LEARNING AND SCHOOLING EXPERIENCES OF BLACK DEAF AND HARD-OF-HEARING ADULT MALE LEARNERS: A NARRATIVE ANALYSIS

by

MAVIS ANITA CLARKE

(Under the Direction of Talmadge C. Guy)

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine how Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners understand their learning and schooling experiences. Research questions guiding this study were how do Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners define their identities? What are the learning and schooling experiences of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners? What is the relationship between the identities of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners and their learning and schooling experiences, and in what ways has this relationship impacted and/or affected their lives in contemporary times?

Six Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male participants with different audiological hearing disabilities participated in this study. The Black Deaf and hard-of-hearing male participants who participated within this study were identity by using purposeful and snowball sampling techniques. The men in this study were residents of the state of Georgia; had a significant hearing loss impacting their lives in all social and interrelational contexts; were employed for a minimum of six months; graduated with a high school diploma; and have lived independently for a minimum of six months. Data were collected through a series of in-depth interviews. A nationally certified sign language interpreter was included as part of the data collecting process. All of the interviews were both audio and video taped and subsequently transcribed. Relying upon narrative inquiry as my theoretical framework, eleven analytical findings emerged.

This findings of this study show that Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult men can and do engage in learning activities despite physiological (auditory/oral) barriers to participation. And when the social context is culturally conducive to Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners' specific learning interests, their experiences are enhanced and are considered successful.

INDEX WORDS: Deaf, Hard-of-Hearing, Black Deaf and/or hard-of-hearing, Learning, Schooling, Audism, Disability, Disabled, Ableism, Gender, Race, African American, Oral, Speech-reading, Lip-reading, Deafness, Racism, Oppression, Sign Language, Narrative Inquiry, Narrative Analysis, Qualitative Research, Black Men, Black Male, Deaf Culture, Adult Learners, Positionality, Hearing

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CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

A census taken in 1852 is the first documented record that included information about Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adults (Moores & Oden, 1977). It was noted that there was one Black Deaf person per 3,000 free Blacks and one per 6,500 among Black slaves that could be accounted for. The low incidence of Black Deaf people could explain why very little information existed about them and their educational history during that period. However, it is more likely that the educational experiences of both Deaf and hard-of-hearing African Americans were subsumed with hearing Black people, whose learning needs were simultaneously being oppressed, suppressed, or denied (Anderson & Grace, 1991).

After the Civil War, many Black Deaf people continued to be barred from attending special schools for Deaf Americans. The personal journal written by Edward M. Gallaudet (1837-1917), founder of Gallaudet University (originally known as the National Deaf-Mute College), can attest to this fact. In 1904, he wrote that only fourteen Black Deaf students were enrolled at his school. However, they were later transferred to the "District to the Maryland School for Colored Deaf-Mutes in Baltimore" due to complaints made by White hearing parents and because of "treatment of the colored by the white[s]" (Gallaudet, 1983, p. 202). During this period, only thirteen states had established special schools for Black Deaf people. Many of these schools were located near historically Black colleges and universities (HBCU's) (Gannon, 1981; Hairston & Smith, 1983; Lane, Hoffmeister & Bahan, 1996). But, Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult learners' learning and schooling experiences were constrained because it took place within the same vocational environmental context where blind Black students, hearing Black students, and/or deaf/blind Black students

(Gannon, 1981; Hairston & Smith, 1983) were also being educated. It is not known how successful Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult learners' learning experiences were, nor how their hearing loss was accommodated within a school environment that had a range of sensory differences.

The most thorough account about the life experiences of Black Deaf Americans can be found in *"Black and Deaf in America, Are we that different?"* authored by two Black Deaf authors, Ernest Hairston and Linwood Smith (1983). They document that Black Deaf Americans were denied equal access to the same educational experiences as White Deaf Americans; forced to attend segregated schools; and often graduated with "a second to fourth grade achievement level or less" (p. 11). Complicating the educational process of Black Deaf learners was the tension and debate over which oral or vs. sign language. While there were some schools that taught Black Deaf learners that used both communication methods, most of these schools were prohibited from using sign language to teach Black Deaf and hard-of-hearing adults.

Sign language as an educational tool to convey instruction within the American schools for the deaf had been prohibited as a result of the Second International Congress on the Education of the Deaf in Milan 1880 (Brill, 1987). Influential oral advocates (i.e., Alexander Graham Bell), vehemently opposed the use of manual communication and worked to have it repressed as a primary language for Deaf people (deLorenzo, 1987; Turkington & Sussman, 1992). The combined net affect nearly obliterated Deaf signers' natural language – American Sign Language. But the congress' most telling affect was the elimination of Deaf educators from the educational terrain in the United States. For nearly one hundred years, the oral method would dominate the educational process of teaching learners who did not hear.

Turkington and Sussman (1992) note that the oral method stresses the "use of speech among Deaf and hard-of-hearing people together with speechreading and auditory training as a way of merging with the hearing world" (p. 144). They also define speech

reading as the ability to visually recognize the spoken language by observing the movements of the jaw, lips, and tongue. The roots of the oral method can be traced back to the 1500s when Spanish monks educated Spanish Deaf children of noble birth. Thus, the heavy reliance upon the oral approach placed the education of Black Deaf people at a severe disadvantage for two reasons. First, many of the teachers lacked the professional training in the oral method. Secondly, they taught Black Deaf students along with students with different sensory needs who relied upon their hearing or the tactile method to communicate. Unlike their White Deaf peers and regardless of their age or mental intelligence, Black Deaf learners were placed in service vocational programs (i.e., barbering, dry press cleaning, shoe repairing, and printing press), in order to learn a trade or vocation. The most popular trades "were barbering and tailoring for boys and beauty culture for girls" (Hairston & Smith, 1983, p.16).

The learning needs of Black Deaf adults continued to be marginalized and ignored despite the passage of laws that were intended to equalize their educational experiences (e.g., Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka and the Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975). Four critical reasons can explain this situation. First, racial inequities continued to permeate the learning and schooling process for all African American learners (Harley, 1995; McCarthy, 1990; Omi & Winant, 1994). Second, as schools began to incorporate sign language as a pedagogical tool of instruction for Deaf learners, so too did the debate re-emerge about its appropriateness in teaching spoken English language, literacy skills, and writing. This debate dwarfed the dismal educational conditions that Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing people faced within the learning context. Third, because the Black American community has been beset by its own particular needs related to survival and the elimination of discrimination and racism; disability issues affecting its members were not a priority. Finally, just as the African American community has been concerned with issues related to its members, the disability community has been similarly preoccupied with general disability issues, (i.e., such as

access to health insurance, personal assistance services, and assistive technology). Thus, problems affecting minorities with disabilities have not been emphasized (National Council on Disability, 1993).

Historically, the relationship between the educational environment and Deaf and hard-of-hearing learners have been oppositional and contentious of which Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners have been adversely affected (Gannon, 1981; Jankowski, 1997; Lane, 1993; Paul, 1998; Scheetz, 1993). The long-standing issue of incompatibility between Deaf learners and educational institutions is borne out of a difference between two conflictual communication modalities. Even today, the best and most effective method or theory of educating Deaf or Hard-of-hearing learners remains debatable (Martin, 1987). While the debate rages about the most effective means of educating Deaf learners, the learning needs and experiences of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing Americans (particularly male learners) remain excluded from the discussions.

Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners are uniquely positioned within the learning and schooling context because of their multiple memberships with the Black American and Deaf communities and disabled groups which are all marginalized in this society. Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners are further marginalized because our society operates with an ableist, audist, and racial paradigm. Mitchell and Synder (1997) contend that an ableist paradigm maligns disabled individuals as more abnormal and are subsequently distanced from individuals who are normal or meet the dominant ideology of normal. Disability is conceptualized as "cognitive and physical conditions that deviate from normative ideas of mental ability and physiological function" (Mitchell & Synder, 1997, p. 2). With this view, deafness is considered a disabling condition rooted in the ableist paradigm. Deaf author, Katherine A. Jankowski, cements this argument as she discusses the impact of audism in our society. She contends that audism is the hearing society's systematic practice of discriminating against the natural language of Deaf Americans (Jankowski,

1997). She argues that audism can be best understood when connected to the 'isms' of our society (i.e., racism, sexism, and heterosexism). These two converging paradigms (which are produced and reproduced in our schools), are contributing socio-cultural variables that presently perplex and complicate the educational process of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners.

<u>Deafness as a Socio-cultural Paradigm</u>

The dominant modality for communicating knowledge and information is through the spoken English language. The process by which this method of spoken language is learned and acquired is the auditory channel. Scheetz (1993) posits that the learning of spoken language begins immediately at birth and continues throughout our lives. It is expected that if one is born and raised in America, he/she should know and understand the spoken English language regardless of an ability or inability to hear. This is an important point to understand, because all of our human and social behaviors, actions, interactions, and perceptions are shaped and influenced by our hearing worldview. Sue (1978) informs our understanding regarding the meaning of a worldview. He states that "an individual's perception of his/her relationship to the world" (i.e., nature, institutions, people, and things) shapes and influences his or her orientation to life (p. 419). Our hearing worldview serves as the basis for our understanding and perception towards hearing loss and deafness.

Our society views deafness as a disabling condition and because of this perception, the general focus has been and continues to be on the prevention and/or elimination of hearing loss. Paul (1998) identifies this view as a medical or clinical model. The clinical model assumes that hearing loss is pathological and can be cured and/or remedied. Mitchell and Synder (1997) argue that the notion of disability has been "exclusively viewed as a debilitating phenomenon in need of medical intervention and correction" (p. 1). The underlying principle guiding the clinical model is to enable a Deaf or hard-of-hearing individual to "function like a hearing person in mainstream society"

(Paul, 1998, p. 21). Scheetz (1993) denotes that this view assigns deafness to specific terminology and classifications (e.g., hearing impaired, hard-of-hearing and Deaf). Contrasting this model is the radical view posited by Deaf scholars and those who support the Deaf community (Davis 1995; Jankowski, 1997; Lane, 1992; Lane, Hoffmeister & Bahan, 1996; Paul 1998; Scheetz, 1993). Philosophically, they argue that the clinical model promotes a deficient view of Deaf people and seeks to depathologize it by situating deafness within a socio-cultural and linguistic paradigm. Deafness is conceptualized as a social identity marker instead of a disability. The term Deaf is capitalized and is representative of a people within a community who share at the core, an etiology, a visual language, social and behavioral norms, and advocacy for political rights for Deaf people (Scheetz, 1993). The Deaf cultural paradigm underscores this study and as such posits that deafness is a socially constructed phenomenon imbued with complexities unexamined by scholars, researchers, and educational practitioners.

<u>The Educational Process of Deaf and Hard-of-Hearing Americans</u>

Although the Deaf cultural paradigm is gaining momentum, on-going research in the educational field of deafness continues to be firmly lodged within the clinical model, and its thematic discourse, encapsulates discussions focusing on cognitive development, teaching language acquisition, English, literacy skills, and educational placement. This model directly influences the educational and teaching practices for hearing educators who instruct Deaf and hard-of-hearing learners (Martin, 1987; Moores, 1990). Despite the growing diversity of racially and ethnically diverse learners who do not hear, teachers and educators of the Deaf have remained predominately White, female, educated, middle-class, and hearing (Burch, 2001; McCall, 1995; Moulton, Roth, & Tao, 1987). Yet, research shows that the social experiences of White educated middle-class women are constructed differently from people of racially and ethnically diverse backgrounds (Frankenberg, 1993).

Issues of race, gender, and racism, continue to play a critical role in the educational process of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners. But Deaf educational programs do not include extensive training, research, or knowledge that specifically address the learning needs of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners, nor those of other minority learners who do not hear (Luckner, 1991). Consequently, White female educators enter the Deaf educational arena unprepared to deal with the diversity of socio-cultural issues that permeate the learning context (McCall, 1995; Smart, Smart, & Eldredge, 1993).

Other issues unique to the educational process of Black Deaf and hard-of-hearing learners are the inferior or non-existent educational programs for Deaf and hard-of-hearing students. In many of these programs, Deaf and hard-of-hearing learners are forced to rely upon uncertified and unskilled sign language interpreters. The combined effect of these issues erect insurmountable obstacles for many Deaf and hard-of-hearing learners and are the contributing agents to the low numbers of Deaf and hard-of-hearing students attending post-secondary educational institutions.

The field of adult education embodies an extensive discussion about learning theories and motivation and barriers to participation. However, Deaf adults are atypical to the learners described in the numerous participation studies, and they face barriers that are little understood by adult learning theorists. The barriers adult learners who do not hear face, are erected long before they matures into adulthood. In fact, upon the discovery of their hearing loss, these barriers are erected immediately through an unintended, but systematic process. The causal agents of these barriers are human, physiological, and psychological in nature. The human barriers are the Deaf and hard-of-hearing child's parents, hearing medical professionals, social services agencies and educational institutions who may view Deaf or hard-of-hearing people through the clinical model (Meadow-Orlans, 1990). The physiological nature of these barriers are attributed to the age of onset of hearing loss; age when hearing loss was discovered; amount of residual

hearing; nature and amount of communication in the home with parents and family attitude about hearing loss. The psychological nature of these barriers can be attributed to the amount of time, energy, and resources (e.g., professional medical advance, speech therapy, and personal and mental health counseling, spiritual and religious guidance) parents spend seeking solutions to a problem they view as detrimental in a hearing society. The combined effect and impact on the Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult learners serve to delay their introduction to language (i.e., sign language or speechreading), school choice (i.e., residential schools, mainstream, oral, or self-contained education), and learning (Meadow-Orlans, 1990; Scheetz, 1993).

Adult education literature has not examined the above issues because scholars and theorists are predominantly hearing and are unfamiliar with how the educational process currently affects Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners. These researchers and theorists have not considered how hearing loss, different or incompatible communication language modalities (sign vs. spoken language), mismatch of pedagogical approaches (i.e., manual communication vs. oral approach), delayed introduction to language, and, subsequently, learning can impact and affect the educational environment for Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult learners (Paul, 1998). Second, the absence of research suggests that there is an unconscious assumption of a hearing construction to learning and knowledge acquisition. A hearing construction of learning and knowledge acquisition is operationally defined as the linkage between the ability to use the dominant modality of communication, which is the spoken language, to the processing of what we aurally (deliberately or tacitly) receive. The hearing construction also assumes that Deaf learners have mastered the ability to manipulate phonetic codes of spoken English, which would enable them to decode and/or decipher printed words (Paul, 1998). In order to decode and/or decipher the printed text, Deaf and hard-of-hearing adults must cognitively conceptualize the printed word and connect it to the idea most usually associated with the conversational form of the word. In other words, decoding requires moving the printed

word "from the page to the reader's head" (p. 199). Deaf and hard-of-hearing learners do not have the aural ability to connect conversational words to the visually printed word. Without this critical skill, the phonetic codes that are embedded within the printed text become much like trying to understand foreign symbols. As a consequence, their reading comprehension skills do not proceed beyond that of the third or fourth grade reading level (Paul, 1998).

The above discussion reconceptualizes the existing discussion within the adult education literature with respect to race and gender. Johnson-Bailey & Cervero (1996), Rocco and West (1998), and Tisdell (1992) show that when race and gender intersect within the learning context, the social dynamics between learners and the learning setting alter into issues of positionality and power (Maher & Tetreault, 1993). Anthias (1998) conceptualizes positionality as a socially constructed system that hierarchically situates people in a dominant or subordinate position. These positions are predicated by the interplay of intersecting identities of race, gender, and class. Anthias (1998) also conceptualizes power as the ability of groups to socially acquire, deploy, and/or control the allocation of resources (i.e., cultural, political, and economic), to ensure, affect and/or change their position(s) within the hierarchical structure. However, when race and gender intersect with deafness, issues of positionality and power within the educational context become multi-dimensionalized. In other words, binary issues of intersecting identities no longer characterize the classroom. It is more, an environment characterized with issues of intersecting identities manifested by positionality and the politics and demand for language (Natapoff, 1995). Thus, Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners are situated in, and confronted with, a pendulum-like phenomenon, unique to any other previously described adult learning situation.

<u>Statement of the Problem</u>

Race and gender issues are popular topics of investigative inquiry within the field of adult education. However, the discourse has not embodied a discussion on deafness as

a socio-cultural phenomenon. Despite the plethora of research on educating Deaf and hard-of-hearing learners, issues pertaining to the integrated effects of race, gender, and deafness within the classroom have remained unexamined by adult education theorists and researchers. Unlike hearing African American learners, Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult males are confronted with barriers that their peers do not experience. They must rely upon their visual abilities to receive spoken communicated knowledge, which are barriers and obstacles that have remained unexamined by adult education learning theorists (Cross, 1981; Darkenwald & Merriam, 1982; Hiemstra, 1993; Merriam & Caffarella, 1999). Lane (1993) and Davis (1995) conceptualized these barriers as being fundamentally audist. Lane (1993) describes audism as a way of "dealing with Deaf people, [it] is the hearing way of dominating, restructuring and exercising authority over the Deaf community" (p. 43). Davis (1995) concurs as he posits that the "hearing establishment…is biased toward the auditory mode of communication" (p. 172). Their combined argument depicts how audism privileges aural and oral means (hearing and speaking) of communication over visual and manual (sign language) communication. The prevailing reliance upon audism in our society can be found operating at all levels of learning and it is this premise upon which our educational institutions are based.

The positional matrix from which Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners interpret and frame their learning and schooling experiences is constructed by the intersectionality of race, gender, and deafness. Thus, as these socio-cultural issues converge within an audist educational paradigm, Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners are forced to confront multi-dimensional layers of oppression resulting from inequitable power relations.

<div align="center">Purpose Statement</div>

The purpose of this study is to examine how Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners understand their learning and schooling experiences. Guiding this research are the following questions:

1. What are the learning and schooling experiences of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners?

2. How do Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners define their identities?

3. What is the relationship between the identities of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners and their learning and schooling experiences?

4. In what ways has this relationship impacted and/or affected their lives in contemporary times?

<u>Significance of the Study</u>

This study captures the complexities of issues surrounding African American Deaf and hard-of-hearing learners within the learning and schooling context. The interdisciplinary content of this research has theoretical and practical implications that cross multiple fields of inquiry with respect to adult and Deaf education, race, gender, disability studies, and other social sciences.

Theoretically, this study reveals and conceptualizes an oppressive system that has been at work for centuries, but up until now has remained invisible to theorists, researchers, and scholars. This study purports that this oppression is the result of a dominant view that has been socially constructed, maintained, and reinforced within our schools. It illuminates the problematic nature that Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners have within the learning and schooling context. It also conceptualizes the dimensions of oppression which give rise to the existing tension between hearing educational practitioners and Deaf or hard-of-hearing learners. This study directly targets Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners, and it provides a new lens in understanding a group of learners that has existed beyond the margins of marginalized minorities (Anderson & Grace, 1991).

This study recognizes and acknowledges the initial work done by adult education scholars who convincingly argue that there is a need for further research targeting minority learners and those with disabilities (Klugerman, 1989; Ross-Gordon, 1991).

This study extends the existing body of knowledge, because it is conducted in response to this call (Reagan, 1990), and as such, it has practical implications for educators. First, it dispels the implied notion that learners with sensory, mental, and physical disabilities can be collapsed into one category (Klugerman, 1989; Ross-Gordon, 1991). Cunningham and Coombs (1997) illuminate for contemporary and future practitioners of Deaf and hard-of-hearing adult learners the complexities of the problematic nature of a one accommodation fits all learners with disabilities paradigm. Secondly, this study argues that each disability requires different instructional approaches, and that teaching strategies need to be individually suited to the learner's specific need. Currently, the educational process for Deaf and hard-of-hearing adult learners is directed overwhelmingly by hearing, white, middle-class, educated females (McCall, 1995; Moulton, Roth, & Tao, 1987). Therefore this study targets this population of professionals who not only have built their professional lives and careers in service to and for Deaf and hard-of-hearing learners, but who are also the gatekeepers of knowledge because of their hearing status (Lane, 1993).

Adult educators and human resource development researchers alike can also benefit from this study by using it as a foundation for developing specific programs targeting this population of learners. Currently, there is a paucity of theories targeting nondominant Deaf and hard-of-hearing learners, therefore, adult educators teaching learners who do not hear have little to rely on and are challenged in developing learning activities that target this population's specific needs and interests. Without experience, training, and education, Deaf and hard-of-hearing African American males will continue to experience obstacles in locating and maintaining adequate employment. Consequently Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners will be unable to build careers that would help develop and sustain a strong economic base and clout within their communities.

Finally, this study has importance with respect to international Deaf and hard-of-hearing learners. The clinical view is the dominant model in many countries. Deaf or

hard-of-hearing people who live in these countries are relegated to places of invisibility and substandard living conditions (Lane, 1993). As a consequence of the clinical model, many Deaf and hard-of-hearing people receive little or no education in their respective countries. Many enlightened hearing and Deaf or hard-of-hearing individuals from other countries make extreme efforts and sacrifices to come and/or send their family members to our schools to be educated. They attend our schools because of our espoused belief that all people have a right to an education regardless of their circumstances. Furthermore, given the immigration and migratory patterns of these countries, this study recognizes the possibility of Deaf and hard-of-hearing adult learners with differing cultural worldviews, experiences, and linguistic backgrounds entering our educational institutions. Therefore, this study is a contribution, because it provides future scholars and researchers a frame of reference, which can be used to engage these learners. Ultimately, this study serves to increase our understanding about the socially diverse issues that different learners bring to the learning and schooling context.

<div align="center">Definitions of Terms</div>

Aural: The ability to use hearing organs to receive sound and spoken communication.

Deaf: The inability to hear and understand spoken speech "through the ear alone with or without the use of a hearing aid" (Turkington & Sussman, 1992, p. 59).

Deaf Culture: The view that promotes American Sign Language (ASL) as a living language, etiology of deafness, socialization with culturally Deaf members, and political intervention for the advancement of Deaf rights and privileges.

Hard-of-hearing: A term used to "describe mild to moderate hearing loss. This term is preferred over "hearing-impaired by the Deaf community" (Turkington & Sussman, 1992, p. 89)

Hearing: A complex and coordinated "process involving the transmission of sound waves through the ear mechanism into the brain, which can then interpret the message" (Turkington & Sussman, 1992, p. 90)

Hearing Culture: The view that normalizes hearing and speaking as the dominant means for communication and social interactions.

Non-hearing: Represents individuals who have been diagnosed with a hearing loss that ranges from mild to profoundly Deaf. These individuals may or may not be active members of the Deaf Culture and may or may not use manual communication as their primary language.

Oral: Refers to the exclusive use of speech method in communicating ideas, thoughts, knowledge, and information.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

<u>Introduction</u>

The central purpose of this literature review is to illuminate the absence of discussion focusing on the learning experiences of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners within the learning and schooling context. However, the key concerns and concepts that are represented within the literature can be used to help inform our understanding about the learning needs of a unique population of learners. Interdisciplinary searches across adult and deaf education, identity development, and disability scholarship show that the learning experiences of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners have not been studied or researched.

Adult education has embodied a discursive analysis on the interlocking issues of power, race, class, and gender within the learning context. However, the notion of deafness has not been conceptually linked to the discussion. While there is an extensive amount of data linking the learning process to cognitive and language development in the field of deaf education, cultural issues such as racial and/or multiple identities have been precluded as objects of study. Scholarship on identity development shows that race, gender, and class serve as cultural markers in identity construction. Extending this discussion to how they intersect, the literature shows that people are then socially and hierarchically positioned in our society. But, an inquiry into the intersectionality of race, gender, and deafness as an object of study, remains unarticulated in theory.

This literature review on the intersectionality of race, gender and deafness as an object of study is divided into three parts. Part one includes four sub-sections on positionality, intersectionality, multiple identity development, and dimensions of oppression. I represent these sub-sections as theoretical concepts, because I believe that

they can inform our understanding about the complex nature surrounding Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners. Part two is represented as two sub-sections. The first sub-section discusses disability studies with linkage to race and multiple identity development. I chose to examine disability studies, because in many ways, society views deafness as a disability. This view contrasts with those of Deaf scholars (and their proponents), who view themselves as a linguistic minority group. I support and share the viewpoint that Deaf and hard-of-hearing people are not disabled. Disability scholars have not yet critically examined the notion that Deaf people are a linguistic minority. Therefore, the second sub-section represents a discussion on key issues relevant to Deaf learners, which are not discussed by disability scholars. I felt it necessary to include these two bodies of literature as they are presently represented.

I rely upon Linton's (1998) stance regarding the term disabled, which I will use throughout my discussion. Specifically he states that disabled people is a designated identity marker for "membership within and outside the community. Disabled is centered and the nondisabled is placed in the peripheral position in order to look at the word from inside out to expose the perspective and expertise that is silenced" (p. 13). I will be using the phrase disabled people and/or people with disabilities interchangeably throughout my discussion.

Part three has three sub-sections discussing patterns and themes relevant to adult education with respect to minority learners, specifically African Americans. Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners share many of the socio-political issues (i.e., survival, elimination of discrimination, and racism) as other African Americans. But their specific needs, which are unique to hearing loss, are overshadowed by their shared racial and group membership. Thus, it is important to talk about African Americans as a collective group, in which Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners are included. I have also included an integrated discussion on adult education, deafness, and Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners. A brief summary of the key ideas and

concepts relevant to my study and rationale explaining the motivation behind my theoretical framework concludes this chapter.

As an aside, I believe it is important to emphasize that disability scholarship is an emerging critical field of study. Central to the discussion is the politicization of normalcy, the medicinalization (e.g., managing, fixing, and/or eradicating) of disability, and a call for defining disability as a social movement. A critique of this literature that can be made, is that while its focus is a timely one, disability scholars are implicating issues to all disabled people. In other words, disability scholars implicitly assume that issues relevant to disabled people are also applicable to individuals who are Deaf or hard-of-hearing. This assumption is misleading because the concerns of Deaf and hard-of-hearing people are not shared or experienced by the disability community. Primary to Deaf and hard-of-hearing people's concern is the issue of inaccessibility to hearing the spoken language and the politics of communication modalities.

Disability scholarship emphasizes physicality of the body and society's stance towards normalcy and medicinalization. But deafness is invisible and, therefore, not constrained by the physical body. Malone (1986) relied upon a quote from Edward Miner Gallaudet (1837-1917) that supports my thinking. He states, "Deafness is subtle and paradoxical, and it ramifies beyond the immediate disability. It imposes few physical limitations, but its effects on social life and academic performance can be severe. It cripples neither the mind nor the body, but the ability to use our most elemental and pervasive form of communication, the human voice" (Malone, 1986, p. 8). Disability scholars have not interrogated the impact of inaccessibility to the spoken language on the lives of Deaf and hard-of-hearing people (Hoffmeister, 1996). Nor have they entered into a discussion as to how Deaf and hard-of-hearing people are differently positionalized from other individuals with physical disabilities as a consequence to inaccessibility to the spoken language.

Part One

Positionality

Scholars agree that positionality is socially constructed and dictated by oppositional difference (Maher & Tetreault, 1993; Navarete Vivero & Jenkins, 1999; Stonequist, 1935; Wade, 1996). W.E.B DuBois' work on double consciousness (circa 1903/1989), shows that positionality is predicated by identity conflict between one's self and two oppositional cultures. Everett V. Stonequist (1935), who refers to the work of noted sociologist, Robert E. Park, conceptualized positionality vis-à-vis the 'marginal man'. He defines marginal man as "one who is living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples, never quite willing to break, even if he were permitted to do so, with his past and his traditions, and not quite accepted, because of racial prejudice, in the new society in which he now seeks to find a place" (Stonequist, 1935, p. 3).

Contemporary scholarship shows that positionality is still socially constructed upon race, gender, and class. Maher and Tetreault's (1993) examination of positionality shows that race, class, and gender are "relational markers" and when interlocked, they determine how people are socially situated and/or placed hierarchically (p. 2). They further argue that these relational markers define our identities and, subsequently, shape our understanding and knowledge about the social order of our society. Wade (1996) examined positionality by investigating the relationship between gender role and racial identity of African American men. He argued that in our society, African American men's position is socially constructed differently than White American men. Specifically, he contends that African American men's social reality and masculinity identity has been forged as a result of slavery, oppression, and racism. Cullen (1999) concurs as he historically traces and connects the transformation of Black male gender role status from slave to manhood, beginning with the civil war and as a result of serving and "dying on the battlefield" (p. 497).

Anthias (1998) constructs positionality as a theoretical frame of analysis for sociocultural hierarchies. She posits that positionality represents a social order where people are situationally placed based upon a "grid" (p. 507). Grids are understood as levels of experiences, actions, and practices, organizational (i.e., family, church, work and school, etc.), and symbolic representation of discursive practices (e.g., text, information, images, signs, etc.). Relying upon her definition of positionality, Anthias (1998) conceptually shows how positionality is cemented in place. Depending upon the context, positionality is established and solidified by the allocations of resources and a group's ability to use their collective power to maintain their place within the hierarchical social structure. Taylor (1999) asserts that how an individual "fits within the social structure is a product of an on-going negotiation" process (p. 377). Thus, it can be seen how Anthias (1998) conceptualizes the complexity of positionality as she maps out and deconstructs the articulations of categorical boundary markers. In the Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary (2001) articulation is defined as interconnecting joints. The meaning one can conclude from Anthias' (1998) theoretical analysis is that as a result of the interconnectedness between race, gender, and class, a "range of differences" is produced and manifested in layers that crosses and counter-cross over each other (p. 520).

Navarete Vivero and Jenkins (1999) reintroduce Stonequist's (1935) work by conceptualizing positionality through the lens of marginal identity. They define marginal identity as "a person caught between two cultures never fitting into either one" (Navarete Vivero & Jenkins, 1999, p. 9). In their opinion, marginal identity is socially constructed as a result of living and experiencing a multicultural-multiethnic perspective. They define this social reality as cultural homelessness. They argue that the problematic nature of living and experiencing a multicultural-multiethnic reality emanates from the tension that exists between duality of an individual's home and ethnic culture and that of a dominant majority culture. Guy's (1999) clarification of the meaning of dominant majority culture

secures an understanding of Navarete Vivero and Jenkins' (1999) point. He notes that dominant majority culture refers to a power component that embeds interlocking factors of oppression, discrimination, and exclusion. An important connection that can be made between Guy's (1999) clarification and Navarete Vivero and Jenkins' (1999) argument is that power is exerted to the point of exclusion against others who do not fit the reigning cultural perspective. In this sense, Navarete Vivero and Jenkins' (1999) assertion that a person's multicultural-multiethnic identity causes him/her to be positionalized differently, making him/her a "minority everywhere [he/she] go[es]" (p. 12), shows how positionality is socially constructed upon oppositional differences. Ogbu (1993, 1995) conceptualizes oppositional difference as a conflict and/or cultural inversion, which explains why minority individuals respond differently from that of a dominant group.

The literature on positionality crosses interdisciplinary fields of thought, but directs readers' attention towards the tension that constrains the experiences of members of minority groups. Because positionality is socially constructed, it is necessary to view it from a multi-directional stance. Positionality is inherently conflictual. It is both fixed yet mutable. Positionality is fixed because it is inherent to a society's social structure and because of racial classification and/or gender role identity. Positionality is mutable because it changes as a result of the interplay between other socio-cultural variables (i.e., class, education, heterosexuality, Christianity, normalcy, and able-bodiness, etc.).

<center>Intersectionality</center>

A discussion on positionality can not be fully understood without a discussion on intersectionality and identity development (specifically multiple identities). These two concepts overlap each other and are often explicitly mentioned or inferred within the literature. The following discussion illuminates key themes and issues related to intersectionality and multiple identity construction.

Hill-Collins (1998) asserts that intersectionality emerged as a paradigm out of Black Women's studies discursive scholarship, because issues of race, class, and

nationalism were being examined as "separate systems of oppression" (p. 63). However, Black women's experiences were being socially impacted upon by multiple systems of oppression that were interconnected. Hill-Collins (1998) describes intersectionality as a theoretical lens with which to examine and/or explore how systems of oppression, race, gender, and nation "mutually construct on another" (p. 63).

Williams-Crenshaw (1995) conceptualized intersectionality as a way to disrupt "tendencies to see" race and gender as separate or mutually exclusive categories (p. 378). She contends that the experiences of women of color can not be explained, understood, nor "subsumed within the traditional boundaries" (e.g., racism or sexism) (p. 358). She states that "[a]lthough racism and sexism readily intersect in the lives of real people, they seldom do in feminist and antiracist practices. Thus, when these practices expound identity as a woman or person of color as an either/or proposition, they relegate the identity of women of color to a location that resists telling" (p. 357). In other words, the combined experiences that Black women have with racism and sexism defy our current understanding about race or gender. Identity politics, multiple identity representation, and power issues undergird the notion of intersectionality. Therefore, intersectionality enables an analysis at the point of multiple identity intersections (e.g., race and gender) and their mediating tensions.

Robinson (1999) relied upon voice scholarship to help define intersectionality. Specifically, intersectionality is constructed through "interlocking dominant discourse" on race, gender, and other socially constructed identities (e.g., lesbian, gay, and disabled, etc.) (Robinson, 1999, on-line). She defines discourse as ideas and statements that give meaning to social discursive practices. Members of marginalized groups construct meaning of self and their self-worth as a consequence of the intersectionality of dominant discourses and social practices.

Howard's (2000) critique regarding identity work includes a discussion on intersectionality. Intersectionality is distinguished from other identity work, because it

underscores the socio-political nature of the structural inequities resulting from multiple and intersecting identities. Further, intersectionality can (as a lens of analysis) examine manifesting tension inherent to structural inequities as well as their "multiple (dis)advantages" (p. 382). Since the political component is a prominent theme of intersectionality, it facilitates the notion of coalition building (Howard, 2000; Williams-Crenshaw, 1995). The concept of coalition building (Williams-Crenshaw, 1995) provides the basis for marginalized groups to coalesce (because of racial and/or other differences) and address and resist all forms of subordination. Howard (2000) veers off with a critique of the theoretical grounding that underpins much of the work of intersectionality. She argues that there is a "lack of closure between one master status and another, between previous and future identities" (p. 382). In other words, self has agency which can only be true to a given context, at a given time, and/or relationship (Howard, 2000; Pittinsky, Shih & Ambady, 1999).

Positionality provides a theoretical frame of analysis that can inform an understanding on how human beings are socially situated within a hierarchical structure. But intersectionality enables an internal examination on the interplay between relational markers. Robinson's (1999) illustrated taxonomy depicts how relational markers (both visible and invisible) braid into each other then manifest into dominant discourses of 'isms'. In the Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary (2001) 'isms' is understood as causal, or the practice(s) and/or, act(s) of. Thus, it is the 'isms' that produce the subordination, vulnerability, and marginality to which Williams-Crenshaw (1995) refers to in her analysis of the systemic structure and politics of intersectionality. Robinson (1999) posits that dominant discourses on intersectionality manifest themselves into the construction of meaning of self and self worth (Anthias, 1998). This view is supported by Howard's (2000) conclusions that our cultural environment and everyday lives are equally shaped by "our senses of who we are and what we could become" (p. 388).

Multiple Identities

Identity development work shows that identities are socially constructed by the interplay between and within categorical boundaries of race, gender, and class (Anthias, 1998; Robinson, 1999). Yet, research shows that there is a conceptual struggle to capture and define the essential essence and meaning of identity. Burke and Franzoi (1988) contend that identity is a positional designation. Deaux (1993) argues that identity is a "self-categorization" (p. 9) with respect to relationship with others. Anthias (1998) used the analogy "different colour cloak" (p. 507) that is never discarded as a way to define identity. Pittinsky, Shih, and Ambady (1999) did not specifically define identity, but instead built a case arguing that there are no singular or binary identities, but rather identities are "multifaceted and complex" (p. 515). Their analysis also reveals that people will choose the most appropriate identity, in order to adapt and negotiate the context in which they are situated. Rather than define identity, Howard (2000) conducted a macro-analysis on the categorical markers of identity including a supposition of future identities construction. A critique she renders, however, is that contemporary work on identity development focuses on "co-existing, typically both subordinated identities" (Howard, 2000, p. 381). Kivel (2000) connected identity work to the field of recreation and leisure activities. However, she concedes that as a whole, this field has not integrated a critical analysis on relational markers and the subsequent role they play in producing different interpretations of leisure and recreational activities.

Exploratory work on identity construction stretches across the continuum of disciplines, but an articulate and concrete definition on what identity is, or is not, appears to be analogous to an elusive doe - always somewhere in the forest but never quite fully captured. Talk analysis on identity consistently shows that it is socially constructed, perpetually shifting, changing, evolving and always in the process of becoming (Deaux, 1993).

Three consistent themes resonate throughout the literature. The first theme shows that researchers seek to understand the relationship between a diverse social context and identity construction. Burke and Franzoi (1988) linked identity to behavior within a social context. Deaux (1993) identified two components of identity (social and personal) and connected them to individual's past and present biological and ecological histories. She describes personal identity as traits and behavior, while social identity is attributed to roles and memberships. She illustrates rather convincingly how the "past context can affect current patterns of identity; [and] how change in context can affect identity definition" (p. 9). Pittinsky, Shih and Ambady (1999) connect the way gender intersects with ethnicity in order to investigate how Asian American women adapted to the social context. Howard (2000) connected contemporary work on intersectionality to identity politics and structural inequalities. Kivel's (2000) essay on identity and difference reveals an implicit connection between other fields of theoretical study and leisure and recreational activities.

The second collective theme regarding identity reflects an examination on the interconnectedness of categorical boundary markers, and its manifestations at the micro and macro levels of analysis. It is at this point, that multiple identities, positionality, and intersectionality are either explicitly or implicitly acknowledged. Burke and Franzoi (1988) establish a point that identity is not "randomly collected, but is organized within one self…based upon hierarchy of importance" (p. 560). In an effort to illustrate the linkage between personal and social identities, Deaux (1993) relied upon an earlier classical technique in assessing "identity … represented by clusters of identities and related clusters of traits" (p. 6). She implicitly acknowledges the concept of multiple identities. Pittinsky, Shih and Ambady's (1999) empirical study shows that as gender and ethnicity intersect, the social context shapes power relations and ultimately trigger the emergence of different identities. Howard's (2000) macro-analysis of identities shows that sociocultural variables (e.g., age, gender, sexuality, and ethnicity) organize into

hierarchies and that people locate themselves within collective categories. Kivel (2000) argues that interplay between categorical markers, construct into different identities, which allude to the notion of multiple identities.

The third theme shows a shift towards identity politics predicated by theoretical constructs of critical and postmodern theories. This shift embeds efforts to deconstruct the interplay located between and within the intersection of layers found to exist within structures of hierarchical society (Nelson-Barber & Harrison, 1996). Identity politics include an analysis for examining structural inequalities, which are endemic to the varying degrees and dimensions of oppression (Hill-Collins, 1998; Nelson-Barber & Harrison, 1996; Reynolds & Pope, 1991; Williams-Crenshaw, 1995). Anthias (1998) shows those individuals and/or groups who are positionally viewed as different are done so because of boundary markers. She extends her argument by contending that binary opposition socially constructs into super and subordinate positions, which cements into place within our society's hierarchical social structure.

<u>Gendered Development and Adult Education</u>

The above thematic discussion can serve as a basis for understanding identity development and its relationship to the field of adult education. Clearly, identity development and the social context are of crucial concern for adult educators as Tennant (2000) contends. He sees the self and the social as inseparable and argues for a shift in thinking about "theories of the knowing subject, to theories of discursive practices" (p. 92). He further argues that to continue the practice of viewing self and the social as separate and independent agents can produce a false consciousness that is "largely illusory" (p. 91). Chevez and Guido-DiBrito (1999) share this view as they discuss how the intersection of race and ethnic identity development shapes and defines the adult learning context. They carefully acknowledge that all learners have an ethnic identity (whether it is acknowledged or exists beyond adult learners' consciousness). Nevertheless, race and ethnic identity are sociocultural issues that define, shape, and

influence the learning experiences of adult learners, as well as instructional practices of adult educators. It is evident that they believe that identity development plays a critical role for the field. They favor a multicultural frame of references as praxis for adult educators.

Ross-Gordon (1999) explored gender development models and examined their impact on adult learning. Her examination on gender and gendered adult development includes a theoretical view of understanding how gender identity is constructed and maintained. Additionally, she shows how cultural influences shape and define gender identity. With respect to adult education, she debunks previous research that has been universally used as a measurement for all adult learners. More importantly, her discussion builds a pathway for understanding how identity constructs differently for Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners. In her analysis of the adult African American male gender identity, she shows how Black adult men have two cultural interpretations of masculinity identification, which are inherently conflictual. Adult African American males must negotiate between their masculine identities as constructed by European mainstream values, and their masculine identities as framed by African tradition. Relationally, these masculinity identities have been forged in conflict, resulting from a history of social oppression, discrimination, violence, and racism (Cullen, 1999; Wade, 1996). Ross-Gordon's (1999) point about the conflictive nature of the gendered identities of African American adult male learners is an important one because it establishes a way of understanding the development of the intersecting and multiple identities of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners.

<center>Dimensions of Oppression</center>

From the preceding discussions, it can be concluded that individuals are positioned as a result of fixed and/or transmutable relational markers. It could also be argued that individuals and/or a group of people are subordinated and marginalized because of the intersectionality of categorical or relational markers. Conversely, there are

arguments that support the idea that people and/or groups are marginalized and subordinated, because they are forced to negotiate between and within socially assigned and intersecting identities. However, relying upon these arguments as separate issues, would present an incomplete picture. Hanna, Talley, and Guidon (2000) show that subordination and marginalization are the manifestations of the braided affect of relational markers; the intersection of fixed and/or transmutable boundary markers; a socially stratified hierarchy; and the tension that forces people and/or groups to negotiate between and within their identities. Prilleltensky and Gonick (1996) identify these manifestations as socio-political. As socio-political manifestations converge within society's hierarchical social structure, there is a jockeying for positional space among its diverse groups of people. This jockeying for positional space denotes power issues as these groups wrestle between and within the hierarchical social structure. The power issues (inherent to this struggle) socially advantage and privilege one group(s), while simultaneously subordinating and marginalizing others. Prilleltensky and Gonick (1996) show that socially positioned and advantaged groups use their collective social institutions, economic resources, and political power to socially subordinate, oppress and/or suppress to maintain their hierarchical statuses.

W.E.B. DuBois personally understood oppression as a social reality, as he analyzed the marginalization and subordination of the American Negro (DuBois, 1903/1989). His analysis of double consciousness broke ground in conceptualizing oppression. With a nod to W.E.B. DuBois, Stonequist (1935) agreed that oppression produced marginality and subordination for people who were racially and ethnically different. These two classical pieces are not connected to the more contemporary and scholarly analysis of oppression, but they are the foundation upon which much of today's work is based (Hanna, Talley & Guindon, 2000; Jones & McEwen, 2000; Myers & Speight, and et. al, 1991; Prilleltensky & Gonick, 1996; Reynolds & Pope, 1991).

