</strong> is the C-CCT for this passage.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>Bargaining</td>
<td>Stage 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Upon first read Mirroring might be the first practice assigned however, because the word anxiety was used <strong>bargaining</strong> is more appropriate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>Emphasizing commonalities</td>
<td>Stage 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>anxious and frightened...of losing control of identity; by admitting (via attendance) to enjoying a stereotypically white (dominant cultural pastime) Scales-Trent is showing fear of <strong>emphasizing commonalities</strong>.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>Communicating self</td>
<td>Stage 2 (T) 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>was verbally expressed however the sentence <em>I like the way I look</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black Woman  
(Co-cultural Communication Practices)  
Dialogic Thought (Inner Reflection) C-CCT

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<th>Passage #</th>
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<th>C-CCT practice represented</th>
<th>Identity Development stage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>indicates a confidence and a authenticity of identity acceptance therefore I have assigned the C-CCT of communicating self to this passage.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>Confronting</td>
<td>Stage 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>this passage did not express a practice overtly however the tone of the passage implies that this thought could have been put into action at some time in her life. therefore I feel the C-CCT practice of confronting is most applicable.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>Maintaining barriers</td>
<td>Stage 2 (T) 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>within this same passage the statement I feel like a fraud reveals the practice of maintaining barriers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>Mirroring</td>
<td>Stage 2 (T) 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>This passage can also be interpreted as inadvertently mirroring others. She recognizes the fact that because she exists as a White Black woman she is therefore mirroring by default.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black Woman  
(Co-cultural Communication Practices)  
Dialogic Thought (Inner Reflection) C-CCT

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<th>Identity Development stage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>Bargaining</td>
<td>Stage 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Will someone forgive me?</em> Scales-Trent strikes a overt agreement with dominant group members <strong>Bargaining</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>Averting controversy – perceived dominant group member guilt.</td>
<td>Stage 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>I am not damaged the same way.</em> But she is damaged by the action itself because she personally identifies as Other. The C-CCT practice of <strong>averting controversy</strong> is used. Additionally this C-CCT practice is used as direct reaction to Scales-Trent trying to negotiate the tension of her perceived dominant group member status this can be understood as <strong>perceived dominant group member guilt.</strong>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>23</strong></td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>Reflective uncertainty – perceived dominant group member guilt.</td>
<td>Stage 2 (T) 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>this passage is reflective uncertainty of co-cultural group membership and perceived dominant group member guilt.</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>Confronting</td>
<td>Stage 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black Woman
(Co-cultural Communication Practices)
Dialogic Thought (Inner Reflection) C-CCT