Depending on the lens of analysis, oppression can be understood as the result of belief in one's superiority and in others' inferiority; and the power to impose standards and beliefs onto the "less powerful group" (Sue, 1978, p. 424). Oppression can be a product resulting from "system[s] that allow [or disallow] access to the services, rewards, benefits, and privileges of society based on membership in a particular group" (Reynolds & Pope, 1991, p. 174). Oppression can be viewed discursively, as a dominant way of perceiving by a system that pre-disposes people to various 'isms'. Myers and Speight et al. (1991) argue that oppression affects the way people are socialized into a worldview that is sub-optimal. Sue (1978) clarifies the meaning of worldview as a "person's cultural upbringing and life experiences…[which are] comprised of attitudes, values, opinions, and concepts…affect[ing] how [people] think, make decisions, behave, and define events" (p. 419). Sub-optimal is conceptualized as a yielding of "peace, joy, harmony, and the increased well-being of the whole [self]" (Myers & Speight, et. al, p. 57).

A macro and systemic view of oppression can be defined as "asymmetric power relations characterized by domination, subordination, and resistance, where dominating persons or groups exercise their power by restricting access to material resources and by implanting in the subordinated persons or groups fear or self-deprecating views about themselves" (Prilleltensky & Gonick, 1996, p. 129-130). Oppression can be tacitly perpetrated. Jones and McEwen (2000) and Hanna, Talley and Guidon (2000) agree that people or groups privileged by socioeconomic or cultural conditions are more likely to lack the empathy to feel and acknowledge how oppression affects the lives of individuals disempowered or made vulnerable by life circumstances. Finally, oppression can be used explicitly as a tool to abusively wield power and/or exert control upon individuals or fragment groups to prevent them from building coalitions which resist and contest powerful regimes (Hanna, Talley & Guidon, 2000; Prilleltensky & Gonick, 1996).

Reynolds and Pope (1991) argued that there are multiple layers of oppression. Williams-Crenshaw (1995) argued that there is interplay of tension and conflict that exists between and within these layers of oppression. Yet, Prilleltensky and Gonick's (1996) typology and discussion presents the most complete and deconstructed analysis on how these layers are produced and at which point the interplay of oppression is created. Their argument illustrates the dimensionalized nature of oppression, as each layer simultaneously superimposes and socially constructs upon each other. Jones and McEwen (2000) extend the complexity of this discussion by adding that other socio-cultural factors (i.e., age, experiences, and education) obscure the multiplicity of these layers, thus making analysis of the impact of oppression on marginalized and subordinated groups difficult.

Hanna, Talley, and Guindon (2000) conceptualize the mechanisms of multiple layers of oppression. They identify three sources that serve as primary, secondary and tertiary primary forces. Primary force is used when individuals and/or groups explicitly apply force to achieve their objective. Secondary forces occur within individuals and groups that tacitly oppress by their silence while simultaneously benefiting from oppression. The hegemonic stage is the third force, demonstrated when members of groups or groups seek acceptance from the dominant group by abandoning his/her/their own group. Hegemony is best understood as the power and struggle of subordinate individuals contesting the control of the dominant group (Weiler, 1988). The paradoxical nature of this struggle is the manner in which members of the subordinate class consent to adhering to the rules, laws, stories, cultural values, and policies of the dominant class. Omi and Winant (1994) clarify as they posit that "although rules can be obtained by force, it can not be secured and maintained …without the element of consent" (p. 67). Prilleltensky and Gonick (1996) identify the mechanism that activates hegemony, which they contend are both political and psychological in nature and affect individuals and groups "experiencing domination" (p. 132). These mechanisms (e.g., learned

helplessness, surplus powerlessness, obedience to authority, and internalization of images of inferiority) are manifestation or products of prolonged exposure to "oppressing forces of other people, social groups and state agencies" (Prilleltensky & Gonick, 1996, p. 132). However, individuals and/or groups with a history of experiencing oppression and/or domination develop collective identity.

Ogbu (1993, 1995) and Guy (1999) inform our understanding about the nature of collective identity. They direct their focus on how Black Americans developed their collective identity different from that of the members of the dominant majority culture. Guy (1999) contends Black Americans developed a social collective identity because of the direct and continued cycle of historical discrimination, oppression, and exclusion. He goes on to say that the development of Black Americans' collective identity is in response, a resistance strategy against conforming to the dominant majority cultural ideology. Prilleltensky and Gonick (1996) concur and posit that macro-causal influences contributed to the development of collective identities. Black Americans have long recognized that as a subordinate group they are rejected within a society dictated by socially stratified hierarchical boundary markers. Thus, in response to that rejection, they as well as other marginalized and subordinated groups, develop a collective social identity in order to survive a hostile society.

It is important to note that while Prilleltensky and Gonick's (1996) analysis pushes beyond contemporary work on oppression. They carefully connect the macro effect to the micro-level of oppression. In other words, oppression at the global level has a trickle down effect to individuals within our society. Oppression targets the most vulnerable (children, economically disadvantaged, undereducated, etc.), and those who do not have the resources, materials, and the economic and political clout to protect themselves from its injurious affect. Oppression recycles itself producing helplessness and powerlessness among those most marginalized (Hanna, Talley, & Guindon, 2000; Myers & Speight, et al., 1991; Sue, 1978).

Part Two

Disability Studies

Mitchell and Snyder (1997) argue that physical disabilities are "tautological[ly] link[ed] between biology and self [and] can not be unmoored – the physical world provides the material evidence of an inner life [and secures it] by the mark of visible difference" (p. 3). They make a distinction between the experiencing disability and diseases. Specifically, disability is socially experienced, "infuses every aspect of [a person's] being" (p. 3). Whereas, people diagnosed with diseases can be recovered from regardless of their cause(s) or course processes. In this sense, it is understandable how disabled people are the objects of discussion as opposed to society's response to disabled communities.

Historically, disability has been lodged within the medical, rehabilitation, and psychological fields. The entrenchment of the medical view was necessitated by the need of our society to construct categories or criterion for determining the differences between a genuine or artificial impairment (Barnes, Mercer, & Shakespeare, 1999). Policies served as conduits for the legitimation of this view. The term medicinalization became the "convenient rubric for the social context and political aims and implementation of modern medicine" (Barnes, Mercer, & Shakespeare, 1999, p. 10). However, Pfieffer (1993) asserts that the World Health Organization (WHO) facilitated an environment that allowed disability to be cemented within the medical and public health fields. WHO developed a schematic definition that would provide a way for disability to be classified, enabling disabled people (who were unable to find employment) to receive federal funding and/or economic support. Davis (1995) supports the argument that both the medical and public health fields were useful in constructing disability categories, classifications, and definitions, because professionals (who did not live as disabled people) constructed and represented disabled people in scholarship.

Interrogation of the medicalization of disability paralleled the civil rights movement and the return of disabled Vietnam War veterans, whose disability issues challenged the existing medical definitions and classifications. The combined effect of these two socio-ecological factors produced a multi-tiered reaction. First, it would lead to an evolving social movement that would interrogate and disrupt the mooring of the medical model. The medical model is distinguishable by its central theme – personal tragedy – which suggests that by some design, an event has happened which altered an individual's physical appearance, affected his/her mental status, and/or intellectual abilities (Taylor, 1999). Secondly, the social movement would lead to the conceptualization of an alternative model – social model of disability and ultimately, the evolution of a new theory – the disability theory. The social model seeks to "transcend negative images of disabled people and identify them as a diverse group of people who have a genuine role in society and rights as citizens" (Taylor, 1999, p. 375). Third, as the social model crystallized into form and discourse, a dialogue reconceptualizing the meaning and interpretation of disability ensued. Fourth, disabled people began to take command of their lives, give voice and substance to their lived experiences, and demand authorship to construct their own identities.

Zola (1993) asserts that this social movement marked a paradigm shift from viewing disability as an individual "biomedical" problem to a "multi-dimensional" issue (p. 25). Barnes, Mercer, and Shakespeare (1999) assert that the "new paradigm of disability", emphasized self-reliance, self-help, and individual independence (p. 68). However, four factors seem to point out that the transitional shift from the medical model to the social model to disability theory has been a difficult challenge. First, the emergence of a social model suggests that there is an alternative view in conceptualizing disability. While the social model interrogates the authority of the medical model, it has not loosened society's dysconscious (King, 1991) acceptance of the medicalizational view of disabled people. Dysconscious is conceptualized as an unquestioning acceptance of a

dominant view, value(s) and/or privilege(s) as a norm. Taylor (1999) continues in this vein by arguing that the medical model connects the disability to an individual's impairment(s), whereas the social model connects the disability to wider society that is oppressive and restrictive in nature (i.e., structural and physical barriers). Secondly, as it stands now, it is unclear how the social model will look, since it is in the process of being interrogated and critiqued. Contemporary disability scholars are wrestling with a place and space for the construction of theory development as they examine and critique conceptual concerns related to disability theory.

The social model locates, connects, and problematizes disability with society rather than the disabled individual (Taylor, 1999; Vernon, 1999). Davis (1995) asserts "disability is not an object…but [rather] a social process that intimately involves everybody who has a body and lives in the world of the senses" (p. 2). There are two schools of thoughts that are informed by the social model. The British model is grounded in sociology and is concerned with "its relationships between academics, the Disability movement, and the mass of disabled people" (Omansky Gordon & Rosenblum 2001, p. 6). In other words, its emphasis is on examining the physical and social environment in order to address and end societal issues that collectively oppress disabled people (Marks, 1999). This model is respected for its inclusion of disabled writers and activists within the scholarly discourse (Barnes, Mercer, & Shakespeare, 1999; Taylor, 1999). The American social model, however, is philosophically anchored in literature and rhetoric, and emphasizes less, issues of "power, advocacy, and the role of social research" (Omansky Gordon & Rosenblum, 2001, p. 6).

The two schools of thoughts can be distinguished by their ontological and epistemological leanings. The British school promotes that the disabled person is disabled by society in reaction to the impairment (i.e., nothing is wrong with the individual). However, the American school differs from the British school because it simultaneously recognizes and humanizes the impairment of the individual. In other words, the

impairment is an intersecting feature of a disabled person's identity. The American school has been criticized for failing to acknowledge the social model in Europe, while valorizing the changing status of disabled people in other countries. But it is noted for embedding a socio-political component that challenges the dominant view – functional limitation – which undergird the medical view (Barnes, Mercer, & Shakespeare, 1999). Marks (1999) notes that the American model is recognized for its phenomenological structure that makes it possible to examine the experiences of disabled people. The American social model embraces the concept of minoritization (i.e., disabled people as a minority group); acknowledges the discriminatory practices that disabled people face; and calls for radical changes in policies in addressing the concerns of the disabled population.

Ideological issues of naming and framing disability dominate the center stage of American scholarship. Pfeiffer (1993) argued that there is a shift from defining disability from its functional construct to reconceptualizing it as a minority-group model. Mitchell and Snyder's (1997) discussion on the politics of naming and framing of disability shows that the emphasis is being placed on the physicality of disability. They refer to academic discursive works that more often than not emphasize the body with descriptive adjectives. Omansky Gordon and Rosenblum's (2001) discussion also shows that the naming and framing of disability is a political issue. Whoever controls the process of labeling, also has the power to construct disability statuses, and hierarchies, and categories and subsequently determines "what rights and privileges are denied or allowed" (p. 8).

Pfeiffer (1993) notes there is a lack of consensus or agreement among disability advocates concerning terminology usage, meanings, and interpretation. What is troubling to these writers is how the use of the term disabled is used to identify the disability movement, while others use it to "indicate a functional limitation" (Pfeiffer, 1993, p. 79). The term handicapped is used differently, but is widely rejected by disabled activists. The mechanics for the naming and framing of disability is just a political mechanism to justify

(at the policy level), the need of and for the dispersal of economic resources. Pfieffer (1993) also interrogated the issue of normality by suggesting that the idea of normal is and of itself disabling for people with disabilities (p. 79). Normality is referred to as standards of normal (Pfeiffer, 1993). Omansky Gordon and Rosenblum (2001) concur that the naming and framing of disability is problematic. However, they attribute the problem to the dichotomous nature between the American and British social model on disability. They assert that a person's ideological stance on disability (i.e., Marxist, postmodernism, constructivism, and/or minoritization, etc.) shapes the meaning and interpretation of the naming label (e.g., disabled person, person with a disability, or physically impaired, etc.).

Linton (1998) posits that there is a need to "grapple more directly with impairment and recognize that it is as nuanced and complex a construct as disability" (p. 138). He contends that there may be two reasons that could explain the difficulty disability scholars are having with conceptualizing and theorizing these two terms. First, he suggests that because the word impairment denotes issues of pain and limitations, that it is hard to associate it with the term. The second possible explanation is the difficulty in articulating impairment that do not "essentialize disability or reduce it to an individual problem" (Linton, 1998, p.138). Nevertheless, Linton (1998) senses hesitancy among disability scholars (particularly disabled disability theorists) to address these terms.

Corker and French (1999) also acknowledge the dilemma between disability and impairment. Specifically, they state that there is a failure to conceptualize a mutually constitutive relationship between impairment and disability which is both materially and discursively (socially) produced" (p. 6). They go on to say that there is a crisis in representing the "reciprocal relationship" (p. 7) between the discursive aspects of disabled people's experiences and their "material existence in a disabling society" (p. 7). However, in Omansky Gordon and Rosenblum's (2001) opinion, how one defines disability is a reflection of choice.

The more recent scholarship shows that there is a shifting of focus on disability towards theorizing it as a theory. However, the lines between the notion of social model and disability theory are blurred. Writers who speak specifically about disability theory, refer to it as the lived experiences of disabled people, which are unique to the disability, and is "always determined by their impairment" (Barnes, Mercer, & Shakespeare, 1999, p. 67). However, the language that can be used to construct disability theory is being debated among disability scholars. This language, which has pre-established meanings, is problematic as most scholars seek to bring clarity to the discourse (Davis, 1995; Linton, 1998). It is the "bringing in" the issue and meanings of impairment that has blurred its distinction from disability (Barnes, Mercer, & Shakespeare, 1999, p. 92).

Some disability scholars argue that the inclusion of impairment will dilute the movement's political power to act on its own behalf. For example, Marks (1999) defines disability as the "complex relationship between the environment, body, and psyche, which serves to exclude certain people from becoming full participants in interpersonal, social, cultural, economic and political affairs" (p. 611). Pfeiffer (1993) explains that "the manner in which an impairment is produced by a diagnostic condition seems to place the disability in the person and not in society", and, as a consequence, disabled people become oppressed (p. 78). Barnes, Mercer, and Shakespeare (1999) represent disability as a social barrier. This barrier is created in a concomitant manner. That is, social institutions address the impairment that disabled people have, while simultaneously forcing them to become dependent. In this sense then, "impairment is part of the experience of disability" (p. 91). Branfield (1999) states that "the distinction between impairment and disability is highlighted in an attempt to focus on that which is alterable, i.e., that which disables us" (p. 401).

Most would agree, however, that the most applicable definition that addresses constraints of disability and impairment can be found in the Americans with Disability Act (ADA), and Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (Pfeiffer, 1993). These

laws are less nondiscriminatory and have multiple objectives as they seek to address society's attitudes and behavior toward the disability community, unhook the notion of disability from the medicalized and pathological view, and transfer the onus of responsibility to society instead of blaming the disabled person for his/her disability. In Mitchell and Synder's (1997) view, the definition rendered by Section 504 and ADA rejects the medicalized view or condition. Instead disability "denotes the social, historical, political, and mythological coordinates that define disabled people" (p. 3).

Omansky Gordon and Rosenblum (2001) agree that these laws loosen the ties that bind disability to the medical model. However, these laws also assume that disabilities can be categorized into distinguishable groups. Therefore, the laws are problematic because they can not distinguish the difference between the degrees of differences within disability categories. In this context, the question of how deaf is deaf, is of relevant concern, if it is categorized as severely hard-of-hearing or moderately deaf. Malone (1986) discusses the complexity of classifying hearing impairment. Specifically, there are approximately six classes of hearing loss designations, most of which are based upon an individual's ability to communicate with others. Hoffmeister (1996) concurs, as he notes that terms associated with hearing impairment have different meanings and connotations for different people. Therefore, the meanings of the terms disability and impairment are ambiguous at best.

Issues of minoritization are of critical concern to the disability discourse (Mitchell & Synder, 1997). American social model scholars are in favor of the characterization of minority status for disability community. Disabled people live with physical markers as do women and people of color. However, disabled bodies serve as visual and constant reminders of abnormality, which society attitudinally abhors. Mitchell and Synder (1997) posit that disabled people are firmly ensconced to the "outer margins" and simultaneously, disempowered and made invisible because of their disabled bodies (p. 6). This experience is conceptualized as a representational double bind of disability.

Just as other minority groups experience oppression, so do disabled people. The social model enables disability to be analyzed as a form of social oppression (Barnes, Mercer, & Shakespeare, 1999). With this view, oppression can be examined from an historical perspective. The social history of disability shows that the progression of oppression that disabled people face parallels the experiences of women and people of color. Disabled people have been affixed with labels of eugenic and intellectual inferiority and confront issues of domination and subordination, as have women and people of color. Disability scholarship shows that oppression is rooted in hierarchical social relations and division. Disabled people have been and continue to be considered biologically different and inferior. The consideration of biological difference and inferiority are the primary sources of oppression for people with disabilities.

The experiences of racial, gender, and disability oppressions are viewed conceptually as different types of oppression. People with disabilities are oppressed because the disabled body can not "conform to a non-disabled ideal" (Barnes, Mercer, & Shakespeare, 1999, p. 79). In other words, race and gender are not seen as functionally problematic and limiting, whereas the disabled body is characterized as such. Branfield (1999) humanizes this point by asserting that oppression can come in many forms. She asserts that a look, glance, or bodily reaction can be an exercise of oppression. Zola (1993) adds that even the notion of sexuality can be an area of oppression. Marks (1999) conceptualized oppression as internalized pain. Internalized pain is understood as experiences so painful that disabled people are unaware of its existence. She contends that internalized pain can be induced by medical, cultural, and social oppressive practices. Medical oppression is understood as those practices perpetrated against disabled people (i.e., sterilization or assisted suicide). Cultural oppression is represented as dominant discourse and practices that "consistently devalue the lives of people with [disabilities]" (Marks, 1999, p. 616).

Language is constantly evolving to accommodate contemporary times. Just as language changes over time, so, too, does the discourse of oppression of disabled people. The discourse adjusts in order to avoid offending, using, or being associated with meanings that lack emotional recognition of disabled people. Oppression of disabled people is cyclical and leads to "emotional invalidation" which leads back to social oppression (Marks, 1999, p. 619). Social oppression is understood as unconscious practices of denying disabled people a sense of entitlement to their emotions and feelings (i.e., resentment, rage, and low-self esteem, etc.), towards the way they are treated by a non-disabled society.

Scholarly critique shows that the notion of disability has not been interrogated within the same context as race, gender, and class (Alston, Bell, & Feist-Price, 1996; Barnes, Mercer, & Shakespeare, 1999; Mitchell & Synder, 1997; Vernon, 1999). Concerns specific to intersectionality of gender and disability or race and disability remain under-developed. Disability feminists have only recently begun to interrogate the oppositional conflict that disabled women face. Barnes, Mercer, and Shakespeare (1999) cite the works of Michelle Fine and Adrienne Asch, who elucidate issues of "double disadvantage" (Barnes, Mercer, & Shakespeare, 1999, p. 87). They explain that disabled women experience social oppression and physical stigma far more intensely than do disabled men. While Barnes, Mercer, and Shakespeare (1999) discuss briefly disabled women's issues, matters concerning disabled men, and those of disabled men of color are not included.

Theoretical discussions focusing on race, ethnicity, and disability (either as separate categories or intersected relational markers) are in their embryonic stages of development. Furthermore, the lived experiences of double or "simultaneous oppressions" (Vernon, 1999, p. 387) that Black disabled people face has not been critically interrogated, thoroughly documented, nor theoretically deconstructed. Simultaneous oppression is understood as experience with two or more systems of

domination, marginalization, racism, and disablism. Black disabled people are confronted with the same socio-political experiences as Black Americans, but their encounters are intensified as a result of systemic and institutional racism and disablism (Vernon, 1999). Black disabled people are viewed as different and outsiders by non-disabled Black people, marginalized by non-disabled White people, and misunderstood by disabled and Deaf communities (Valentine, 1996). Thus, Black disabled people's experiences can be best understood, as living and negotiating within and between multiple oppressions. Multiple oppression is referred to as, the "effect of being attributed several stigmatised identities [which] are often …exacerbated…[and] experienced simultaneously and singularly depending on the context (Vernon, 1999, p. 395).

Alston, Bell, and Feist-Price's (1996) critique of race identities shows how disabled and non-disabled Black people are categorized without regard to the "psychosocial impact that living with a disability can have on an individual" (p. 12). They continue to argue that race and disability are "inseparable parts of African American identity" and are the filters with which they interpret their living experiences (p. 13).

The combined affect of aging and disability has also gone unexamined and uninterrogated. Zola (1993) contends that there is "less appreciation of the interplay than in society's interpretation of the relationship between aging and disability" (p. 26). She posits that this is a critical area of concern because of the graying of our society. As people age, the prevalence of disability increases. Yet, our society has made little or no effort to address or make available resources for them (i.e., retrofitting homes).

In summary, discussions on and about disability show that it is being socially constructed and reconstructed as voice discourse integrates with critical and theoretical scholarship. These discussions also show that there is an academic struggle for defining disability in the face of normalcy and ableism. Ultimately, the discussions are about

social struggle as disabled people wrestle with constructing a space and place for themselves.

<center>People who are Deaf or Hard-of-Hearing</center>

Deafness scholarship produced in the United Kingdom shows that the level of contestation is conceptualized at a more broader level, and reflects postmodernist undertones that ideologically interrogate the structural inequities that minority Deaf and hard-of-hearing people face (Taylor, 1999). While there are distinguishable differences between the American and British schools of thought on disability scholarship, a distinction on deafness scholarship has not been conceptualized. However, to the most casual observer, it can be seen that British deafness scholars refer more explicitly to American deafness scholarship (Taylor, 1999). Yet, the focus in the United States is not reciprocated.

Deafness education scholarship in the United States is conceptualized into two paradigms – one focusing within a cognitive and linguistic paradigm (Hoffmeister, 1996) and the other, linguistic minority paradigm. Padden (1989) and Wilcox (1989) explain that the linguistic minority paradigm promotes Deaf identity and/or deafness as a social phenomenon. Secondly, American deafness scholarship does not thematically reflect an empowerment discourse for minority Deaf or hard-of-hearing people. Finally, the structural inequities that minority Deaf or hard-of-hearing people face remain under-interrogated.

It is estimated that nearly 22 to 28 million people do not have the ability to hear the spoken word. Of this number, approximately two million African Americans are diagnosed as being Deaf or hard-of-hearing (Valentine, 1996; Vernon & Andrews, 1990). Because of their hearing loss, Vernon and Andrews (1990) assert that Deaf and hard-of-hearing people are confronted, on a daily basis, with a multiplicity of socio-cultural and political issues. These issues range from accessibility and control over the transmission of language (e.g., American Sign Language vs. Manuel Coded English (Padden, 1989;

Stewart, 1993); isolation, lack of educational opportunities, unemployment and underemployment (Davilla, 1992; Vernon & Andrews, 1990); lack of Deaf role models and mentors (Davilla, 1992); lack of access of medical and other supportive services (Harris & Vanzandt, 1997; Meadows-Orlans, et al., 1997); discrimination based upon race and disability (Hairston & Smith, 1983; Vernon & Andrews, 1990); language vs. literacy (Hall, 1989); controversial technological inventions (Tucker, 1993); and oralism vs. manual communication (Biehl, 1992; Goldberg, 1995; Harris & Vanzandt, 1997).

The Deaf community is an inclusive community with individuals who support and advocate the use of American Sign Language – ASL (Kannapell, 1989; Padden, 1989). Individuals diagnosed with a hearing loss, but who also have residual hearing and understandable speech, are often found to promote and support the Deaf community. Persons (Deaf, hard-of-hearing, and hearing) found to support the Deaf culture are considered as members of the community because they promote political and social involvement with deafness organization, but more importantly advocate ASL as a language (Dolnick, 1993; Harris & Vanzandt, 1997; Padden, 1989).

Discussions pertaining to individuals who are deaf or hard-of-hearing, but who depend more on their lip and speech reading skills, are considered hearing impaired. These individuals do not advocate the use of, nor support the promotion of ASL as a language, nor any other manual communication system (Scheetz, 1993). Deafness literature shows that Deaf people view this group of hearing-impaired people as culturally 'hearing'. Culturally hearing people tend to identify more with the hearing community and its cultural norms and behavior patterns (Trychin, 1991). Ogbu's (1999) description of Dell Hymes' work on communication and speech can be used to inform our understanding toward the meaning of 'hearing culture'. He cites that a "speech community is a population that shares both a common language or linguistic codes and a common theory of speaking" (Ogbu, 1999, p. 150). Thus, a hearing individual has an

aural ability to understand vocabulary, grammar, phonetics, and the rules of engagement for speaking (Hogan, 1999).

A hearing individual is socialized to his/her culture from an aural and oral modality (Ogbu, 1999). Hogan (1999) agrees as he posits "[t]he privileged nature of hearing culture is not brought into question" (p. 84). It is important to emphasize these points because they show how audism (Davis, 1995; Jankowski, 1997; Lane, 1993) shapes the hearing construction of the knowledge and learning acquisition. For the purpose of this study, a hearing construction of knowledge and learning acquisition is operationally defined as the linkage between the ability to use the dominant modality of communication, which is the spoken language, to the processing of what we aurally (deliberately or tacitly) receive.

Critical theorists Apple (1986), McLaren (1998), and Giroux (1983) agree that our schools mirror and perpetuate our society's hierarchical cultural class structure. They maintain that this dominance of cultural class structure is transmitted through teaching practices, pedagogical practices, and the schooling curriculum. Social and cultural reproduction theorists, Bourdieu (1976) and Bernstein (1976) contend that learners' identities are shaped by the internalization of their schooling experiences, then reinforced in society. Bowles and Gintis (1976) and Giroux (1983) posit that our society's capitalistic view (i.e., an economic model) socializes subordinate groups by gaining their consent through hegemonic practices that indoctrinates and reinforces class status and hierarchical positioning. An important connection can be made between the arguments of these theorists and audism. Our schools have been theorized as cultural sites that mirror the larger society; which in this case, is predominantly hearing. Therefore, it can be safely argued that our schools will also operate from a hearing cultural paradigm. Thus, it can be assumed that instructional and pedagogical practices are also based upon a hearing construct.

Our higher learning institutions rely heavily upon the printed English language in learning and knowledge acquisition. In other words, knowledge is embedded within the printed text. Deafness literature (specifically that of special education) shows that Deaf learners do not developmentally share the same reading and comprehension levels as their hearing peers. Furthermore, Deaf learners experience incremental reading progress at an annual rate of 0.3 grade level per year, then level off or plateau at either a third or fourth grade reading level (Paul, 1998; Schirmer, 2001). The intricacies and complexities of teaching English, reading, and writing skills to Deaf and hard-of-hearing students is beyond the scope of this study. But it is important to discuss three key concerns with respect to accessing embedded knowledge within the printed text.

Paul (1998) shows that the mechanics of reading involves accessibility to print and it is a time sensitive process. He explained that accessibility to the printed text involves the ability to decode and/or decipher the printed text. To decode or decipher the printed text, Deaf learners must be able to cognitively conceptualize the printed word and connect it to the idea most usually associated with the conversational form of the word (i.e., sight vocabulary). In other words, decoding requires moving the printed word "from the page to the reader's head" (Paul, 1998, p. 199).

Meaning making between the beginning and ending, and the connections and relationships between complex sentences and/or paragraph structures, are made difficult as Deaf readers work to deconstruct, decode, and/or recode them. Schirmer (2001) illustrates the complexity of the reading process for Deaf readers. She contends that Deaf readers require prior world knowledge and experience, have complex understanding of vocabulary usage, be skilled in sight vocabulary (i.e., familiarity with and recognition of words in print), and have sentence structure understanding (including simple to complex structures). Lane, Hoffmeister, and Bahan (1996) state Deaf and hard-of-hearing readers need background knowledge in order to "create accurate expectancies and hypotheses about the meanings of texts" (p. 280). This situation is made more complicated at all

levels of our educational institutions as hearing teachers and educators strive to teach written English and reading to learners who can not hear the spoken language. Hearing teachers who have not received specialized training in teaching learners who do not hear are also unable to explain and/or teach reading, writing, and printed text English to learners who can not hear or speak the language (Lane, Hoffmeister, & Bahan, 1996; Livingston, 1997). Furthermore, content, methods, and strategies used to teach and correct hearing students are also used to instruct Deaf and hard-of-hearing learners who have not mastered the skills necessary for decoding and recording the structure of printed text.

Deafness theorists argue that learners who do not hear do not share the dominant communication for language modality and that their learning and knowledge acquisition require a different set of skills for cognitive processing (Paul, 1998; Scheetz, 1993). They must rely on their visual receptivity skills in order to receive and encode information. Consequently, Deaf and hard-of-hearing learners are oppositionally placed within a learning environment predicated by a hearing construct.

Lane, Hoffmeiser, and Bahan (1996) and Lane (1993) argue that our schools operate with an audist paradigm. Lane (1993) who borrowed the term audism from an American deaf educator, Tom Humphries, explains that it is the "hearing way of dominating, restructuring, and exercising authority over the deaf community" (p. 43). Control is benignly manufactured and ascribed by hearing people as they make and issue statements that describe Deaf people; the manner in which hearing people direct and teach Deaf people; by the process involved in making, governing, and authorizing Deaf people on how to live and direct their lives (Lane, 1993). Hogan (1999) concurs and represents audism as the "very taken-for-granted experiences of communicating verbally on a daily basis that creates an experience of marginality" (p. 89). He illustrates the personal affect of audism on the lives of Deaf or hard-of-hearing people. He states that

the very taken-for-granted assumptions have been a "source of chaos and trouble" for deaf people (p. 89).

A review of the socio-cultural history between the educational environment and deaf learners shows that the cultural relationship between these two entities has been and continues to be incompatible. The incompatible relationship between Deaf learners and the educational environment is caused by conflictual communication modalities (Gannon, 1981; Paul, 1998; Scheetz, 1993). The incompatible relationship and communication/language modality that Deaf learners experience within the educational context are the same factors that confront adult Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners.

Historically, the opposition that Deaf and hard-of-hearing learners face within the learning context dates back to over one hundred years (Gannon, 1981). Yet, a review of contemporary deafness literature shows that schools educating Deaf and hard-of-hearing learners remain sites of ideological contestation of multiple dimensions (Jones, Atkins, & Ahmad, 2001; Moores, 1990; Parasnis, 1997; Prosser, 1993; Smith & Campbell, 1997; Taylor, 1999). The discursive nature of these contestable debates swirl around the notion of validity of deaf identity (Bat-Chava, 2000; Glickman & Carey, 1993; Leigh, et.al. 1998; Parasnis, 1997) and/or Deaf culture (Bat-Chava, 2000; Lane, 1993), debates over access and control to language and communication modalities (Burch, 2001; Lane, 1993; Moores, 1990), who should control the teaching process of Deaf and hard-of-hearing learners (Burch, 2001; Lane, 1993; Mudgett-DeCaro & Hurwitz, 1997; Pittman & Huefner, 2001), and/or what is the best or most effective method in teaching learners who do not hear (Burch, 2001; Meadow-Orlan & Mertens, et al., 1997; Pittman & Huefner, 2001; Tomlinson-Keasey & Smith-Winberry, 1990). However, issues deconstructing and analyzing the affect of the intersectionality (Kluwin, 1994; Natapoff, 1995) gender (Burch, 2001), class (Meadow-Orlan & Mertens, et al., 1997), and race, (Andrews & Martin, 1998; Kluwin, 1994; Meadow-Orlan & Mertens, et al., 1997; Mudgett-DeCaro &

Hurwitz, 1997; Natapoff, 1995; Parasnis, 1997), and scholarly and empirical research has only begun to scratch the surface.

Part Three

<div align="center">Race and Adult Education</div>

The field of adult education operates with a single-minded logic that presumes that its learning population is able-body, hearing, predominately White, and middle to upper class. Evidence supporting this argument is seen through the body of literature, empirical research, and scholarship. Briscoe and Ross (1989) examined the socio-cultural and political reasons that explained why minority learners do not participate in formal learning activities. They found that literature produced on and about minority learners is written rather topically, while emphasis is more focused on "rising demands of a largely well-educated white middle class population" (p. 592). Ross-Gordon (1991) concluded similarly from her review on the scholarly research on and about adult education that learners of different racial groups were not significantly discussed. Merriam and Brockett (1997) wrote that the experiences and knowledge "that counted most - those that found their way into histories and theories - were those of middle-class white males" (p. 240). Their discussion acknowledges and supports Ross-Gordon's (1991) work and others that different and alternative knowledge production for the adult educational field has been controlled by individuals who do not share nor reflect the views of diverse minority learners. However, in reviewing Merriam and Brockett's (1997) discussion regarding the unacknowledged populations of learners, the learning needs of learners who are disabled, Deaf, or hard-of-hearing have been subsumed to the point of invisibility.

McCarthy's (1993, 1990) theory on the effect of mainstream academy on the shaping of intellectual inquiry clarifies the above critique. He conceptualized mainstream theory as a way of understanding and analyzing the internal structure of the educational process. He argued that mainstream theory shapes and influences knowledge

construction, pedagogical discourse, and teaching practices for classroom instruction. His discussion shows that mainstream academies continue to rely and build upon theories that simultaneously promote an eugenic view of African Americans as learners while promoting dominant white cultural values. However operating implicitly beneath his argument is a reductionalistic view about learners. His argument (along with other scholars and theorists who support his viewpoint) categorizes learners into two groups – that being racial and gender.

McCarthy's (1993, 1990) argument is implicitly framed within an ableist and audist paradigm. While he makes a substantive point about racial learners, his argument excludes minority learners who are disabled or in this case, Deaf or hard-of-hearing. His argument does not account for how disabled or Deaf or hard-of-hearing minority people are yet another group of marginalized learners within the educational context. As such, his theory is structurally incomplete, since it does not examine how an ableist and audist learning environment compromises and/or holds hostage the learning experiences of disabled or Deaf or hard-of-hearing minority learners.

Flannery's (1994) discussion on the culture of implicit and explicit racism and sexism fits neatly into the conflict theory posited by Rubenson (1989) which conceptualizes issues of social inequality, competing interests, subordination, and domination. Flannery (1994) also posits that the field of education, specifically adult education, is girded by a paradigm that reflects the dominance of white male scholars. Their physical presence continues to perpetuate and fuel universality of knowledge construction and development (Johnson-Bailey, Tisdell, & Cervero, 1994). Universal knowledge speaks to a truth emerging from a single dominant group that is considered representative of all individuals. It ignores the realities of other groups of people who do not and will not share these experiences (Flannery, 1994). Universal knowledge silences the voices of these groups and makes them invisible and non-existent in the construction of truth (Flannery, 1994; Merriam & Brockett, 1997). The field's persistent underlying

reliance on universality knowledge construction contradicts the philosophical mission and purpose of adult education, which is to promote societal advancement, intellect, personal growth, and societal change (Darkenwald & Merriam, 1982). The combined argument and effort of these scholars to deconstruct the applicability of the theoretical notion of universal knowledge to all learners opens the door to connect it to exploring knowledge of a disabled and visually linguistically diverse population of learners.

Omi and Winant (1994) have argued that the axis of our society is fundamentally enacted upon by race. Their theory about race has relevance to Reubenson's (1989) argument that the role of adult education is shaped and influenced more by the demands of our competitive society than the production of social programs designed to address the structural inequities embedded in our society. Furthermore, Johnson-Bailey and Cervero (2001) show that race continues to operate invisibly in the field of adult education. The futuristic glimpses rendered by Briscoe and Ross (1989) shows that the structural, economic, and institutional inequities that minority adult learners have faced remains unchanged. The importance of these socio-cultural and political issues can not be understated because they are inextricably connected to the learning needs of minority learners who are disabled and/or Deaf or hard-of-hearing. Yet, the body of adult education literature reflecting this population of learners remains narrowly examined (Klugerman, 1989).

<u>African American Adult Learners</u>

Our society values the attainment of quality education, and upward economic mobility and social status are external indicators of educational success. However, unlike White Americans, Black Americans (as a collective) have not been able to achieve the same level of economic success and social status, due largely to inequitable educational opportunities. Historical literature shows that Black Americans experienced patterns of legally sanctioned discriminatory actions and practices that prevented them from acquiring quality education. The literature also shows that their experiences with

inequitable education are unshared by other groups (i.e., American women, other minorities, rural or Appalachians dwellers, etc.) (Harley, 1995; Peterson, 1999; Sheared, 1999). Yet, despite the historical patterns of educational inequities, racism, and discriminatory practices, Black Americans are still expected to adhere to the cultural values espoused by the dominant majority and mainstream culture (Gordon, 1993; Peterson, 1999).

Guy (1999) makes a distinction between mainstream and dominant culture. This is important to note because the two concepts are often used interchangeably but often to have similar meanings. He notes that the usage of dominant culture embeds a reference of a power component, which connects the interlocking factors of oppression, discrimination, and exclusion. However, mainstream culture can be understood most readily from a sociocultural and socio-economic perspective. Mainstream culture is an indication of values associated with middle class America. He pursues this vein of thought by delineating espoused values inherent of middle class America as those "set of ideas that form the core of American…culture such as individualism, freedom, toleration and nonconformity, materialism, and Christianity" (p. 11). The distinction with which one can draw from his discussion between mainstream and dominant culture can be determined as to who has the power, resources, and collective will to oppress, discriminate, and exclude others based upon who does not fit the reigning cultural perspective.

Many Black Americans share the middle class culture of America, but they are still subjected to the structural inequities created by the dominant culture (as are other Blacks of different socioeconomic status). As a result of their shared experiences, Black Americans' response, whether it is in the educational or employment arena, has been to develop a collective social identity that enables them to confront and survive the continued onslaught of racial, economic, and educational discrimination (Ogbu, 1993, 1995). This collective social identity has produced a cultural frame of reference from

which Black Americans interpret their experiences with respect to educational and economic attainment. Taylor (1999) asserts that the collective identity has a historical base, which is constructed around the understanding of interaction between different groups over an extended period of time. Ogbu (1993, 1995) asserts that Black Americans developed their collective identity as a resistance strategy, against conforming to the dominant majority cultural ideology.

Guy (1999) however, contends that it is because of the direct and continued cycle of oppression, historical discrimination, and exclusion that caused Black Americans to develop a social collective identity that is different from that of the members of the dominant majority culture. Both Guy (1999) and Ogbu (1993, 1995) agree that these issues have been causal to the development of Black Americans' social collective identity. Their combined argument also implies that the notion of a 'melting pot' is a façade. Black Americans have long recognized that their espoused cultural values have been and continue to be rejected by members of the dominant culture. In response to that rejection, they developed a collective social identity, which has shaped and constructed their cultural interpretation of the dominant majority's espoused values and standards. The difference in cultural interpretation of values and collective identity between Black Americans and the dominant majority foregrounds a pattern of mismatch within the educational context.

Ladson-Billings (1992) contends that the cultural mismatch between Black learners and the educational environment is caused by the manifestation of intersecting and overlapping sociopolitical factors. These factors are a combination of asymmetrical power relations, which are reproduced over time, western ideology, privileging of certain learning styles over others, double standards for certain diverse learners, and negative and stereotypical teacher/personnel attitudes towards Black learners. She further maintains that our educational system operates with an assimilationlist view and as such, does not empower its learners. In her view, African American learners are taught (and are

expected to learn) how to conform and adapt, but simultaneously silenced in the face of the dominant culture's structural inequities.

Bell (1994), Hilliard (1992), and Banks (1996) extend Ladson-Billings' (1992) discussion. Specifically, they argue that our educational system mirrors the dominant culture's espoused values and standards, and these schools promote and promulgate a western ideology toward its learners. Bell (1994) conceptualized her discussion by exploring the western ideology from a European and Africentric worldview orientation. She denotes the linear and analytical approach to learning that is highly indicative of a Eurocentric approach for learning. Hilliard (1992), an avid proponent of the inclusion of an Africentric content within the educational curriculum, denotes the difference of valuing white American learners' learning styles, while simultaneously devaluing minority preferences by teaching to the cognitive process of members of the dominant majority. He posits that the design of the curriculum privileges specific learning styles over others. Banks (1986) provides a critique and overview of the historical evolution of our education system. Of particular note, he detailed the evolution of the assimilationlist paradigm, upon which the educational process is based.

The above thematic discussion is reflected in the scholarly writings of educators interested in understanding adult African American learners. Colin (1994) argues our schools and universities continue to support and valorize an Eurocentric educational paradigm that "physically and cognitively locks" (p. 59) out African American learners. While this argument is hardly new for other scholars (Asante, 1991; Bell, 1994; Hilliard, 1992), it nevertheless shows that it is a concern that affects the educational context for African Americans regardless of age, socioeconomic status, class, and gender.

Peterson (1999) encapsulates the African American educational experiences from a historical view. Her discussion shows that opposition and struggle define African Americans' educational experiences. Yet, in the face of such opposition, African Americans continue to pursue and value the role of education in their lives. Peterson's

(1999) discussion reveals that for many African Americans, education is inextricably linked to racial and social justice, survival, emancipation, and economic security. It can also be inferred from her historical analysis, that African Americans approach the learning context differently, due largely in part to discriminatory practices and systemic racism. Consequently, African Americans' experiences have multiple realities not experienced by other groups of adult learners.

Sheared (1994, 1999) posits that in order to understand the multiple realities of African American learners is to approach it with a polyrhythmic paradigm. Polyrhythmic is conceptualized as "intersecting realties" that operate concurrently or simultaneously (Sheared, 1994, p. 28). She asserts that issues of race, class, and gender predicate educational experiences of African Americans. However, these experiences are encased within a sociocultural, political, and historical context and as such, are not distinct from each other.

The point that can be made with this entire discussion is that the educational experiences of African Americans are different to those described within the existing adult education literature. In an empirical study conducted about adult learner motivation and participation, Isaac, Guy, and Valentine, (2001), found that African Americans not only valued education, but they also pursued learning programs outside of the formal educational structure. In fact, they cited that many African Americans participated in "church-base education[al] programs" (p. 24). Their findings demonstrate that African Americans are engaged in learning opportunities and will often participate for many of the same reasons as White Americans. But, the authors of this study contend that the reason that the learning experiences of African Americans are not documented is because church-base educational programs are not considered formal learning. This study has altering implications for adult educators whose program practices are grounded in "motivational concepts…dominated by White middle-class adults" (p. 36).

Black Deaf and hard-of-hearing adult male learners, Deafness, and Adult Education

Context

Adult education literature does not address issues and problems of learners who do not hear, and in particular, Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners. Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult males are interested in participating in educational and learning activities; however, they are not profiled as the typical adult learner characterized in numerous studies on participation (Merriam & Caffarella, 1999). Connections can be made between Black learners who do not hear attitudes about their educational experiences and the Chain of Response (COR) model of participation and motivation (Cross, 1981). However, it does not explain how hearing loss and/or inaccessibility to language and/or teacher's inability to teach learners who do not hear impacts the variables delineated within this model. Barriers faced by Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult males do not neatly fit the prescribed recipe of obstacles to participation (Cross, 1981; Darkenwald & Merriam, 1982; Merriam & Caffarella, 1999). Thus, the reason(s) Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult males pursue and/or participate within a learning activity can be hindered or facilitated depending on the above circumstances.

Hiemstra's (1993) discussion on the different theories for adult learning shows that adults have some degree of control in their participation within educational activities. However, Black Deaf and hard-of-hearing adult males can not rely on having this control because of the physiological barrier to knowledge and information. Adult learning theories do not account for how participation is affected by their aural/oral barriers erected by hearing teachers who are gatekeepers to knowledge and information (Livingston, 1997; Nover, 1995). The uniqueness of the (aural/oral) barrier is not simply an obstacle that is situational, institutional, informational, or psychosocial as Darkenwald and Merriam, (1982) contend, but rather a power struggle over which language modality will be used to educate the Deaf (Gannon, 1981; Livingston, 1997; Nover, 1995; Turkington & Sussman, 1992). Tisdell (1992) and Beauboeuf-Lafontant (1999), who

conceptualize asymmetrical power relations within the educational context, make it possible to see how the schooling process of Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult African American males is compromised and controlled by the dominant hearing culture.

White middle class hearing-female teachers have historically dominated the educational field (Burch, 2001; Harry & Anderson, 1999). Thus, Black Deaf and hard-of-hearing males have little opportunity to interact and/or be exposed to mentoring role models. Additionally, they have little opportunity to observe and learn from strong leaders within the Black hearing community because there is little interaction between these two groups of people. Therefore, the skill necessary to transmit critical knowledge, which is needed for molding and nurturing leaders, goes uncommunicated and/or unshared. Leadership skills and character building are not developed inside a vacuum, but are grounded upon cumulative experiences and contact with models and/or examples with which one can emulate. Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) posit that learning during childhood and adolescence prepares individuals for their adulthood roles. Pratt (1993) who grounded the definition of learning upon andragogical principals, stated "learning is an interactive process of interpretation, integration, and transformation of one's experiential world" (p. 17). However, much of the experiential knowledge gained during childhood, adolescence, and adulthood years are grounded on incidental knowledge acquired through our sensory modalities (Darkenwald & Merriam, 1982; Paul, 1998). Deaf author, Elizabeth L. Broecker, in her article "*Who Speaks for the Deaf Community? Not Who You Would Think!*" (1997) argues that Deaf leaders should have visible leadership characteristics, capable of interacting with a diversity of people, and should have the ability to influence pubic opinion about deaf related issues. Nationally, there is a handful of Black Deaf male leaders for young Black Deaf of hard-of-hearing males to observe and emulate, and, because of communication constraints, they have few opportunities to experience incidental learning from family members.

Knowles (1978) contends that learner's can self-direct their learning and the learning process itself can lead to self-actualization. He argues that adult learners become autonomous and liberated learners, emboldened by challenges that lead them to be responsible for their own development. This argument also implies that adult learners can independently pursue individualized learning activities. Our libraries, coffeehouses, and stores are saturated with books and tapes that promote and encourage learners to independently engage in self-help and enrichment activities, and developing personal growth leadership skills. However, Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult males can not take advantage of this stored knowledge because they can not access nor decode these motivational books and tapes. Without the accessibility or ability to independently pursue and cultivate leadership skills, they can not become the strong role model they may desire to be and/or pass on these traits to other Black deaf or hard-of-hearing males.

<div align="center">Conclusion</div>

The intended purpose of this literature review was to illuminate the absence of discussion specific to the concerns of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners. I have shown that despite prolific discussions on and about race, gender, deafness, disability, and education, the needs of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners remain beyond the purview of theorists, scholars, and writers. However, a significant conclusion that can be drawn at the close of my discussion is that the experiences of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners do not neatly fit any of the prescribed theories that conceptualize marginalized learners. Williams-Crenshaw's (1995) argument substantiates my point. She pointed out that traditional race theories can not explain Black women's experiences. I concur with her argument, but extend this thinking to most theories with respect to the experiences of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners. But what makes the experiences of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners different from those of Black women is the way that race and gender mutually reconstructs upon each other when deafness enters into the equation.

It is clear from my discussion that the positionality of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners is fixed as a result of their interlocking multiple identities (e.g., their gender and racial status). However, they are positionalized differently from other marginalized groups because of the manner in which their identities and social status has been constructed, both historically and socially. As both Wade (1996) and Cullen (1999) contend, the Black male identity has been forged in the face of historical oppression. Even today, the contemporary Black male identity continues to be socially constructed in opposition to that of the White male gender identity (Ross-Gordon, 1999). While the experiences of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners may parallel those of the hearing Black men, their experiences are made more complicated, due largely to tacit and explicit practices of audism (Hairston & Smith, 1983; Gannon, 1981; Moore & Chester, 1997). Thus, the combined net affect perpetuates Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners' continual confrontation with multiple, interlocking, and simultaneous oppression within and out of the learning context (Vernon, 1999). To date, adult education theories on and about adult learners are narrowed in their focus, because they too do not have explanatory powers in conceptualizing the experiences of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners.

There is an implied understanding that Deaf or disabled learners can and do attend educational programs, and adult educators are encouraged to be attentive to their unique needs. But because there are no theories that can explain the socio-cultural and political realities that Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners face, adult educators are handicapped in understanding the uniqueness that these learners bring to the learning context. Consequently, adult educators are ill prepared in developing effective instructional programs that advances the learning experiences of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners.

With respect to this study, I submit that existing theories on race, gender, deafness, and disability have limited utility and explanatory powers in conceptualizing

the experiences of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners. I contend that Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners' experiences can best be conceptualized through the lens of intersectionality and positionality. I rely upon these conceptual frameworks because they offer the most analytical flexibility in examining the articulations of race, gender, and deafness and the way these relational markers mutually reconstruct upon each other. Furthermore, intersectionality and positionality can serve as theoretical lenses with which to examine the rising tensions and oppressions that mediate out from the braided affect of relational boundary markers.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study is to understand the learning and schooling experiences of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners from their perspective (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998; Merriam, 1998; Merriam & Simpson, 1995; Patton, 1980; Peshkin, 1988). Foster (1993) recommends a strategic approach for coming to know and for understanding the perspective of Deaf or hard-of-hearing participants who are being studied. She argues that hearing researchers who are engaged in deafness research should adopt the role of a learner and situationally view a Deaf or hard-of-hearing participant(s) as the expert, guide, or teacher. In short, Foster (1993) argues for giving ownership to Deaf and hard-of-hearing participants during the research process.

There is a silence in the adult education literature about Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners, and qualitative research provides a way to get at what is "unknown, known thinly, known uncertainly, or known wrongly" (Peshkin 1993, p. 23). Currently what is known about Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners is yet unknown in a recorded and documented sense. I want to come to know and understand the nature of the participants' learning and schooling experiences, how they interpret these experiences, and in what ways have these experiences come to represent who they are in contemporary times (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998).

The way I intend to gain an understanding of their learning and schooling experiences is through the narrative inquiry process. Specifically, the narrative inquiry process will allow me to examine, deconstruct, and analyze the emic perspective of how the positionality of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners is affected and shaped by their multiple and intersecting identities within the learning and schooling

context. Therefore, the following sections textually illustrate my thinking with respect to my research design and methodology (Elwood & Martin 2000).

I have developed this discussion into multiple sub-sections. Chapter three starts with a discussion on my epistemological and theoretical stance about narrative inquiry. Following this discussion is my subjectivity statement. Although I have integrated my subjectivity throughout this chapter, I discuss in detail the sociocultural and sociopolitical factors that motivate and undergird my study. The next item in this chapter is my participant selection criteria. This is followed by a discussion on how I collected my data and my views about validity. I conclude chapter three with a conversation on data representation.

Driving the methodological components, design, and discussion contained in this chapter are the following research questions.

1. How do Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners define their identities?

2. What are the learning and schooling experiences of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners?

3. What is the relationship between the identities of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners and their learning and schooling experiences?

4. In what ways does this relationship impact and/or affect their lives in contemporary times?

Narrative Inquiry

This study reflects the storied narratives of six Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners within the learning and schooling context. The narratives that are presented in this study are representative of the participants' perspective. Eisner (1997) posits that stories have features that instruct, reveal, and inform others about a world that has been experienced by an individual or by others. Holland and Kilpatrick (1993) relate that the "[s]tories constitute the basic structures all persons use to make sense of their lives" (on-line). Therefore, I sought to record and document the stories of Black Deaf and

hard-of-hearing adult male learners', as constituted by their learning and schooling experiences. These participants' stories show that their learning and schooling experiences were socially constructed. The meanings to which these men attached to their learning and schooling experiences can be derived through narratives. Narratives, according to Richardson (1997) are the means by which people can "link events", and, as a result produce meaning (p. 27). Narratives allows the causal to be attended to and it addresses the "question of why in a story something happen[ed] because of something else. The connections between events constitute meaning" (Richardson, 1997, p. 28), within a story.

The existing Deaf stories (Gannon, 1981) do not represent those of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners. I believe that Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners have stories (i.e., narratives) to tell, which should be recorded and heuristically examined. Smeyers and Verhesschen (2001) explain that storied narratives are a linguistic form that reveals the complexities of human action and its interrelationships with "chance happenings…and the environmental context" (p. 77). Smeyers and Verhesschen refer to Polkinghorne's (1995) definition and explain that narrative inquiry is a "particular type of discourse, the story, not simply to any prosaic discourse" (p. 77). In other words, it thematically strings together events, happenings, and actions for understanding human actions and behavior.

Smeyers and Verhesschen (2001) note that narrative inquiry is a conceptual umbrella that covers two cognitive approaches to understanding the role of narratives in qualitative research. They conceptualize these differences as paradigmatic cognition and narrative cognition. Paradigmatic cognition is commonly referred to as analysis of narratives, whereas narrative cognition is understood as narrative analysis. The difference between these two cognitive approaches can be seen in the roles they play in the inquiry process, their underlining objectives, and the resulting outcomes. Paradigmatic cognition functions as a logical approach to prove or disprove a correspondence of truth between

events and narrated experiences. In contrast to paradigmatic cognition, narrative cognition functions more as a way to understand the meaning of experiences within narratives (Polkinghorne, 1988).

Narrative analysis is interested in the human act, more specifically, the peculiarities of the interaction between the individual(s) being studied and the environment. Knowledge is stored or embedded within the stories. Data is not limited to a single linguistic form, but can come from any number of sources (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Marshall & Rossman, 1999). There is an intimate interplay between the researcher and participants who are being studied which shape the resulting construction of the stories that have been told. The resulting product is the outcome of stored and/or embedded knowledge that has been transformed within a textually written format and conveyed to a public domain.

Analysis of narratives looks at commonalities found in different experiences, actions, occurrences, and phenomenon. Unlike narrative analysis, where knowledge is found within the stories itself, knowledge is formed as a result of analyzing the connections, differences, similarities, and relationship(s) between the different experiences, actions, occurrences, and phenomenon. Smeyers and Verhesschen (2001) state that inherent to analysis of narratives, "knowledge is stored in the conceptual framework" (p. 76). It does not seek to identify an episode where an action occurred, but rather its aim is to show the similarities between "remembered episode[s]" (Smeyers & Verhesschen, p. 76).

This study is scaffolded upon narrative analysis as a methodological construct. Its central tenet of narrative analysis is to allow a forum for narrators, whose voices often go unheard or have been, silenced (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Riessman, 1993; Smeyers & Verhesschen, 2001). Narrative analysis "stud[ies] … the way humans experience the world" and the "quality of these experiences" provides an avenue for researchers to understand the logic that links the way an experience is narrated by the orator (Connelly

& Clandinin, p. 2). Narratives are considered more credible when participants are allowed to narrate and attend to their own experiences. Riessman (1993) explains that the way a storyteller represents, attends, and tells an experience is indicative of the way he/she records and interprets the events in his/her life.

Fundamentally, narratives provide a forum for the telling of stories about the lived experiences of the narrator within a social context. It places the narrator at the center of the telling and not the social context, which only serves as the contextual background to the story. When provided the venue to telling stories, the narrator lives, tells, re-lives, and re-tells the story (Riessman, 1993). Marshall and Rossman (1999) illustrate that life histories capture the linkage of evolving cultural patterns and an individual's life as it grows, evolves, develops, and matures during the course of time. They go on to say that life histories place the emphasis on the experiences of an individual within society and how society copes with that individual. Although this study is bounded to the educational context, the definition of life history is applicable in the examination of the participants' feelings and perspectives about their learning and schooling experiences. With this premise, I divided the Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male participants' school histories (i.e., stories) into three descriptive categories of their experiences. These categories reflect the participants' early, learning and schooling, and adult years, which were then blended into a descriptive portrait (Wolcott, 1999).

Narrative inquiry has ontological, epistemological, and theoretical benefits that cut across disciplines. Pugh (1998) discovered in her case study research and counseling practice that narrative analysis has transformative qualities. Holland and Kilpatrick (1993) examined its meaning making properties within a multicultural social work context. In a study of re-entry Black women, Johnson-Bailey (1999) included her own personal stories within the narrative research as she examined issues of race, class, gender, education, and color. The uniqueness of her study illustrates that a researcher's personal story including those of her participants can be an integral part of the narrative

analysis process. Williams (2000) discovered in her medical research that people who lived with chronic illness and/or diseases, would, through narratives, tell tales of their struggles. The stories reflected the way her patients would try to make sense of their illness and its connection to their lives, their disease, and the wider universe. She realized that their stories had plots, themes, and dramatic events, and she/heroic actions (Riessman, 1993). The meaning of these stories gave legitimacy to her patients' experiences of pain, personal loss, and healing.

Goodfellow (2000) who used narrative inquiry in an earlier study was able to return to the process as an exercise to reconstruct the "interpretation of incidents and descriptions" of a participant's story (p. 26). She purposely sought to revisit her texts in order to gain new insights, meanings, and understandings, which would better enable her practice as an educator of a pre-service education teacher program. Examples citing the utility of narrative inquiry are exhaustive, but the central point to be made here, is that narrative analysis has ideological, practical, and pragmatic purposes. They also show that narrative analysis can be used as an analytical tool to gain understanding of the inner workings of human actions and behavior.

Philosophically, I chose narrative analysis because I saw it as being inherent to the purpose of my study, and I believed it would benefit deafness research. Much of deafness research is concerned with the structural properties of the visual language within a cognitive context (e.g., language development or language and learning, etc.) (Martin, 1987). Hearing researchers often focus their investigative research on how to make oral/aural structures and properties of spoken English accessible to visually linguistic signers of American Sign Language (ASL). In the pursuit of their personal and/or political interests, these researchers fail to note the stories, which have been muted in the process. This research study is a departure from many of the contemporary deafness inquiries. This study is not concerned with validating the structure of the ASL language nor its grammatical properties and/or lexicon, because it is assumed to be already valid

(Hall, 1989; Lucas, 1995; Maher, 1996; Padden, 1989; Wilcox, 1989). It is instead, intensely interested in the lived experiences embedded within the narratives of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners (Smeyers & Verhesschen, 2001).

<u>Subjectivity Statement</u>

Peshkin (1988) explains that a qualitative researcher's worldview is shaped by societal and humanistic contacts, and it comes to bear during any given study. Malterud (2001) contends that researchers bring to their study preconceived notions and beliefs. She holds that researchers' "prestudy beliefs" the relationship and interaction between the object of their investigation and their personal, professional, and scholarly involvement predicate (p. 484). She favors the notion that researchers should reveal their subjectivity and puts forth that when subjectivity is open for examination, [b]iases, are "thus accounted for, though not eliminated" (p. 484).

The following examples demonstrate the utility of acknowledging subjectivity. They also show how subjectivity can affect change, such as within business practices, governmental policies, and/or raise the level of one's consciousness. Lather and Smithies (1997) reflectively integrated and included subjectivity into their provocative study about support groups for women diagnosed with HIV. Their subjectivity evolved into researchers' notes and, subsequently produced empirical data that raised the level of one's understanding of what it means to live with a HIV diagnosis, and/or die with AIDS.

Erickson's (1976) subjectivity was activated as he investigated the disastrous effect of the 1972 Buffalo Creek flood on a small Appalachian coal-mining community in West Virginia. As a sociologist trained to be objective during the course of a study, he made a conscious decision to make visible his subjectivity. The resulting affect was a study that is timeless in its level of authenticity, credibility, and believability. Readers are able to re-experience the disaster in narrated vignettes by the people who survive the flood. Furthermore, Erickson's subjectivity lends itself to making meaning out of the experiences embedded within the mini-stories told by these survivors of the flood.

The above discussion is significant because it shows that a researcher's subjectivity can be activated throughout the course of a study. Furthermore, the above conversation shows that a researcher's subjectivity can be relied upon as an investigative tool. Therefore, I acknowledge my subjectivity and argue that it will enable me to internally examine the implication of my practice as a researcher, the political nature of my inquiry, and what it means to look inside of the world of the Black Deaf and hard-of-hearing men who participated in this study (Lather, 1993). Therefore, I acknowledge my subjectivity and its utility with respect to data analysis, interpretation, and representation. In addition to the above statement, I believe that my subjectivity can be used to inform readers as to the direction and outcome of my study; contextualize their biases, and thereby increase the integrity of my research.

As I reflect upon my personal and professional involvement in deafness, I can see that my pre-existing beliefs about Deaf people and their culture, hence, my subjectivity, evolved over a period of fifteen years. I have come to support and advocate American Sign Language (ASL), the Deaf community's core values and beliefs, and various deafness political agenda. While I actively promote the three components that characterize Deaf culture, I am not considered a member of the core Deaf community. I recognize, accept, and understand that it is because of my hearing status, that I am not fully accepted within the Deaf community by core Deaf members. However, my close association with Deaf friends and my professional work in the field has afforded me opportunities to observe and experience circumstances unique to deafness, but yet, perplexing to hearing people. One such observation is the dominance of hearing, educated, White, middle-class females in the Deaf educational field. The paradox for me in this sense, is that I was formally introduced to deafness by a hearing, White, educated, middle-class female within a religious setting. Little did I realize at the time, that her presence in deafness represented the norm as to who directs, shapes, and influences the

educational process of Deaf learners (Burch, 2001; Luckner, 1991; McCall, 1995; Moulton, Roth, & Tao, 1987).

Throughout my career in deafness, I have attended and/or participated in many meetings, programs, and activities, where I am the only individual of color whether hearing or Deaf. I find myself questioning the solitariness of my minority presence and wondered with a critical mind if my hearing peers and colleagues are as conscious of this fact as I am. In many instances, it appears that the absence of representation of Deaf or hard-of-hearing professionals of color goes, more often than not, unnoticed. I wonder if more Deaf or hard-of-hearing people of color would be in attendance at these meetings, if they had had unrestricted access to their education. I am uncertain as to the answer, given that so few hearing minority deafness professionals are invited to attend these meetings.

I am acutely aware of the difference I bring to the professional field of deafness. But, I am not immune to the reality that despite my race and working class background, that I, too, occupy a place of privilege. I am privileged because of my hearing status; and, it is because of my ability to hear, that I am able to take advantage of aurally transmitted (both tacit and incidental) information. My ability to hear has enabled me to capitalize on knowledge and information that has facilitated my professional development and growth in deafness. This is a reality and privilege that Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners can not experience or share.

Duncan (2000) put forth an argument that "the relationship between the researcher and the research process is inextricably linked" (p. 464). This statement is all too true as I consider the interconnected manner between myself as a female researcher and as a researcher conducting an investigation about a group of men and their experiences. As a researcher and as a female conducting research, I acknowledge that these two elements are interrelated and will play a critical role throughout the investigative process. In one way, my female lens enables me to attend to details that best describe the men I have chosen to investigate. The details that I make mention of this

study can best be understood as observations that I make while in the field. These observations will decidedly be framed through my female lens. But I have an obligation to represent these observations in a manner respective of the men that I am investigating as well as to the research field as a whole. Therefore, I do not seek to deny nor reject the subjectivity that my female lens offers this study. I argue that my female lens will make my observations of these men and their ecological habitat accessible for knowledge building and sense-making. Furthermore, my observations of the men in this study do not in any way invalidate my researcher's lens. It does however; make possible the inscription of meaning making for readers interested in learning more about Black Deaf and hard-of-hearing adult male learners.

Unlike my White hearing professional peers, my racial identity, positionality, and hearing status enable me to hear, understand and contextualize the 'isms' talk-discourses. My positionality as a Black hearing adult woman makes it possible for me to understand how Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners are positionalized differently from White hearing educators and deafness professionals. My positionality enables me to see how these differences are played out on the broader landscape of our society. The manifestation of these differences has produced a silencing of voice discourse about and among Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners.

I have a two-fold argument with respect to race and racism in the field of deafness and deaf education. First, I maintain that race and racism continues to be unexamined in the field of deafness and secondly, there is a tendency to avoid any substantive discussion on the intersection of race, gender, and deafness within the deaf educational context. I contend that my educated, White, hearing, middle-class peers and colleagues do not seek to investigate and/or study Deaf or hard-of-hearing people of color within the learning and schooling context, because race, gender, and deafness is not central to their concerns. Therefore, I am compelled to investigate how race, gender, and deafness impact and

shape the learning and schooling experiences of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners.

I believe that recording and documenting the stories of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners will call upon many hearing professionals in the field of Deaf education to examine their "uncritical habit of mind" (King, 1991, p. 135). An uncritical habit of mind is understood as an absence of interrogation of the social realities of race and racism. I apply the notion of uncritical habit of mind to the absence of interrogation among hearing White deafness professionals. Yet research shows that race, racism, and audism are interconnected sociopolitical realities. These realities shape and constrain the lives and positionality of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners (Anderson & Grace, 1991; Davis, 1995; Jankowski, 1997; Johnson-Bailey, Tisdell, & Cervero, 1994; Lane, Hoffmeister & Bahan, 1996; McCarthy, 1990; Omi & Winant, 1994).

Two sociopolitical factors undergird my subjectivity. First I am driven by my desire to give credence to voice scholarship of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners (Delpit, 1988). Secondly, I desire to initiate a discourse on how the intersection of race, gender, and deafness impact the learning context for minority Deaf or hard-of-hearing people of color. I choose to initiate this discussion by using my difference, power, and position as a researcher to bring to the fore, the narratives of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners' learning and schooling experiences.

<p style="text-align:center">Participant Selection</p>

This study started out using the purposeful sampling approach in identifying six Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult men from the Black Deaf community. But because of the uniqueness of the population of learners I am investigating, I also had to rely upon the snowballing technique, so that I could be referred to other Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male participants for my study. There were two interconnected advantages to this joint approach of my sampling strategy. I have a long and close association (both personally and professionally) with many members from within the Black Deaf

community and wanted to increase my opportunities of obtaining rich descriptive data from Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult males that I have not yet met.

Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners who participated in this study were residents of the state of Georgia and had to:

1. have a significant hearing loss impacting his life in all social and interrelational contexts.

2. have been or presently be employed for a minimum of six months, because the working experience will have provided independent living skills.

3. have earned a high school diploma or GED.

4. have lived independently for a minimum of six months.

<div align="center">Data Collection</div>

The data that was collected was accomplished through a series of in-depth interviews approximately 90 minutes each. Marshall and Rossman (1999) explain in-depth interviews as "conversations with a purpose" (p. 80). Interviewing is conceptualized as obtaining a "special kind of information" (Merriam, 1998, p. 71). Kvale (1996) contends that the interviewing process assists the researcher in conceptualizing a way to think about mining data. It is an exploratory approach, which can lead to development of theory. Elwood and Martin (2000) cite that interviewing is an "exchange of information between the researcher and research participant" (p. 650). I believed that this approach was a necessary step for my study, because I was interested in past events, which could not be replicated, and because I sought to obtain rich descriptive data, that could be delivered during a face-to-face interview.

Elwood and Martin (2000) integrated a critical view towards the importance of designating an interview site. They contend that site designation is equally important as the purpose for conducting the interview. They posit that the interview site, which they conceptualize as micro-geographies, can provide data that contextualizes the information

being disclosed. Micro-geographies can be understood as contextual dynamics with respect to power balance and relationships between the researcher and participants; the participants with the interview site; and the interview site's connection with the socio-cultural context. Each of these relationships is interrelated and interdependent upon the other and impacts the interview process. These interrelationships also impact the data that is being produced and/or disclosed. This is an important point to emphasize, because most deafness research pathologizes Deaf and hard-of-hearing participants, specifically for hearing researchers' agenda (Akamatsu, 1993; Foster, 1993; Pollard, 1993). Consequently, the voices of Deaf or hard-of-hearing participants often go unheard. This study instead gives voice to Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners and places them at the center of the research context (Riessman, 1993).

Following this line of thinking, and for the purpose of this study, the interviews were conducted at either the home residence of the participants or at a mutually agreed upon location. Conducting interviews at the designated site of the participants' choosing ensured that they would be comfortable addressing sensitive issues, eliminate the possibility of distracting activity that could detract from the seriousness of our conversations, as well as create a balance in the social dynamics between interviewer and interviewee.

Johnson-Bailey (1999) contends that the interviewing phase is a dynamic process. She denotes how power issues are inherent throughout the interviewing process and therefore, researchers must be cognizant of its shifting nature and hierarchies. The power matrix is a very real component for my study, and I perceive it to be analogous to a swinging pendulum between myself as a hearing African American woman researcher/interviewer, and the participants, who are Deaf, Black, male, and an interviewee. The hierarchical structure of our relationships shifted as we explored issues relevant to gender, race, and hearing vs. non-hearing statuses. The difference between us as Johnson-Bailey asserts, requires trust building. She implicitly contends that trust

building is crucial in the interviewing process when there are multiple margins to mitigate. However, when trust is achieved and established, the outcome of the research "can be electrifying" (p. 669).

Since the participants' learning and schooling experiences had already occurred, one-on-one and in-depth interviews were considered the most optimal approach in capturing their reflections and stories (Kvale, 1996). The interview questions were developed with a multi-tiered perspective towards Deaf, hard-of-hearing, Black Deaf and African American learners specifically, adult learners in general, and my thirteen years of professional experience in deafness.

The interviews were uniquely different because of the participants' different communication modalities. Pollard (1993) understands the complexity of issues related to different communication modalities that Deaf and hard-of-hearing people use to communicate. He states that the "effectiveness of sign language depends on many factors" (p. 35). He also adds a cautionary note that not all Deaf or hard-of-hearing people utilize sign language. Scheetz (1993) shows that many Deaf and hard-of-hearing people communicate by relying upon their oral/aural speech reading skills. Pollard (1993) suggests that researchers be open and flexible to the diversity of communication styles and skills levels and then proceed with the interviewing process using the language modality of the participant being interviewed. While I am a skilled ASL conversationalist, a nationally certified sign language interpreter was considered a necessary tool in the data collecting process, particularly with respect to the participants whose primary language was ASL (see Appendix A and B). The role that the sign language interpreter plays between two people who do not share the same communication modality is to communicate and enhance (via voice) the message being conveyed by the signing participants. A nationally certified interpreter is bounded by a standard of code of ethics by the Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf, Inc., which works tirelessly in safeguarding the profession and Deaf individuals' rights (Frishberg, 1994). By using a

certified sign language interpreter during the interview sessions, I was able to focus my attention without being concerned with miscommunication or experiencing a breakdown between two different language modalities.

The literature minimally addresses the impact of the presence of a nationally certified sign language interpreter during a qualitative study. Foster (1993) states that there are situations and occurrences where the skills of an extremely fluent hearing signer can "fall short of the fluency required to conduct an in-depth interview" (p. 6). Therefore, care should be taken to have the most skilled interpreter available during the interviewing process. With this point in mind, extra care was taken to have a culturally representative interpreter, who was also nationally certified, be designated for this study. This decision was vital to the success of the study because it ensured the integrity, quality, and validity of the participants' message (Frishberg, 1994). Cross-cultural issues are of critical importance in deafness research. Therefore, as a hearing researcher I was mindful of the "social cultural and other factors that could affect participants' comprehension, comfort and accuracy in disclosing information" (Pollard, 1993, p. 36). With respect to this study, cross-cultural issues are predicated by gender, communication modalities, and cultural (hearing vs. deafness) differences.

Each interview session was recorded using a video camcorder and audio tape recorder. Both types of recorders were used for all of the participants whether or not they used sign language or oral speaking abilities (Scheetz, 1993). The purpose for using the video camcorder as part of the data collecting process was to record visual references the ASL participants used to communicate, emphasize, and/or punctuate a particular point. However, the use of the video camcorder had a secondary purpose. It not only captured the various nuances displayed during the interview process, but it also aided in maintaining the accuracy of the message during the transcription process. Mindess (1999) explains that ASL (visual) requires translating from the primary language to a different form of language (spoken English). In other words, ASL requires breaking down the

message without changing the meaning attached to the message, then finding the equivalent spoken English message. Thus, I had to transform the visual language into spoken language, in order to transcribe the spoken language into written text (Kvale, 1996). Both recording mediums were reviewed multiple times to ensure accuracy of ASL message and meaning.

The ability to (re)view recorded interviews gave me multiple opportunities to take in the message(s), stop, think about its meaning, then translate and transform it (in this instance) into written text English. The combined approach of the audio and videotape, as well as, the voiced translated message rendered by the nationally certified interpreter increased the accuracy of the participants' messages. Hartman (1996) relied upon videotape to record interactions and classroom conversations. Her use of videotapes revealed aspects of interactions between the participants that may have been missed despite careful classroom observations. Matthews and Reich (1993) utilized videotapes to assess the amount of information that was restricted to the visual domain (line-of-sight). In this instance, more than one researcher examined the videotape in an effort to ensure reliability of the analysis of the data.

All of the interview sessions were transformed into printed text in order to make the participants' narratives accessible for analysis. Kvale (1996) contends that the transcription process is not a "simple clerical task, [but rather an]…interpretive process" (p. 160). He goes on to state, "transcription is a transgression, transformation of one narrative mode - oral discourse - into another narrative mode - written discourse. To *trans*cribe means to *trans*form" (Kvale, p. 166).

Reflective notes were recorded via a second tape recorder after each interview session. These notes were inclusive of my personal observations and knowledge about the interview session prior to, during, and after the interviews (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). I later used these notes to construct a portrait memo that describes the participants' learning experiences (Wolcott, 1999).

Data Analysis

Data analysis requires active engagement. In order to produce a strong and reliable study, multiple techniques should be used with respect to the narrative analysis process. Creswell and Miller (2000) conceptualize data analysis as examining the relationship between what is learned from the data and an investigator's theoretical framework. In order to accomplish this task, it is necessary to deconstruct and reconstruct the data in order to look for patterns, explanations, and interpretations that make sense.

Ewick and Sibley (1995) and Thomas (1993) agree that analysis of a narrative text requires a critical examination and interrogation of three essential elements. First, they show that investigators need to examine the rationale or purpose of why participants selected a particular story over another to tell or narrate. Secondly, an analysis of the narrative text requires researchers to look at the temporal and location orientation (i.e., beginning, middle, and ending) of a story. Finally, an analysis require that researchers interrogate the narrated plot(s), specifically, the description of the setting, cause and effects, motivations, heroes/ines and villains, tragedies, romance, and comedies. This analytical process allowed me to understand how the stories of the participants' learning and schooling experiences were produced. Secondly, the process enabled an understanding of how the participants produced meaning from their learning and schooling experiences, as they understood it. Third, I was able to tease out from the participants' narratives the larger story (Hones, 1998) on how race, gender, and deafness construct upon each other within the learning and schooling context.

As an additional aid, I relied upon taxonomies as a way to analytically visualize my data (LeCompte, 2000). Coffey and Atkinson (1996) clarify the structure, role, and purpose of a taxonomy illustration. They state that visual graphics can capture "take-for-granted cultural knowledge…that informs many of [our] judgment[s]" (p. 133), about social groups/interactions, organizations, and institutions. The practicality of taxonomies should not be understated. They allow researchers to visually "group together items that

are similar or go together" (LeCompte, p. 149). The use of taxonomies provided me a way of seeing as Wolcott (1999) asserted. In other words, I used the taxonomies to see what pieces of data went together and how they were connected to each other.

Although taxonomies may not always reveal additional information, they can help researchers understand the importance and meanings of the certain connections and their relationships with respect to a phenomenon that they are studying. In this sense, taxonomies I developed, supported and confirmed my intuit hypothesis about the learning and schooling experiences of the participants that I was investigating. Glesne (1999) agrees that taxonomies help researchers "see what they know and don't know" (p. 141), about a social phenomenon. She also reminds us that visual display of data utilizing this approach helps in the theorizing about a "social phenomenon under study" (Glesne, p. 141). The premise of this integrated analytical and methodological strategy helped to peal away the layers that obscured themes and connections related to the participants' learning and schooling experiences, as well as, they deepened my understanding about the mega-stories of the participants' school histories.

The initial phase of my data analysis began with the reading of the transcribed interviews in order to holistically construct a descriptive narrative of the participants. Coffey and Atkinson (1996) state that representing and writing are forms of analysis. They state that writing is a way of making researchers think about their data. Simultaneously, when researchers think about how to represent their data, they are forced to think about its "meaning and understandings, voices and experiences present in the data" (Coffey & Atkinson, p. 106). Richardson (1990) concurs, but renders a more critical analysis on the issue of writing. She posits that writing is a multi-tiered process. It involves issues of power, authority, and privilege to "inscribe meaning and value" to the stories researchers are trying to tell (p. 12). Kvale (1996) implicitly concurs as he argues for giving voice to participants in an effort to understand how they socially negotiate their worlds.

Since I wanted to render a more contemporary view of Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult males (Hairston & Smith, 1983), I developed and narrated a descriptive portrait for each of the men who participated in this study and his learning and schooling experiences using an ethnographic-like lens. As Spradley (1970) suggests, each portrait is replete with thick and rich descriptions. For the purpose of this study, the Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing male participants' descriptive narrative portraits were constructed using the transcripted interviews, my research journal with detailed notes, and portrait memo. Bogdan and Biklen (1998) wrote that memos are reflective "think pieces" that a researcher uses to keep track of his/her progress while in the field (p. 123). These notes often contain thoughts, observations, feelings, or things to consider next when going back into the field. According to Merriam (1998) these techniques are useful strategies in obtaining data in order to narrate a rich description of "social regularities of everyday life (p. 56).

A methodological and strategic approach was used to analyze the transcripted interviews. I broke up my data into "elementary units" (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996, p. 58), by structuring my data using and affixing code as designed by Labov (1972) and promoted by Riessman (1993). Coffey and Atkinson's discussion on Labov's structural (i.e., the rationale of chosen narrative, temporal and location orientation, and the descriptive components of the narrative) technique is prescriptive and can be utilized in examining specific past events in chronological order. They also contend that Labov's structural approach would help me to tease out the participants' mini-stories, while simultaneously thinking about what the data represents (Coffey & Atkinson). In other words, narratives offered a basic structure, and relying upon Labov's approach, provided the first start in organizing the data for analysis (Essed, 1988; Riessman, 1993).

Labov's (1972) and Riessman's (1993) approach can be thought as a coding process. These codes are understood as A=Abstract; O=Orientation; CA=Complication in Action; E=Evaluation; R=Result; CO=Coda. Abstract introduces the narratives, while

orientation situates the context. Complication in action involves a description or an account of what happened. Complication in action also reflects a struggle and/or opposition to the normal state of affairs (Essed, 1988). Evaluation is the judgement that Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male participants render, with respect to what was or was not acceptable about the experience they narrated. Result is understood as the meaning that is produced as a result of the learning and schooling experiences that Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male learners have had within the educational context. It also is understood as the inferences drawn from the meaning that has been produced from these experiences. Coda refers to subsequent action(s) and/or later reflections due to another similar experience or encounter.

The above coding strategy allowed me to break up the data into smaller units for analysis as well as provided opportunities to tease out features of the participants' mini-stories (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). The above coding structure was embedded within the text, highlighted and color coded in order to make features of the data more distinguishable. This process allowed me to understand the logic that linked the way an experience was narrated by the participants. This technique placed the participant(s) at the center of the telling and not the social context, which only served as the contextual background to their stories.

The third phase of the data analysis process involved taking a more inductive approach at looking for patterns, themes, and concepts. This process led to the interpretation of the data (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). The explicit purpose for utilizing this approach was to assist me in breaking down my data and then reconstructing it in order to develop an interpretive view of my analysis. This analytical exercise allowed me to examine and question word(s), section(s), and/or paragraph(s) more closely as to the possibility of different meanings (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). I believed that by relying upon this process, certain invisible aspects or features of the participants' stories would become more prominent. Hones' (1998) discussion shows the advantage of incorporating

this approach. Specifically, he states that by drawing upon categories and themes, they can aid in grouping together similar experiences that the Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male participants may have encountered. Categories and themes can make visible features of participant's stories that are struggling to get out (Thomas, 1993).

Furthermore, the above methodological strategy enabled me to manage and organize sizeable chucks of data (Hutchinson, 1990; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). A line-by-line analysis of certain segments of the narrated text produced categories and themes that were relevant to each unit of data. Coffey and Atkinson (1996) posit that this approach is identified as key coding. So, as categories and themes emerged, I looked for patterns that were relevant to my study and research questions.

<u>Validation of Study</u>

The issue of validity has been and continues to be hotly contested for researchers conducting qualitative research (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Kvale, 1996; Lather, 1993; Maxwell, 1992; Merriam, 1998; Mishler, 1990; Wolcott, 1994). At issue, is validity's defined meaning as objectified truth, needing to be supported and/or proven as a certainty (Angen, 2000; Lather, 1993; Maxwell, 1992; Wolcott, 1994). Qualitative investigators share in the assumption that the truth of the data is not the object of their investigation; rather, their primary concern is whether the findings of their interpretation are believable and/or credible (Wolcott, 1994). In their view, the data generated by and from participants is already considered true and real. Thus, as a consequence to this discussion, validity is reconceptualized as validation (Mishler, 1990). Validation is understood as an evaluative process that allows a judgment to be rendered about the trustworthiness and credibility of a study and its findings (Bailey, 1996; Riessman, 1993).

Trustworthiness raises the question of whether or not a researcher has done enough to persuade and/or convince (Riessman, 1993) readers to believe and accept a study's interpretation and findings. In other words, it is a matter of understanding how an investigator arrived at his/her interpretation of the findings, and if the interpretation of

those findings correlates and/or makes sense with the narrated events, experiences of the participants, and theoretical framework (Kvale, 1996; Merriam, 1998; Riessman, 1993).

Universal standards that can ascertain the credibility of a qualitative study do not exist (Maxwell, 1992; Merriam, 1998; Riessman, 1993). However, Kvale (1996) and Mishler (1990) favor an evaluative approach that methodically addresses the thorny issue of trustworthiness. Qualitative investigators rely upon a certain lens that dictates and influences their thinking in conceptualizing a strategy that promotes the trustworthiness of a study. These lenses are those of the researcher, participants, and readers who can determine and judge the credibility and believability of a study (Creswell & Miller, 2000). My researcher's lens was shaped by the data, personal and professional experience in the field, and my theoretical framework (Merriam, 1998). I relied upon the participants' feedback as a way to conduct a member check (Riessman, 1993) to ensure the accuracy of my interpretations. Wolcott (1994) contends that readers can provide invaluable assistance in critiquing a researcher's analysis and interpretation of textual data. He states that readers "reactions sometimes help [the researcher] recognize where the reporting or the interpretation (or both) seem overblown or underdeveloped" (p. 353). In this instance, I incorporated feedback from deafness experts knowledgeable about the Black Deaf community.

Angen (2000), Bailey (1996), Creswell and Miller (2000), and Riessman (1993) support the above view and provide guidelines and/or instruction for incorporating of a rigorous and documented approach within a study. They argue that with a documented approach, a study can provide the evidence that an investigator has been rigorous and diligent in his/her efforts to establish believability, trustworthiness, and credibility. Furthermore, they show the importance of making accessible a trail that can be visibly followed, and will allow a judgement to be rendered about the study's interpretation and findings.

Following the above line of thinking, this study adopted the posture that the narratives rendered by Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male participants are true and real. Thus, their narratives did not need to be proven for a certainty. What was to be taken in account with respect to the narratives was whether or not my findings and interpretation could be judged as credible and believable. Therefore, my study incorporated a multi-tier strategy designed to increase the trustworthiness and credibility of my findings and interpretation. In evidence is the transcripted text (i.e. narratives/interview) of the Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male participants. These texts are to be considered primary data (Wolcott, 1994). Secondly, I made accessible, the structure and method that transforms the participants' texts into interpretation (Mishler, 1990; Wolcott, 1994). Third, as Wolcott (1994) suggested, I recorded my reflections in a research journal as I saw patterns and explanations between the relationship of the meaning that the Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult males had about their experiences and my constructed theoretical framework. Research journaling (in other words, documenting) simultaneously increased the richness of my data analysis and interpretation as well as lend itself to the credibility of my study and findings. My journal included commentaries, feedback, and remarks from my readers who were knowledgeable about issues relevant to the Black Deaf community.

Data Representation

Morse (1999) contends that role of data plays an active agent in every aspect of research design. She contends that data has a purpose in research and as such, it drives the study. For the purpose of my research, I profiled each Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male participant as an individualized case study. According to Merriam (1998), a case study is defined as a "single entity, a unit around which there are boundaries" (p. 27). She goes on to explain the meaning of boundary as the "edge of the case: what will not be studied" (p. 27). Each of the participants' profiles were bounded to the educational context, and are descriptively represented with respect to their lived experiences. It was

expected that the participants would share issues of race and racism as well as any experiences related to their gender and Deaf identities. It was also expected that there would be degrees of differences and diversity in the participants' stories as a result of the above cultural boundary markers, but also because of the degree and range of hearing loss, when and how they were introduced to language, and their family's response to their deafness (Scheetz, 1993), their age, and socio-economic status. The participants' stories are inclusive of vignettes and direct quotes. Incorporated throughout the case study are my analysis and interpretation.

Merrifield, Bingman, Hemphill, and deMarrais (1997) descriptively profiled twelve individuals as a case by cross case analysis. The object of this study was to have a team of researchers examine and understand the relationship between learning and literacy in the lives of their participants. They interviewed participants whose social histories spanned across racial and cultural divide, from the Appalachian Mountains to the West Coast of the United States. The Merrifield and Bingman, et al. (1997) study yielded categorical themes that show how sociocultural and sociopolitical realities produced stories that were s/heroic, dramatic, and sometimes, tragic. Using the Merrifield and Bingman, et al. (1997) study as an example of a representational style, I profiled, developed, and narrated each participant's story. I also looked for patterns of similarities and differences as I performed a case by cross case analysis. I anticipated that this representational approach would yield categorical themes that increased my understanding of the relationship between Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult male participants, their learning and schooling experiences, and current living realities.