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<th>C-CCT practice represented</th>
<th>Identity Development stage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beware. I am Other.</td>
<td>The assertion of her warning indicates aggression and the clarity of her words indicates this conversation has taken place at one time in her life. Therefore the C-CCT practice of confronting has been assigned to this statement.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>In addition when she said You are safe with me she shows an awareness and confidence of her unique characteristic implying that this statement can also be considered as the C-CCT practice of communicating self.</td>
<td>Communicating self</td>
<td>Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>You are safe with me. I am you. can also be interpreted as the C-CCT practice of Intragroup networking.</td>
<td>Intragroup networking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>For I am still Other shows an awareness of her unique characteristic implying that this statement can be considered as the C-CCT practice of Communicating self.</td>
<td>Communicating self</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black Woman
**(Co-cultural Communication Practices)**
**Dialogic Thought (Inner Reflection) C-CCT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage</th>
<th>Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</th>
<th>Column E</th>
<th>Column C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
<td>communicating self</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the process of making the decision and writing the book is a way of introducing this phenomenon into the world of racial identity and race related issue for discussion. Therefore this statement is assigned the C-CCT practice of <strong>educating others</strong></td>
<td>Educating others</td>
<td>Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
<td><strong>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In a holistic context, the process of writing the book shows that she has also used the C-CCT practice of <strong>extensive preparation</strong> in order to communicate her message and the thoughtfulness of her message by editing and rewriting clearly extends this passage into communicated action.</td>
<td>Extensive preparation</td>
<td>Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>27</strong></td>
<td><strong>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Using others to help define self is the C-CCT practice of <strong>Intragroup networking</strong> Additionally, she does this to manage tension of <strong>perceived member guilt</strong></td>
<td>Intragroup networking – perceived dominant group member guilt</td>
<td>Stage 2 (T) 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black Woman
## (Co-cultural Communication Practices)
### Dialogic Thought (Inner Reflection) C-CCT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column D</th>
<th>Column E</th>
<th>Column C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Passage #</td>
<td>Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</td>
<td>C-CCT practice represented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>dominant group member guilt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>Emphasizing commonalities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>By showing “commonalities” (the working title of her book) her book to 20 people she is hoping they will appreciate the message in the title.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>Confronting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scales-Trent is using the reader as the other member of this interpersonal transaction. By offering a warning, the sarcasm and her word selection she is using the C-CCT practice of <strong>confronting</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>strategic distancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>I thought seriously about skin color</em>; in this passage Scales Trent indicates a desire to protect her children from the White Black phenomenon; <strong>strategic distancing</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>Bargaining – perceived</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black Woman
(Co-cultural Communication Practices)
Dialogic Thought (Inner Reflection) C-CCT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</th>
<th>C-CCT practice represented</th>
<th>Identity Development stage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>Mirroring</td>
<td>Stage 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>And we try to protect our children:</em> the C-CCT of <em>bargaining</em> is used in this passage because Scales-Trent considered the consequences of marrying a man with the “right” skin tone. And expresses a desire to protect her children from this phenomenon. This is also a way of negotiating perceived dominant group member status guilt.</td>
<td>dominant group member status guilt.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>I didn’t know how content I had become</em> with my share of Africa until now, when <em>I am threatened with its loss</em>. The C-CCT practice of <em>Communicating self</em> is used because she is content and embraces her hair texture.</td>
<td>Communicating self</td>
<td>Stage 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Increased visibility</td>
<td>Stage 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black Woman
(Co-cultural Communication Practices)
Dialogic Thought (Inner Reflection) C-CCT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage #</th>
<th>C-CCT practice represented</th>
<th>Identity Development stage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td><strong>Increased visibility</strong>, strategically maintaining a co-cultural presence with dominant group members her hair is now seen as a point of pride connecting her to her internal identity.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>Maintaining visibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I am threatened with its loss. Shows that she is trying to maintaining visibility; her hair indicates difference from the dominant group membership therefore Scales-Trent wants to maintain the only physical characteristic that overtly declares her co-cultural group member status.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>Mirroring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>my hunger to belong to that group of friends was stronger than my ability to be true to myself. By focusing on the act of laughing, and understanding that this thought was added as a reflection to the situation Scales-Trent felt as if she had to maintain a disguise the C-CCT practice of mirroring is being used in this passage. Averting controversy and censoring self does not fit because it was only when she had time to reflect on her actions did she question her behavior.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black Woman  
(Co-cultural Communication Practices)  
Dialogic Thought (Inner Reflection) C-CCT

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<td>Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>Communicating self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The C-CCT practice of <strong>communicating self</strong> is used in this passage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>Bargaining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>I am willing... But</em> is the C-CCT practice of <strong>bargaining</strong> she is striking an agreement with the society (the dominant culture).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>Dissociating – perceived dominant group member status.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The C-CCT practice of <strong>dissociating</strong> in an attempt to protect her co-cultural group membership status, because of the <strong>perceived dominant group member status</strong>.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>Educating others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Because Scales-Trent wrote about having a role this statement indicates the implementation of the C-CCT practice of <strong>educating others</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</td>
<td>Exemplifying strengths</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black Woman (Co-cultural Communication Practices)