CHAPTER IV

BLACK DEAF AND HARD-OF-HEARING ADULT MALE LEARNERS'

SCHOOLING EXPERIENCES

This chapter contains an integrated discussion on the schooling and developmental life experiences of six Black Deaf and hard-of-hearing men who participated in this study. As you read through the pages of this chapter you will begin to note how these men's experiences have been uniquely shaped and defined by their different hearing disability, orientation to language learning and acquisition, communication modality, and social interactions with various members of a predominantly hearing society. Neither the schooling nor the developmental life experiences of the men who participated in this study can be understood in isolation of each other. They operate in tandem to each other and have continued to do so since the discovery of these men's hearing loss diagnosis, and subsequently acknowledged as a disability. Hearing people have perceived, treated, and interacted with these men differently than they would have with Black men who are not Deaf or hard-of-hearing. The interactions that the men in this study have experienced are replete with tension between themselves and hearing people; and this tension would remain unresolved throughout their lives.

Themes of racism, audism, and ableism underscored the participants' schooling and developmental life experiences. Davis (1995) and Jankowski (1997) help us understand audism as an oppressive and systemic form of discrimination against Deaf people who cannot utilize the dominant way of speaking and hearing. Ableism as defined by Mitchell and Synder, (1997) is another oppressive form perpetrated by non-disabled people against the disabled community. These forms of oppressive discrimination (along with racism) have had an insidious impact in the lives of the men that I studied. In many

ways, these 'isms' have taken on hegemonic forms, and often operated outside of the purview of the participants' consciousness. Yet, in spite of the unresolved tension, which is predicated by the participants' deafness status, language differences, communication modality, and, hegemonic forms of the 'isms', these men have remained resilient in the face of audistic obstacles.

The discussion in this chapter is the product of the first of four research questions that guided my study. This question, which focused on understanding the participants' past and present schooling experiences, shows the intricate nature and relationship between deafness, language learning and acquisition, communication modality, and education in a narrative fashion. An analysis of the participants' stories shows that each man experienced his schooling and developmental life statuses differently. The contrasting differences among these men were predicated by family perception and orientation to each man's hearing disability, language introduction during their formative years, parental advocacy and involvement. How these parents approached, addressed, and understood their son's deafness paved the road towards the type of educational and schooling experiences that these men would encounter.

The educational process of these men as deaf children took a more procedural approach toward school placement. School placement is understood as having to choose among the educational options (residential, day, self-contained, and regular class settings) for teaching Deaf and hard-of-hearing learners at the K-12 grade levels (Turkington & Sussman, 1992). Complicating school choice options are the legal and racial issues that shrouded the educational process in educating disabled learners who also are of color.

I begin my discussion with an overview of socio-political events that had direct bearing on the participants' developmental and educational histories. I characterized these events as the social winds of change. Social winds of change is to be understood as socio-political and historical events that took place in our country that ultimately and collectively had a direct impact in the lives of African Americans and/or disabled people

and, subsequently, the lives of the six Black Deaf and hard-of-hearing participants in this study. This discussion will serve as the backdrop to the participants' educational and developmental life experiences. Relying upon the social winds of change narrative, I situate the participants' educational experiences within a chronological timeline as a way to demonstrate how collective events operated in tandem to each other.

Following this discussion are six ethnographic portraits. Hackman (2002) explains that developing portraits is a methodological form for capturing the "complexity, dynamics, and subtlety of human experience and organizational life" (p. 51). As such the portraits in this chapter are the narrated stories of the participants' lives as Deaf and hard-of-hearing Black men. These portraits were developed in order to provide a sense of understanding of who these men are and in what manner their deafness impacted their lives, social development, relationships within and outside of their family structures, and, more importantly, their educational experiences. Furthermore, these ethnographic portraits can provide a foundation for understanding the manner in which my participants' gendered roles and identities developed over the course of their lives as African American Deaf and hard-of-hearing men. The importance of these narrated portraits cannot be understated because it contextualizes my analysis and interpretation on how the participants' classify their identity, their identity construction, and the development of their gendered roles as Black Deaf and hard-of-hearing men.

Before I begin my discussion, I would like to provide a road map of my analysis. Each participant's interview transcript was analyzed in order to extrapolate data pertinent to his formative and developmental years, etiology of deafness, educational history, adulthood status, employment history, language, communication, and social interaction activities. Next, I developed taxonomies (Glesne, 1999) of the participants' schooling experiences that pictorially illustrated the manner in which their schooling evolved and/or progressed. I then cross-analyzed each participant's schooling experiences to determine patterns of similarity and/or contrasting differences and reconstructed my analysis into a

narrative format for reading purposes. As you read through the narrative text (which includes my analysis and interpretation of participants' data), you will note that I have taken the liberty to construct and represent their stories within a social context. I analyzed and interpreted what the participants said as it related to that specific context. In short, there is an interweaving of experience, analysis, and interpretation (Riessman, 2002) whether it was a family, society, and/or community context. I also provide a title for each narrative text. I view these narrative texts as mini-stories within the larger narrated tale of the participants' schooling and developmental life experiences.

The Winds of Social Change

The combined experiences of the participants' schooling experiences cover a period of forty-one years, beginning with 1952 through 1993. During this time, our American society witnessed tumultuous changes that had a direct bearing on the way we educated marginalized groups of people. The result of these changes challenged individuals who were privileged by race and able-bodiness to re-examine their collective stance towards people of color and those individuals with disabilities. Take for example the way American schools operated under the shadow of the Jim Crow system. This system was systematically dismantled with watershed events like Brown v. Board of Education; the Civil Rights Movement that included the Civil Rights Act 1964, and the Voting Rights Act 1965. Other events such as the passing of public law 94-142, more commonly known as the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) and Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1975 forced schools to address the way individuals with disabilities were educated. Schools were prohibited from discriminating against individuals with disabilities and were mandated to strike their restrictive policies against persons with disabilities by integrating inclusion at all levels of education.

While the above events moved the collective social consciousness of our American society, they did not however, address the one hundred-year controversy (oralism v. ASL) within the field deaf education. Prior to 1960, schools were required to

teach deaf students using the oral method. Turkington and Sussman (1992) note that the oral method stresses the "use of speech among Deaf and hard-of-hearing people together with speechreading and auditory training as a way of merging with the hearing world" (p. 144). They also define speech reading as the ability to visually recognize the spoken language by observing the movements of the jaw, lips, and tongue. The roots of the oral method can be traced back to the 1500's when Spanish monks educated Spanish Deaf children of noble birth. The heavy reliance upon the oral approach compromised the educational process for Deaf and hard-of-hearing learners and, more importantly Black Deaf and hard-of-hearing adult male learners. First, many of their teachers lacked the professional training in the oral method. Secondly, they taught Black Deaf and hard-of-hearing students along with students with different sensory needs who relied upon their hearing or the tactile method to communicate (Hairston & Smith, 1983). As such, learning was bounded by an individual's ability to read lips.

Stokoe's (Maher, 1996) seminal work and research on ASL challenged the authority of the oral method by establishing a strong argument that ASL could and should be used within the educational context. His work also showed that by using ASL as a pedagogical tool for instruction, it would facilitate the learning process for deaf and hard-of-hearing learners. Many deaf educational proponents agreed and supported Stokoe's (Maher, 1996) work, and consequently, his research loosened the vice-like grip that the oral method (Turkington & Sussman, 1992) had within the educational arena. Furthermore, Stokoe's (Maher, 1996) work paved the way for other alternative communication approaches in teaching deaf and hard-of-hearing learners (Nowell & Marshak, 1994).

<div align="center">Chronological Timeline and Social Change</div>

The participants' stories persuasively show that their schooling experiences were shaped by significant socio-political and historical event markers which also moved the collective consciousness of our American society. Therefore, I developed a chronology of

their schooling experiences in order to establish a contextual baseline for my analysis. I start my analysis with a chronological timeline in which each participant's schooling experiences were initiated.

David started school when oralism and the lynching of Black Americans were both at their zeniths; two years before the Brown v. Board of Education; thirteen years before the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Act was passed; seven years before the Vietnam War; twenty-four years before PL 94-142 and Section 504; and forty-one years before the passing of ADA. Jordan started school one year after the last documented lynching (Harley, 1995); four years after the passing of the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Act; one year after the end of the Vietnam War; one year after Stokoe's (Maher, 1996) work; six year before the passing of the PL 94-142 and Section 504, and twenty-four years before ADA. It is important to note the timeline of Georgia School for the Deaf desegregation correlated with the passing of PL 94-142 and Section 504. Lloyd started school one year after the passing of PL 94-142 and the end of the Vietnam War. Allen started school eight years after the Civil Rights movements began; ten years after the last known lynching of Black Americans; eight years following oralism; started the same year as the Rehabilitation Act, Section 504, three years after the passing of PL 94-142, three years after the end of the Vietnam War; and fifteen years before ADA. James started school eight years after the Civil Rights movement began; three years after the passing of PL 94-142; three years after the end of the Vietnam War; eight years following Stoke's work; fifteen years before ADA, and ten years after the last lynching. Jamal started school eight years after Stokoe's work; four years after PL 94-142 and the Rehabilitation Act, Section 504, and fourteen years before ADA.

Connecting the participants' chronological time lines to the converging thematic socio-historical, political, and cultural events, my analysis showed that four of the six men were beneficiaries of a changing educational terrain. Lloyd, Jamal, Allen, and James not only graduated from their high schools, they continued their formal education at the

postsecondary level. However, only Lloyd completed his educational objective with a baccalaureate degree in social work. While all six men are products of their educational times, David and Jordan's schooling experiences were constrained by societal perception towards Black Americans. During this period, many Black Americans were not encouraged to pursue higher educational opportunities that would ensure upward social mobility.

<p style="text-align:center">Ethnographic Portraits</p>

This section contains the ethnographic portraits of the six Black Deaf and hard-of-hearing men that I interviewed. For the purpose of this section, ethnographic portraits are conceptualized as the descriptive narratives of the social and developmental life experiences of the men who grew up with a hearing disability. Merrifield, Bingman, Hemphill, and deMarrais (1997) descriptively profiled twelve individuals as a way to illustrate the sociocultural realities in a scholarly and narrative fashion. Furthermore, by producing their participants' profiles, they made visible the taken for granted elements that shaped and/or constrained the lives of the people they investigated.

Participant portraits can also be represented as "ethnographic short stories" (Glesne, 1999, p. 190). Ethnographic short stories accomplishes two literary tasks. First, it enables researchers to "re-present the sense and feel, the complex emotions, and the dilemmas" that their informants face in their "everyday life" (p. 190). Secondly, writing ethnographic short stories in a literary fashion, unhinges scholarly writers from the traditional and objectified format to that of being able to write from their heads as well as their hearts (Glesne, 1999; Hackman, 2002; Lather & Smithies, 1997). In this sense, I present ethnographic portraits of six Black Deaf and hard-of-hearing adult men. These portraits are in line with the purpose of this study, which sought to understand the learning and schooling experiences of adult Black Deaf and hard-of-hearing male learners.

Developing the ethnographic portraits involved extracting data from the interviews (Kvale, 1996) pertinent to understanding the background elements that contributed to the learning and schooling experiences of the men that I investigated. The next step entailed organizing the data in patterns that represented a story of the men's social development as Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing men. Each portrait includes an introduction, a physical description of the participant and his home and developmental history. Included within the participants' developmental history is a conversation on an etiology of deafness, their current family status, and employment history. Each portrait concludes with a discussion on language, communication, and social interaction. The purpose of this sub-section shows how language directly impacts, shapes, and constrains all aspects of social interactions, such as social status, current relationships with their communities, hobbies, and leisure activities.

While the above discussion provides an explanation for developing the ethnographic portraits, I must confess that there is another philosophical purpose for developing the portraits. I was moved to develop these portraits because I wanted to make visible the socio-habitat and trappings that have obscured the men I studied from scholarly investigation. These layers are the visible trappings and markings of our capitalistic society (e.g., shopping centers and malls, banks, residential areas, etc.). These trappings and markers are social indicators that people live, breathe, and go about their daily lives in our various communities. The men I studied live out their lives as other people without disabilities. This is an important point to make because of the invisibility of these men's hearing disability. Malone (1986) supports my argument, as he contends that deafness only affects social interactions between hearing and Deaf people with respect to communication issues. However, being and living as a Deaf person does not "cripple" the mind or the physical body (p. 8). Malone's (1986) point bears out in the invisibility of deafness because Black Deaf men can live next to us as our neighbors, or sit next to us as church members, and/or work beside us as co-workers. In any given point

in our daily interactions with others, we could brush past a Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing adult man and be oblivious to the chance encounter.

In order to strip away the layers that block Black Deaf and hard-of-hearing men from investigation, it was necessary to make them visible. The layers have been pictorially narrated and integrated within the ethnographic portraits. Furthermore, I textually narrate how deafness (as a disability) impacts, influences, and shapes these layers, as well as, the social dynamics of each man's interpersonal relationships and subsequently their learning experiences. I relied upon Van Maanen's (1988) theoretical discussion on data representation and production to inform my introduction and subsequently, the ethnographic portraits.

David: *Age: 57, Disability Status: Profoundly Deaf, Native Language: ASL only.*

The Introduction

It is interesting how a small incidental decision can serve to become the catalyst to an important event. Such is the case as I reflect on my first encounter with David. It was in the late 1980's. As part of a school related assignment, I needed to attend a Deaf function. In looking at a list of Deaf activities that had been developed by my instructor, one of the events in particular caught my eye. It was a black deaf function. Up until that moment, I had not been made aware of any black deaf events. In making a decision to attend this particular black deaf function, I was in a position to observe a Black Deaf man, who years later, I would meet and talk with about his past learning and schooling experiences. At this particular time, I was a beginning signer and knew even less about Black Deaf culture. So, much like the other hearing neophytes who also chose to attend this event with me, I was completely dependent upon the voicing skills of the interpreter. I would later learn that the interpreter at this function was David's stepdaughter. During the next few years, I saw David at various Deaf functions and activities, but we were never formally introduced to each other.

After a while, I began to attend Deaf related functions that were more professional in nature, and, consequently, I lost track of David. However, in the spring, 2002, while attending a grassroots community function, I was once again placed on a path that would lead to a formal introduction. A mutual acquaintance of David as well as mine served to be a conduit to our formal introduction. This acquaintance had heard about my research interest in Black adult men who are Deaf or hard-of-hearing and felt that David would be an ideal participant for my study. Through this acquaintance, I was able to make contact with David and explain to him the nature of my study. Subsequently, I was able to establish a rapport and schedule a time and place for an interview. David agreed to meet me at his home residence on a Saturday morning.

I arrived at David's two-story home, which was nestled in a cul-de-sac of a small residential community. This quaint community was located off a winding road that fed into a main highway densely populated with a thriving retail district. Along this highway were a major shopping mall, countless discount stores, outlet centers, restaurants, and many more places to spend money. The houses in David's neighborhood are situated in very close proximity to each other, and each was architecturally designed with a condominium-like exterior. The racial make-up of the residents living in this community was primarily Black and White as evident by the school-aged children who played (games of basketball; throw football, in-line skating, skateboarding, and riding bicycles), in the safety of the cul-de-sac. The driveway that led up to David's home was large enough to accommodate two vehicles. David's neat small front yard gave no hint of his lush green spacious back yard, which could only be seen from the rear interior of his kitchen.

David opened his door as soon as I drove up the driveway. There he stood, 6 '1 ft. He greeted me with a warm, open, and inviting smile. He was barefoot, wore dark navy blue shorts, and a tee shirt. His youthful facial appearance belies the fact that he is approaching his retirement age of 60. He is a healthy man sporting a mocha-color skin

tone. His dark hair was cut very close and neat. His brown eyes (which could be seen through his prescription glasses) were alert and he watched everything. Much of who David is, is predicated upon his visual ability to observe everything. David is considered profoundly deaf by audiological standards. As a profoundly deaf man, he may find it extremely difficult to hear sounds of a truck driving passed his house, or a neighbor using his/her law motor to cut his/her grass, or a horn honk of car, or an airplane or helicopter flying low overhead.

<div style="text-align:center">Formative and Developmental Years</div>

David was born just after WWII in the state of Kentucky and grew up as the third child of seven brothers and one sister and a half-sister. However, David discovered much to his total surprise that he has one other half sister. He learned about her at his father's funeral. Increasing David's astonishment was the fact that his siblings knew of his second half sister and had known about her for a very long time. David attributes the failure of not being told about his second half sister to the fact that he is deaf and his family's inability to communicate with him using his native language, American Sign Language (ASL).

David's parents had been married to each other for a short time prior to David's birth, and while David was living at the state school for the deaf, they divorced. David approximates the time of his parents' divorce to the time he was either nine or ten years of age. David attributed the breakup of his parents' marriage to the stress of his deafness, although he realizes that his father "got around a lot." According to David, "I could sense that my mother who had always been alone, had been alone for a while. As I grew up, I remember my father, seeing my father seeing him with different women, and well, …
that was him."

David grew up in the projects. In his view, his community was poor. His house was "dilapidated" and "horrible," and he recalls his home having an "outhouse." After his parents' divorce, his mother decided to move her children to Ohio. Upon their arrival in Ohio, the entire family settled into another urban city projects. David's mother never

owned a house of her own and he recalls her receiving welfare assistance. After their move to Ohio, David recalls his father's infrequent visits. When his father did visit the family, he would give David money. Although David enjoyed the money, he would have preferred instead to be able to talk with his father.

Etiology of Deafness

David is not exactly certain when he became deaf, but he is the only deaf member of his family. He has a sister who is "slightly hard-of-hearing, but she is able to speak." To the best of David's knowledge, there is no established record attesting to genetic or hereditary deafness within David's family, and, as far as he is concerned, David is the only "totally deaf person" in his family. The narrated accounts differ depending on with whom he speaks regarding the approximate time and cause of his hearing loss. According to some people, David became deaf at the age of four. While others believe that David's hearing loss was first noticeable when he started school. David's mother, however, attributes his hearing loss to an injection of medication into his body when he was still very young. She told him that he was born with the ability to hear, but while he was an infant, he contracted the whooping cough. She took David to a doctor, who subsequently gave him a shot in his "spinal cord in [his] lower back that was supposed to help [him]." The only thing David knows for certain is that he was very young when he lost his hearing completely.

Educational History

David attended started and ended his educational history within an oral school environment, where only speech was emphasized as the primary mode of communicating educational lessons. In between these oral experiences, David attended a school for the deaf, as well as, was selected to attend an all boys' school. The majority of David's educational history occurred within a racially segregated setting. Additionally, his educational experiences were directed by hearing females, who were both Black and White women. David also had a Deaf male teacher when he was selected to attend an all

boys' school. In his early educational experience, many of his teachers did not have teaching credentials. Nevertheless, all of David's teachers exposed him to some type of formal traditional curriculum, and he was able to learn various trade skills at the high school level of education. But upon graduation, David attempted to get additional training and job placement assistance from the government. He was rebuffed because of his race. David contends that he was unable to get assistance because "at that time, they were, I wanted them to find me a job with printing, in printing, but they just would not do it. They did not help me, all of the Whites they helped, find a job, but the blacks they didn't." According to David, racial discrimination and bigotry was commonly practiced during this time, as many Black Americans received little or no assistance from the federal government.

Presently, David pursues various learning activities specific to his personal interests, such as coin and antique car collecting.

<div align="center">Adulthood Years</div>

David has been married twice before. He was eighteen when he met his first wife. She was Deaf, too. They were introduced at a church in Ohio and were married one year later. They remained married for five years, and during that time, they had a daughter who was born hearing. His daughter currently resides in Ohio and is thirty-three years of age and is the mother of two children. David's grandchildren, a boy and a girl, are eleven and five years old respectively. Both grandchildren are hearing. He visits them about twice year. David was divorced from his first wife three years before he met his second wife at the local Deaf club in Ohio. She too was Deaf. His second wife had two children of her own, a son who was Deaf and a daughter who was hearing. When he married his second wife, he became their stepfather. David's second marriage lasted twenty-four years and during that time, he made a decision to move his family to a metropolitan city in Georgia.

Circumstances surrounding David's decision to move south were directly related to his relationship with his siblings and mother. He stated,

> [they've] all done things that have been considered… stupid. They've been fired from many jobs. They asked me to co-sign for cars for them and do different things that I've had to try to help them. And after a while I had to stop. And that's one of the reasons why I moved …to [Georgia], because my oldest brother, he was continually bothering me, bugging me to help him. I felt like they were using me. Though they were older than me, I felt like they were using me. I've always had really good credit than my brother. And I felt like he was using me because of that. And so I felt I just needed to get out and move here…and but my mother tried, has tried to ask me to help them, sign off on a loan for her and I thought that was going to be very foolish. I didn't do it and she was extremely upset.

Currently, David resides with his hearing girlfriend of four years, and they have an eighteen-month-old daughter who is also hearing. David and his girlfriend met at on the job. David enjoys raising his youngest daughter. Even at her young age, David can see that she recognizes that he is different from her mother. Somehow, she understands that he is Deaf. She uses a "different voice" when she calls out for him than when she wants her mother. She helps him out by alerting him when someone is at his family's front door or when the telephone rings or when she needs to "use the bathroom."

Employment History

David's experiences paralleled the experiences of many hearing Black people in the 1950 – 1970's. However, unlike hearing Black Americans, David's experiences were made more complicated because of his profound hearing loss. Much like many hearing

Black Americans at that time, David had difficulty locating suitable employment. Many of the jobs David was able to find were menial labor in nature. He found jobs cleaning bedpans at a hospital and washing cars. He has cleaned caskets in funeral homes, as well as cleaned hotels and other related job duties. He has even worked for a major lotion company.

Presently, David works for the federal government and has remained in this position for over twenty years. He readily admits that he is looking forward to retirement. He obtained this position with the assistance of a hearing minister of a church who pastorally served the Deaf community. David considers himself a reliable and dependable federal employee capable of doing more complicated job duties and assignments. However, he has not been able to advance or receive promotional opportunities. He attributes the absence of any promotions to his deafness and/or favoritism. David has observed hearing black federal employees receiving promotional training opportunities, and he has watched employees promoted who performed the same job functions as he did. He has attempted to address the lack of promotions with his supervisor only to be told that he is "working good."

As a result of his federal job position, David has achieved financial security and stability that is unshared by his hearing brothers. He thinks his sister is doing all right and his mother continues to live on governmental support. David is proud of his credit rating and the fact that he has held down a job, unlike his hearing brothers, who have not been able to accomplish in life the things that he has been able to do. According to David, he is a "blue-collar worker…, hard worker, but I'm happy. It makes me happy. I have independence. I was able to buy a house. I have things. I don't have problems. Many people, I think have learned from me and have learned from some of my experience. I have been able to help people."

Language, Communication, and Social Interaction

Communication has been problematic for David and the people with whom he socially interacts. David uses American Sign Language (ASL) as his primary language modality. ASL is a visual language used by a large number of Deaf Americans. David was formally introduced to ASL six years after his birth when he was taken to the local school for the deaf in the state of Kentucky. Prior to that time, he communicated with his family, friends, and the neighborhood children using established home signs, gesturing, and pointing. His parents and siblings never learned sign language. According to David, communication between him and his family members was "lousy." In fact, David states, "I was unable to tell my parents how I felt. They didn't know how to communicate with me, and so I wasn't able to get out exactly what I wanted, how I felt." The communication barrier caused David to grow up with an unhappy childhood. It was not unusual for his brothers and sister to leave David at home alone while they went to play with their friends. His mother would attempt to divert his attention away from his being left home alone by having him do household chores, which David stated that he did enjoy doing.

After David's mother moved her family to Ohio, David learned about the local Deaf club that was frequently attended by White and Black members of the Deaf community. It was here that David gained social acceptance and began to enjoy his life. He began to enjoy being around people who were more like him and who shared his language. Consequently, David's social dependency on his family, siblings, and hearing neighbors decreased as he began to spend more time with his friends at the Deaf club.

David maintains a small but intimate social circle of friends. Occasionally, David receives communication faxes from one of his brothers. This brother currently resides in Michigan. He does not keep a sustained relationship with any other family member. He is more in touch with his Deaf childhood friend, whom he considers a brother. David believes his neighbors are nice and friendly, but he does not interact socially with them.

He is more connected to the Deaf community in Georgia and attends various social functions. In his leisure time, David enjoys doing yard work, collecting coins, and Franklin mint antique toy cars. David started collecting coins in 1997 after being shown how to do it by a White Deaf co-worker. Collecting coins became a passion for David as he began to understand their trading and monetary value. As a child, between the ages of seven and eight years old, David began to collect antique toy cars. He began collecting antique toy cars because he simply enjoyed their beauty. But more importantly, he began to collect antique toy cars to combat the loneliness of being left at home by his siblings. David's hearing brothers and sister had their friends and David had his antique toy cars.

As David approaches his retirement he dreams of traveling and seeing the world. He wants to go to different places and meet different people. He desires to travel to England, France, Italy, Germany, and Japan. He wants to visit these countries and meet their people. He feels that by traveling, it will "help [him] to have good memories," because it is something that he really loves to do.

Jordan: *Age: 39, Disability Status: Profoundly Deaf, Native Language: ASL only.*

The Introduction

David pointed out Jordan to me from across the gymnasium at a local recreational center. Jordan was wearing a black and white stripped shirt, black slacks, black gym shoes and was blowing a whistle that was hanging suspended from his neck. Jordan was one of the two Deaf referees for a basketball tournament for the boys and girls. I had arrived one hour earlier and had seen Jordan leaning against the doorframe of the gymnasium as I entered the gym. He had been standing there signing with a few people and had allowed me to pass him. At the time, he was the only referee at the center, so I was a little uncertain if I had just passed the man that I had come to observe and meet. I decided that I would simply observe him and wait for David to arrive and give me a visual confirmation.

Jordan's referee movements were sharp and crisp as he signaled to the hearing scorekeepers. He would point out which of the female basketball players had committed a foul offense, traveled with the ball, or had been caught holding her opponent. It appeared that it mattered very little to the scorekeepers that Jordan was Deaf because they responded with acknowledgement as they recorded Jordan's signals about the players.

David arrived at the gymnasium thirty minutes after the tournament had started and waved at me from the opposite side of the room. He then pointed Jordan out to me and in doing so confirmed my initial assumption that I had indeed been watching the right person. David took advantage of the twenty-minute break by introducing me to Jordan while the teenaged male basketball players had begun to warm-up for their game. As I was standing giving myself a stretch break, David waved at Jordan to get his attention. After capturing Jordan's attention, David beckoned Jordan over to where we were standing and signing to each other. As David and Jordan signed with each other, I noticed that I had a difficult time following Jordan's signing. It was much like trying to read a physician's indecipherable handwriting. So, I remained silent as I caught snatches of their conversation. David introduced me as the woman he had talked to Jordan about while they were at work. He explained that I was interested in talking to Jordan about his learning and schooling experiences. Jordan signed something to me, but frankly, I cannot remember what we talked about. I can only recall that he agreed to meet with me and gave me his telephone number.

I called Jordan approximately two weeks later, however, his wife was not feeling well, and our conversation had to be brief. He asked me to call him the following day, which I did. During our second telephone conversation, Jordan told me that his wife was seven months pregnant, and he needed to cook for her. He mentioned that he had four other children, all boys ranging from four to fifteen years old. He told me that he had attended and graduated from the state school for the deaf. He also told me how long he had been refereeing basketball games. In return, I talked a little more about my study and

asked him for a time to meet with him. We agreed to meet the following week at his home, and I would bring an interpreter to work with me.

One week later I am driving along on one of the city's major expressways. It is rush hour. It is a very beautiful evening. The temperature is ninety-degrees as I travel to Jordan's home. From Jordan's direction, I know that he lives near a well-known, very established prominent church in the Atlanta metropolitan area. As I travel along I-285, I note the lush greenery located on both sides of the expressway as I drive closer to his home. I exit off the expressway and turned in the direction of the church thinking that this is where Jordan lived. I drive into a residential home area replete with big beautiful homes. Clearly, the owners of these homes are affluent middle to upper class Black Americans. Nearby, various businesses can be seen (e.g., Kroger's, Applebee's, State Farm Insurance Company, KFC, etc.). I drive around looking for the apartment complex that Jordan told me about, but I do not see it. I began to realize that I must have taken a wrong turn. I decide to turn around in a small the cul-de-sac that I had noticed on my left. I see two young teenage boys sitting together outside on the porch of one of the five houses located in cul-de-sac. I drive back the opposite way toward the I-285 expressway. The scenery changes from an affluent residential area to a community where it is clear that the people who live there belong within a lower income bracket.

On the corner where I have to turn, there is a beer and wine store, construction site, Eckerd's, and a small mom and pop grocery store. As I travel towards Jordan's apartment, I see a very small strip mall targeting beauty makeover (i.e., a nail salon, beauty shop, and body spa) customers. A woodsy area precedes the entrance of Jordan's apartment, and further down the road, I can see a construction project where trees have been uprooted and land cleared for an unidentified building. As I turn into the apartment complex, I see a child riding a two-wheel bicycle, a man standing outside his apartment door watching a small barbecue grill with fire and people who are walking toward their apartment homes. Speed bumps are strategically situated within the parking lot signifying

safety concerns for the residents. I note the various cars of different makes and models parked in the parking lots.

As I parked near Jordan's apartment, I notice a small playground area but do not see children playing there. It had a little slide, a hanging bridge but no swings. Although Jordan told me the letter of his apartment building, he failed to tell me his apartment door number. As I sat there wondering what I should do about finding Jordan's apartment, my interpreter arrived. She and I talk for a moment as I made a decision to begin knocking on all the doors within that unit building. Just as I am about to get out of my car, Jordan's apartment door opens. There he stands, bare foot, wearing blue jeans pants. He looks sleepy. I wondered to myself if he had forgotten that I was coming. I was taken aback at his bare upper torso and his protruding belly. Does he exercise I wonder? Clearly, he does not, because I cannot help noticing that he does not have any muscle definition in his abdominal area, shoulders, back, and arms. His thick black hair is flat on one side, signifying that he had been lying down.

I decide to dismiss my initial reaction to Jordan's appearance, as I convince myself that he is obviously very comfortable with his appearance and that he is also at ease with me being in his home and talking with him. As I set up my equipment, Jordan disappears into his bedroom, when he returned to the living room; he was wearing a tee shirt. But he remained barefoot throughout our interview.

Formative and Developmental Years

Jordan was born in 1964 in a small rural town east of Macon, Georgia. According to Jordan, his mother's family was poor in comparison to his father's family, who were not only rich and owned a lot of land, but were also farmers. Jordan claimed that his mother's family members were alcoholics because they drank a lot. Jordan is his mother's only son. However, he has one half sister and two half brothers on his father's side of the family. One of his brothers is the exact same age as Jordan, because his "father was sleeping with two women at the same time. He was in the military…[m]y

mother had an ex-boyfriend and married." His mother and father never married each other. His father did eventually marry another woman, who Jordan calls his stepmother. However, it was his mother who worked with him. He states "[s]he fed me, took care of me, my mother's family they were supportive of me. My uncle, her brothers and sister visited. My father's side of the family never once visited me."

Jordan's mother worked many jobs in and about Georgia and South Carolina, and in her absence, his grandmother was responsible for his care. Although Jordan's mother worked various jobs, she always came to visit him at his grandmother's house and at the residential school he attended. He was his grandmother's beloved first grandchild, and she spoiled him. Jordan learned a lot from his grandmother. She taught him how to cook, "dress a pig…chicken, a hen…[and] making biscuits." His grandmother also helped to take care of Jordan's uncle who was three years older than Jordan. Jordan considers his uncle much like a brother because they grew up together, did things together, and hung out together all of the time.

Where Jordan grew up, it was not uncommon to have a bevy of related cousins and extended family members. He states "everybody was family." Many of his aunts and uncles lived on his father's land. Additionally, he had many uncles who served on the police force, although there was only "one red light!." Jordan has two other deaf cousins, but they did not go to the same school as he did.

Jordan contends that his mother consumed too much alcohol. Jordan did not like his mother's addiction to alcohol. All too often he had to drive family members around when they were too intoxicated to operate their vehicle(s), even though he did not get his driver's license until he was fifteen years old. Jordan himself admits to drinking as well. He started drinking when he was twelve years old. He recalls frequent family fights and attributed the source of familial arguments to alcoholism. Despite his mother's addiction to alcohol, she was never intoxicated whenever she came to visit him at school. She was always "clean and sober."

Etiology of Deafness

Jordan became deaf at the age of five after contracting the mumps. He did not know sign language and had to rely upon home signs, gestures, miming, his mother's fingerspelling skills, and acting out, until his mother could understand him. However difficult the communication was between Jordan and his mother and her family, it was harder with his father and his family. He recalls that they "were not used…to [his] gestures…[because]…didn't see me as much." His mother grew accustomed to her son's communication style, but Jordan's father did not. The only way he and his father could communicate was by writing, which was not always successful. Jordan was fitted with hearing aids that had to be strapped around his body and wired up to his ears. He had only a little hearing in his left ear, and he could not hear anything in his right ear. Jordan did not enjoy wearing his hearing aids because they gave him headaches. He declared, "it made my eyes cross because it was too much going on…it made me crazy to listen, it was very painful. I really didn't like it…I just got bad headaches."

Educational History

After Jordan's hearing loss was discovered, he was taken to the Macon School for the Deaf and Blind, but he was unhappy there and was soon taken out of that school. His mother had heard about another state school for the deaf with a residential dormitory program and decided to take Jordan there to be educated. Jordan recalls his mother taking him to this school and staying with him for a week. She slept in the same room with him and walked around the campus grounds as they became acquainted with the school. She asked him if he liked the school, and he remembers telling her that he did. So he stayed after she left. He remembers crying and feeling homesick. After a while, he got used to the school. He remembers seeing people using their hands to communicate with each other, and it was at this school that he began to learn sign language and became fluent expressing himself with his hands.

Jordan remained at the school for the deaf until he graduated. He lived in the dormitory like many other Deaf students who attended state schools for the deaf and commuted home on a regular basis. Jordan's educational experience includes language learning and curriculum instruction. Language learning involved an introduction to manual alphabets while simultaneously learning reading, writing, and communicating. Additionally, language learning was incorporated within the teaching of formal curriculum. Black hearing females directed Jordan's instruction until the school for the deaf desegregated in 1976.

Desegregating the school for the deaf was a managed process. Although schools were mandated to desegregate in the sixties, the school where Jordan attended did not attempt to follow the law of the land until 1976. The desegregation process took nearly one calendar year to complete. A small number of black students (approximately fifty) were selected to be bussed to the school where White Deaf students attended on a daily basis. These black students attended classes dominated by White deaf students and would be bussed back to their own dormitory at the end of the school day. By the end of the year, both groups of students were housed together within the same dormitory. Racial tension remained high within the classrooms and within the dormitory for an extended period. But, the racial tension eventually eased as black and White students became more acquainted with each other and their communication styles became less different. Prior to desegregation, the sign lexicons between the Black and White Deaf students were dissimilar as the White Deaf students had a higher command of vocabulary and sign skills.

Jordan does not recall seeing his black hearing teachers teaching classes after desegregating the White school. The majority of Jordan's teachers were White, hearing, and female. These teachers were fluent in sign language communication. Jordan's education continued to include formal curriculum, but he was also exposed to a mixture of vocational skills training classes. Jordan graduated from the school in the late

seventies. He retained many of his school relationships and is involved with the Deaf community for the majority of his social interaction. He is presently not involved in any formal educational activity.

Adulthood Years

Jordan has never been married, but he has a common law wife with whom he has been living with for fourteen years. They are expecting their second child before the end of the year. Their first child died. She has two other children who are hearing whom Jordan helps parent.

Jordan has had a tumultuously emotional life. He has been committed to a mental health state hospital three times due to depression and suicidal tendencies. He attributes his experiences with the mental health hospital to "family … [and] work issues." One such example is the time he learned that his mother had used his name in order to establish household utility services. Jordan recounts how upset he had become when he was informed that there was an outstanding bill in his name, which needed to be paid prior to getting his services started. He learned that his mother had started using his name when he was fifteen years old. He has made a promise to never treat his children the way his mother treated him. Today, Jordan and his mother are on good terms. He visits with her regularly, since she lives in close proximity to his home. She has stopped drinking and smoking due to health problems. Furthermore, Jordan's mother's communication skills have improved, because she was required to learn sign language for a state job that she had obtained.

Jordan never developed a close relationship with his father. Jordan maintained that his father never visited him while he was at school. He only saw his father when he commuted home via the Greyhound or Trailways Bus service. His mother always paid for his trips home. Jordan does recall his father renting out a tuxedo and buying shoes, as well as, loaning him his car to take his date to the senior prom. He also recalls his father being proud of him when he got a job and bought a car. Jordan believes his father was

proud of him because he was able to get a job and buy a car without parental assistance. Jordan's father died in 1990 from a cancerous tumor, and upon his death, he left all of his belongings to Jordan's half brothers and half sister. Jordan maintains that he did not concern himself with his father's final decision because unlike his half brother and half sisters, he never asked his father for "handouts." Jordan does maintain that whenever he had an emergency, his father did help him.

Jordan misses his grandmother who died in 1999. It fell on his shoulders to "pull the plug on her because she was gone. So one of us had to do it. And I was the one. My uncle asked me if I would, and I had to be the one." Jordan does not have a very close relationship with his half siblings. He feels that visitations between himself and his half-siblings have always been one sided. He maintains that he is the person who always goes and visits with his siblings, and, in spite of his many invitations, they have never come to visit with him. Jordan cares about his children and gives them the support that they need. His oldest son will be graduating from high school and plans to attend college. Jordan is concerned about how he will finance his son's education.

With respect to leisure activities, Jordan enjoys being a referee for basketball games. He always liked basketball, but found that he enjoyed refereeing better. A local, but recognizable, basketball player got him to a job as a referee. This person had played professionally for both the Buffalo and Hawks franchises. Unbeknownst to many people, this basketball player also grew up around Deaf people. After he retired from professional ball, he began to devote his attention to introducing young Deaf girls and boys to the sport. He saw that Jordan had a knack for refereeing and provided opportunities for Jordan to learn, train, and practice his skill in order to build a career in the field.

With respect to Jordan's employment status, Jordan is presently employed with a federal agency. He obtained his job shortly after he graduated from high school in 1984. He recalled being called to work after filling out an application with the agency and has not worked anywhere else since. Jordan also enjoys traveling. He recalls his first real trip

out of town to California for the Olympics. He remembers the excitement as well as, the lack of experience he had in planning his trip. Since that time, he has traveled to many other places and enjoys each of his experiences. He recently purchased a luxury Cadillac that he proudly displays. As Jordan reflects over his life and the decisions he has made, he can only think of two things he would like to change. First, he would have liked to have bought a house, instead of wasting his money. Secondly, he would have preferred to have had only two children and raised them together in his house. He does not like having a "split family."

Language, Communication, and Social Interaction

Despite Jordan's hearing loss, he maintains that he had a happy childhood. He described his feelings as,

just **happy** growing up. I was! I was happy. I played. I did things you know uhm like there was news on the T. V., on the movies, my mom would sign, she explain what was going on. My uncle would help me to understand and uhm, there was no captioning in those days, we didn't have close caption with my T. V. Mother and she would like interpret what was going on. I was happy! I was happy! Like what was going on in the news so somebody's laid out on the street or something, my grandmother's like what's going on, what's going on, she's say 'oh somebody's been stabbed', she would mime it. Somebody's been stabbed, she'd explain it to me. And most of the time, you know they cared about me. They care about me and tell me what was being said, what's going on.

Although Jordan had a close relationship with his grandmother, uncle, and mother, he remembers being lonely. He stated that he was "kinda alone all the time."

Communication with his half brothers and sister was more difficult, because they did not want to learn how to sign with him. He felt that "they didn't care. They didn't want to learn to communicate with me as a deaf person. So that was hard. A hard situation."

Jordan has experienced happy times while at his school. He made many friends and had girlfriends. His happiest times were in the dormitories because everybody was always signing. On his bi-monthly visit home, he experienced loneliness because nobody signed. He also experienced mixed feelings when it was time to make a decision to go home or stay in the dorms with his friends. He recalls,

> I like staying, I liked coming home, both. Because…I'd be pretty lonely when I would come home. I'd be the only one. Now if I was there at the dorm, ahhhhh!…if I stayed in the dorm, [t]hen there was a lot of people to talk to and that was better than coming home.

Perhaps another reason he was ambivalent about coming home was because his mother drank. When he would come home, his mother would be drinking and "chatting away and I'm just sitting there." Despite his mother's addiction to alcohol, she was always "clean and sober" whenever she came to visit him at school.

Lloyd: *Age: 34, Disability Status: Hard-of-Hearing, Native Language: Spoken English, can communicate using ASL.*

The Introduction

Lloyd is a Black adult male who interchangeably refers to himself as hard-of-hearing or hearing impaired. He has had (until recently) "seventy-five percent hearing" in his right ear and no hearing in his left ear. In 2001, Lloyd's hearing began to destabilize after an ear infection. As result, he began to experience a decline in his hearing ability. Consequently, Lloyd was forced to wear his hearing aid. Prior to the ear infection (which was Lloyd's first experience), he could function independently of an assistive device. The

ear infection caused Lloyd to experience two additional side affects. First, Lloyd became dependent on his hearing aid. Secondly, it forced him to become more conscious of his hearing loss, which, Lloyd contends, had not been a major problem.

Lloyd showed up at my office unannounced and unexpected, after leaving college in the early nineties. And while I was excited to see Lloyd, I was internally embarrassed because I had forgotten his name. I must admit that remembering names has never been my strongest suit. I silently chided myself for my mental faux paux as I invited Lloyd to sit down for a conversation about his life. While he talked, I began to consider him as a possible candidate for my study. I asked Lloyd about his background, specifically, the length of time of his hearing disability, educational background, residency, economic status, and age to determine his eligibility for my study. Lloyd's responses indicated that he met the criterion for my study.

Lloyd's unexpected appearance represented an opportunistic moment for me, yet I did not want him to feel as if I was taking advantage of him, so I carefully broached the idea of participation. I began by talking to him about my life, such as personal milestones, professional development, and academic pursuits. I talked about how my interest developed for my study and why I felt compelled to do research targeting African American men who are Deaf or hard-of-hearing. I concluded my conversation by asking Lloyd to become a participant. Lloyd's initial response was one of hesitancy, which was clearly understandable, given that I was asking him to talk about his learning and schooling experiences. I continued to talk about various and sundry things related to my study in order to ease any concerns he had about sharing personal information and educational history.

When Lloyd consented to allow me to interview him, we exchanged business cards, which included our names, telephone numbers, email addresses. I was relieved to get his business card, because I did not want to confess to him that I had not remembered

his name! Nevertheless, I was grateful for a chance meeting that brought Lloyd back into my life and, ultimately, into my study.

<div align="center">Formative and Developmental Years</div>

Lloyd is the second child of four children. He has an older brother and two younger sisters. He also has two other half sisters and one half brother. All of Lloyd's siblings are hearing, as are his parents, grandparents, and extended family members. Lloyd and his full-blooded brothers and sisters grew up within a close-knit family unit. He felt that his family accepted and respected his hearing loss, and, from time to time, he got preferential treatment because of his disability. But there were times when it was frustrating for Lloyd to be the only hard-of-hearing person within his family. He recalls how he "used to bug [his] family to death [when] they would be watching television. [He] would want to know everything that [was] going on, cause, like everybody [would] be laughing… and I like you know what did he say?." Today, he is grateful for closed captioning, because he would not know what he would do without it.

Lloyd and his siblings attended the same schools together. However much to Lloyd's astonishment, he has admitted to being the only sibling to have earned his high school diploma, attended, and graduated from college. As a child, Lloyd valued his education and worked diligently with his studies. Lloyd's father was a high school graduate, but his mother was not. Nevertheless, Lloyd's mother played an instrumental role in her son's education. She was the primary caretaker of the children, because Lloyd's father was frequently away from home. He transported goods across the country as a truck driver. Lloyd recalls his father being home for very short periods and therefore, not involved with his son's education.

<div align="center">Etiology of Deafness</div>

At the age of five, Lloyd became ill with viral meningitis. This virus attacks the spinal cord as well as the auditory nerve leading to the cochlear, which is the hearing organ of the inner ear. This disease caused Lloyd to become deaf in his left ear and

experience a decrease in hearing ability in his right ear. His parents had him fitted with a hearing aid, which at that time, was a large instrument that needed to be strapped around his chest. He laughingly recalls what it felt like to wear his new hearing aid. He states that he felt like he was a "robot," because his hearing aid had,

> straps that went all around, that had a cord that went up into [his] ear… I didn't like that at all, but as time went on, technology moved along with it, and they got smaller and smaller. Thank God! I was able to get the one like I have now in the ear. I like that just fine.

In addition to wearing a hearing aid, Lloyd also was required to see a speech teacher, who worked on his vocalization. Lloyd's parents were concerned about their son's possible loss of speech. Lloyd recalls his speech therapy sessions as a trying experience because he had to "repeat certain things that she said." He had to also listen for sounds, which was a difficult task to do, since he could not see what she was saying. Lloyd learned from his speech therapy experiences that he needed to see a person's lips in order to understand what was being said to him. He stated that he began to "realize how much [he relied] on …face to face …communication." Another reason Lloyd found the speech therapy sessions to be difficult was that he was required to learn how to pronounce words correctly. He and his speech therapist worked on vocalization of words such as fruit. More often than not, words that had f-r sounds, sounded more like "fwuit" or "froot." Interestingly, Lloyd's speech therapist did know the signed alphabet and taught him how to form the hand shapes of the language. Thus, Lloyd grew up relying upon his residual hearing within his right ear, a hearing aid, verbal, and lip reading abilities in order to communicate and interact with hearing people.

<div align="center">Educational History</div>

Lloyd attended high school from 1976 to 1990 and followed the traditional path of education. While in school, Lloyd received support services that emphasized speech

training in addition to education. Lloyd was usually the only Deaf person in his school. Lloyd was a highly motivated student and received local and national recognition despite the fact that he received little help from his parents; that his teachers knew little about deafness; and that lessons were delivered in a lecture format. The majority of Lloyd's teachers were hearing White female teachers. After Lloyd graduated from high school, he applied and was accepted at a local university. However, he had to dropout because of the lack of accommodations and attitudinal insensitivity from hearing professors. Compounding his lack of college success were his financial problems.

Lloyd sought and received assistance from a division of the federal government, whose mission was to provide educational and professional training for people with disabilities. Subsequently, Lloyd was referred to a vocational training setting to learn office technology skills for employment. The secondary purpose of the training was to shore up and stabilize his financial situation. After successfully completing the training program and finding suitable employment, Lloyd returned to college and earned his Bachelor of Science degree in social work. To date, Lloyd continues to pursue various adult learning activities.

<center>Adulthood Years</center>

In 2000, Lloyd met and married a hearing woman with whom he had fallen in love. She also had a son from a previous relationship, and Lloyd considers her child as his son. Lloyd does not feel that his hearing disability interferes in his marriage. However, there have been times when Lloyd's wife has had to remind him to put on his hearing aid when she wants to speak with him. However, these reminders are infrequent because Lloyd tends to remove his hearing aid just before retiring for the night, since he does not expect to be speaking with anyone. Lloyd spends his leisure time watching some television, reading, and going out with his family. He does not listen to as much music as he once did.

Lloyd continues to live his life as he did in childhood, as a self-started and highly motivated man. He continues to strive for success. He believes in problem solving and enjoys thinking about ways to resolve issues that impact the lives of people with disabilities. His philosophical view about helping can be attributed to his first exposure to the Deaf community. It changed him and gave him focus. Today, he is grateful to be in a profession where a person's contribution can make a difference in a Deaf person's life. When Lloyd is able to help, it is the most rewarding experience he can ever have.

Employment History

Lloyd is currently working as a part-time college instructor teaching students beginning sign language. Prior to his current position, he worked for an organization that provided services for the elderly. He worked long hours, which often prevented him from spending time with family and friends. Furthermore, his job kept him from being involved with the Deaf community, which he had been actively involved with both personally and professionally.

Language, Communication, and Social Interaction

Lloyd was introduced to the Deaf community in his early twenties. He had been referred to a local governmental agency that provided services for Deaf and hard-of-hearing clients. He had been sent to this agency to get office technology training in preparation for employment. While Lloyd was clearly interested in acquiring knowledge and training for employment, he also wanted to learn sign language. Lloyd felt motivated to learn sign language in the event that something happened to his hearing. In doing so, Lloyd was also able to communicate within the Deaf community. Lloyd's foresight proved to be prophetic as he states that sign language has "become something that's important to me." Lloyd considers his initial exposure to the Deaf community a rewarding experience. He has been able to meet a lot of new people and make new friends. In fact, it was his exposure to the disabled community that caused him to consider getting a four-year degree in social work. He states that his exposure to deafness

"opened up a whole nother set of doors and I ended up going to get my degree in social work…['c]ause that wasn't something in my mind back then."

While Lloyd's exposure to the Deaf community opened new doors of opportunities, it also created an aperture in his life as he began to understand the realities of his dual memberships within the Deaf and hearing communities. Lloyd has tried to help and/or explain to his Deaf friends why they have difficulty in obtaining suitable employment. He has seen how Deaf members who rely totally on sign language are disadvantaged when a sign language interpreter is not available and when they are trying to communicate with hearing people. Lloyd has seen Deaf friends become frustrated with hearing people because they cannot understand their written notes or letters. Lloyd has seen his friends give up trying to communicate with hearing people because they do not have good English or reading skills. At the same time, Lloyd realizes that he is not totally immersed in Deaf culture. He states,

> I am not immersed in the Deaf culture, because I grew up around hearing people…once you get to a certain age in your life, if you've not been exposed up to that point, I don't think that you ever really become fully immersed in the Deaf culture, honestly. I mean you can socialize all you want, you can go to all the different events and everything, but I think you're still…be different in certain ways, because …you didn't have the same experiences…[that] they had.

But as Lloyd continued to reflect on the differences between himself, the Deaf and the hearing communities, he notes how "we're looking at a world that's changing. But its still caters more to the hearing world…if you're able to communicate verbally, then…you're already at an advantage as far as being able to access certain resources."

Hearing people make the tension Lloyd has experienced between the two communities more complex because of his personal experiences with attitudinal insensitivity. He has faced this tension from child through to adulthood. He has experienced teasing about his hearing impairment from children who would come up behind him and say something to him, knowing that he would not be able to understand them. Even today, adults can be as insensitive toward his hearing disability. Lloyd recalls an incident while riding on a subway train with a friend. Hearing people were talking about him behind his back unaware that Lloyd was able to hear them. Lloyd confronted the hearing people about their rude behavior and insensitivity. He noted that they were "shocked" upon realizing that he had indeed heard them. He reminded them that it was "not nice" and "how would you like for someone to pick on you, if you had a disability." In Lloyd's youth, he would have chosen to avoid, ignore, and/or laugh off the hearing children's harassment, but today, he does not.

Another way Lloyd has experienced tension within the hearing world has been in the way he socializes with people. He explains,

> when I socialize, it [is] always in small groups…I never [get] together with a large group of people…because everybody's talking and I can't…. keep up with everybody and I can't understand what's going on. And you get embarrassed because somebody may say something to you and you don't even know what the conversation was about up to that point…so to keep from embarrassing myself…I stay away from large groups.

Another example can be found in the way he has had to learn how to communicate with hearing people. In order for Lloyd to clearly understand what is being said to him, he must rely on a dual form of communication. It is difficult for him to understand what is being said to him if a speaker has his/her back to him, or if the individual decides to

"mouth…out the words" and not verbalize anything. He knows that he must listen as well as read a speaker's lips. To complicate matters further, he has to adjust for the diversity of lip shapes and formation. He has found that individuals "who have lips that they almost don't have no lips…and they start talking" he has to work harder to decipher what they are saying. For Lloyd these types of speakers with the almost no-lips are the worse kind. They are like a "nightmare" to lip-read.

Allen: *Age: 29, Disability Status: Profoundly deaf, Native Language: Spoken English, does not use sign language to communicate and has discernible speech.*

<div align="center">The Introduction</div>

Allen entered my life as a nineteen-year-old college freshman student seeking services for Deaf and hard-of-hearing students. However, what first impressed me most about meeting Allen was not the young, naïve, nervous looking boy, but rather his mother. Allen's mother had brought her son to my office requesting information about the services provided to Deaf and hard-of-hearing students attending college. At that time, Allen's mother reminded me of a protective mother goose who walks in toll with her young ducklings.

As Allen's mother discussed her concerns for her son's academic success, it became evident that she clearly loved her son, and that she was his biggest advocate. Allen's mother informed me that her son had had specialized services in the schools he attended (i.e., one-on-one tutorial; was placed in a self-contained classroom environments; had teachers who worked directly with him on various subject matters, e.g., foreign languages). These services enabled Allen to have a strong functional academic base from which to learn and to successfully pass the high school basic skills graduation test. Allen's mother had good reason to be concerned about her son's collegiate success, because unlike many of the Deaf and hard-of-hearing students I

served, Allen relied primarily on his lip-reading skills to communicate and did not know sign language.

As Allen's mother talked about her son's schooling experiences, I began to reflect on the obstacles Allen would face at the college level. I knew that I would be able to assist Allen with establishing some of the same services with which he had become familiar, but I also knew that he would not have the luxury of having a self-contained learning environment, nor would Allen have a college instructor who would work with him on a one-on-one basis. I also knew that without a secondary form of communication, Allen's lip-reading skills would be more of an obstacle than a help. Therefore, I recommended to Allen and his mother that he learn sign language, which I believed would facilitate his learning experiences.

Allen's mother agreed with my assessment. She convinced her reticent son that my advice was well founded. Allen registered for sign language courses as well as other college level classes and began his academic journey. Little did I know from that initial meeting, that one year later, Allen's mother, a lady I would come to love, respect, and admire, would die from breast cancer. Nor could I anticipate that Allen would loose his motivation to continue with his college education, drop out of school, and out of sight. I made every effort to stay in touch with Allen after his mother's death, to convince him to return to school, but my efforts were of little avail.

In 1999, a chance meeting with a female student diagnosed with a chronic and debilitating disability brought Allen back into my sphere of influence. As it would turn out, this female student was Allen's first cousin, and she brought me up to date on his life. Through Allen's cousin, I was able to re-establish my connection with Allen by periodically sending him greetings, brief messages, and/or letters. Thus, it was through his cousin, that I was able to ask Allen to participate in my study. I asked her to relay a message that I wanted to speak with him about a project in which I was engaged. Twelve days later, Allen called me via TTY.

I was surprised that Allen would call me using a TTY given that in the past, he often called me verbally. Allen and I exchanged greetings and talked about various and sundry personal events that had happened in our individual lives. Allen revealed quite a bit about himself during our TTY conversation (i.e., his marriage, subsequent divorce, and present living arrangements), as well as agreeing to participate in my study. He gave me two stipulations. First, he preferred that we talk directly to each other without the use of an interpreter, because they confused him. Secondly, he preferred to meet me at the college where I was employed instead of his home.

Allen arrived at the interview location we had agreed upon during our TTY conversation. However, when he walked in the room where I was preparing for our interview, I was absolutely stunned at his change from a shy, inexperienced, naïve, and young boy, to a tall, extremely handsome, muscled man, sporting a six-pack stomach and well-defined pectoris chest, shoulders, biceps, and triceps. He smelled of an after shave cologne reminiscent of Old Spice, wore reflector sun-glasses, a form fitting ribbed short sleeve tee-shirt, that featured a body that gave evidence to a strong work-out regime. He wore a very neat and closely barbered haircut along with a pierced silver hoop earring in each ear. His fingernails were buffed with a natural shine and were cut squared and neat. He wore sandals and no socks. On his right wrist, he wore a large silver-like metallic sports watch. But it was his amazing good looks that captivated my attention. After our interview, I continued to reflect upon Allen's exceedingly good looks and wondered why I had such a strong reaction to his handsome appearance. The answer would come to me with a reality shock. Somewhere in the span of time, Allen had grown up and matured into a man. Yet, I had retained in my memory banks, the image of his physical appearance, as a young inexperienced teenager who was naïve about life.

Formative and Developmental Years

Allen is one of two children. His parents raised their sons in a small but predominantly White suburban city approximately thirty-five miles south of the

metropolitan airport. Most of Allen's friends were middle-class White Americans. White American children and teenagers predominantly populated the schools where Allen attended, and; therefore, Allen tended to participate in extra-curricular activities with these same students. Allen also interracially dated White American girls, and, consequently, Allen experienced racial tension with White American adults.

Allen is the only deaf member in his immediate and extended family. His father, mother, and brother are all hearing. Furthermore, neither Allen, his parents, brothers, or members of his extended family learned sign language. Allen's primary language was spoken English. He learned to communicate with his family by lip-reading and by asking them to speak slowly and to repeat themselves. He recalls extended family members teasing and making fun of him because of the way he needed to communicate with them. Yet, he maintains that it was no "big deal." Allen pragmatically summed up his feelings about deafness as just a "hearing problem," it is "[s]omething [that is] live[d] with." Further, in his view, some Deaf people are worse off in comparison. With this pragmatic view, Allen never allowed his deafness to be become a barrier to anything that he wanted to do.

Allen credits his attitude towards his deafness to his mother. His testimonial comment about his mother's influential presence was analogous to "glue" that could hold a family together. Allen's mother was committed to both of her sons' success and played a vital role in their education. However, because of Allen's hearing loss, she had an affinity towards her younger son. Allen recalls his mother as being a "hands on" parent always making sure that everything was working out well for him. Allen relied and depended upon his mother's presence for guidance, direction, support, and love. Allen's relationship with his father was an all-together different situation. Allen remembers his father as "just being there." It bothered Allen that his father was not as motivating as his mother. He often "wished" that his dad had pushed him more; especially after his mother died in 1992 from breast cancer. Allen states, "some people

need to be pushed, some people need to be motivated. My dad was never like that." Allen

believes that had his mother lived, both he and his brother would be in a different place

than where they are today. He also believes that both he and his brother would have

finished college. After her death, they both lost their motivation and interest in college

and dropped out of school. Allen believed his whole outlook on life was directly affected

by his mother's death. His following comment reflects his philosophical perspective

about life and death of a significant loved one. When "you lose somebody who's very

close to you" it changes your outlook on life.

<div align="center">Etiology of Deafness</div>

Allen's hearing loss was discovered at the age of four when he first attended pre-

school. Allen recounts, "at first, the teacher thought I was being real hard-headed, I just

wasn't listening. But she found out that I was hard-of-hearing and after that I went to get

my hearing aid." Allen's parents did not notice that their son had a hearing loss when he

was born. When Allen asked his mother about how he became deaf, Allen's mother

explained to him that she remembers him being able to hear. He stated that "[s]he would

call me and I would turn around and say what. So if I was born this way [deaf *sic*], I don't

know." Allen does not consider his being deaf as a significant part of his life. During his

developmental years, he was not exposed to Deaf culture nor did he meet any members of

the Deaf community. He states,

> I don't allow it [my deafness] to become a big part of my
>
> life, ah, being deaf may keep me from doing certain things,
>
> but because of my upbringing and because in my growing
>
> up all my life around hearing population, its kinda, its not
>
> hard for me to function in everyday life so…unless you
>
> don't hear me speak, or unless you talk to me, you could
>
> never tell that I'm deaf, cause a lot of people are surprised

when I tell them that I'm deaf, or somebody else tells them

that I am deaf, they [are] very surprised to hear it.

Allen physically substantiates the above quote by not wearing hearing aids that are typically worn by many Deaf people. Allen's hearing loss is classified as severe. He has been medically advised to wear hearing aids that are worn behind the ear, because they are stronger than those devices that can be worn inside the ear. However, Allen does not like to wear the behind the ear hearing aids because they "stick out" and make him look different. He also states that hearing aids do not help him to hear "100 % exactly." Without his hearing aids, Allen can hear low pitch noises and/or deep sounds like a "bass drum." Conversely, Allen cannot hear high pitch sounds like a "doorbell, police siren or a cymbal." If Allen wore his hearing aids, he could "hear the high-pitch sounds," and peoples' voices, but he would still misunderstand and/or miss out on "some words or speeches." Thus in Allen's estimation, hearing aid devices do not help him to hear better. In spite of Allen's severe hearing loss, he still managed to learn how to speak. However, he is not certain how he learned to speak because he does not remember "being able to hear."

<div align="center">Educational History</div>

Allen began and ended his educational experiences within a mainstream school setting. Depending on the subject matter, Allen received instruction within a self-contained classroom environment, individualized instructions, and/or learned with his hearing classmates. He had hearing teachers, tutors, and speech therapists.

Allen recalled an experience when he was suspended from the football team (one game). Allen associated his suspension to the fact that he was breaking the school rules about tardiness. The school officials told him this was the reason for his suspension because he was "late to class." However, the real reason for Allen's suspension was that he was seen accompanying his White American girlfriend to her classes. According to Allen, his parents never seemed to be bothered about his interracial dating experiences,

and therefore, wanted to come to their son's defense. However, Allen pleaded with them to refrain from any confrontational action. Allen maintains that up to that point, he had been naïve about issues surrounding race, racism, and racial discrimination, but this experience opened his eyes.

Allen does not recall experiencing any discrimination towards his hearing disability while attending high school. He asserts that the students and faculty saw him as a black student. Thus, any discrimination Allen encountered was race related. According to Allen there was "racial tension, between black and Whites at that high school." But Allen did experience discrimination related to his hearing disability. He remembers being called a "dumb little deaf boy" by one of his junior high school teachers. Naturally, his mother called a meeting with the principal and confronted Allen's teacher with the accusation. Consequently, the teacher lost her job.

After he graduated from high school, he applied and was accepted into a two-year college. Allen dropped out of college without completing his academic objectives. Allen is not currently engaged in any adult learning activities.

Adulthood Years

As an adult, Allen refuses to have any relational experiences with White American females due to his past experiences with racism while attending school. He contextualizes this experience as well as other situations dealing with racism with the following statement. "I don't socialize with Whites as much, hardly at all because of my experiences in high school that changed me. When I looked back on it, it kinda gets me upset." Allen dislikes visiting his "hometown" (although his father has continued to live there), because of the bad experiences he had encountered with racism. He states, "I can't stand to [go] back to…where I grew up. I don't like it…[i]t's a mostly White town and I had bad experiences."

Allen describes himself as a loner. He has very few friends. He claims that he has one best friend who is hearing. Yet, Allen prefers to keep to himself and often avoids

people he does not like, or is unhappy with, and/or who are disrespectful to him. He does not socialize extensively with members of his extended family for two reasons. He considers some of his cousins as not decent people. He has cousins who are drug dealers "running the street, going around disrespecting people, carrying guns…not trying to do anything for themselves…I avoid them sometimes for the most part."

The other reason Allen does not like to be around this extended family is because of the way that they treat him as a deaf person. He feels that when his aunts, uncles, and cousins look at him, they see him as different. Allen abhors being seen as different. When family members speak with Allen, he feels that they talk to him as if he were stupid. Allen has to remind them that "you don't have to talk to me like that, just talk to me normally, just talk slower, but don't talk to me like I'm stupid." So, Allen avoids talking with some family members when he attends family functions and gatherings. Allen asserts that his feelings are not necessarily negative or positive, for he maintains that he is "just one of the guys." To Allen, being treated as an equal by his friends and family is his ultimate wish.

Allen's relationship with his father has remained tenuous at best. They are not close. Their relationship has been further strained since his father's remarriage to a woman that Allen has worked hard to accept. Allen visits his father infrequently and prefers to live a solitary lifestyle away from his immediate and extended family. Allen and his brother remained close after their mother died, but about two years ago they had a serious conflict. Today they too live separate lives.

Allen was previously married for two and a half years and is now divorced. He married a hearing woman who was also a Jehovah's Witness. However, she was not practicing her religion when they married. Allen attributes the breakup of his marriage to his wife's decision to resume her religious practices. He contends that his wife was always away from home participating in various religious activities. They did not have children together. Presently, Allen lives with a twenty-four year old hearing woman, and

they have been together for a few short months. Allen would like to remarry and have children (his preference is to have little girls), but he has decided to remain unmarried until he meets the right woman.

Presently, Allen is not engaged in any specific hobbies or leisure activities, but he has often thought about becoming an air force pilot. He knows, of course, that the military would not accept him because of his "hearing disability." Allen strives to be respectful of people, regardless of their race, creed, religion, or beliefs, and he tries to be nice to everybody. Allen often "wish[es] that everybody could be nice to everybody, but it's not like that. There's bad people everywhere [and I have] a problem with that." Thus, "that's why he keeps to himself to the most part."

Employment History

Allen currently works for an international organization that delivers packages all over the world. He has been employed with this company for eight years. He has seen other Deaf and hard-of-hearing employees hired, fired, and/or quit. He has even participated in many of their training and orientation activities. In fact, Allen has frequently been used as a sign language interpreter. Allen sees the irony when his company uses him, a deaf man, as a sign language interpreter for another Deaf person. He states "[i]t's kinda funny because you got two deaf people, with another deaf trying to listen and interpret for another deaf." He is aware that the company's reliance upon his sign language skills to assist with the training of deaf employees is not in compliance with the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) law, but Allen admits that he does not mind helping out and is often available to Deaf employees to explain how work needs to be done.

Allen's multiple responsibilities have served him well by enabling opportunities for promotion. Nevertheless, Allen has faced on-the-job discrimination. One such example is his company's standing policy for passing a physical examination which includes a "whisper test." In order to be considered eligible for certain job opportunities,

interested employees must be able to hear sounds above a whisper. This policy has made Allen ineligible for jobs for which he is otherwise qualified. Allen believes that this policy is inherently unfair to deaf employees and thinks that he could legally challenge this rule on the grounds of discrimination against people with disabilities. But presently, Allen prefers not to challenge his company's policy because he is satisfied with his current position.

<div align="center">Language, Communication, and Social Interaction</div>

Interestingly, Allen's lip-reading skills have uniquely situated him to observe the practices of discrimination against Deaf people who communicate by using sign language. Based upon these tacit practices of discrimination, Allen has concluded that he has a communication edge over Deaf people who rely on sign language to interact with hearing employees. For example, Allen's company's business is time sensitive, and; therefore, employees have little time to be repetitive with instructions and/or requests. He has observed how impatient and frustrated hearing employees become with Deaf people who sign. He has also observed hearing people refuse to take the time to write down instructions and/or requests with their Deaf co-workers. With Allen, hearing employees can talk directly to him, and, in return, he relies upon his lip-reading skills to understand what is being said to him. Allen makes note of the way hearing employees avoid Deaf people who use sign language in social settings. On many occasions, Allen has seen a Deaf employee sitting alone while hearing people sit together talking, chatting, and laughing together.

Unlike his Deaf co-workers, Allen knows that he can verbally socialize with hearing employees, and he attributes his communication edge over profoundly Deaf employees to his educational exposure at hearing schools. However, Allen believes that had he not attended hearing schools that he would be sharing the same fate as his Deaf co-workers at work.

Allen's unique vantage point of observing the explicit and tacit differences between Deaf and hearing employees is further supported by his introduction to Deaf culture while in college. Prior to his freshman experience, Allen had not been exposed to Deaf culture. At college, he learned sign language and learned how to communicate with Deaf students. He became active in Deaf related collegiate activities and was somewhat involved with the Deaf community. Yet, despite his exposure to sign language, Allen contends that it "felt awkward" and that he "never got use to it." Furthermore, he did not make close and lasting friendships with his Deaf college peers, nor did he form any relationships with members of the Deaf community. After Allen dropped out of college, he returned to his former life as a Black man living within a hearing society.

<u>James:</u> *Age 27, Disability Status: Profoundly Deaf, Native Language: Prefer ASL, relies on lip-reading skills, and has some discernible speech capacity.*

<div align="center">The Introduction</div>

Four years ago, I met a hard-of-hearing African American woman at a local college. I found her to be (at that initial encounter) smart, warm, witty, and intelligent. Through the years, my initial impression of this woman remained unchanged, as we established a friendly relationship. In the fall, 2001, she approached me with an unusual request. She was taking a sign language class and needed to know if I could introduce her to a Black Deaf person for her to interview for a class assignment. As we conversed about the specific nature of her assignment, the issues we found relevant for her report were also important to my research. At the end of our conversation, she told me that she had a male friend whom she thought would be interested in participating in my study. I chose not to formally meet her friend at that time, since I was still a year away from my collecting data phase. However, I wanted to maintain the integrity of the contact and, therefore, promised to stay in touch with her. From time to time, she and I would run into each other at various Deaf related activities, and in the course of our social interactions,

she kept me informed of her friend's interest and desire to be part of my study. After receiving my committee's approval to move ahead in early Spring, 2002, I contacted her and asked for her friend's telephone number and name. She gave me her friend's name, James, and his telephone number. I called James from my home residence by using the Georgia Relay Service Center and formally introduced myself to him. James and I agreed to meet at his apartment home.

James is approximately 5 '9 ft. tall and sports a clean-shaven Michael Jordan-head style. He is a physically stout man weighing approximately 210 lbs. James' primary communication preference is American Sign Language (ASL). Yet, on the day we met, he greeted me with a very soft but distinguishable whisper, all the while signing his salutations. James lives alone in a small residential apartment community southwest of the metropolitan Atlanta area. In one direction, and nearly two miles away, is a major shopping mall frequented by predominantly black patrons, two corner churches, a grocery store, and a local beer and wine store. In the opposite direction is a strip mall, a local college, various county and state governmental agencies and facilities, fast food restaurants, gas stations, and a major bank. Although his apartment complex is located within walking distance of businesses, there is still, a sense of intimacy as indicative of the people who live in this area. The feeling of intimacy is reinforced once inside the apartment complex, as the residents walk freely about on the paved sidewalks. The two-story apartment buildings within the complex are in sharp contrast to the more modern four or five-story apartment communities.

The complex is a gated community that can only be accessed with a card key. Once inside the complex, there are winding paved roads that branch out in multiple directions leading to various apartment buildings. Along the paved roads and sidewalks are tall trees that provide shady respite for the walking residents and densely situated shrubbery. The building where James lives is in close proximity to the I-285 expressway. However, it cannot be seen from the parking lot. Separating James' apartment building

and the expressway is very dense green foliage. Although, the fast moving vehicles and eighteen-wheeler trucks can not be seen, they can still be heard as they whiz past his hidden apartment complex. James' apartment is situated on the second floor occupying a corner end with a patio that overlooks the parking lot. The parking lot can be seen from the living room patio door. The décor of James' apartment home is one of functionality, with a wrap-around sofa couch, an entertainment center with a color television, and pictures of his two children. His living room is done in earth tones, beige, and brown.

Formative and Developmental Years

James states that he is the only Deaf member within his immediate and extended family. He is the oldest of his three hearing brothers and half-sister. His parents have been married to each other for twenty-nine years and raised their children in the state of Illinois. They eventually moved their children to Georgia when James was approximately fourteen years old. Both of James' parents were employed, his father as a police officer and his mother as an employee of the state. While neither of James' parents attended college, he acknowledges their work ethics as he reflects on how "they just started working from the bottom and worked themselves way up." His father's parents are deceased, but his grandparents on his mother's side of the family are alive and still married to each other.

Despite growing up within a supportive family environment, James experienced a difficult childhood of multiple dimensions. On one level, he had a troubled relationship with his father, which he initially attributed to his deafness. In order to deal with his father, James often watched and observed his father in order to "understand him." Their frequent arguments continued into James' teenage years. However, these arguments began to abate as James matured into adulthood and because his father began to change. Although they may still have problems today, James feels that they are able to work through them. He cannot "imagine not having [his father]" in his life today. Moreover, James now connects his past difficult relationship with his father to their similar

personality traits and characteristics, and, perhaps, to the marital difficulties that his father and mother experienced during his childhood.

In reflecting about the personality differences between his mother and father, James believes his relationship with his mother was much more tranquil. Consequently, he grew up feeling closer to his mother than his father. According to James, his mother, "was the one that really took care of me the most and that's what I think helped me to have a better relationship with her. I was rough on her when growing up, but she still stuck by me."

<center>Etiology of Deafness</center>

James states that he was born with no hearing. But he recalls needing to wear hearing aids around the age of four. At that time, he considered himself hard-of-hearing because he could hear a little. James continued to wear his hearing aids until he was eleven, but stopped wearing them after a bout with a high fever. According to James, "after the fever broke, I had lost my hearing"[and] "it was just something that happened overnight, I lost all my [hearing] after that."

While the difficulty James experienced with this father could be attributed to personality differences, James also acknowledges that his deafness was indeed a significant and contributing factor. He experienced frustration at not being able to "keep up with [family members] who was talking." He had difficulty catching "everything that everyone was saying because a lot of times people would talk at the same time," especially at family gatherings. Adding to James' frustration was the constant teasing he endured with his school-aged classmates because he was Deaf. Although his parents and teachers were never aware of constant teasing, his brothers did know about it. They often came to his defense and would fight for him.

Despite the constant haranguing among his classmates, James did have friends. These friends were all hearing and lived within his neighborhood. James' deafness did not interfere with his friends' comfort level and they played together quite frequently. He

had both Black and White hearing friends, "some of them [he] is still friends with [today]." However, some of these children who were unwilling to play with James when they were young would later overcome their discomfort with James' deafness, but only after they matured in high school.

<div align="center">Educational History</div>

James' educational experience took place within a mainstream school setting (Stinson, 1994). He attended mainstream schools during his K-6 and 9-12th grade levels. In between these two schooling experiences, James attended a school for the deaf. The majority of James' teachers were non-signing hearing, White females. He had limited exposure to teachers who used sign language to teach and instruct him. James received formal instructions, thus, the majority of James' educational experience took place around hearing students with no support services such as sign language interpreters. Although James had to rely upon tutors for his classes, he still had to rely upon his own resources to learn in order to pass and graduate from high school. James did have a Deaf teacher while in high school who taught James about world affairs. After graduating from high school, James attended college. James contends that he had an enjoyable experience while going to college. He received support services (sign language interpreter, tutors, and notetakers) and felt that he learned well. James is presently interested in various learning activities (i.e., bible study, real estate classes, and sewing) and will often pursue them according to his learning needs.

<div align="center">Adulthood Years</div>

James has two hearing children who are fluent in ASL. They live in Illinois with their Deaf mother. James met his children's mother shortly after he graduated from high school. Both James and his children's mother attended college together. They pursued their college education along with nine other Deaf students at a university in Illinois. However, James did not complete his college objective as his education was interrupted when he had children. James has fond memories of his college experiences because he

got to travel to "other communities and universities where there were other deaf college students."

James is a man with strong beliefs and a personal drive to succeed in life. He has considered various career options such as becoming an educator, doing work at a funeral home, or more recently, selling real estate. However, the cost of pursuing professional training for real estate has been cost prohibited. He is actively involved with the Black Deaf community and is very concerned about how Black Deaf students are being educated in the state of Georgia. He feels that the educational process of Black Deaf Georgians is inherently unequal to that of White Deaf Georgians. He has observed far too many Black Deaf students leaving high school with a certificate of completion or performance, which is understood to be a special education diploma. One way he is attempting to address the educational inequities is to encourage and motivate Black Deaf people to become politically involved with the Black Deaf Advocates (BDA). BDA is a political and social organization dedicated to promoting the rights of Black Deaf people locally, regionally, and nationally.

In his spare time, James enjoys reading and working on cars, which is his passion and his hobby. James' reading interests vary, but he particularly loves murder mysteries. Unlike many Deaf people, James developed a love for reading at a young age because of his mother's influence. He fondly recalls how his love for reading began. He states,

> I know my mother loved to read. I remember when I was little; I read some of her books. She would read them first and sometimes they weren't the right types of books I should have been reading. But I learned a lot about reading her books.

Today, he often stops to pick up a newspaper before he goes to work and/or visits the library once a week just to read a book. James developed his hobby of working on cars while still a teenager. In fact, it was while working on a car as a teenager that served to be

the defining moment that shifted the tumultuous relationship between James and his father into the beginnings of understanding between them. James continues to work on cars and is teaching himself how to do body paint by reading literature relevant to paint chemicals, equipment, and techniques.

Language, Communication, and Social Interaction

Because no one in James' family knew sign language, James taught and trained himself how to speak. James relied upon his hearing aids, his self-taught speech reading and speaking skills in order to communicate with his family members and neighborhood friends. James was six years old when he saw sign language for the first time. He recalls that,

> I started to sign, it was maybe six years old. I saw the deaf. I became friends with them and started picking up very quickly. I remember in a week's time, I was able to able to pick up so much vocabulary and I just started signing. I can remember that meeting this deaf girl, who was signing, and I was curious to know what she was doing. So I wanted to meet her. At first, we wrote notes, but then I learned how to sign, very quickly.

Jamal: *Age: 27, Disability Status: Profoundly Deaf, Native Language: ASL and has some lip-reading capability*.

The Introduction

There he stood. Waiting. He was standing there in the grass, in his stocking feet, wearing sweat pants, and an old tee shirt. As I drove around the bend towards his apartment home, I got my first visual impression of Jamal. I think I was somewhat surprised at his slight wiry physique, brown complexion, and Poindexter-like prescription glasses. I am not at all certain of what I truly expected when I first met Jamal, but it was a

pleasant surprise to see a serious, but attractive looking man waiting outside of his home for my arrival.

I came to know Jamal by way of introduction from another participant in my study. This participant had called me with Jamal's name and telephone number. I was advised that Jamal worked the late night shift for a private company, and the best time to call him would be in the mornings. I followed this advice and called Jamal via TTY several days later and introduced myself. During our initial conversation, I found myself reflecting over his command of his written English skills. In fact, his articulate English skills impressed me with each passing minute. As we continued with our conversation, I found myself musing about how much hearing Jamal actually had. Was he (I wondered) hard-of-hearing with a significant amount of residual hearing? Or was he profoundly Deaf as I had been led to believe from my participant? If Jamal was hard-of-hearing, perhaps this was the reason for his articulate English skills. He eventually mentioned that he had been Deaf since infancy, which caused me to reflect over the following question. If Jamal has been profoundly Deaf since infancy how then did he learn to talk as if he is a hearing person? I concluded my musings with a mental commitment to inquire about Jamal's command of English at our interview, which was scheduled to take place two weeks later.

And so, with great anticipation, I drove to Jamal's apartment complex. During my drive to his home, I easily noted that he resided in one of the (reportedly) fastest growing northeast counties in the state of Georgia. Jamal and his family live amidst a thriving, heavily trafficked, retail district, replete with restaurants, mini-shopping centers, two major malls, and high quality hotels. This area, while predominately White and middle-class, has a growing African-American, Asian, and Hispanic population. The apartment complex where Jamal and his family live is tranquil and aesthetically pleasing to the eye. It has also been designed to accommodate single adults, college students, married couples, and young families (as evident by the playground, complete with slides, large

tic-tac-toe puzzles, and swings). Throughout the apartment complex are multiple tennis courts, faux beach volleyball court with sand, swimming pools, and planned green space that circumference the apartment complex in order to silence the noise from the heavily trafficked highway.

<div align="center">Formative and Developmental Years</div>

Jamal was born twenty-seven years ago to hearing parents in a local hospital in Georgia. His parents (who have now been married for twenty-six years) had two children, Jamal and his brother, who was born four years later. Jamal's father, who was 19 years old, was serving in the military at the time of Jamal's birth. His mother, a high school graduate, was 17 years old. She later moved to North Carolina where Jamal's father was stationed and then had Jamal's brother. Jamal's father retired from the military after four years of service and returned with his family to Georgia where they quietly lived in a suburban area west of Stone Mountain, Georgia. Jamal recalls growing up as a shy, quiet, and reserved child. He attributed his reticence to three reasons. The first reason was that his parents did not allow Jamal or his brother to go out a lot. Therefore, Jamal experienced frequent periods of isolation. Secondly, he had a tense and strained relationship with his father and extended family members. Finally, since no one but his brother knew sign language, Jamal could not communicate and/or express his feelings to people that he loved and/or cared about.

Since Jamal's parents did not allow him to go out, he was unable to develop friendships with of the neighborhood children, nor did he make many friends at the school where he attended. One significant reason Jamal was unable to build friendships at his school was because he felt that he had very little in common with the children there. He states,

> a lot of the other children would stay in their own groups. And I was isolated off to myself. I really didn't feel like I had any thing in common with the rest of them…because

they were White and I was black. I would try to fit in the best I could, but I did all right. You know but they had their own *cliques,* and they had a lot more things they were able to do together, than I was able to.

Exacerbating Jamal's feelings of isolation was the strained relationship he experienced with his father and extended family members. According to Jamal "I was never able to communicate and tell [my family how I] felt." "My father never took me out to play basketball or [did] things with me." Jamal describes his relationship with his father as not being close. He recalls,

[F]rom the age of four to high school, I would say maybe sixteen seventeen, I wasn't that close with my father because my father's personality was one that was very serious. He wasn't a very fun person to talk with. He was very serious with me. So I didn't feel very comfortable around my father….[m]y father, he was always so serious, and so stern.

Jamal's descriptive recollection of his father's taciturn personality contextualizes their strained relationship. Jamal has surmised from the stories his father has told him about his grandfather that his father had a difficult and emotional childhood. Jamal's grandfather was also a military man and traveled all over the world (i.e., Germany, Africa, and Asia). Jamal believes that his father did not get a lot of attention from his military father, and that his frequent relocations were "really tough" for his dad to handle as a youth. After twenty years of military service, Jamal's grandfather retired and moved his family to Georgia where Jamal's father met Jamal's mother.

Jamal visited his grandparents infrequently because they could not communicate with him, so he was unable to get to know them very well. Jamal did not interact with his parents' brothers and sisters for the same reason. Jamal did not enjoy attending family

gatherings, because when he would arrive with his parents and brother, very few people would talk with him. He felt shut out. At these family gatherings, relatives would only approach him with a brief greeting and/or shake his hand. He recalls feeling "detached from them and would most of the time play[ed] little video games off to myself. I didn't really feel attached with the rest of my family. I felt more detached and I would back away from them." Jamal often would ask his parents to take him home and/or go home by himself.

Etiology of Deafness

Eighteen months after Jamal's birth, he became ill with the German Measles, which caused his hearing to progressively deteriorate. He was later diagnosed as profoundly deaf. It would be nearly two and half years later before Jamal would be introduced to sign language.

Educational History

Jamal began his educational experience before he was five years old years old when his mother enrolled him in a pre-school for deaf youngsters. However, all of his education occurred within a mainstream setting (Stinson, 1994). Jamal was the only black student in the majority of his educational experience. Throughout Jamal's educational history he had White, hearing, female teachers. Jamal graduated from his mainstream high school and went on to attend a four-year university for three years. He received support services (sign language interpreters and tutors) and did very well academically, until he had to withdraw from college. Jamal's academic performance and grades began to be affected after his girlfriend, who was also attending the same college, became pregnant. When Jamal decided to find a job and move off campus in order to support his family, his grades dropped significantly. Subsequently, Jamal decided to drop out of college and focus on earning as much money as possible.

Now, as Jamal reflects back on those years, he acknowledges that if he stayed at the

> …dorm, and really studied and not got a job and not had to
> do the other things, I think I would have been able to
> graduate from college. But I had so many other things
> piling on my plate, so many other things, I was worried
> about that I just felt like I had to leave college…it just
> seemed like the better, the best thing to do.

Jamal has not participated in any learning activity since leaving college as he has concentrated his efforts and energy on building financial security.

<center>Adulthood Years</center>

Jamal is presently married. He met his wife through a mutual friend, and they have been married for three years. His wife is also Deaf and they have two children, both of whom are girls and are hearing. Their children are three and one years old respectively. Jamal and his high school girlfriend never married each other, but they did have another child together. They have a daughter who is now seven years old, and a four-year-old son. Presently, Jamal's children live with their mother in a city approximately one hundred miles south of Atlanta, Georgia. He visits with his children every two weeks.

All four of Jamal's children are being raised bilingually speaking, in both oral English and sign language. The bi-lingual status of Jamal's children makes it possible for Jamal's parents to be more involved with their grandchildren's lives. They are involved because they can talk with their grandchildren. Yet, their bi-lingual status is problematic for Jamal. He sees that the three-way communication pattern he experienced as a child between his father, brother, and himself is beginning to repeat itself. Jamal's parents use his children, especially his oldest daughter, as interpreters to communicate with him. He states,

> I don't like it…but that's their way…its nothing I can do
> about it…I think to them its too much to to have to

communicate with me directly, so they use someone else…[b]ecause I'm the only deaf person… [T]hey think its too much to have to go through all that, so they use others to communicate…it is so easy to communicate with everyone else in the family. I'm the only one so they feel like they don't want to put forth that effort.

As Jamal matured into adulthood, his relationship with his parents improved as he noted his father changing and softening up towards him after he left home for college. However, his relationship with members of his extended family did not improve. Today, members of his extended family remain in touch with his parents and brother. They do not call Jamal at his home. He typically finds out about family gatherings or affairs through his mother and will attend these functions at her request. Jamal's brother is currently attending a university in Florida, and therefore, Jamal sees his brother infrequently.

As an adult, Jamal is selective in his friendships. He does not 'hang-out' with many people, but those individuals he chooses to associate with are primarily Deaf, black, and male. He is not actively involved with the Deaf community, but he will attend Deaf sponsored basketball tournaments or baseball games. He periodically attends parties given by members of the Deaf community. He has two significant reasons for his limited participation in the Deaf community and small circle of friends. He is a "workaholic" and, he works

eighty to eighty-five hours a week. I work a lot…and the time that's left, I sleep. I'm too tired to go out and do these other things…'cause I focus on my work…[so] I don't really get a chance to do a lot of other things, activities out in the deaf community.

Secondly, Jamal considers himself a "homebody" and prefers to be at home with his family. Jamal aspires to start his own business in landscaping. He particularly enjoys making money and having a nice home for himself and his family. Perhaps too, he will return to college and get his degree.

Employment History

Jamal takes his family responsibility very seriously. He is presently employed by a private drug company and works with prescription drug medications. He has been able to build up more seniority than the three hundred people who are presently employed there. He is familiar with many of the employees and they with him. However, most of the employees know of Jamal because of his Deaf status. According to Jamal, he has been able to build up a "comfortable working relationship." Despite his respectable reputation and seniority, Jamal has seen people promoted who put in less time with the company and who have less experience. He attributes their promotions to their ability to hear and to the ease of accessibility for them to take advantage of training opportunities. In order for Jamal to get training, he feels that he has to twist his supervisor's arm. Although Jamal has confronted his superior, he continues to get few opportunities for training and advancement. Jamal sees these actions as discriminatory because he believes himself to be as capable as his hearing and/or junior co-employees.