**Dialogic Thought (Inner Reflection) C-CCT**

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<td>Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</td>
<td>C-CCT practice represented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>Uniquely positioned to <em>sing the praises</em> of both White and Black cultures alludes to the C-CCT practice of <strong>exemplifying strengths</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>77</strong></td>
<td><strong>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Additionally the action of embracing all the treasures offered to her shows that she is <strong>resisting stereotypes</strong>.</td>
<td><strong>Resisting stereotypes</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td><strong>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>I embrace all the treasures these two cultures offer me...</em> this action demonstrates Scales-Trent’s desire to communicate self by appreciating all those things that are pleasing to her personally and not allowing herself to be tied to cultural stereotypes. Therefore the C-CCT practice of <strong>resisting stereotypes</strong> in employed.</td>
<td><strong>Resisting stereotypes</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td><strong>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Promoting recognition of co-cultural group members strength this passage is an example of the C-CCT practice of <strong>exemplifying strengths</strong></td>
<td><strong>Exemplifying strengths</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black Woman

*Co-cultural Communication Practices*

*Dialogic Thought (Inner Reflection) C-CCT*

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td><em>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</em>&lt;br&gt; <em>keep in close contact with others</em> who wear that stigma, is the C-CCT practice of <strong>Intragroup networking</strong></td>
<td><strong>Intragroup networking</strong></td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td><em>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</em>&lt;br&gt; Focusing on human similarities is the C-CCT practice of <strong>emphasizing commonalities</strong></td>
<td><strong>Emphasizing commonalities</strong></td>
<td>Stage 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td><em>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</em>&lt;br&gt; <em>why so few people work at the crossroads, ....it is unpopular, it is disorienting.</em> This passage shows that Scales-Trent acknowledges that others in our society also must negotiate a dual identities and not just those with racial ambiguities therefore the C-CCT practice of <strong>emphasizing commonalities</strong> is used.</td>
<td><strong>Emphasizing commonalities</strong></td>
<td>Stage 3 (T) 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td><em>Dialogic reflection, no verbal C-CCT</em>&lt;br&gt;</td>
<td><strong>Communicating self</strong></td>
<td>Stage 3 (T) 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column D</th>
<th>Column E</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Identity Development stage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>
Qualitative Content Analysis of a White Black Woman  
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Dialogic Thought (Inner Reflection) C-CCT

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Passage #</td>
<td>Key word(s) from data identifying C-CCT practice</td>
<td>C-CCT practice represented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>this is the only way I can teach indicates that she is not willing to compromise her co-cultural group member status therefore she is communicating self</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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APPENDIX D

TABLE 1
### Co-cultural Communication Theory Orientations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Avoiding Maintaining interpersonal barriers</th>
<th>Increasing visibility</th>
<th>Emphasizing commonalities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dispelling stereotypes</td>
<td>Developing positive face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Censoring self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Averting controversy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Nonassertive/Separation**

- Communicating self
- Intragroup networking (repeated)
- Exemplifying strengths
- Embracing stereotypes

**Nonassertive/Accommodation**

- Communicating self
- Intragroup networking (repeated)
- Using liaisons
- Educating others

**Nonassertive/Assimilation**

- Extensive preparation
- Overcompensating
- Manipulating stereotypes
- Bargaining

**Assertive/Separation**

- Confronting
- Gaining advantage

**Assertive/Accommodation**

- Confronting
- Gaining advantage

**Assertive/Assimilation**

- Dissociating
- Mirroring
- Strategic distancing
- Ridiculing self

**Aggressive/Separation**

**Aggressive/Accommodation**

**Aggressive/Assimilation**

---

*Figure 5.2 Orbe (1998c) p.110*
APPENDIX E

FIGURE 1
Appendix E

Transition to stage 2: struggle for acceptance

Transition to stage 3: understanding and accepting unique racial make-up

Transition to stage 1: difference and dissonance

Transition to stage 4: Broadening the lens

Upward Spiral Signifying Growth
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Spellers, R. E. (2002). Happy to be nappy! Embracing an Afrocentric aesthetic for
beauty. In J. N. Martin, T. K. Nakayama, & L. A. Flores (Eds.), Readings in intercultural communication: Experiences and contexts (2nd ed.) (pp. 52-60).


End note

1. For the sake of readability consistency the term White is used to represent European Americans. In addition the term Black and African American will be also used interchangeably.