Language, Communication, and Social Interaction

Jamal was formally introduced to sign language after being placed in a pre-k program for Deaf children where he learned signs by mimicking his teachers. He began to learn "simple signs" such as 'breakfast', 'follow', and 'play'. Although Jamal became adept at communicating at school, he could not rely upon these skills to communicate with his parents. At home, Jamal had to rely upon lip-reading, home signs, gesturing, miming, and written communication to verbally interact with his family. His father never really learned sign language. Jamal estimates that he communicated with his father about 30 to 40% of the time. His mother, on the other hand, did learn some basic signs and

fingerspelling, and he maintains that he was able to communicate with her 60 to 70% of the time. Jamal's brother, however, did learn how to sign. Jamal contends that he could communicate with his brother 100% of the time, and, consequently, they were able to develop a close sibling relationship.

Because Jamal's brother signed, his father used him to relay instructions and disciplinary decisions to his older brother. Jamal recounts,

> I was very close to my brother. We would tell each other things. [M]y father, his tendency would be to tell my brother something and then my brother would come and tell me. So it would be like a kinda like a a a, three-way communication going on. Sometimes…he said go downstairs, he would point, go upstairs and sometimes my brother, my father would tell my brother go downstairs tell your brother this or go upstairs and tell your brother that…so sometimes my brother was like in the middle communicating things to us. My father rarely came up to me directly and said something.

The three-way pattern of communicating not only constrained the personal relationship Jamal desired to have with his father, it also prevented Jamal from any having any privacy between himself and his father. Jamal wanted a father and son relationship and to be able to share things that only he and his father knew. Jamal did not enjoy his brother being privy to all matters concerning him.

Jamal did enjoy a more positive relationship with his mother. He believes that his mother really tried to be close to him by talking to and with him. He felt more comfortable talking with her and more often than not, approached her before talking with his father.

Discussion: Educational School Placement

After the hearing loss was confirmed for the men in this study, decisions had to be made regarding language modality and educational placement. Central to these concerns were the parent(s) who were juxtaposed between issues of language acquisition and access to quality education. These parents had to make decisions about their son's school placement in the face of available information about deafness, language choices, and resources, parental intuit knowledge, personal and family values, and the events of the social times. Thus, in this context, the parents played a critically important role in their Deaf son's education. There was a relationship between the parent(s), school, and the Deaf son unshared by parents of hearing children. The point that must be emphasized in this situation is that the above relationship was made more complicated because of competing concerns and limited educational choices available of Deaf children.

Because the object of investigation for this study is not the parents and the role they played in the decision making process, I am uncertain as to all the issues that these parents had to consider about their son's school placement. Extrapolations from the combined interviews point out an intriguing phenomenon. My data showed that the participants' mothers were the primary decision-makers in their sons' schooling placements. The fathers, on the other hand, had an inconsistent pattern of involvement. Specifically, in three cases (Jamal, James, and Lloyd), their fathers were the silent partners in the deciding about school choices. In two cases, (David and Jordan), their fathers were absentee members and played no role in the educational process. In Allen's case, his father was a silent by-stander as his wife advocated for their son's education.

Each mother exercised varying degrees of control in her son's school placement. Allen's mother's control was exercised in her advocacy for her son. Her active engagement at all levels of his education ensured her son's success. Jamal's mother exercised her control in selecting the educational path that included schools known for their support services for Deaf students. Jordan's mother exercised her control by taking

her son to the state school for the deaf, which also meant that she would have to abdicate her direct control in his social and moral development. James' mother exercised her control by supporting her son's desire to attend a deaf school after having had started him in a mainstream school that did not include sign language. Lloyd's mother exercised her control in selecting a school that emphasized services that concentrated on vocalization and speech training programs. Only David's placement history suggests a different story. His mother exercised her control as she took her son to the Kentucky School for the Deaf and later when she took him out of that school after moving her hearing children to Ohio. However, according to David's data, it appears that his mother's control was usurped when her son was selected for placement in an all boys' school in order for David to be educated with other Deaf boys.

<div align="center">The Role and Impact of School Placement Experiences</div>

Five of the men attended hearing schools (Lloyd, Jamal, David, James, and Allen), which varied in the nature and direction of instruction, educational support services, and/or accommodations. James and Jamal received educational services that were specifically designed to make instruction and curriculum accessible via sign language. Lloyd's support services emphasized speech training rather than educational instruction. Allen's schooling experiences had a dual emphasis; they included both direct educational intervention (one on one instruction) and speech training.

Three of the men attended schools for the deaf. However, their schooling experiences are contextualized by different socio-historical periods. David's experiences were subsumed within two opposing forces, segregation/Jim Crow and racism/oralism. David's schooling experiences swung between learning environments that were either segregated due to systemic Jim Crow practices and racism or segregated by Jim Crow practices and oralism. Whereas Jordan's schooling experiences were bounded only by segregationist practices. Jordan's entire educational experiences took place within a culturally Deaf environment. Central to Jordan's schooling experiences is the manner in

which language and learning were incorporated within instruction, while simultaneously being subsumed within a segregated context. James' experiences took place in the aftermath of the Civil Rights period and the dismantling of exclusionary practices towards disabled students.

Four of the men in this study experienced multiple placements, which had direct bearing on their education. Lloyd had two placements, which occurred, at the elementary school level. Jordan had two schooling placements, which occurred prior to kindergarten. It is significant to note that Lloyd's and Jordan's placement experiences stabilized early in their schooling histories, and, subsequently, they were able to proceed progressively along the traditional grading track as hearing students. James and David experienced multiple placements throughout their educational histories. Their schooling experiences are distinguishable from each other because of the variables that factored into the decision making process for schooling placement decisions. David experienced six different schooling placements throughout his educational history. These placements are reflective of the social times in which his learning was taking place. Only Allen's experiences reflect continuity from kindergarten to high school graduation.

Lloyd, Allen, and Jamal had consistent experiences as the only deaf person in their classes. Whereas David and James' experiences swung between being the only deaf person in their classes to classroom environments that were inclusive of other deaf students. They also shared experiences in attending classes that had an emphasis on oral instruction, being allowed to attend classes that had a Deaf teacher, and graduating from hearing high schools. Only Jordan's schooling placement showed a consistent pattern of enculturation of Deaf values and practices, because they were incorporated within all aspect of the educational process. Finally, Allen and Jamal were the only black students in most (if not) all of their classes and/or schools. Three men (David, Jordan, and James) were schooled away from their parents. Thus, socialization within their school contributed to their interpretation of their schooling experiences. In the process, they

acquired a dual perspective and value on and about Deaf culture that was not experienced by Jamal, Lloyd, and Allen.

Allen and Lloyd who have voice and speaking abilities were socially active in their schools at varying degrees. Lloyd was less socially active due to the constant ridicule he received from hearing friends. However, Allen's social experiences were explicitly and overtly constrained by racial tension. With respect to racial tension within the educational context, Jamal's schooling experiences gave him the ability to discern the competitive atmosphere predicated by racialized issues.

James' multiple placements provided him an opportunity to compare and contrast the difference between hearing and Deaf students' education. He would later learn to apply these critical thinking skills toward assessing and evaluating how black deaf students are taught within the educational context. Both David and Jordan were situationally placed to witness the difference in the quality of education between black and White deaf students. The substance of their evidence came in a visual form as they compared their language structure and vocabulary sign lexicon to that of White deaf students.

As a result of their placement experiences, all six men developed distinguishable emotional responses, which in turn shaped and influenced their behaviors and attitudes toward learning. Although Lloyd, Jamal, and Allen were the only deaf people in their classes, only Allen was more socially active in his school. Both Lloyd and Jamal developed and displayed independent self-discipline toward their studies. But their attitudes toward the self-discipline that they displayed in their educational development were shaped by different motivating factors. Lloyd's self-discipline was motivated by an internal need to succeed. He states that education was a "personal thing [and] something that [he] wanted to do." In his view, his success could only be assured by having a good education. However, the self-discipline that Jamal displayed was activated by the fear he felt towards his father and the abject loneliness he experienced within his family and

classes. According to Jamal, his father "really influenced my education in a way …that forced me to pass." While both James and David experienced intermittent opportunities to interact with both Deaf and hearing kids during the multiple school placements, only James ascertained the difference in how deaf and hearing kids were socialized.

David's multiple placements produced fierce independence. This independence was created by the physical and emotional separation he experienced after being taken to a school for the deaf. According to David, he "felt like I had been thrown away," because he was taken to this school without warning from his mother. He further clarifies his emotional reaction to being placed in this school as being "tossed into swimming, I was being placed there. It was like being ignored, I mean here I am at this school, people passing me in the hall. I felt like I was a prisoner. I didn't know why I was put there, with no reason." Furthermore, this independence was reinforced by the lack of communication and interaction within his family; oral experiences within four of his school placements; finding, identifying, and learning from Deaf members outside of his hearing community. Jordan's placement experiences served to create a nurturing environment that secured his sense of self in the face of a hearing dominated society.

<u>Interpretation and Meaning of School Placement Decisions</u>

In my earlier discussion about the decision-makers, I provided an analysis on issues that appeared to be relevant in placement decisions from the participants' perspectives. Since each participant's mother were hearing, it was important to examine if her perception about deafness played a role in her decision about her son's school placement. My data reflect that the parents were not necessarily or intentionally audistic in their decision towards their son's school placement. Audism is understood as privileging the ability to hear and speak over signing and visual receptivity. However, the decision that Allen's and Jamal's mother had about their sons' school placement is more reflective of audism than any of the other mothers. They believed that a hearing school would be a better choice for their sons. Lloyd's mother's decision about placement was

less explicit, since the school he attended included oral and speech training and services. Of all the parents, only Jordan's mother attempted to learn sign language and/or made efforts to explain things to him. Her active involvement to learn to communicate is supported by her decision to place Jordan in a Deaf setting and away from home. Jamal did not experience audism within the educational context, but he felt its impact at home and with his family. Although James' parents did not learn sign language and supported his desire to be in a deaf school, he was still confronted with two separate educational experiences that were audistic in nature. Despite this, James' mother encouraged her son's social interaction with Deaf friends and would often communicate with them by writing notes when they visited her home.

The data also suggest that each mother had a purpose and meaning for her son's school placement decisions. These meanings were embedded within their actions and behavior throughout their son's schooling experiences and could, subsequently, be interpreted by their son from their adult perspective. From David's adult perspective, the school placement decisions that happened within and outside of his mother's control meant targeting schools that could educate deaf children regardless of language modality. For Jordan, school placement meant that he had a mother who had a desire to see her son learn in the most accessible context. With respect to Lloyd, school placement meant going to school with his hearing siblings. As an assertive advocate for her Deaf son, Allen's mother actions toward schooling placement meant that her son would have a better education if he were educated along with hearing students. Thereby ensuring that he would have opportunities to succeed in life. Whereas James' school placement meant that he attended a supportive and nurturing educational environment that included opportunities to James to develop interpersonal relationships with other Deaf children. Finally, Jamal's placement meant selecting a school where he would get a better education, even though it would mean that he would have to attend a different school from his hearing brother.

The Consequences of the School Placement Decisions

The effects of the school placement decisions are reflective in the consequential events that took place in these men's lives while attending school. For Lloyd, his hearing loss was the causal factor for constant teasing and ridicule. As a consequence, he did not socialize in large groups. Thus, he developed sporadic but small groups of friendships that were bounded by the amount of hearing that he had in addition to his ability to read their lips. Consequently, Lloyd began to connect and internalize the purpose and role of education to his life as a hearing impaired person. Education was something to be obtained. Therefore, he felt it was necessary to develop discipline towards his studies. Subsequently, Lloyd learned self-discipline, which then led to multiple awards and national recognition for academic excellence.

Allen's hearing loss presented a challenge to the delivery of instruction and curriculum content within his school placement. However, teachers, aides, and tutors were able to circumvent his hearing loss by providing him with direct one on one instruction. Subsequently, he was able to successfully meet the graduation criterion for obtaining a high school diploma. It is important to emphasize that Allen's communication issues (such as lip-reading) receded to the background in his schooling experiences. His school placement experiences were subsumed within the normalcy of a daily routine. Yet these mundane events were peppered with racialized conflicts and tension between White schoolteachers, staff, and himself. Allen was one of the few black students attending a school dominated by White students, and as a natural consequence, he had few black friends and many White friends. As circumstances would have it, he also dated interracially. It was Allen's interracial dating that was the source of the racial tension and conflict he experienced. As a consequence to the racial conflict and tension that Allen experienced, he learned to contextualize his learning through the lenses of explicit and covert practices of racism and discrimination.

James' early placement experiences shaped his learning because of his ability to lip-read. Significant to James' case is that he taught himself how to lip-read. His learning was reinforced by his ability to read which was facilitated by his mother's love for reading, her steady supply of books, and his easy access to them. This factor increased James' desire to learn and read. Thus, he acquired social knowledge that was embedded within the written text of his mother's books. His self-taught lip-reading ability and developing literacy skills enabled him to cognitively process and learn at a higher level in comparison to his Deaf peers. Furthermore, his multiple placements facilitated an ability to evaluate, judge, and distinguish differences in and about people. He also observed how schools socialize hearing students differently from Deaf students. He also learned how to connect the manner in which hearing and Deaf students were socialized to other people in relationship to perception, actions, and behavior.

Jamal's school placement experiences manifested into social isolation on many levels. He experienced strained interpersonal relationships between himself and his family and, on a racial level, between himself and the White Deaf students and his White hearing teachers. The communication issues and barriers that Jamal experienced at home served to hamper his developmental social skills, which then manifested into his becoming socially introverted. Jamal's race also served to isolate him socially from the White deaf students. More often than not, they would not include him in their extra-curricular activities.

Jamal's interpersonal relationship with his White hearing teachers was also contextually strained by his perception that the White Deaf students were being privileged within his classes. He believed that his White hearing teachers did not feel that he was as intelligent as the other White Deaf students. He felt it necessary to disprove this prevailing perception. Compounding the competitive tension Jamal felt at school were his feelings about his younger brother, a successful student, with whom he felt was extremely intelligent. Therefore, Jamal pushed to excel both at school and at home.

Consequently, Jamal's schooling experiences were replete with intellectual and competitive tension imbued by a perception that he was viewed differently in comparison with White deaf kids and because of his younger brother's academic success.

Jamal's introverted personality and competitive nature, the social isolation he experienced among the White Deaf students, and perception of his teachers' attitude converged within the schooling context and forced him to develop independent study skills, learn English and writing skills, and teach himself how to learn. The cumulative affect of Jamal's experiences produced within him a negative attitude and strong emotional dislike for learning and education.

Legalized segregated policies served to be the platform upon which Jordan's school placement experiences took place. These policies separated Jordan and other black deaf students from White Deaf students within an educational context. However, Jordan's experiences within his Deaf school created an insulated environment that nurtured learning (albeit compromised because of segregationist policies) and integrated language acquisition within the learning the curriculum. It was in his school that he was socialized and enculturated into the Deaf culture and learned life-long language skills that would sustain him into adulthood. Furthermore, he acquired independent living skills, social etiquette, language, self-discipline, and lifelong relationships.

David's placement experience is uniquely complex in comparison to the other five men. All of his multiple placements experienced disruption after a period of two or three years. Four of his six schooling placements placed emphasis on oral speech as the primary mode for communicating curriculum and instructions, while the remaining two placement experiences allowed him access to learning class content and materials via sign language. It was here in these two placements that David experienced the most success in learning. During his four oral placement experiences, he simply sat in the classroom, more often than not, sitting, daydreaming, or signing with Deaf classmates (if any) until the end of the day.

The majority of David's schooling placement experiences occurred within segregated educational settings. Although one of David's two school placements occurred within a culturally Deaf (one of which was somewhat integrated, three Black boys and seventeen White boys) setting, this placement experience occurred within a situationally segregated environment. In other words, David's class was separated from the main body of hearing students. In today's terms, this type of educational setting would be considered as a self-contained learning environment. As circumstances would have it, David was able to learn and grow within this setting as the Deaf teacher tailored the class work to meet the needs of the Deaf students, regardless of race, creed, or color. Three years later, David was transferred to another high school and would again be placed within a school setting that emphasized oral instruction. His remaining schooling experiences would only focus on vocational trade that de-emphasized academic courses, all the while, introducing him to trades that would only consign him to menial labor in adulthood.

<div align="center">Findings</div>

I opened this chapter's discussion with a critical observation that themes of racism, audism, and ableism underscore the participants' schooling and developmental life experiences. But there is an unusual configuration in the way that these isms impact, shape, and constrain each participant's schooling and developmental life experiences. On one hand these isms were present in each man's life, but they were impacted by the social circumstance in which the participant was situated. Thus, given the social context in which the participants were situated, one of these isms ultimately played a more prominent role (e.g. Lloyd and/or Allen).

On the other hand, there were circumstances in which two or more isms played an equal role in the participants' schooling and developmental life experiences (e.g., Jordan and/or David). The significance of this observation is a critical finding. Unlike the above situation where the isms shaped and/or impact the circumstance in which the participant

was situated, this finding shows a secondary outcome. This finding show that it was the decisions that the parents made, (that led to specific school placement, the procedural schooling process, and/or the condition of the school placement) ignited the manner in which these isms played out.

Another finding is reflective of two interconnected points that encapsulate the educational experiences of the men that I studied. The first of these interconnected points are the nature and role of school placement, and secondly, the level and degree of parental involvement and advocacy. Without these interconnected points, these men would not have been able to complete their formal education and/or continue onward to college and/or obtain the types of employment that have secured their present statuses in today's society.

Third, each man experienced his schooling experiences differently because of his perception and interpretation of his deafness disability. The source of each man's hearing disability difference is grounded upon his family's orientation, attitude, and perspective towards his disability and language acquisition. These elements then had a direct bearing on each participant's educational and developmental life experiences. Therefore, the consequences of each man's schooling experiences were unique to his particular life circumstance. The ethnographic portraits illustrated the uniqueness of each man's deafness experiences. We can see that each man's experiences are bounded and constrained by the socio-cultural phenomenon of the Deafness experience. Each social element that is, the participant's developmental life experiences, schooling, language learning, language acquisition, multiple educational placements, and parent involvement and advocacy were all directly affected.

Summary

The importance of educational placement cannot be over emphasized because it had a decidedly clear impact on these men's lives as adults. My analysis also revealed that each participant interpreted the role and purpose of his schooling experiences, which

in his view, was to equip them with the knowledge and skills necessary for adulthood. From David's point of view he felt that his school education did not adequately equip him the appropriate skills for adulthood. However, Jamal, Lloyd, and James believe that the educational experiences have been beneficial. Jamal believed that his education helped him in being able to engage in conversations and discussions that many other Deaf people consider too complicated to talk about. Furthermore, Jamal felt that his education equipped him with knowledge that helped him start up his own personal business. Lloyd extends Jamal's thinking by sharing how his schooling experiences provided him with the necessary foundational skills for adulthood. Lloyd defined foundational skills as meaning good standard English, strong written and communication skills, the ability to understand the "larger concepts" and ideas, and the ability to read written English. Lloyd also felt that if he did not have these skills, he would not be able to market himself. Lloyd explains marketing as the ability to demonstrate to people the ability to do a job in spite of a hearing disability. James' view complements both Jamal and Lloyd's perspectives. He contends that his schooling experiences provided him with the basis for understanding and respecting differences in people brought about by their status in life.

While neither Jordan nor Allen made specific references to the role and purpose of their schooling experiences, it is clear from the totality of Jordan's interview that he benefited from the integrated approach of language and learning and learning and cultural socialization. Jordan's schooling experiences took place along side of other learners who either shared his racial and/or culturally Deaf identity. As such, Jordan did not experience the tension within the learning context as the other five men. Thus, the above integrated approach of language development and learning and learning and cultural socialization created and nurtured an environment that produced a secured sense of independence.

Allen did not discuss his views about the role and purpose of schooling in his life as his attention centered on mostly his experiences that were underscored by racialized events and his mother's active involvement with his education. Yet it is clear from

Allen's discussion that his mother's effort to ensure an education for her son was not in vain. Evidence attesting that her efforts were successful is her son's acceptance into college and subsequent ability to locate and maintain gainful employment and ultimately his ability to care for himself without parental support.

CHAPTER V

MULTIPLE IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION AND GENDERED ROLE

DEVELOPMENT

This chapter's discussion focuses on identity construction and gendered role development, and it addresses the second research question that guided my study. All of the participants were asked to name, and/or describe their identities, as well as, explain what their identities meant to them. The narratives that have been included in this chapter are a production of their personal reflections about their identities. I have chosen to represent the participants' narratives holistically as this decision reaffirms the notion of voice authority (Riessman, 1993) an inherent tenet of narrative inquiry. Furthermore, representing the participants' narratives on identity development in the manner that they have been developed stays within the confines of my original purpose of the study, which is to present these men's identities from their insiders' perspective (Rossiter, 1999). Following the identity construction discussion is a short narrative text on the participants' gendered role development. I conclude this chapter with a summary of my thematic findings.

As a result of my analysis, it became apparent that each man's identity construction and schooling experiences were unique to his specific social context. Social context is operationalized to each man's specific hearing disability, familial/parental involvement in relationship to the disability, the social times, and educational placement.

W.E.B. DuBois' work on double consciousness (circa 1903/1989) has particular relevance with chapter's discussion. His argument that the identity of Black Americans in conflict between two oppositional cultures is a perfect frame for understanding the tension that rests at the interstice of the intersection cultural boundary markers of the six men I interviewed. Also, Navarete Vivero and Jenkins (1999) characterize the tension

and conflict of "a person caught between two cultures fitting into either one" (p. 9) solidifies DuBois' (1903/1989) argument. Individuals living within this state of tension are always in perpetual motion of negotiating the social structure of the self and his/her relationship in order to adjust and/or accommodate to the context in which he or she find themselves situated (Taylor, 1999).

More often than not, the men that I interviewed in this study experienced different degrees of tension and conflict with respect to their identity development. We saw the first credible evidence of conflict and tension within the ethnographic portraits discussed in chapter four. We could see the tension within the interconnected relationship between these men's familial, social, and personal development, identity construction and experiences with their hearing disability. The resulting effect from these men's lifelong experiences as Deaf and hard-of-hearing men has produced within them a greater self-awareness of themselves. The participants' self-awareness was also influenced by the way that people acted, behaved, and/or responded to the participants after discovering these men's hearing disability. The manner in which hearing people have responded and/or reacted to these men's hearing disability was another constructing element to the understanding of these men's identity development. In most cases, the way that people responded to these men's hearing disability depicted their understanding of these men's identity, which was usually different from the manner that the men understood themselves. In other words, hearing people construct these men's identities as disabled, whereas the men in this study did not. Thus, we see how the tension and conflict are produced in the face of these men's identity development of the self and the social context in which they were socially situated.

The ethnographic portraits in chapter four of this study were but one level of understanding of identities of the men that I studied. Therefore, it was necessary to facilitate an in-depth conversation with each man in order to learn how he individually named and defined his identity in the face of his past and present experiences (Deaux,

1993). Each man was asked how he defined his identity. Lloyd identified himself as a professional Black man who is hearing impaired. Allen defined his identity from a single lens that of being a Black man. However, James, Jordan, Jamal, and David defined their identity as BlackDeaf. These four men share in their thinking that the two designating adjectives are inseparable components of their identity. In Jordan's view, being BlackDeaf means that they are "equal"; neither one is "number one" to the other descriptive adjective. It is important however, to make a distinction between James' identity and three other BlackDeaf men. While James shares much in common with Jamal, Jordan, and David in assuming the BlackDeaf identity, he also shares a thread of identity construction with Lloyd and Allen. Specifically, James has speaking abilities, which allow him to interact with hearing people. It must be pointed out, however, that James positionalizes himself as culturally Deaf.

Wade (1996) examined positionality by investigating the relationship between gender role and racial identity of African American men. He argued that in our society, African American men's position is socially constructed differently than White American men. Based upon my conversations with the participants, their narratives support Wade's (1996) argument. But, I extend Wade's (1996) position to point out that the identities of the men I studied are also constructed by their developmental living experiences with a disability.

Scholars on identity development agree that identity is socially constructed and my interviews support this position. However, my analysis of the combined narratives on identity construction shows that being a Black and Deaf man is an experience as well as an identity construction. The contributing factor that led me to this conclusion was the way that four of the participants struggled to understand the meaning of the word identity. Neither Lloyd nor Allen had difficulty explaining to me how they defined their identities, but Jamal, James, Jordan, and David did. As I mulled over the nature of the latter groups' struggle, I began to realize that I had entered my interviews with them with

an unquestioning assumption that they would be able to name, identify, and/or define their identities. The difficulty that these men had in naming and defining their identities presented an unusual and unexpected phenomenon. Thus, I began to question the source of my tacit assumptions about identity construction in relationship to the following narratives. Subsequently, I have come to realize that (with some incredulity) the concept of identity is a hearing construct. A hearing construct is operationalized as an ability to link and process spoken language to what we hear. In this context, hearing people are able to hear and link the discursive conversation about meaning making with respect to the self-identification process. The conversations that swirl about us as hearing people help inform the way we define and understand ourselves.

Methodologically, my study is not about validating stories for truth and accuracy (Polkinghorn, 1988; Smeyers & Verhesschen, 2001). It is instead about understanding identity from the participants' perspectives. Therefore, I sought to examine each participant's narratives as individual cases, then compared and cross-analyzed their stories for meaning and interpretation. This methodological process for analyzing, understanding, and interpreting the participant's identity construction and gendered role development required a multi-tiered approach. I extrapolated specific units of data from the interview narrative text that were specific to identity and gendered role development. As in chapter four, I developed individual taxonomies (Glesne, 1999) in order to visualize my data. I placed at the center the exact identification classification that the participants chose as their specific identity label. Next, I inserted smaller units of data into the typologies that either reflected the meaning that each participant attached to his hearing disability experience, his identification classification, and language development. This data was then reconstructed into mini-stories and then re-examined as narratives within the context of the research purpose (Lathers & Smithies, 1997).

I present now the individual cases of identity construction. These cases will reflect an integrated discussion of my analysis and interpretation of what it meant for

these men to live with their multiple identities predicated by gender, race, and deafness (e.g., male, Black, and Deaf). I conclude this discussion with an analysis of these men as gendered beings, scaffold onto the social construction of their identity development over time.

Lloyd: deconstructing identity from a multiple and intersecting perspective

Understanding Lloyd's identity (professional black man who is hearing impaired) required a multi-dimensional lens. First, it was necessary to examine Lloyd's identity from a designated classification perspective (that being his racial and hearing impairment identities). Secondly, it was necessary to examine Lloyd's identities from a situational context in which he is socially involved or engaged through a societal view (i.e., family, friends, and other social networks), and their reactions and responses to his identities from a disability stance. Finally, it was necessary to examine Lloyd's interpretation of his identities from within and between the Deaf community and himself. With respect to a designated classification, it is important to underscore three important physiological elements while coming to understand Lloyd's identities. These elements, which are his ability to hear, speak, and understand spoken speech, are the mechanisms that aid in constructing his identities, which are unshared by the remaining five participants in this study. Additionally, his ability to hear, to speak, and to understand spoken speech has enabled him with a unique understanding toward people as they react and/or respond to the discovery of his hearing impairment; and the way that he grew up in hearing society that privilege its members by racial status. Finally, Lloyd's introduction to (and subsequent involvement with) the Deaf community laid a foundation from which to examine, deconstruct, and analyze the contrasting difference between himself and culturally Deaf people.

Lloyd's life experiences have created a context whereby he developed an ability to judge and/or access which of his multiple identities is being impacted. Additionally,

his hearing impairment or racial identities can impact and/or influence a situational outcome. The first narrative story is an illustration of the social elements that help Lloyd make the determination that his racial identity is being targeted the nature in which Lloyd's race is at the center of conflict between himself as a Black man and his supervisor, a White female. However, at the end of this story, Lloyd flows naturally into his second story on how the context places at the center, his hearing loss disability.

Lloyd: uhm, I had a supervisor, who once just to talk down to me. he she treated me like a slave. Really. I'm not joking. She really did! And it was so obvious that I ended up quitting. I just quit.

Mavis: o.k.

Lloyd: and then my hearing impairment, didn't have anything to do with it. I don't believe it did….The reason I say this is because she didn't treat anyone else like that, who was like like she had another white male working there. She didn't treat him that way, so if it was a male thing, then why didn't he get the same treatment uhm. I was the only black person working there. And she treated me that way. So that was the only conclusion I could come to. And I refused to take it. So so I I quit at that time. And when I did quit, she tried to get me to stay. So I said no, you can not treat me anyway you want to and expect me to still be willing to work with you. So uh that that that was that was an interesting experience because I mean some people would amaze you. She would just talk down to me. She would tell me to do so many things. And it was impossible for me to get all of them finished ok. and uhm

how you read the story of Cinderella and how they made, her momma was so mean to her. It was kinda like that. She she wanted me to get a toothbrush and scrub the tile for the entire cafeteria. Can you imagine? I was like what is this? So I didn't respond at the time. I said ok ok ok. So she left. And was like, you got to be kidding me. So she left she say when I get back, I want all that stuff done. So I sat there and I thought about it for a while (laughter). I don't think I can believe this. So I just waited for her to come back. When she came back I hadn't done any of it. So I told her that I quit. I'm not going to take that that that's just too… that's just ridiculous.   and ah, I mean it was just too obvious . It was too obvious. That's nothing else you can contribute that to…

Mavis: hmmm…

Lloyd: so uhm, so that's I why I say they're distinctly different. Because my hearing impairment didn't have anything to do with it. She she just looked at my race and that was it. Uhm and then their was another experience that only had to do with my hearing impairment. Uhm its funny. I laugh at it. This was actually good. Believe it or not my hearing impairment saved once.

Mavis: hmmm…

Lloyd: I was like ohhhh…uhm, thank thank you hearing aid (laughter). It wasn't for my hearing aid, then oh who knows what would have happened…I actually got mugged. But my hearing impairment saved me, believe it or not.

Because, ok there was one morning, I was going to go to work and I usually go a different way I've ever walked to the train station, at that time. But for one reason or another I wanted to take a short cut. Ok. It was early in the morning, and so I took the short cut. I'm walking. I'm a cautious person. So I looked around, I looked both ways. I'm walking. I'm looking both ways and somehow this guy, I don't know, how he got me, but all of a sudden he was behind me. And I felt something sharp in my back. So I was like (*he holds up both of his hands as in in a hold-up*), and ah, he said something. O.k., but he was, he had something at my back, he was standing kinda like to this side (*he gestures to his right with an open hand*) and this is my deaf ear. So he says something that …but I couldn't understand him. So I turned my head the other way to try to hear what he was saying. I said, I'm sorry I didn't hear you, could you…what was it that you want? And the guy, when I turned back and when he saw my hearing aid, he was like, oh oh man, I'm, sorry that's o.k., nothing, never mind, never mind. And he let me go.

Mavis: was it a black guy who attacked you?

Lloyd: yeah, a black male. Hmmm but, hmmm…when I turned my head and he saw my hearing aid, he backed off and said that' that's alright that's alright. I saw his face and everything and he didn't even care. He just said that's alright and let me go.

Mavis: you were lucky.

> Lloyd: I know (laughter). I know I know. That way cause
> I don't know. I thank God for that. Thank you. He saw my
> hearing aid and backed off.

Both stories show the nature of how Lloyd's race and hearing impairment identities were impacted upon differently. Impacting the manner in which Lloyd's identities were being affected were the circumstances in which Lloyd was situated; and it was the circumstance that privileged one of Lloyd's identities over the other. Lloyd is able to make a distinction between which identity is being directly impacted. The defining element that Lloyd relies upon to distinguish between which of his identities is being impacted is based upon race. He states,

> uhm [my hearing impaired and racial identity] they're separate. I'd say they're separate because ok, as, ok, the reason I'd say that they separate is because you're experience is, ok, for example you're hearing impaired and (pause) you're Caucasian, that's different from being (pause) being hearing impaired and Black. Ok like if you take take, if you if you if you take away the hearing impairment, in other words, you take away the hearing impairment, there's still some differences there. So these are two different concepts. Like uhm, let's say you take away the white and black and they're the same color and they're both hearing impaired, then there's no difference. See what I saying? But if you put in the white and the black, there are some differences. So I I believe that those are two different concepts. There are certain struggles we have, that African Americans have, because we still trying to overcome some of the things that happened to us in the

past. Those are distinctly separate from experiences of just being Deaf or hearing impaired. Those things are not a result of differences of race, so to me those are two different concepts.

When he was prodded for clarification about making a distinction between being Black or White Deaf, he responded,

…there is a difference between being white and black. That's basically it. The difference between the hearing impaired is just the race. Uhm, I I I I know there are still some differences there, I mean some, hey people would say, that's in the past, that don't exist anymore. I beg to disagree. I I know that it still exist because I look out into the world and I see what goes on and the percentages and it tells me a story, so I, some people say well maybe it some of of lasting effects of whatever, but its there. Forty-seven percent of the last statistics they had of Black males are in jail. I mean, no forty-seven percent of the population in prison is Black male. Why? Uhm, that's not a coincidence. That tells you that's something still there. Something still in the system that still works to that still put Black males to a disadvantage. That's not a coincidence. But I mean that's too many many, different ah, thing that comes into play. It's not one or the other thing, its everything together. So ah, you can't blame it on one thing or the other, it's not just that you're black, we can't forget about, we just recently recently got equal status as far as having equal access to the same resources, things sort to speak.

As Lloyd reflects on his identities through the lens of society, he knows that he is perceived as disabled. However, Lloyd does not share nor accept society's interpretation of his identities. He notes the way that people respond and/or react to him once his hearing loss is discovered.

> I know that society views me as disabled, because I have a hearing impairment, and they will say do you need any special accommodations and whatever. But me myself, I don't. And being because of that and the only reason I say that, and I have to be careful you know and try to use politically correct terminology, and ok and what the reason, I don't consider myself disabled, I mean from the meaning of the word standpoint. To me if you say disabled, its like saying that you're not able to do something and I think I am anything that I put my mind so to so uhm, I wouldn't use that word to describe myself…

He goes on to state,

> You got some people who I've met people who don't even act like they don't even notice you know that you have a hearing aid on. They act they don't even notice it at all. But then you meet other people who are falling over themselves, they who don't even know what how to act. They don't know what to do. I'm sorry, I don't mean to offend you, you know and I'm like it no problem you know. I just wear a hearing aid that's all you know. It's it's different people you know, hmmm, everyone is not the same you know. You come into into contact with different types of people who are almost embarrassed about the fact

> that you you know have a disability. When its not to you its
>
> not that big a deal. To them it's a very big deal you know
>
> you know.

As the above narrative shows, Lloyd's hearing loss takes center stage as society ascribes a disability label to his identity, even though Lloyd does not accept this identification label. The reason Lloyd does not consider himself as disabled is because he can perform the same physical acts as non-disabled people. The only difference between himself and other people is that he has a hearing disability. He states,

> when a lot of people find out that I am hearing impaired,
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> they already start making assumptions about my life have
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> been and why my experiences have been like. That's not
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> true you know like when they realize that I really did very
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> well in school, no one really expect that.

Finally, since Lloyd's introduction to the Deaf community, and subsequent relationships, he has had to come face to face with the difference his hearing impairment represents not only to himself but also to other members of the Deaf community. Three significant factors serve to differentiate Lloyd from members within the Deaf community, one of which has already been discussed (Lloyd's ability to hear, speak, and understand spoken speech). Yet this factor is the fulcrum upon which Lloyd's differences teeter. Deaf people require interpreting services, which more often than not place them at a disadvantage, because interpreters do not accompany Deaf people on a daily basis. Lloyd does not share this disadvantage because he does not require an interpreter to communicate with hearing people.

However, what is most intriguingly different about Lloyd's disability is that on a daily basis he can experience profound hearing loss. Lloyd must rely upon his hearing aids to hear hearing people. However, upon removal, he becomes audiologically deaf.

The removal of his hearing aids juxtaposes him between two worlds where he finds (simultaneous) membership all the while positionalized as simply different.

Thus, Lloyd's internal construction of his multiple and intersecting identities positions him depending on the context in which he is situated. To Lloyd, he thinks of himself as a Black man who is hearing impaired; to a racially privileged society he is viewed as a Black man, that is, until his hearing disability is discovered. Once Lloyd's hearing disability is discovered, his singular identity morphs into an identity of a disabled man. This identity can be socially reconstructed into a Black man with a disability, depending on the context and people involved. From a Deaf cultural perspective, he is viewed as Deaf, because of his support for the Deaf community, acceptance of American Sign Language, social relationships and political engagement. Although, Lloyd can be viewed and accepted as Deaf, he knows that he is different because he can hear, speak, and can understand spoken speech, which ultimately positionalizes him differently within the Deaf community.

Allen: deconstructing a singular identity, when race is holding as the primary socio-cultural variable, but the little 'd' deaf is negotiated

Allen identifies himself as a Black man. He defines himself through a racial lens only. Allen's Black identity is a state of mind, however, his inability to hear is a physiological condition. In this context, Allen is understood within the cultural Deaf community as little 'd' deaf. Little 'd' deaf is characterized as a person without hearing, but who functions and lives his life as a hearing person. Much like Lloyd, Allen has an internal view of his identity that projects externally. Yet they differ in their interpretation of how their hearing loss frames their lifestyle. When Allen was asked to describe his identity, he had a simple answer. He stated that he was a " black man." When asked why he considered his identity as a Black man and not a Deaf Black man, his response was that,

[deafness was] not a big part of my life"…I don't allow it to become a big part of my life ah, being deaf may keep me from doing certain things. But, because of my upbringing and because in my growing up all my life around hearing population, its kinda, its not hard from me to function in everyday life so. Unless you don't hear me speak, or unless you talk to me, you could never tell that I'm deaf cause a lot of people are surprised when I tell them that I'm deaf, or somebody else tells them that I am deaf, they very surprised to hear it….[Y]ou just can't just tell that I'm deaf by looking at me, because you never see me use sign language in my everyday life. So that's why I don't consider myself deaf. Even though I am deaf, I don't classify myself as deaf because, it's not a big part of my life.

Allen does not classify himself as hearing impaired or hard-of-hearing. He classifies himself as,

deaf, but I don't well, classify myself as Deaf, but I know that I am deaf… I don't really consider my life differently from another deaf. I don't consider my life any different, uhm. All I can say is uhm I don't let my hearing problem influence my life. It doesn't hold me back from doing the things I want to do. So I consider myself a black man, before I consider myself well, Deaf. That's the best way I can put it, because, its not a big part of my life.

The reason Allen does not characterize himself as culturally Deaf is because he does not rely on sign language to communicate with hearing people. More importantly,

his preference for communicating socially with hearing and Deaf people is with lip-reading. While he feels that he can adequately communicate with Deaf people (i.e. sign with them), he only does so when the situation necessitates it. He states

> [s]ign language is not a part of my life that's all. I don't socialize with any deaf. I don't know of any other deaf person. I'm not a part of Deaf culture. I'm just part of the mainstream. Like I grew up, so that's why I consider myself a black man…I don't consider myself a black hearing man and I don't consider myself a black deaf man, just a black man…because of the fact that I'm not a part of the Deaf culture and I don't use sign language. I don't socialize with the Deaf ah, you won't see that I'm Deaf in my everyday life, you can't tell that by looking at me. That's why I don't that's why I don't think of myself as a black deaf. I don't think of myself as a black hearing man because I know that I'm deaf. But you don't see it, I don't live my life that way.

But, it is precisely because Allen is deaf that his life as a man is impacted. In particular, Allen's social networks within his family and job show that he is perceived as different because of his inability to hear. Take for example Allen's story about his company's policy regarding physical examinations when he was in line for a promotion, and his second story about his family's behavior, actions, and attitude toward his deafness.

> I started out as a package handler, when I first started. I started out loading trucks eight years ago. And I got a promotion and I've been doing that since. So that's what I've been doing. I just started out at the bottom. [And then]

…I tried to become a driver. I tell you what happened…I checked into that. I wanted to try that out. But I had to take a test. I had to take a physical. And part of the physical you have to take a whisper test…its part of the physical…yeah, it's a federal requirement. It's a whisper test. So I was o.k., forget it. I couldn't pass the whisper test. I could pass everything, but the physical. But you have to pass the whisper test. So because of that, I couldn't be a driver. So I was like forget it, I'll check back another time, but I don't think that's fair. So that's federal regulation…a whisper test…I tried to do that…but if I really really want to do it [become a driver], I check back into it, I don't think its fair, though, because, I have a real good driving record. I've been driving since I was 17, no problem. Do you think that is that sort of discrimination? It's federal policy. [W]hat's whispering got to do with driving? That's why I haven't become a driver. I checked into though. I will check back into it though some other time.

In the following story, Allen states how he does not see himself as any different than any other family member. He states,

it doesn't feel any different. I'm not special or anything. None of my cousins know sign language. A few of cousins two or four people in the entire family (chortles) my brother knows, a few of my cousins know and that's it. My dad and mother, they never learned sign language. The only difference is some people just have to they talk so low, when I'm talking with my family members, they have to

repeat themselves sometimes. We laugh and joke about it. They make fun of me sometimes. It's no big deal. I'm just one of the guys.

But when Allen recounts how he is made fun of, there is a conflictual tension that suggests a different story.

Uh like they repeat themselves over and over. They be like, what's your problem man? Are you deaf or something? How come you can't understand me? They're always ah, always say, making fun just picking on me, just laughing with me, nothing bad. The manner in which he responds to the familial ridicule with [I]t's no big deal to me. Some people got it worse. I mean that's just how, it's just a hearing problem, it's just deafness, its no big deal to me. Something you have to live with.

The manner in which Allen lives with his being deaf comes in the form of regret and repetitive questions. He states,

one thing that I regret is that the little kids that go up and talk, my little cousins, I love my little cousins. It's when they talk with me, I don't understand everything they say. Sometimes I have to look and I'm like "what did she say?" A lot of times, the kids are talking to me. I can't understand them. So I have to ask people what did they say, what did she just say, what did they say? I would say that's the only negative thing, that's the real negative, I would say. It just that I have I have to ask people what did they say? That's all.

Allen, like Lloyd, came to judge and assess the difference between himself as a Black man and himself as a Deaf man. The difference between Allen and Lloyd however, is that Lloyd adopted deafness as an inherent component of his identity, while Allen has not. Unlike Lloyd who capitalized on gaining social acceptance within the Deaf community by adopting sign language and building new relationships among culturally Deaf members, Allen returned to his former life after leaving college. There is no question that Allen understands his identity first as a Black man, but as the above instances show, Allen's inability to hear, positionalizes him as a deaf person in our society according to audiological standards. He is, therefore, impacted by laws, policies, and (just as critical) attitudes, which govern our society toward people living with a disability. Moreover, Allen's deafness does not reconcile itself to his self-designated identity as a Black man.

James, Jamal, Jordan, and David: deconstructing identity of being BlackDeaf

James, Jordan, Jamal, and David describe themselves as BlackDeaf. Being BlackDeaf means, in their view, that the two socio-cultural components that make up their identity are inseparable. Unlike Lloyd who can rely upon the social context to make a distinction between his racial, gender, and disability identities, or Allen who draws a line between his race and deaf identities, these four men see their identities as inseparably blurred. A significant point of departure between the four men who identify themselves as BlackDeaf and Lloyd and Allen is their utilization of a different modus operandi for social interaction and communication. In other words, unlike Allen and Lloyd, who have a choice between language modalities, (speaking/lip-reading/signing and speaking/hearing/signing respectively), these four BlackDeaf men <u>must</u> rely upon their eyes and hands to receive and transmit messages. Thus, living their lives as black men with its associated socio-cultural and political realities blends into the affect of living as Deaf people and its socially related issues.

A cross-case analysis of the combined statements of these four men showed that their understanding of their identity is predicated by their profound hearing loss and total dependence upon their signed communication skills. It is important to establish at the outset that the parameters and meaning of BlackDeaf identity is not the same as those that traditionally explain the notion of identity. It is equally important to show that while these men share common linkages with respect to their BlackDeaf identity, they each experienced degrees of tension, conflict, and problematic issues unique to their social experiences. At the root of these differences are two socio-political factors of race and/or education. While education has made it possible for each man to obtain job and economic security, it also serves to become a barrier in relationship building with other members of the Deaf communities. Furthermore, each man's racial identity either made it possible for them to connect with like members within their communities, and/or it constrained relationships with members within the White and Black Deaf communities.

James as a BlackDeaf man: mediating between the tensions of two cultures

James' BlackDeaf identity is replete with mediating tensions created by communities to which he has obvious memberships. Consequently, he has to negotiate within and between these communities because of his race and deafness statuses. These tensions are underscored by his experiences with racialized issues that are transferred to his experiences as a Deaf man and vice versa. Furthermore, the mediating tensions that James has to negotiate between are also connected to his education. James feels that the tensions he has had to deal with within the Black Deaf community have been problematic in his interpersonal relationships with Black members within the community. James characterizes all of these experiences into a phenomenon he characterizes as "double whammy" phenomenon.

Bounded within the concept and meaning of double whammy is James' experiences of discrimination, which he attributes to his merged identity of being BlackDeaf. He explains,

> being a black man is hard enough, but also on top of that being deaf male, it tougher. I think people may look at me as a black man and they may have an inkling to give me a chance, but they may feel less inclined to give me a chance, because I'm deaf, because it may be hard to communicate with me.

James clarifies the meaning of double whammy by telling the following stories:

> I remember giving a phone number to some business school I applied for a job there, I remember, they called me. I couldn't answer the phone and they asked to speak with me. My cousin told them that no, I couldn't speak with them on the telephone and they said that it was important for them to talk with me directly…my cousin told them that I was deaf and they hung up the telephone.

James interpreted this experience as discriminatory as he states that he,

> felt that [I had been] discriminated against, against I felt, I felt that they didn't give me a chance to understand me, because I was deaf they may thought, they have never faced that problem before, and they weren't willing to face it, not at that time.

The following story provides another context in understanding the meaning that James constructs as double whammy. James recognizes the irony of being able to understand spoken speech with his lip reading skills, while being identified as Deaf. In

the story below, we see that James' ability to communicate with hearing people serves to be an insurance protection within an employment context. James recounts,

> there's one deaf man that had worked [at another company] before, and at September 11, when ah the plane and bombings happened, and they laid him off and he had been there for about ten years, I been working, I been working there for about three years, I mean three weeks, excuse me, they laid him off though and kept me because they could communicate more easily with me, cause I read lips and I was able to speak for myself and because he could not do that, they laid him off.

There are two themes running concurrently within James' story of being discriminated against for a potential job and the second tale of seeing a Deaf co-worker being laid off because of his disability. The resulting affect of these themes is the manifestations that James must negotiate. The first evidence of these manifestations is played in the way that James tries to reconcile with the discrimination perpetrated against him because of his race. Confronting the issue of racial discrimination in and by itself is a difficult barrier for James to overcome, but yet it is a reality that must be addressed in the obtainment of an objective. Similarly, deafness in and by itself, while clearly a barrier in some instances, can be confronted depending on the context. However, when circumstances dictate the merging and blending of both of his racial and Deaf identities, the barrier of the combined socio-cultural markers becomes insurmountable. He states that as a BlackDeaf person, people will "tolerate you because you're deaf, there's that communication issue. But to tolerate you because you black and deaf, well, then you're pushed to the side, I know through my experiences, however, white deaf people will get the something before a black deaf person will."

Secondly, resting at the interstice between the mediating tensions outlined above is James' speaking and lip-reading abilities. Clearly, James' speaking and lip-reading skills were an advantage over the other Deaf person; and his skills became an insurance policy that secured his employment status. However, he witnessed a degree of discrimination between himself and the other Deaf person because speaking and/or lip-reading abilities were privileged over sign communication.

Yet, there is another level of tension that James must negotiate. This tension is predicated by the invisible impact of race and education upon his interpersonal relationships with Black and White Deaf people. Despite shared communication modalities between Black and White Deaf people, White Deaf people, more often than not, will not continue a conversation with him when a Black Deaf person joins in their discussion(s). He has noticed how his White Deaf friends will physically leave their conversation only to return after he and his Black Deaf friend(s) are finished talking. He finds this behavior odd given that both sets of friends have attended the same schools. He attributes this behavior to the polarization between the two racial communities. Conversely, his interpersonal relationships with his Black Deaf friends are constrained not by racialized issues but rather by his education. James maintains that his relationship with Black Deaf people is strained because of his education (i.e., obtaining a high school diploma and having had gone to college). James contends that he received a level of quality of education that is different in comparison to his Black Deaf friends. As such, James believes that he is perceived as different among his friends and members within the Black Deaf community. Furthermore, James believes that members of the Black Deaf community are jealous of him because of the difference in quality of education. Thus, James' racial and educational experiences have served to become an obstacle that must be negotiated as he continues to work and/or build relationships within his communities. The basis of James' argument rests in his observation between his educational experiences and those of the Black Deaf community.

I can't say that other black deaf males have experienced the same thing. Especially here in Georgia, because black deaf men, have not graduated with ah their diploma. A lot of them did not finish school, or they would finish school with just a certificate and so they really did not complete the schooling I did…from my observation, I asked, sometimes to see why they wouldn't understand something. I wouldn't understand what was wrong. Sometimes because of the education I've had, some would look at me funny. I've noticed that whites whites whites are different and the black deaf males are less inclined to get their education. I noticed that black deaf females are more inclined to get their education. But many of the black deaf males are not. I would ask them if they graduated from high school and did they get their diploma. I would ask them specifically did you have to test out to get your diploma or did you just graduate? And did you just get a paper that say you graduated and did your diploma say it was an actual diploma? And a lot of the times they would say no. I would ask them if they went to college. Or if they thought about going to college. Many of them would say no and some of them would go to uh, like a college education, but like not a prep school – type of college, maybe like a community college, like community type setting, or any college experience.

Jamal as a BlackDeaf man: dimensionalized degrees of rejection

Issues associated with Jamal's BlackDeaf identity manifest into multiple degrees of rejection. At the root of his rejection rests his racial and Deaf identities and his education. And just like James, Jamal has experienced problematic interpersonal relationships with both racial groups within the Deaf communities; and he attributes these difficulties to his race and education. However, for Jamal, the outcome is different. As a result of his educational experiences, Jamal critically thinks about and/or deconstructs complex and prevailing social issues impacting his community, and subsequently, his personal life. Drawing upon the meaning he has derived from his personal experiences, life, and social issues, he is then able to engage into meaningful dialogue with people of like-mind.

Jamal contends that his critical thinking skills and facility for understanding and using spoken English language to communicate, has made his interpersonal relationships with Black Deaf people problematic. Jamal maintains that members of the Black Deaf community have accused him of signing and acting like White Deaf people. Jamal connects this accusation to the type of school placement and educational experiences he has had in relationship to other Black Deaf people. According to Jamal, Black Deaf people have criticized his signing and are more often than not, reluctant about entering a conversation with him. Jamal in turn, interprets their criticism and resistance as a form of rejection.

Conversely, Jamal is able to engage in a meaningful dialogue with White Deaf people, because they share commonality within language style, command for language and vocabulary, and critical thinking skills. However, he is still consciously aware that he is seen as a Black Deaf person in the eyes of White Deaf people. Consider the following narrated discussion about his interpersonal experiences with both Black and White Deaf people. Jamal says,

Black Deaf people think I'm white. [My] black friends think I'm white. They say that I act like I'm white I talk like I'm white. I tell them I can't help it. I was raised around white people. They say I sign like a white person you know I'm sorry I can't help it. [T]hey say, I'm too educated for them or something like that. I say fine! "What do you want me to do? Slouch or sign different? What do you want me to do? They just say that I sign different I use bigger words. I couldn't believe that!

Jamal attributes the difference in his signing and communication style to two interconnected elements. Jamal attend a mainstream schools throughout his educational experiences, which white students also attended. Jamal states,

A lot of [my friends]…went to the residential deaf school. I didn't go through that. I didn't have the experience of going through the deaf school and so I didn't really understand. I could never appreciate what they went through. I was in a hearing mainstream school that was predominantly white. I learned with white children in white classes. They didn't have that. They didn't go through what I went through ah, being raised in a white society.

As a consequence to being educated within a mainstream school setting that was populated predominantly with White American students, Jamal feels that his education was "more advanced" than his Black Deaf friends. He states,

the way I sign, the way I think, I think, is different from them, some of the things that they think is important, I think is silly. And so some of the things I think is

important, they think is silly. And so I try my best to fit in
with my black friends so that we can understand each other.

The tension that has manifested is the result of the different levels of educational experiences between Jamal and his friends and consequently, Jamal he feels "pulled from one side or another." Furthermore, as the following comment show, Jamal feels forced to switch in language approaches. He states,

always feeling like I'm being pulled from one side or another. To the black side, to the white side you know. One, when I'm with my black friends, I have to sign one way. But when I with some whites, whites I have to sign a different way. With a higher educational level or a lower educational level, I feel like I'm going up or down. And so I'm always thinking that my style of speech has to change, with white friends. I may think I may talk about business or politics or education, but my black friends don't care. They could care less about those things. They want to know more about what's up at work. What's going on with my family and so it's totally opposite from what I talk about with whites that I work with. My black friends they don't understand anything, if I talk about education or politics or something like that. They don't get that. I have to go back and forth whenever, depending on who I'm talking to.

Subsequently, Jamal is positioned and, consequently, forced to negotiate between two competing and oppositional tensions. First, Jamal is caught between the educated and undereducated groups within his communities. Secondly, he is forced to negotiate a place for himself between his Black and White Deaf communities. Jamal states,

I feel like I'm in the middle, I stuck in the middle. Black deaf think I'm white my white friends, think I'm black so. I know that I have to talk differently depending on who I'm with. Unless I'm talking to a black person that is more intelligent than me. They understand who I am, I'm able to talk to them about everything, politics, you name it. But the rest of my black friends, I'm saying that they're not smart, you know, they just don't talk that way, and so I can't, it's hard for me to find a common ground with them ah, to to be able to talk about subjects like that. I have mixed feelings about that transition I have to go through.

The third form of rejection that Jamal has encountered has to do with his experiences with the hearing community specifically his family and co-workers. With his family, he experiences a benign form of rejection. In his family's eyes, he is a disabled person, and it is this perception that continues to secure an external identity, which Jamal does not share. Jamal recounts a story that predisposes him as disabled, although there was no physical evidence attesting to that fact that he had a disability.

I remember one time ah, [my cousins and brother] were going to cross the street. Everybody was gonna we were just going across the street whenever they wanted. But [my mother or adult relatives] would grab me to walk me across the street because I was deaf. They wanted to keep me back because I was deaf because I was the only one that was deaf. And I had to walk with all of the other family members across the street, that everyone else, all the other kids were able to go across the street. And they would seclude me away from the other children from crossing the

street because I was the only deaf child. I remember them putting their arms around me. I didn't like that, because they would protect me, they were like so over protective of me because I was deaf, and they felt like I could not do this on my own. I just, I hated that. And then I got to the age where I was able to understand you know how dangerous it was to cross the street and to watch the light and all of that. And once they saw that I understood, then they would let you know they let me go. But when I was younger, oh, they would never let me do that. I remember seeing my parents, letting my brother go and do that and they still would not let me do it. And you know I didn't like that at all. You know. He's four years younger than me, you know, but you'll let him go and would not let me go. So, I I felt like they thought it was too dangerous for me. I was big enough to cross the street, but my brother, he couldn't be no more than four or five maybe. My cousins were here three or four people three or four of them would go across the street on their own, but they wouldn't let me do it.

Just as Jamal's family benignly perceives him to be disabled, so too does the larger society. No where is this perception more evidenced than where Jamal is employed. Their view of Jamal as a disabled man ultimately morphs into discriminatory rejection. This type of rejection is predicated by the way his employers and co-workers interpret and/or perceive his deafness as a disability. This interpretation foreground the view that Jamal's deafness is a disabling condition; as such employers and employees reject him as an able-bodied person and discriminatory rejection ensues. He is discriminated against because he is perceived as incapable of performing at the same

level as his hearing co-workers. Thereby, he is obstructed from pursing any promotional opportunities for advancement. Consider Jamal's following statement.

> I feel like you know that's discrimination you know. I have others who I have higher seniority [but] …who have moved on pass me. A supervisor, I think has discriminated against me. You know in using the telephone. You know I'm not able to use it, so you know. A lot of times they feel like they have to help me do things to do things to get any kind of training anything, I feel like I have to twist their arm to get it. And so they don't give me a lot of opportunities. I feel like there is discrimination I feel like with the seniority I have. I should be allowed to do everything. But because it's so limited in our communication, they don't do everything with me. So I feel like I'm limited in my opportunities.

Jordan as a BlackDeaf man: outside of the insulated Deaf cocoon

Jordan does not construct his identity in the same way as James or Jamal. Furthermore, living his life as BlackDeaf man is not as complex or problematic as Jamal or James contends. According to Jordan, he views his experiences as BlackDeaf as "not a hard life," in fact it has its advantages. Jordan states "he can get things, life is the same, no matter, race or deaf, it's the same." It is safe to assume that Jordan's BlackDeaf identity was secured by his shared experiences with other Deaf students at his school for the Deaf. Thus, Jordan shows little concern about how he is perceived in a hearing society, but however protective this insulating cocoon may be, it is more often than not disrupted when Jordan encounters experiences associated with his BlackDeaf identity

outside of the Deaf community. One clear example of how his BlackDeaf identity is disrupted are his experiences with hearing police officers.

> Mavis: what other places have you traveled to?
>
> Jordan: uh now, many places. I've been to Florida many times. To Miami several times. Uhm, I got caught in Miami. I got pulled, stopped in Miami by the cops. That's a long story. Uhm, a bunch of deaf people were there in Miami and we're having a good time, we're hanging out and having a good time. I was with a date. I was with a deaf person, a date. We drove all the way down there, we're having a good time, we're in Miami, we had driven like twelve hours and no wait a minute, let me think. I seen on I-95, I seen all these people being pulled over. You know like drugs and drinks, and stuff on tops of the cars. And so, the next thing you know, Sunday, I'm being pulled over. I'm being pulled over. I'm getting arrested on a Sunday. And they looked me over and checked everything looked at everything. They checked everything in my car. I had a BMW. They ruined everything. They touched everything. They dumped everything out of my car, looking for drugs, I guess. I'm sitting there, o.k. well, hmmm, go ahead, and they did find an alcoholic beverage and that's it! and that's it. I mean I was thinking shoooooo, I'm going to jail, I'm scared. I'm going to jail. But I didn't. My girlfriend took over driving, and I was like ohmigod, ohmigod, ohmigod, ohmigod, ohmigod and then we just got on down to Miami and uhm, I didn't want them to touch my car. You know I

was in Miami, I was like in Miami, I was like no no no, I don't want any touch any now, I don't want to touch nothing.

In another story, but with a different outcome, Jordan recalls how the police treated him one night while driving home by himself.

O.k. I was driving and the police was behind me and ready to turn on the siren and I was real close to mother's house, real close to her house and he turned on his sirens and I pulled up opened my door, on my mother's property. I'm on my mother's property. He puts a gun in my face. I'm like whoa, whoa, whoa, whoa, whoa. I mean I was right near my home. I say 1, 2, 3, 4, fifth, sixth houses away where she was sleeping. Two o'clock in the morning. 1, 2, o'clock in the morning. I'm like this is my mother's house. He likes don't …he's shouting at me. And the next thing you know, a whole bunch of police officers. Cars come out of nowhere onto the property. I was **scared**. I mean, I'm right here, this is my mom's house! They did not believe me. They took me, handcuffed me. I'm screaming and screaming, screaming and screaming, screaming and screaming! My mother she sleeps hard! I'm mean, when she's out cold. But the neighbor heard me screaming and saw what was going on and called my mother. Woke my mother up. My mother opened up the door and started blahblahblah blahblahblah blahblahblah blahblahblah and the police was oh oh, so sorry, and let me go. I mean I'm right there on her property and they got a gun in my face! I

should have sued them. I really should have sued him. I wish that I could it. I mean they were going to take me to jail. An my car, it was right there! On her property. In the driveway! In the driveway! They were going to toll my car! What were they going to do? I'm on her property, going up the drive, you know, how the state, has their little share of the land, right there in front of the house? Right there in front of the driveway. They were going to toll my car! For what?!

Mavis: did, were these officers white or black?

Jordan: black, white everything. They were all talking there was a bunch of them with radios and they talking and I'm trying to communicate. I got my hands in a handcuff, trying to write back and forth, which is even harder. It was awful. Trying to communicate. I'm trying to say I'm deaf, I'm deaf, you see my hands are linked together, I can't sign, I'm showing them that I'm deaf.

Mavis: did they ever explain why they stopped you?

Jordan: I asked. I asked. They said I'm trying to ask why are you doing this to me. But you know my hands are cuffed together, I can't really write and they just going blahblahblah blahblahblahblahblahblahblahblahblah. I can't understand a word that they're saying, I couldn't hear what they were talking about. Because I couldn't hear them. I couldn't understand them! So no, I don't know why.

Mavis: and then they just let you go with no explanation to your mother or anybody?

Jordan:	I was taken to jail.
Mavis:	oh you were taken to jail?
Jordan:	yes.
Mavis:	and they, and they didn't get you an interpreter?
Jordan:	no. And I went to court! An interpreter did to come to court. The police came in and they dismissed the police officer. I wanted him to be there face to face, but they let him go, and they took me to federal court. Police did not show up for court. I'm like, look my opinion, <u>it was some sort of conspiracy going on</u>!
Mavis:	do you think that they arrested you because you were black? Or you looked like somebody or mistaken identity?
Jordan:	I think maybe, I think so maybe the wrong person or the police thought I was someone else, or thought I was guilty. I don't know. I mean, they just stopped me! I mean they lied!

The significance of Jordan's BlackDeaf identity experiences outside of the Deaf community is an important element to understand. Outside of his Deaf world, race matters significantly. Given today's headline subject matters on racial and religious profiling, Jordan's racial identity is impacted within a socio-political context. His racial identity is further impacted by his communication modality as evidenced in the second story. The preceding stories show that BlackDeaf men assume the effort to facilitate communication between themselves and the hearing community. In Jordan's circumstance, the situation is reversed. Little or no effort is made to directly communicate with Jordan. Jordan's deafness is impacted upon by the way his identity is

constructed as a Black man by the larger society with little regard to his hearing disability.

<div align="center">

David as a BlackDeaf man: adjusting and adapting to changing social times
</div>

Issues predicated by race and an inability to hear predominantly underscore David's experiences as a BlackDeaf man. Specifically, holding deafness as the constant socio-cultural marker, race and the ability to hear are competing socio-political entities, which are causal to the shifting of social and hierarchical positionings. In other words, a person's racialized identity and tacit assumption about his/her ability to hear is hierarchically privileged within our society. This stance is supported in the following story in which David's deafness is held as the constant socio-cultural marker. In this narrative, David embeds his reflections about the explicit affect of race and the impact of a tacit assumption of a hearing status.

> [I am] black deaf together, all in one. I feel like…I'm totally different from white deaf males….they're different from me…[T]hey are able to pick up things because of who they are…I felt discrimination. As a white person, they never had to face it…I have discrimination job-wise while noticed things that was frustrating…because of being deaf. Well, I faced most of my discrimination because of my being deaf [at the] job a lot of times. I don't get a lot of things because [I'm] deaf. [I work] at the Company X, you know. They really didn't train me the way they trained the hearing people. The hearing would advance and they get these better jobs, but we would stay. The deaf would stay in the same job. I give you an example. The deaf, myself being a deaf man, and a hearing man, we would [be]

working the same position and I would notice him, you know, he would become a supervisor. I would still be doing the same things. You know a lot of programs and things that I learned later on, he would have already learned and have been training for it. I could never understand why. I just based it on that I couldn't hear. I couldn't get what he was getting, uhm, through these trainings and workshops that he was going to. Some of the people at [Company X] were taking tests. Hearing people, they have taken the test and failed it. But because they can hear, the superior management they, would uhm, move them on, and the deaf, we would stay in the same position. [I] talked about it [with my supervisor] and then he would go off and start talking and "you're working good." You know he'd do his little sign language with me, but I know, that I worked better than this hearing guy, but he was still able to advance umh, left me behind. I remember sometimes working. I would finish what I was doing, I would have everything caught up. My supervisor would come to me and tell me to go and help this hearing guy out. Ah, that upset me, so, so much because I didn't feel it was fair. I felt that I was [being] taking advantage of me because I was deaf. A lot of times the white deaf around me would go and help out. I just felt that it was not fair at all, because of my deafness. Or really just favoritism, a lot times. The supervisor sometimes they would prefer a black person uhm maybe the supervisor above my supervisor ah, maybe a white person, may pick a

white man or woman to be advanced to another job. It just

depended on who it was in management at that time.

One critical issue within this story is the balancing act that goes into play between three competing socio-cultural markers. In this context, David's deafness is analogous to a fulcrum upon which issues of race and hearing rests on opposite ends of a teetering seesaw. Thus, the resulting impact upon David as a BlackDeaf man is his feeling of frustration toward the explicit and tacit forms of discrimination within the workplace. As the narrative above shows, David is confronted with simultaneous discrimination, as well as, attitudinal discrimination because of his racial and deaf identities.

Simultaneous discrimination and attitudinal discrimination are directly linked and can be observed from David's charges about the racial privileges extended to employees who get promoted by supervisors of the same group affiliation. However, David's charge obscures a critically important point, that being, David's inability to hear was taken into account in the consideration for promotional opportunities between both Black and White supervisors. In other words, while race is clearly a dominating factor that can and does privilege certain people, it did not matter that David is Black. It mattered more that David was Deaf.

The explicit and tacit nature of the forms of discrimination situates David in a position to observe the social hierarchical order. He intuits that he is at the bottom of the social tier. He fundamentally sees that White people are at the top of the tier followed by Black people. He has also observed that having the ability to hear (in this context) can shift the social structure between himself and Black hearing and White Deaf people, particularly if the situation is bounded by formal authority. While he shares a Deaf identity with White Deaf people, he still understands that their race will still be privileged. Simultaneously, the discrimination he faces because of his shared membership with the Black hearing community is because hearing is privileged. The above story shows the manner in which race and deafness seesaw to the foreground and/or become

the backdrop to any given social context; consequently, subjugating David's identity of being BlackDeaf to discriminatory practices and/or social inequities.

<center>Identification of Gendered Roles</center>

The preceding discussions on identity construction and development show that the social context and/or circumstance can dictate which socio-cultural marker is being privileged, impacted and/or influenced in determining the framing of an experience. It is also clear from the narratives rendered by these men that race and deafness sit on opposite ends of the continuum. Just as these men's stories show how the situation or social context, which are analogous to a pendulum swinging back and forth between race and deafness, shape and define their interpretation of their identities, it also constructs the meaning of these men's gendered roles. But how these men come to understand their gendered roles is predicated by their separate and/or blended intersecting identity markers. The participants' stories show the defining characteristics of their gendered roles and how they blend into their gender identity.

Gender identity is best characterized within this study as the multiple roles that each man has in relationship to the social context in which he is engaged. These roles are adaptable with respect to the position they have within their families, employment, and community. All of the men share a common bond with respect to being a son, brother, husband, provider, and (with the exception of Allen) father. Each man has assumed and acted out his role(s) and the related responsibilities as dictated and defined by society. In other words, there is an understanding that in each of these positions there is a masculine functionality that is typically and traditionally assigned to each of these roles.

However, what makes the nature of these six men's gender identities different from the traditional male roles is the manner in which they have to interpret and construct meaning of their positions in their personal lives. Hearing Black men filter their gendered roles through their racial lens. However, the participants' experiences of being a son, brother, husband, provider, and father are filtered through the juxtaposed lens of their

racial and hearing impaired, Deaf, culturally Deaf identities. For David, his gendered role includes his blue-collar status, parental responsibilities, and the perception of being a financially secure son. For Lloyd, he considers himself a professional man, which embeds characteristics of being a caretaker (which includes that of being a husband and step-father), teacher, provider, advocate, and friend. In our discussions, Allen's gendered roles were less well defined than the other five men. It could be assumed that he is still in a developmental stage of becoming, but extrapolating from his narratives, he is a man who is "getting older." He is a man desirous of assuming roles that could define him more clearly. For instance, his talks of remarrying and having children, particularly little girls, are more associated with that of a family man. It is important to note that Allen's gendered development is bounded by his strong attachment to his deceased mother for whom he still grieves. Thus his gender identity continues to evolve in the face of his grief and deafness and subsequent self-imposed isolation.

Jordan simplistically sees his gender identities as a concerned parent, husband, son, referee, and a government employee as relational to his present living situation. Yet his gender identity are nevertheless multiple and intersectional. Jamal's "workaholic and homebody identities" embroil multiple and intersecting roles of being a working and family man. Although James does not specify a gendered designation as the other men, his gender identity as a Black man could be extrapolated from his narrative. He has a strong sense of loyalty towards Black women and a high degree of responsive advocacy toward the Black Deaf community. These characteristics produced a self-defined image within James, a man committed to the advocacy and support of both groups of people.

<u>Findings</u>

Two important findings emerged from my analysis of identity construction and gendered role development. First, the participants' narratives show that the social context in which these men find themselves situated determines which aspect of their multiple identities is being privileged. Thus these men are always in a position where they are

forced to act, react and/or respond to the identity that is being privileged. At every point of their racial experiences is the suffusion of language issues, and at every intersection of these men's deafness experiences is the infusion of racial concerns. Vernon (1999) conceptualizes these men's experiences as negotiating between multiple oppressions. Compounding these men's experiences is their outsider statuses within and between other marginalized communities (e.g., Deaf and disabled) and the dominant cultural (both hearing and White) groups.

Secondly, the participants' lives have been personally affected because of their encounters with events associated with living as a man who also happens to be Black and Deaf or hard-of-hearing. Therefore, the notion of being a man who is Black and Deaf or hard-of-hearing is an experience as well as it is an identity construct. The participants' lives are suffused with events that have taken place within a society governed by issues of race, ableism, and audism. Embedded within these events are the tensions that their socio-cultural identity markers bring to the situation in which they are engaged. For example, at any given time they are faced with the tension of being a male within a society that validates the traditional White male image; being a Black person living within a society that privileges members of the dominant majority culture, or being a Deaf or hard-of-hearing person within a predominantly hearing community. Subsequently, the events in which these men's socio-cultural identity markers are in conflict produce experiences that construct meanings that the men understand as Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing men. More importantly, these men are confronted with these experiences on a daily basis.

The ultimate affect of the participants' experiences have created situations in which they have been forced to develop survival tactics and/or coping mechanisms in order to live within a society that is oppositional to their identities. In addition to surviving and coping in a society that is predicated by race, audism, and ableism, these men gain skills and knowledge that enable them to maintain a sense of self that is in

many ways different from how the larger society constructs, defines, and interprets these men's identities.

The second finding is an important point to understand because of one of my opening statements about identity construction. As hearing people, we assume that people can name and define their identities. But as this study discovered, four of the men had difficulty in understanding the concept of defining their identity. The two men that could name and define their identities were able to do so because they understood spoken speech and needed little guidance and/or assistance in understanding what was being asked of them. However, they were all able to describe their experiences of living as Black Deaf or hard-of-hearing men with relative ease. As such, their collective stories show that living as Black Deaf and hard-of-hearing men is an experience as it is also an identity construct.

CHAPTER VI

BLACK DEAF AND HARD-OF-HEARING ADULT MEN AS LEARNERS:

LEARNING LESSONS OF LIFE

This chapter discusses the last two research questions that guided this study. This research question sought to examine the relationship between the identities of the six Black Deaf and hard-of-hearing adult male participants who took part in this study and their schooling experiences, as well as, investigated this relational connection in the men's lives in contemporary times. In order to answer this research question, I placed at the center of my investigation, ten narratives reflecting different learning experiences that these six men experienced in the course of their lives. I characterize these narratives as stories of learning lessons of life. As a result of my analysis of these narrated stories I have made five observations.

My first observation shows that with respect to the intersection of race, gender, and deafness, the majority of these men's learning experiences occurred within a culturally relevant context. In other words, the issue of race became a non-relevant factor, since the majority of these men's learning experiences (with the exception of Jordan's snake story) were situated within an environment that was racially and culturally conducive to their identities as Black men. With respect to gender and deafness, more often than not, these two socio-cultural markers were mutually compatible to each other within the learning context. We saw in chapters four and five, the manner in which these men's hearing disability was incompatible to a predominantly hearing educational environment. As a consequence, these men experienced varying degrees of tension brought about by the audiological concerns between two different, conflictual, and oppositional communication modalities, but the narratives in this chapter show that this

tension is absent as these men encountered learning experiences specific to their personal interests and objectives.

A second observation resulting from my analysis of these men's stories was that their learning was accomplished through a different learning transmission process. This learning transmission process included opportunities where these men could observe behavioral activity that they could emulate and/or practice what they saw experientially or by a hands-on demonstration with a expert watching to check and/or correct them by using sign language, gesturing, or one on one questioning and answers. Ultimately, these men learn and were taught through their visual medium and close personal association with people who cared about their learning and/or took the time to socially interact with the participants. All of the above elements made an indelible mark on all of these men's learning processes and personal lives.

My third observation of these narratives shows that these men achieved a pattern of successful attainment in their learning particularly when their learning was contextualized to accessibility. The participants' narratives showed that lessons they encountered produced knowledge that they would come to benefit from in their relationships to themselves and their personal development. Knowledge in this context is understood as coming to understand the element(s) of a particular experience and determining its relationship(s) and impact in these men's lives. While learning is understood as a change that comes as a result of knowledge acquisition, the narratives of the six participants show that knowledge was accessed through a different pathway other than the traditional avenue(s) more commonly used by hearing people. For the purpose of this study, pathways are contextualized as accessibility.

The traditional pathway of knowledge transmission is typically done auditorally, orally, and/or reading; and the traditional path of learning is done via the processes of reading, doing, talking, seeing, and hearing. However, the narratives presented in this study showed that the men utilized their eyes to observe, study, and assess new

knowledge. Secondly, each man was in a position to develop close and personal ties with individuals who had expert knowledge about the subject matter that each participant wanted to learn and understand. Thus, accessibility is operationalized as knowledge acquisition and learning that is uninhibited by oral and audiologically based barriers. This pathway leads to knowledge that exists outside of any formal educational context. It is a pathway to observing knowledge that is being played out experientially; and it is a pathway to knowledge that is simultaneously being produced, observed, and/or experienced at the same time.

My fourth observation about these men's stories show that they had transformative properties that extends beyond socio-economic boundaries. Furthermore, these stories cut across sociocultural and political realities and show that there is a relationship between identity, learning, and deafness. As such, the stories redefine the meaning and understanding toward motivation and barriers to participation for Deaf Black men.

Finally, while in the process of examining these men's schooling experiences during their formative years, I discovered that there was a difference in the meaning and interpretation between the participants' schooling and learning experiences. Schooling, within the context of this study, meant more of a formal and/or procedural process of educating disabled learners. The schooling that these men received ensured that they were formally educated in an environment that sought to accommodate their disability, which was linked synonymously to these men's learning needs. Efforts were directed to addressing the barriers that existed between their hearing disability and the actual learning environment. Whereas learning (as evident in this chapter) meant out-of-schooling experiences that led to knowledge acquisition and skills that were applicable to these men's personal interests and goals.

It is important to say at the outset of this discussion that none of the participants are presently engaged in any formal instructional activity, but clearly the formal

education they received has been a contributing factor to the varying degrees of success they have experienced in their lives as adult men. Since these men are not engaged in any formal educational activity, it was necessary to turn my focus on learning experiences that these men participated in outside of institutionalized schooling setting. These narratives show that after the men graduated from high school their learning did not stop. These men went on to pursue and/or participate in learning activities that specifically met their individualized interests and objectives. For example, David learned how to go about coin collecting, and he also became an experienced traveler. He learned about Black American history after developing a personal relationship with a leading civil-rights activist. Lloyd participated in informal learning activities such as bible seminars and governmental training programs. He also became a self-taught advocate for the Black Deaf community. James returned to his hobby of fixing cars and has plans for learning how to do car body painting. He has attended bible seminars and has expressed an interest in learning how to sew and how to become a real estate agent. Jordan's early exposure to basketball fueled a passion for becoming a referee. He has been encouraged, mentored, and coached on becoming a skilled referee and regularly attends the annual mandatory referee classes, which meet one month prior to the basketball season. Additionally, Jordan has learned how to confront and/or address stressful experiences commonly shared by many Black hearing men. Although neither Jamal nor Allen has participated within any particular learning activity or hobby, Jamal's over-all interview suggests that his entire schooling experience has been a life learning experience, and Allen's interview indicates that the death of his mother and related familial issues, problems, and concerns have been instrumental in stalling out his learning development.

To examine and understand these men as adult learners in contemporary times, I have elected to place at the center of my investigation, these men's out-of-schooling experiences. I accomplished my investigative objective by relying upon narrative inquiry to examine, deconstruct, and analyze the stories that these men rendered from an emic

perspective (Riessman, 2002). But before I begin my discussion, I will provide a brief summary of two earlier findings which can be found in Chapter four.

In analyzing the participants' narratives, my investigation revealed that the participants' schooling experiences were shaped and influenced by their parents and the decisions they had to make with respect to school placement for their disabled sons. The critical element that caused these parents' high visibility in their son's educational process was their sons' Deaf identity. The decisions that these parents had to make were unshared by parents of non-disabled children. These parents' decisions were constrained by sociocultural realities that limited their choices in deciding where and how their Deaf sons would be educated. Secondly, as a result of my analysis, I have concluded that these men's schooling experiences served to become a bridge that connected their childhood developmental school years to their adulthood statuses. Extending this discussion to multiple identity construction, my study showed that the social context is analogous to a fulcrum upon which man's gender, race, and hearing disability teeters. In other words, it is the social context that these men found themselves engaged, and privileged one of their identity cultural marker(s) over another.

<u>Data Analysis</u>

Stories, according to Eisner (1997) and Holland and Kilpatrick (1993) provide the structure people use to make sense and/or understand their lived experiences. Davidson (1997) concurs as she talks about the way events occur within a story and subsequently, help produce meaning. Thus, in order to understand the meaning embedded in the participants narratives, it was necessary to examine the "why" something happened within their learning experiences (p. 28). In order to understand the meaning embedded within the participants' stories of learning, as well as the why something happened, it was necessary to take a procedural approach unique to the other traditional studies. Since the majority of the participants communicated with me by using their native language, American Sign Language (ASL), I had to first translate it from visual to spoken language.

A certified sign language interpreter was an instrumental tool in this process. His voicing (i.e., translate) of my participant's visual language made it possible for me to access their signed narratives and transform (Kvale, 1996) them into textual print. Next, I deployed and inserted Labov's (1972, 1988) and Riessman's (1993) narrative codes into each story as a way to temporally structure and analyze the selected narratives in this chapter. Each narrative included an abstract coding that introduces the narratives; an orientation coding that situates the context within a temporal sequencing structure. The temporal structure facilitated my understanding of the logic, order, and nature of the participants' experiences. The narratives will also have a complication in action coding that involved a description or an account of what happened during the experience. Complication in action may also reflect a struggle and/or opposition to the normal state of affairs (Essed, 1988). An evaluation coding is included with each of the narratives because this structure lets us know and/or understand how the participant judges what was or was not acceptable about that particular experience. Each storied experience includes a result coding and can be understood as the meaning that was produced as a result of their learning experiences. The result coding can also be understood as the inferences that the men drew from the meaning that has been produced from their experiences. Finally, the coda coding refers to subsequent action(s) and/or later reflections due to another similar experience or encounter. Periodically, I chose to insert myself in the narratives in order to orient my readers as to the storied context of the participants' tale.

<div align="center">Discussion</div>

The narratives contained in this chapter were selected because of their story telling properties that facilitated my understanding, analysis, and interpretation of the participants' learning experiences. These properties, (i.e., cause and effect, motivation, heroism, tragedies and/or comedy, etc.) can be discerned throughout the selected narratives. It is interesting to note that sometimes these properties are evident in the men's stories, while at other times they rested below the investigative scope. I also chose

the narratives in this chapter because they resonated with me emotionally and because each story struck a qualitative research chord in me as a listener (Van Maanen, 1988). Nevertheless the all of the narratives that participants shared with me in this chapter had analytical elements that allowed me to interrogate and/or deconstruct their learning experiences and then come to judgment about who these men are as adult learners outside of the formal schooling context.

I begin with Jordan's story about an experience with a snake in his youth. Following this story and analytical discussion, I move towards another tale that began in Jordan's developmental school years but ended up becoming the foundation for a career building decision.

<u>Jordan</u>

<u>The Deaf Dorm Parent and the Snake</u>

(A)Can I tell you this story? Do you want to know what happened to this story? There was a snake one time

(O) Do you remember so and so? A dorm parent. He was a really good dorm parent. And oh, he had a good education, talking about getting a good education, and warning us about things.

(E)[H]e was good. He gave good advice. He cared about education. Teaching us about things and how to get through.

(O)We would do things like go through the forest. We would go on outings on trips. We would walk in groups, talk.

(CA) Uhm it was all deaf people, and there was a train track, and a snake by the train track, in a little area that was

vacant, it was a lot of snakes in the area where we were. We would see them all the time.

(E) Really, it was too many snakes in that area I mean tons of them everywhere.

(CA) It was just laying there. Oh I said, 'that snake is dead, that snake is dead'. We were all looking at it and sure enough it jumped and bit, and bit someone. Another deaf person and I'm like really! He came very fast! The snake bit him very fast. And the supervisor, dorm parent came running over and took his knife, he had with him, what am I saying, not really a knife, but it was oh, you know this part of the belt buckle right here he took that, jabbed it, jabbed it really hard.

(E) My dorm parent was really good with snakes, was really good in this situation. I mean, I don't know. I was nervous. I was very nervous. He's just laying there.

(CA) You know he'd say 'watch me watch me' and you know we were all watching him do this and he was fast to do this work. [A]nd we were all watching, and try to get the venom out everybody stood back and watched him do this. He knew just what to do, to spit on his hand and suck the venom out.

(E) Oh man!

(O) You know the hospital was very far

(CA) We just lifted him up over the shoulder, we all took turns, as we got tired, carrying, hoisting, this boy back to the dormitory, we took turns hoisting him over our

shoulders, getting him back to the dormitory getting him to the infirmary oh God!

(E)We tried to carry him

(CA)We get so tired because we had been walking so far out in the woods. And we would carry and we take him, we take turns bringing him bringing him back oh gasp!...

(O)The houseparent

(CA)He oh get very sick. He had to be off work for several weeks.

(E)You know probably because of the snake venom and all the stuff he took in his mouth.

(R)He would have died out there! He would have died, if his counselor hadn't seized the opportunity to take care of him, the way he did. Ha ha, I don't know, I don't know.

(E)That was something! He was so smart! I mean how did he know how to do that.

(CODA-E)I mean yeah, looking back, still, I learned. I learned you know but still I have to learn more, other things. You have to learn how to take care of yourself.

(E)Deaf people don't have a very good education. Deaf people need to be better educated. I have a wife and children. What if like the Heimlich maneuver, a lot Deaf people don't know how to do the Heimlich maneuver. They don't know how to save a life. Deaf people have children and they don't learn these things. It could be very bad. I think it is very important for deaf people to have good discipline and good education.

In examining Jordan's story about the snake and the dormitory parent, I discerned that he tended to weave in an evaluative component after each complicating action that occurred during this particular experience. In this context, the meaning of evaluating took on different interpretations after each complicating action. Evaluating in this sense is deemed as processing, questioning, assessing, acknowledging a potential problem or drawing conclusion about an aspect of the story. For example, Jordan wondered about the knowledge and skill of the dorm parent in knowing how to suck the venom out of the victim's leg. Or, notice how Jordan acknowledges a potential problem, as he suggestively implies a 'what if' scenario when he states that Deaf people do not know about life saving techniques such as the Heimlich maneuver. He lets us know that there are gaps in Deaf people's knowledge development about essential life saving skills and techniques by concluding the importance of having a good education.

Another important aspect about Jordan's story is that there are two acts of selfless heroism. The first act of heroism can be found in the Deaf dorm parent's quick and decisive action as he risks his life to suck out the poisonous venom in Jordan's friend's leg. The Deaf dorm parent's heroic act inspires the boys to carry their friend to safety despite the weight of their burden and distance from the dormitory's infirmary. Jordan is in awe, not of the dorm parent's quick and decisive action, but rather, the dorm parent's knowledge of what needed to be done. The essential question in Jordan's mind is how the dorm parent came to know the technique of how to save Jordan's friend's life. Jordan's story shows that he sees a relationship between the educational level and status of his dorm parent's ability to know what to do in a crisis. Again, Jordan then draws a conclusion about the importance of being educated, not only in his life, but that of other Deaf people.

Finally, Jordan's story has an Aesopian quality to it. This quality pointed to a hidden meaning with significant implications for Jordan in his adult life. In this story, we see that Jordan's Deaf dorm parent used the life-threatening incident as a teachable

moment for his students. We can discern the application of this teachable moment within Jordan's concluding remarks when he refers to the dorm parent's commanding instruction to the Deaf students to watch him as he deploys life saving techniques. Jordan's reflection shows that he learned from this experience by the way he connected the gravity of this particular incident to the importance of being knowledgeable in his adult life.

The next story shifts from Jordan's application of a teachable moment in his adult life to a developmental learning experience that would serve to be the building blocks for a career in intramural high school sports.

I want to be first famous Deaf referee!

(A) Part One: The Beginning

Jordan: …I played a lot of basketball [in high school] and traveled a lot. I learned different signs from different places where I would travel. I would play basketball. Like ah, Mason-Dixon tournament. I was very clumsy and awkward

(O) Part Two: Learning the Rules

I was fascinated with the ref. Just fascinated! I just, I'd watch him play, Watching what they did. And then I went to camp, XX's camp. And we played and there were staff, I was always on staff with XX. And I enjoyed it. And [XX] he said 'want to learn to ref?' So I played. And like for a year, two years, three years, I trained and practiced. And [XX] said 'you're doing a good job. And he said 'watch me more carefully' until I really had it *down pact* I got better and better and better until I really got *adept*. And then [XX] he sent me to be a referee.

(CA) Part Three: Refereeing in School Gymnasiums. In the

Field Training, Practice, and Application

(The) first time I started with middle school, junior high, high school a couple of times, two times. High school was more a challenge… Uhm, there's another game with all these hearing people, like a private church or I do outside of the area like South Carolina, Fayetteville, Henry county. I do out of the Atlanta area. I'm not doing Atlanta. I'm doing outer *suburban* area in the *metro* area.

(E) Part Four: Evidence of knowledge and skill acquisition

Passing the Test

Mavis: how did you become a referee? How did it start?

Jordan: with XX. He asked me to go uh, to a meeting and asked if deaf people could be referees and XX! He spoke for us. And then the head referee, they were meeting sort of a round table like discussion and they said yes, we'll see we'll see how it goes. We'll give it a test. They test me to see if I could do it. XX said you do do the signals and so, he would do something and I would catch him, every one of the mistakes, the signal fouls or travel or whatever different signals they were going. And they said fine, come to a meeting and I was hired. They hired me on.

(CA-E) Part Five: Convincing the Skeptic(s) and Gaining

Respect

Jordan: My high school, I was ohhhhh, ohhhhh, my god, three refs there on the court and my god! I was very nervous and the head guy watched me. I mean I'm deaf. All

eyes were on me being deaf. They were worried. I mean really watched me work. And then when it was over the game was over the season was over, we all went to our checks and all this, this man, this boss man, 'you, I watched you, you did a good job'. I was like, 'you saw me?!' He said 'oh yeah, I watched you', cause me had to, that's what they have to do. They watch you. Make sure you're doing a good job, they check on you.

(R) Part Six: Continuing Education: Referee Classes

Mavis: so are these classes for refereeing

Jordan: yes. November, there's a class. Everyone will go in November. And you meet, learn rules, changes, those sort of things. They're free, they're free.

 Mavis: how long are these classes in November?

Jordan: one month, I think. I think it's a month. They send schedule. Maybe fifteen games on a schedule where I'm gonna go. Pages and pages of them. Where all the games are. And then you start the season. That's when the games start. That's where you start working. I drive over to wherever the games are. And they pay my gas and they pay me to work.

Three important conclusions can be drawn from Jordan's story in his pursuit of becoming a referee. The first conclusion shows that Jordan's knowledge and skill acquisition was not contained within, nor hampered by textbooks, but rather it was played out experientially. Additionally this knowledge was presented to Jordan in a visual form. As such, Jordan was able to learn his skills and craft visually. Secondly, Jordan's knowledge was not constrained within a formal context, but rather it was situated within

a place and space that was conducive for Jordan's learning to take place. Consequently, Jordan gained confidence as his skill and knowledge about the game grew. His mentor, who was a hearing expert in the sport, nurtured Jordan's confidence and knowledge development. More importantly, Jordan's mentor became his advocate when he determined Jordan ready to be presented before an association of basketball coaches in intramural sports.

The third important point that can be made from Jordan's story is that knowledge and skill can be demonstrated in the face of skepticism. While the earlier part of this story is directed at Jordan's career development, the last section reflects the learning curve of the hearing referees. The referees questioned the feasibility of having a Deaf referee on the basketball court. With Jordan's demonstrative skills, knowledge of the game, and advocacy of his hearing mentor, they debunk the notion that Deaf people cannot perform as hearing referees. Evidence attesting to this fact can be explicitly detailed in part four of Jordan's mini-story, and implicitly, in part five of his narrative. In part five, Jordan's acceptance among his hearing referee peers is deceptively embedded as he talks about being given a schedule of games that he has been assigned to referee.

Jordan's stories show a pattern of learning when knowledge was not constrained by audiological concerns. He learned by observing knowledgeable experts who had gained his trust, created and utilized teachable moments for personal development, and who used his language to directly communicate with him.

<u>David</u>

The following two stories are about David. I chose these two stories because they had an explanatory prose quality. In other words, both of David's stories are straightforward observation about why he was being taught boxing skills by hearing boys and about Black History by a civil rights activist. The first of David's stories is about an incident he encountered in his youth. During my interview with David, he happened to

mention that he had joined a gang. I was surprised to hear this admission because I would have never associated David with a gang affiliation. My analysis of this particular story was conducted and investigated at both the complicating action and evaluating levels.

<div align="center">Bad Boys Are Not Crybabies</div>

(A)Mavis: uhm, [are there] any other positive experiences that you can recall related to school?

David: (O)well in school, most of the time, you know I was on the go, I was always going to the deaf club. (O)[B]efore I went to the deaf club, I had joined a gang.

(CA)I remember that there were gangs around us. I remember the hearing kids taught me how to fight. I had learned how to fight, from the gangs, there in my area, (CA)I always was such like a crybaby. I would never fight back and so hearing kids taught me how to fight, like boxing. They taught me,

(E)they were trying to make me to become like a bad boy. I think because my brothers fought so much.

(C)I did that for a while. I learned how, I knew the skill of fighting.

(R)So I became a really good boxer,

(E)it was because of the hearing kids,

(E)I really really did good with boxing.

Allow me to set the context that led David and me to the above story. David had talked extensively about his learning and schooling experiences. During the course of David's signed conversation, it became evident to me that he had experienced multiple levels of tension between his being a Deaf person and his social community life (this included his schooling, family, and friends). Thus, I wanted to know if he encountered

positive experiences while attending school. Therefore, I initiated the above conversation to get a sense of any positive experiences connected to schooling. Instead, David's response moved away from his schooling experiences, and as such, this movement suggested to me that David did not consider his overall education experiences as positive. Secondly, as the orientation coding shows, the above story is situated prior to David joining a Deaf club. The timing of this story suggests by implication that once he joined the Deaf club he stopped fighting. In fact, David supports his implication of not fighting anymore, when I returned to his home for a second interview.

David's story is about learning self-defense as indicated by his statement that he was a crybaby. David also learned to fight to avoid harassment. However, there are several significant elements that are obscured in the telling of David's story. The first and most significant element is that David joined a hearing gang, not only for self-defense and protection, but also because of his need for social interaction. I make this argument based upon a holistic assessment of David's interviews. David grew up in isolation because he was the only Deaf kid in his community. Secondly, the hearing boys recognized a gap in David's learning about how to fight. This analysis can be surmised at the complicating action and evaluation coding structure of David's story.

David's story also implicitly shows that he is developing a parallel thought about learning the skill of fighting. David is moving towards learning what is essentially important to him. He was learning the meaning of his personal character. He was learning how to fight others and was assuming a role that was in conflict with his innate character. While David simultaneously acknowledges that he was learning the skill of fighting, he recognized that his hearing brothers and gang members were attempting to construct an image that was not a true representation of his character. This statement suggests that David made an assessment of his hearing brothers and gang member actions. He implies that becoming a "bad boy" was not his primary objective. This objective reasoned out in my follow up interview with David.

After David joined the Deaf club, he disassociated with his hearing brothers and gang members, because he found social acceptance among a group of people that he could identify with more. This new relationship was predicated by shared language and communication abilities. His new community facilitated an environment in which he would begin to experience growth and personal development. And, to this end, David attributed positive reflections on learning via the Deaf culture. David learned about life, travel, and even social development by his association within the Deaf club. In the end, David discovered that he no longer needed to use his acquired knowledge and skills of boxing in order to preserve his survival.

The following story is an illustration of the lasting power of visual imagery produced by television (a hearing cultural artifact) in David's life. The timeline of David's story predates PL 101-431, the Television Decoder Circuitry Act of 1990, which would mandate that televisions be built and sold with the capacity for close captioning technology (Bowe, 1994). It is a story in which David witnessed firsthand the tumultuous social events on race relations, racial conflict, and bigotry being played out on national television without the benefit of sound. David's curiosity was piqued by the events he saw happening on television, but the technology that could have allowed David to connect the events he witnessed on television to sound was still twenty-five years away. Thus, David's knowledge and understanding of the race riots and civil unrest (and their meaning) would remain closed to him until a chance encounter put him on the path of a famed civil rights activist. This civil rights activist would take David under his tutelage and instruct his Deaf charge about the events that led up to the race riots and civil rights movement, and in return, David would come to understand and, subsequently, interpret the events he witnessed decades ago as "equal rights."

<div align="center">On Learning about Black History</div>

(O)Mavis: I noticed that you lived through the period of

the Civil Rights, the race riots and things like that.

(**A**)[How] was the black deaf community affected by the riots that were going on in the sixties?

(**CA**)David: really, we really didn't hear the news except sometimes we would see it on TV and watch what was going on, but we didn't really get the news. You know we would see these going on and wonder about them, from the television. That's pretty much it. There was no one to explain it in detail what was going on, we would just see the action on television.

(**E**)Thank God for the television.

(**CA**)uhm the white deaf would teach me about black people's heritage and they would explain to me and I would learn from them. And that was from the white people, who would explain it to me about my heritage

I learned about this once I moved here to Atlanta, from people telling the history. I used to work with Hosea Williams, I used to work with him and he would tell me about all the things that happened. He would write, he gestured, he had uh a deaf cousin, or something he told me.

(**E**)I learned a whole lot about the history of black people. I learned so much from what he taught me!

(**O**)Mavis: so you didn't know much about what was going on with the Civil Rights, marching with Martin Luther King, all the race riots and all that stuff?

(**E**)David: no.

(**O**)Mavis: so what did you think about learning all this stuff?

(E) David: it was very disappointing I had a right for equal right there is an equal right to have equal rights.

(O) Mavis: but you didn't know what was going on at the time, that they were fighting for equal rights.

(E) David: right, I didn't know.

The advent of television created opportunities to connect hearing people to worlds beyond their immediate community and spheres of influence. Yet for Deaf people, watching television was synonymous to going to silent films without subtitles. Therefore, watching the emotional outpour of human drama while simultaneously observing mouth movements created gaps in David's cognitive reasoning in learning and understanding the meaning of the events that were being played out on television. The gap in David's learning can be discerned at the complicating action coding where I had directed my analysis. Additionally, at the complicating action level, there is clear evidence of conflict between David's curiosity about the events he was witnessing and his personal interaction with the White Deaf people with whom he had close personal ties and to David turned to for explanation. It can be assumed that the information provided David did not satisfy his need to know and understand the events he witnessed on television as evident by his later conversations with the famed activist. However, what is most peculiar about the conflict is that David had to turn to a group of people who were simultaneously privileged (because of their whiteness) and marginalized (by the white hearing community) for instruction. It could be assumed then that the information that was provided to David was received with some reservation, and the gap in David's knowledge was left unabridged.

Under the instructional guidance of Hosea Williams (1926-2000), David reasoned out the significance of the race riots and civil demonstrations. He then connected the significance of what had happened decades ago to his present understanding about his life, and then concluded the events and their relationship to his life as "equal rights." The

vehicle David used to learn and understand the meaning and significance of equal rights was through the transmission of expert historical knowledge that supported the visual images he witnessed on television. The manner in which expert historical knowledge was transmitted was through a close one on one relationship with the civil rights activist, who utilized the oral tradition of telling stories, via mouth movements, writing, and gesturing.

<u>Lloyd</u>

<div align="center"><u>Lloyd Gets His Training Wheels…Into Deafness</u></div>

Lloyd's story of learning is situated within an informal learning context. He had participated in a guided governmental training program that was designed to provide him with critically needed skills for employment. The program that Lloyd found himself situated in was different than any other learning activity that he had previously attended. The format for the lessons and content delivery was conducive for Deaf and hard-of-hearing learners and traditionally not found in formal educational environments. Furthermore, the training program was outcome specific and designed for immediate application. Barriers to learning were non-existent. In this particular context, the learning activities were semi-structured; yet, this learning activity was bounded by formal educational structures.

Lloyd had recently failed a college class at a local university. Lloyd attributed his failure in the class to his professor's discriminatory actions and behavior toward his hearing disability. In an effort to address this problem, he sought out government assistance. He was subsequently referred to another agency for training. Unbeknownst to Lloyd, this training program would be instrumental in developmental skills of becoming a self-advocate and subsequently lends itself to be an asset to the Deaf and hard-of-hearing communities.

The training program that Lloyd attended targeted specific skill deficits for the participants in the class. Lloyd met, for the first time in his life, Deaf men and women

who were in his age cohort. The facilitators of this program were hearing and Deaf, Black and White, male and female, and they all used signed language to communicate and teach Lloyd and his co-participants. As such, sign language interpreters were not needed as communication or cultural mediators. When Lloyd was asked to describe his reflections about that learning experience, his comments were,

(O)it was my first exposure to the Deaf community.

(CA)I mean everyday, when I went, I was ready to go to look to go to another day of new discovery, new ideas.

(E)because learning hands on, learning how to do things not lecture…

(CA)[e]verybody pretty much tried to work at the same pace. It was like, well no it **was** individually paced because if someone was working on like everybody would start on the same thing but some would move faster than others, uh, but let's see, yeah, everybody finished at the same time.

(E) It pretty much was at the same pace

(CA) You know once the course was completed at a certain time, everybody finished at the same time.

(CA) But I mean like during the day, you know somebody may work faster that another person.

(E)it was very rewarding experience. I enjoyed it! I mean it was very enjoyable to me

(R) You know I met a lot of people, and I mean I made a lot of new friends.

Coda: The program was considered successful because Lloyd and the other participants were able to locate employment using the skills and knowledge they had acquired from the training program.

Two stories are discernible within Lloyd's narrative. The first story reflects Lloyd's introduction to deafness via first hand experience and relationship building. Lloyd's second story reflects experientially the manner in which Deaf learners were successfully instructed. But as I continued to interrogate Lloyd's stories, I began to suspect the presence of another tale that lurked furtively beneath the surface of this narrative. In other words, I saw a duality of tales of a 'before and after' story.

Lloyd's story is an exercise of a conducive and barrier-free learning environment for Deaf and hard-of-hearing learners. As the above narrative shows, Lloyd's learning experience was bounded within an informal learning context facilitated by the federal government. However, this type of learning environment was not always available to Black Deaf and hard-of-hearing learners. As such, Lloyd's narrative represents the 'after' tale, reflecting the responsive nature of government's role and responsibility towards serving and addressing the educational need of its Black Deaf and hard-of-hearing citizens. In fact, a review of the government's previous stance in providing educational service and training for its Deaf citizens of color was an exercise in villainous activity. Evidence supporting this argument can be found in David's story.

<div align="center">"Mostly VR would only help white deaf"</div>

(A)Mavis: uhm, have you ever gone to college?

(R-O)David: no, vocational rehabilitation at the time did not let me do that

(O)really at that time, they were,

(O-E)and I felt at that time they were discriminating against me.

(CA-E)David: because I was black,

(CA)I wanted them to find me a job with printing, in printing,

(CA)but they just would not do it.

(**R**)They did not help me,

(**CA-E**)all of the whites they helped find a job,

(**CA-E**)but the blacks they didn't.

(**O**)Mavis: so mostly VR would only help white deaf people and not black deaf people?

(**E**)David: that's correct.

(**CA**)Most of the black deaf they would get them these horrible jobs. Washing dishes or washing cars, *demeaning* jobs that had very little pay. A lot of vocational, vocational rehabilitation a lot of whites they were sent to training for special training, none of the blacks received that type of training.

(**R**)David: it depressed me it really really brought me down a lot emotionally and mentally.

(**O**)Mavis: and approximately what time was this year?

David: that was around 1965, after I graduated.

(**CA**)I remember asking and they just really told me in *no uncertain terms*, no they weren't going to help me.

(**R**)They gave me no help at all.

Throughout David's story, there is an interweaving of evaluating judgment towards Vocational Rehabilitation (VR), a division of the federal government whose mission was to provide job training, assistance, and educational support for people with disability. We can tell from David's story that VR deliberately refused to carry out their assigned responsibility by reason of racial discrimination. In addition to the evaluating judgment that David inserts at all levels of his story, is the pattern of assigning value or merit to the significance of VR's discriminatory practices towards David personally, and overall, the community of Black Deaf people. We can see from David's story the

villainous role that the federal government played in their deliberate practice of racial discrimination and bigotry. We can see from David's evaluating conclusion and resolution that the federal government failed in their responsibility to work on behalf of David as a disabled person, as well as, the community of Black Deaf people. We can see how David attributes the reason that he was unable to pursue a college education and/or receive job training to the racial discriminatory practices of VR. As a consequence of the federal government's deliberate practices of racial bigotry, David, as well as other Black Deaf people, was consigned to a life of financial deprivation and educational obscurity in comparison to White Deaf people.

David's story of racial discrimination, bigotry, and prejudices is in sharp contrast to Lloyd's tale of racial inclusion, ethical practices in addressing the educational needs of disabled people in the most accessible environment, and facilitating the economical stability of Deaf people. David's story reasserts the nature of time moving forward and a retracting of attitudinal positioning and stance to a population of people most adversely affected in a society predicated by race and normalcy (Davis, 1995). Evidence of positive change and attitude and its lasting influence is evidenced in Lloyd's story of growth, development, and learning and is also a testament to the positive changes in the federal government.

James

The Car Mechanic Apprentice

The following narrative is a story about James who learned how to fix cars under his father's guidance and tutelage. James had a very tense relationship with his father during his developmental years. Thus, James desired to find a way to address and resolve the difficulty he was experiencing with his father. The vehicle James discovered that he could use to get closer to his father was through his dad's expert knowledge as a car

mechanic. Thus, James situated himself as an apprentice learning from a sage and knowledgeable car expert. Consider the following story.

(A) Mavis: well, how did you learn how to work on cars?

(O) I remember growing I remember at the age of sixteen, uh, I had a car, I didn't know too much about working on engines and

(CA)I asked my father and he didn't have a lot of patience at the time with me. We really didn't get along

(CA). I remember arguing with him all the time and uhm but I persisted and I forced him to really have to deal with me. But after the age of sixteen asking him a bunch of different questions about work on my car,

(E)you know through trial and error uhm, we worked out a relationship and we were able to move on from there.

(R) We were able to uh, work out a very good relationship from that point forward.

(CA) James: my father, I remember growing up looking under the hood, with my father, and uncle, his friends and watching them take things apart and when I got my car, my father taught me how to do things and there were things that I had to learn for myself of course.

(R) But I really enjoyed it. And now that I'm older I appreciate that,

(CODA)if I want something I have do it myself, I have to learn how to fix it myself. I and now I picked up the skill of doing bodywork and painting,

(R)I really love cars, I really do.

(O) Mavis: uhm, so do you read to understand how to do
what you need to do, to work on cars? Or do you go and
ask questions?

(CODA) James: no I've never read anything that related to
cars.

It is important to note that the above narrative is not represented in its original form, but was instead reconstructed according to time sequencing and orientation in order to follow the logic of the story to its natural conclusion. However, when I reconstructed James story about acquiring knowledge and mechanical skills, two parallel stories emerged. One story resolved into relationship building, while the second tale reflected themes of persistence, judgment, valuing, personal satisfaction and reward.

At the complicating action stages, James was beginning to intuitively learn the meaning of effort, persistence, and perseverance. Although James' story is about learning how to fix a car, his statement of "trial and error" is ripe with symbolism and meaning. This particular quote crosses interpretive boundaries as James learns to persevere in his desire to work through a problematic relationship with his father. Additionally, James' story suggests that James not only had a sincere desire to learn how to fix his car, but that he has a strong motivational reason to do so. Fueling James' emotional motivation was the clear gap in his knowledge development about the problems he was having with his car.

Working with the expert(s), who were James' father, uncles, and his father's friends, James was in a unique situation to ask questions, watch the experts working in the field, perform on the job training, and acquire knowledge. I choose to reframe James' learning process as inquiries, observation, training, and application. In the end, James not only benefited from relationship building, but he also came away from this experience with a firm foundational knowledge that would later serve as the basis for future learning experiences. However, the ultimate lesson James took away from this experience was a

story of courage in facing future learning challenges without becoming intimidated with the complex subject matters. No more evident is this lesson clearer than in the following story about James' experiences while attending a bible study class.

The basic premise of James' second story is that he happened to be attending a bible study, whereby his pastor referred to a story that he assumed that all of the participants had heard before. James, however, had not heard this story before, and he wanted to learn more about this biblical tale in order to understand its importance and relevance to the subject matter of the evening. James' persistent inquiries about this particular story caused the pastor to shift his focus for the evening's lesson in order to help James understand the peculiarities of the specific biblical tale in question.

In order to conduct the following analysis and interpretation of James' learning experiences, I chose to present James' story according to the time orientation and sequencing. But I also wanted to present James' bible study experience from an ASL point of view. Therefore two stories of James' bible study experience are represented. The first story is the original version that has been transformed from sign language to spoken English into printed narrative text. It holistically shows James' deductive reasoning about the totality of his learning experience. The second story, which is an extrapolation from the original narrative, accentuates and problematizes a critical issue that James makes a specific reference. This specific reference denotes James' desire to understand a very complex book (i.e., the bible) in a more accessible manner. The ASL version makes evident the difficulty James has with reading the bible in its textual format.

<u>James Goes to Bible Study</u>

Original Text – verbal translation	*Extrapolated text - ASL translation*
(A) One time the pastor was teaching a lesson	**(A-O)**Learning new information about the bible,

(O) It was a lesson on something related to the ark.

(E) It was something that was gold. You couldn't touch it, or you would die.

(O) It was something that happened a long time ago

(CA) And I remember the pastor wanted to move from that point. He wanted to move on, but I wouldn't let him,

because I had never heard that story before.

I wanted to know more, I wanted to know more about it.

Mavis: so you asked him a lot of questions?

James: yes

(O) Mavis: and what was the reception of the class with you being there?

(E) James: I really didn't care what they think.

(CA)I just thought I just wanted to be involved.

(CA) If I had a question, I raised my hand, I asked my questions.

(O) Mavis: and how did it feel to be learning all this information?

(E) James: it felt good, I was really ah, impressed by this information, it really

(R)it is interesting.

(E) [The] bible is a big book. It's thick

(CA) You can't skip

(CA)[You can't]skim

(CA) You have to read it repeatedly

(E) To gain some sense of understanding.

(CA-E) It's hard

(CA) You have to read it slow

(CA) You have to read it carefully

(E)to gain some sense of understanding.

(O) Reading the bible is one thing.

(E) But,

(R)hearing it from someone who knows the bible,

(E) like a preacher,

(R-E)who reads the bible all the time,

(R)really knows it,

(E-R) Better.

(E) With,

(E-R)that preacher's help,

(R-E)help me visualize it.

(R)you can gain an understanding of it.

(R-Coda) Better.

helped me, I was really impressed.

(O) Mavis: I noticed that as you were talking about your learning experiences in your church and your bible classes, and talking about your pastor, that your face lit up, you got excited uh, so what was exciting about this particular experience?

(E) James: I think learning new information about the bible, it is interesting.

(CA) Reading about the bible is one thing.

(E) But hearing it from someone who knows the bible, like a preacher, that's interesting. Help me visualize it better.

(E) The bible is a big book. It's thick.

(CA) And to read it, it's hard, because you have to read it slow. You can't skip or skim over anything. You have to read it carefully, you have to read it repeatedly, in order to gain some sense of understanding about the bible.

(E) But to talk with someone who really knows it like a preacher, who reads the bible all the time, with that preacher's help,

(R)you can gain an understanding of it better.

In chapter four of this study, we learned that James is an avid reader, which is an unusual phenomenon among Deaf people. Thus, the ASL text version of James' bible study learning experience has significant implications. For James, the above story is not being able to read the bible, but rather it is a matter of being able to read the bible as hearing people do in order to understand the knowledge that is embedded within a textually complex format. Yet, this problem is precisely James' challenge. He wants to read the bible for himself, but he desires to understand it in a manner more natural for him as a learner.

We, therefore, move to the second part of the James' ASL story, which is about accessing the bible by enlisting the expertise of a knowledgeable expert. James chooses to interrogate his pastor for details about a story hereunto unknown to him and begins to see the story visually unfold as his pastor explains the events of the biblical tale. We can now begin to share in James' logical conclusion that while reading the bible is part of the learning process. But, for James as a Deaf man, his learning is better enhanced through a visual domain.

Jamal

<u>I would have…</u>

Moving my attention towards my next participant's narrative, Jamal, I was struck by the emotionality of the tragic circumstances surrounding his developmental years in growing up and learning in the face of social isolation. Jamal's social isolation was compounded by his deafness disability. Although there was no one specific story that directly ascertains this claim, I did not draw this analysis about the depth of Jamal's emotionality superficially. In analyzing Jamal's explanatory narratives in totality, it became clear that his overall story displayed an evolving pattern of social isolation, imposed upon him because of difference. His larger story incorporated multiple mini-stories of being different within his schooling experiences, family, communities, and

work history. He was, and continues to be, the only Deaf person in his family. He was, and continues to be, the only Black person at work. He often finds himself as the only Black Deaf person who can engage in substantive conversations and dialogue about issues of social importance. Consequently, he often finds himself set apart from the people with whom he desires to build relationships. According to Jamal,

> **(A-O)**Mavis: if you could change any of your past learning and schooling experiences, what would you change?
>
> **(R-E)**Jamal: I would have had a lot more ah understanding about life
>
> **(E-CA)** I was socially not able to be around other people.
>
> **(E)** if I was able to have a mixture of people that I was around,
>
> **(CA)**I would have been a lot more open with things.
>
> **(E-CA)** I learned I had to learn on my own
>
> **(E)**You know I think I think I hindered myself
>
> **(CA)** you know a lot of the things I was never able to go out and ask people questions.
>
> **(E-CA)** I didn't *pursue* friendship the way I could have. I didn't go out.
>
> **(E-R)**I was scared to, I was too shy.

In Jamal's story, we can see patterns of evaluating coding shaping the context of Jamal's reflection about past learning experience. Therefore, my analytical focus of Jamal's narrative was directed by the wistful tonality of his reflections concerning his past. At every step of Jamal's story, he provides a reason about why his learning experiences were not bounded by positive feelings. He brings in varying levels of regret to which he attribute to social isolation, put upon him because of his familial upbringing and personal interaction with members of his immediate community (i.e., friends and

school). But the tragedy of Jamal's story is not just the fact that he grew up in social isolation, but rather, that he feels that it is his fault. His specific statement "I didn't *pursue* friendship the way I could have" negates previous statements about attending school as the only black kid, or being the only deaf kid in his neighborhood, or his father using his youngest brother as communication emissary, or that his mother was more over protective of her deaf and oldest child than she was of younger hearing son.

Jamal's reference to the statement that he was hindering himself implies that he could have resolved and/or addressed the social isolation by being more outgoing. This comment may have some merit, but ultimately, it is Jamal's difference as a Deaf person or Black Deaf person that is the cause and affect of his social isolation. Yet as Jamal's narrative shows, he attributes the social isolation to his disability and his immediate environment (which is predicated by audism) constrains his social development.

Allen

Allen's learning experiences narratives presented an unique challenge. Specifically, Allen did not talk about a learning activity that facilitated narrative analysis. Furthermore, he did not have a particular hobby that I could analyze. However, he did refer to a specific experience related to his employment and his daily interaction with hearing employees. Allen's story very clearly illustrates that he has a desire to become a supervisor and he believes that he is capable of successfully carrying out the responsibilities that this job promotion would entail. As I reflect on this particular narrative, I am convinced that Allen's story was an explanatory narrative about why he has decided not to become a supervisor at his job. He presents an argument that looks and feels articulate, logical, reasonable, and well founded. Fueling Allen's contention for not becoming a supervisor is his belief that his hearing loss is an impediment for successfully executing certain supervisory tasks. According to Allen,

<u>If I want to become a supervisor, I have to use a walkie-talkie</u>

(O) (sigh) let's see, lke I'm at work, what I do is a job that don't require listening. I work in the shipping and handling department. I just have to scan packages and record the packages.

(E) Its really simple, no listening.

(CA) And ah, they've asked me if I want to become a supervisor.

(CA) But the supervisors, they walk around with a mike ah with uhm, the what you call it, a walkie talkie, radio,

(CA) you have to listen to what's going on, you have to talk to other people in the building.

(CA) So you have to constantly be in touch with other people know what's going on.

(E) I can't do that, because I can't hear the mike.

(R) They asked me if I wanted to do it, and I said no, that's o.k., it will probably be too hard for me.

(CA) The truth is I don't want to do it (laughter) because the supervisor. The supervisor's position, they work a lot of fourteen, fifteen-hour days. You supervising people, its your responsible if they don't show up. If they don't show up, then you have to take over most of the work. That's o.k. I'll just stick to my job. If I really wanted to do it, it wouldn't be no problem, because if I really want to do something I put my mind to it.

(CA-E) I just have to work extra [hard] … harder than most people,

(E) because of the fact that I am hard-of-hearing or deaf.

Allen's story is an interesting mix of personal and pragmatic reflection about the constraints surrounding his present job and promotional opportunities. At the complicating action stages of Allen's story, we see the integration of his observation of behavior, practices, and actions of supervisors and the subsequent response by employees. We also see the development of his pragmatic outlook towards the level of responsibility associated with becoming a supervisor. In short, Allen's personal and pragmatic reflection facilitated his meaning and sense-making about what it would take for him to be become an effective supervisor, was based upon his visual ability to observe the level of responsibility associated with that position. Through his visual observation, Allen was able to assess, evaluate, and determine what skills were necessary in becoming a supervisor.

Allen's story has an intriguing structure to it, which is made evident at the evaluating components of his narrative. Allen's story begins and ends with an acknowledgement that his deafness is causal to accepting promotional opportunities. Yet he attempts to use subterfuge as a way to redirect or lessen the impact the affects of this admission. It is as if he seeks to draw away from the reality that his disability, which he has no control over and which also prevents him from having the control to direct his future within this context. We see evidence of this movement at the center of his story where he talks about the surrounding issues associated with the supervisory position. We also see this evidence when we extrapolate and analyze the evaluating components of his story. As such, we can see the beginning of acceptance and conflict of what Allen considers as a reasonable and logical way of working and being able to function independently of his hearing disability.

<div align="center">Summary</div>

I was faced with a challenge of deciding which story best characterized and represented the relationship between each man's identity and out-of-school learning

experience. It seemed disrespectful to leave out any one story, as they were all valuable in their content, meaning, and implications. Each man's story demonstrated a uniqueness specific to his hearing disability and out-of-school learning experiences. However, their collective stories showed, that despite the problematic barriers presented to the learning context (i.e., their deafness status and language difference modalities) the social environment was re-negotiated in order accommodate their learning objectives. These men recognize and acknowledge that their deafness status presents a problem for themselves, as well as to others within the learning context, but did not allow their hearing disability to obstruct and/or block their progress in life.

While deconstructing and examining the relationship between the participants' identity and their out-of-school learning experiences, I am struck by a resonating thought. I am in total admiration of these men for their resiliency, courage, and quiet determination to succeed with their desired goal(s) and objectives. Their tenacity and determination shines through in their pursuit of acquiring knowledge associated with a particular task, skill, or subject matter. Supporting evidence of my argument about their drive to learn and acquire knowledge was found at the complicating action and evaluating stages of their individual stories. Certainly, the evaluating coding of each story had different meanings and/or interpretations. Nevertheless, it was at the evaluating level that we can discern that learning, meaning making, and knowledge acquisition successfully occurred for each man. Finally, the narrative patterns of these men's story shows how each participant sought out learning opportunities by utilizing the most accessible pathway available to them. When these men were in control of their own learning, they chose pathway(s) that were unencumbered by the obstacles that they had faced in formal learning schooling context.

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APPENDIX A[1]
REGISTRY OF INTERPRETERS FOR THE DEAF, INC.
CODE OF ETHICS

The Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf, Inc. refers to individuals who may perform one or more of the following services:

Interpret

Spoken English to American Sign Language
American Sign Language to Spoken English

Transliterate

Spoken English to Manually Coded English/Pidgin Sign English
Manually Coded English/Pidgin Sign English to Spoken English
Spoken English to paraphrased non-audible spoken English.

Gesticulate/Mime, etc.

Spoken English to Gesture, Mime, etc.
Gesture, Mime, etc., to Spoken English

The Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf, Inc. has set forth the following principles of ethical behavior to protect and guide the interpreter/transliterator, the consumers (hearing and hearing-impaired) and the profession, as well as to ensure for all, the right to communicate.

This Code of Ethics applies to all members of the Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf, Inc. and all certified non-members.

While these are general guidelines to govern the performance of the interpreter-transliterator generally, it is recognized that there are ever increasing numbers of highly specialized situations that demand specific explanation. It is envisioned that the R.I.D., Inc. will issue appropriate guidelines.

CODE OF ETHICS

INTERPRETER/TRANSLITERATOR SHALL KEEP ALL ASSIGNMENT-RELATED INFORMATION STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

Guidelines:

Interpreter/transliterators shall not reveal information about any assignment, including the fact that the service is being performed.

_____

Even seemingly unimportant information could be damaging in the wrong hands. Therefore, to avoid this possibility, interpreter/transliterators must not say anything about the assignment. In cases where meetings or information becomes a matter of public record, the interpreter/transliterator shall use discretion in discussing such meetings or information.

If a problem arises between the interpreter/transliterator and either person involved in an assignment, the interpreter/transliterator should first discuss it with the person involved. If no solution can be reached, then both should agree on a third person who could advise them.

When training new trainees by the method of sharing actual experiences, the trainers shall not reveal any of the following information:

name, sex, age, etc., of the consumer

day of the week, time of the day, time of the year the situation took place

location, including city, state of agency

other people involved

unnecessary specifics about the situation

It only takes a minimum amount of information to identify the parties involved.

INTERPRETER/TRANSLITERATORS SHALL RENDER THE MESSAGE FAITHFULLY, ALWAYS CONVEYING THE CONTENT AND SPIRIT OF THE SPEAKER, USING LANGUAGE MOST READILY UNDERSTOOD BY THE PERSON(S) WHOM THEY SERVE.

Guidelines:

Interpreter/transliterators are not editors and must transmit everything that is said in exactly the same way it was intended. This is especially difficult when the interpreter disagrees with what is being said or feels uncomfortable when profanity is being used. Interpreter/transliterators must remember that they are not at all responsible for what is said, only for conveying it accurately. If the interpreter/transliterator's own feelings interfere with rendering the message accurately, he/she shall withdraw from the situation.

While working from Spoken English to Sign or non-audible spoken English, the interpreter/transliterator should communicate in the manner most easily understood or preferred by the deaf and hard-of-hearing person(s), be it American Sign Language, Manually Coded English, fingerspelling, paraphrasing in non-audible spoken English, gesturing, drawing or writing, etc. It is important for the interpreter/transliterator and deaf or hard-of-hearing person(s) to spend some time adjusting to each other's way of communicating prior to the actual assignment. When working from Sign or non-audible spoken English, the interpreter/transliterator shall speak the language used by the hearing person in spoken form, be it English, Spanish, French, etc.

INTERPRETER/TRANSLITERATORS SHALL NOT COUNSEL, ADVISE, OR INTERJECT PERSONAL OPINIONS.

Guidelines:

Just as interpreter/transliterators may not omit anything which is said, they may not add anything to the situation, even when they are asked to do so by other parties involved.

An interpreter/transliterator is only present in a given situation because two or more people have difficulty communicating, and thus the interpreter/transliterator's only function is to facilitate communication. He/she shall not become personally involved because in so doing he/she accepts some responsibility for the outcome, which does not rightly belong to the interpreter/transliterator.

INTERPRETER/TRANSLITERATORS SHALL ACCEPT ASSIGNMENTS USING DISCRETION WITH REGARD TO SKILL, SETTING, AND THE CONSUMERS INVOLVED.

Guidelines:

Interpreter/transliterators shall only accept assignments for which they are qualified. However, when an interpreter/transliterator shortage exists and the only available interpreter/transliterator does not possess the necessary skill for a particular assignment, this situation should be explained to the consumer. If the consumers agree that services are needed regardless of skill level, then the available interpreter/transliterator will have to use his/her judgment about accepting or rejecting the assignment.

Certain situations may prove uncomfortable for some interpreter/transliterators and clients. Religious, political, racial or sexual differences, etc., can adversely affect the facilitating task. Therefore, an interpreter/transliterator shall not accept assignments which he/she knows will involve such situations.

Interpreter/transliterators shall generally refrain from providing services in situations where family members, or close personal or professional relationships may affect impartiality, since it is difficult to mask inner feelings. Under these circumstances, especially in legal settings, the ability to prove oneself unbiased when challenged is lessened. In emergency situations, it is realized that the interpreter/transliterator may have to provide services for family members, friends, or close business associates. However, all parties should be informed that the interpreter/transliterator may not become personally involved in the proceedings.

INTERPRETER/TRANSLITERATORS SHALL REQUEST COMPENSATION FOR SERVICES IN A PROFESSIONAL AND JUDICIOUS MANNER.

Guidelines:

Interpreter/transliterators shall be knowledgeable about fees which are appropriate to the profession, and be informed about the current suggested fee schedule of the

national organization. A sliding scale of hourly and daily rates has been established for interpreter/transliterators in many areas. To determine the appropriate fee, interpreter/transliterators should know their own level of skill, level of certification, length of experience, nature of the assignment, and the local cost of living index.

There are circumstances when it is appropriate for interpreter/transliterators to provide services without charge. This should be done with discretion, taking care to preserve the self-respect of the consumers. Consumers should not feel that they are recipients of charity. When providing *gratis* services, care should be taken so that the livelihood of other interpreter/transliterators will be protected. A free-lance interpreter/transliterator may depend on this work for a living and therefore must charge for services rendered, while persons with other full-time work may perform the services as a favor without feeling a loss of income.

INTERPRETER/TRANSLITERATORS SHALL FUNCTION IN A MANNER APPROPRIATE TO THE SITUATION.

Guidelines:

Interpreter/transliterators shall conduct themselves in such a manner that brings respect to themselves, the consumers and the national organization. The term "appropriate manner" refers to:

(a) dressing in a manner that is appropriate for skin tone and is not distracting.

(b) conducting oneself in all phases of an assignment in a manner befitting a professional.

INTERPRETER/TRANSLITERATORS SHALL STRIVE TO FURTHER KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS THROUGH PARTICIPATION IN WORKSHOPS, PROFESSIONAL MEETINGS, INTERACTION WITH PROFESSIONAL COLLEAGUES AND READING OF CURRENT LITERATURE IN THE FIELD.

INTERPRETER/TRANSLITERATORS, BY VIRTUE OF MEMBERSHIP IN OR CERTIFICATION BY THE R.I.D., INC. SHALL STRIVE TO MAINTAIN HIGH PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE CODE OF ETHICS.

October 1979

Appendix B

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AIIC

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CODE OF PROFESSIONAL CONDUCT

1983 VERSION
Code of Professional Conduct
(English translation of original French version)

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ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DES INTERPRETES
DE CONFERENCE
INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
CONFERENCE INTERPRETERS

I. PURPOSE AND SCOPE

Article 1

(a) This Code of Professional Conduct and practice (hereinafter called "the Code") lays down the conditions governing the practice of the profession by members of the Association.
(b)   Members are bound by the provisions of the Code. The Council, with the assistance of the Association's members, shall ensure compliance with the provisions of the Code.
(c)   Candidates for admission shall undertake to adhere strictly to the provisions of the Code and all other AIIC rules.
(d)   Penalties, as provided in the Statues, may be imposed on any member who infringes the rules of the profession as laid down in the Code.

II. CODE OF ETHICS

Article 2

(a)   Members of the Association shall be bound by the strictest secrecy, which must be observed towards all persons with regard to information gathered in the course of professional practice at non-public meetings.
(b)   Members shall not derive any personal gain from confidential information acquired by them in the exercise of their duties as interpreters.

Article 3

Members of the Association shall not accept engagements for which they are not qualified. Their acceptance shall imply a moral undertaking on their part that they will perform their services in a professional manner.*

Article 4

(a)   Members of the Association shall not accept any employment or situation which might detract from the dignity of the profession or jeopardize the observance of secrecy.
(b)   They shall refrain from any conduct which might bring the profession into disrepute, and particularly from any form of personal publicity. They may, however, for professional reasons advertise the fact that they are conference interpreters and members of the Association.

Article 5

(a) It shall be the duty of members of the Association to afford their colleagues moral assistance and solidarity.
(b) Members shall refrain from statements or actions prejudicial to the interests of the Association or its members. Any disagreement with the decisions of the Association or any complaint about the conduct of another member shall be raised and settled within the Association itself.
(c)   Any professional problem which arises between two or more members of the Association may be referred to the Council for arbitration.
(d)   As regards candidates, however, infringements of the Code or other rules of the Association shall be adjudicated by the Admissions and Language Classification Committee.

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*The moral undertaking given by AIIC members under article 3 of the Code of Professional Conduct shall apply equally to the performance of services by interpreters who are not members of AIIC but are engaged through a member.

Article 6

Members of the Association shall not accept, and still less offer, conditions of work which do not meet the standards laid down in the Code, either for themselves or for interpreters engaged through them.

(Editor's Note: This portion of the AIIC Code is reproduced by permission.)

APPENDIX C

Interview Guide

1. How do you describe yourself?

2. In your opinion, how would your spouse, significant others, family, and friends describe you?

3. In what way (in your opinion), would people in our society describe you?

4. In your opinion, describe what/how it feels to live as a _____ man?

5. Describe your early schooling experiences. In other words, tell me what was it like to go to school? (K-12)

6. What type of school did you attend? (Mainstream, residential, self-contained, oral, was the only hearing learner, etc.) Do you remember how and who made the decision for you to attend this school and why?

7. Where was this school located? (Urban, private, rural, etc.) Did this school accommodate your hearing loss? If so, in what way? If not, how was your hearing loss accommodated?

8. Describe your feelings about being in that school environment.

9. Describe in your opinion, your family's attitude towards you and your educational experiences and the school you attended.

10. Do you remember a time when you felt comfortable or positive about a learning experience? If so, tell me about that experience. What was it like? What is it about this particular experience that made you feel good about it?

11. Do you remember a time or experience that did not make you feel very positive about being in school? If so, tell me about that experience. Why in your opinion, was it not a good experience? In what ways could this experience have been made better for you?

12. When was the last time you attended a class or learning experience? It does not have to be in a school, it can be work related, or in a church, etc. Tell me about that experience. Describe for me your feelings about that experience.

13. As an adult man describe to me your feelings and opinion about your past and or current learning and schooling experiences.

14. As a Black adult man describe to me your feelings and opinion about your past and/or current learning and schooling experiences.

15. As a Deaf, deaf, or hard-of-hearing adult man, describe to me your feelings and opinion about your past and/or current learning and schooling experiences.

16. As a Black, Deaf, deaf, hard-of-hearing adult man, describe to me your feelings and opinion about your past and/or current learning and schooling experiences.

17. If you could change any of your learning and schooling experiences, what would you change and why?