To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Laurel Beth Goodrich entitled "Deafness as Difference: A Phenomenological Investigation of the Experience of Being Deaf." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Psychology.

Howard R. Pollio, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:

Vice Provost
and Dean of the Graduate School

DEAFNESS AS DIFFERENCE:
A PHENOMENOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION OF
THE EXPERIENCE OF BEING DEAF

A Dissertation

Presented for the

Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Laurel Beth Goodrich

March 1988

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To the Memory of Earl Higgins

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I am indebted to mentors, colleagues and friends who made this work a gratifying, interpersonal endeavor from start to finish. First and foremost I thank the eighteen participants in this study, my co-researchers, who so generously shared personal aspects of their lives.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to describe the experience of being deaf across the life span, from the point of view of deaf adults. A phenomenological approach was used: Eighteen well-functioning, articulate deaf adults participated in open-ended interviews conducted in sign language about events at various times in their lives when they noticed being deaf.

Data were analyzed by a phenomenological procedure which involved discerning units of meaning, detecting patterns in occurence of meaning units and successively grouping these units until there emerged an overall structure for the experience: a set of basic categories related to one another in specific ways. In this study, these categories took the form of phases, and the relation among them was sequential: The experience of being deaf as given by participants in this study could be described by a set of sequential or developmental phases for becoming aware of and coming to terms with being deaf. The phases are: Encountering, Knowing, Acknowledging Facts of Life, Coping and Creating, Accepting and Guiding.

Over all developmental phases, there emerged a single overarching theme: Deafness as Difference. Moving through the phases entails an evolution of experiences of difference and sameness over time. In early phases (Encountering), before one is able to reflect on being deaf, difference impinges in painful ways. Over time, one comes to know that the sense of being different has to do with being deaf (Knowing), and to recognize the limits and possibilities deafness

brings (Acknowledging Facts of Life). One learns to act on these limits and possibilities (Coping and Creating). As one comes to accept being deaf (Accepting) and to impart to others the knowledge and wisdom borne of this acceptance (Guiding), difference recedes. Although one's deafness is fully acknowledged, being different from others by virtue of being deaf becomes less figural than being the same as others by virtue of being human.

The means of ensuring rigor in this study ("fidelity to experience") was described and contrasted with quantitative approaches to ensuring rigor (e.g., reliability) in more traditional psychological research.

Findings were discussed in relation to minority group experience, to fundamental aspects of the human life world (time, body, others and self) and to developmental theory. Particular attention was given to the bearing of the findings on the development of self: Self development for the deaf person involves coming to terms with being different and with the limits entailed in difference. Such constraints are not, however, unique to deaf persons: Deaf experience was framed as a compelling and illuminating instance of the universal human tasks of facing limitation and of acknowledging difference.

There was discussion of potential application of the findings in educating persons who are in close contact with deaf persons (e.g., parents of deaf children and professionals working with deaf people).

PREFACE

This work is a phenomenological study of deaf experience. As such, subjectivity is desirable. Attempts are made to "put the researcher back into research." The aim is to capture first person perspectives. In light of these phenomenological qualities of the inquiry, it seems incongruous that the researcher has referred to herself throughout the text in the third person.

There must be something terribly compelling about traditional research paradigms; the phrase "the researcher" appears to embody objectivity, rendering it seemingly more scientific, i.e., better, than the word "I." Perhaps the researcher's reluctance to say "I" reflects her ambivalence in having chosen an unorthodox approach to research; perhaps it is a genuflection to natural science, the use of whose methods has contributed to psychology's credibility in the academic domain; perhaps it is an indication of the dilemma faced by any phenomenological researcher, for whom an attempt to straddle two scientific traditions is almost unavoidable.

The pull of phenomenology is strong; it is hard to imagine any reader could fully appreciate the essence of this study without becoming acquainted with the person who conducted it. Hence it is with an odd mix of conviction and trepidation that I conclude that a preface to the work must include an introduction to me and to the odyssey that brought me to this project.

Deaf people have changed my life. At the age of twenty I

encountered deaf children for the first time at a summer camp in California. Those twelve seven-year-old boys fascinated me: How on earth do you communicate with people who can't hear you? I devised activities which would maximize the visual, the gestural and the motoric. We built a fire in an outdoor oven and baked bread we had kneaded ourselves; we measured a giant eucalyptus tree by holding hands around its trunk-- it was four boys around.

On a hike one day, I noticed an older boy (he was thirteen) carving on a tree with a knife. Without thinking I strode up behind this boy and put my hand firmly on his shoulder. Startled, he jumped and nearly cut himself with the knife. Only then did I remember he was deaf; he had not heard me approaching. He stalked away in anger, and I felt badly for handling the situation so clumsily. I sought out the boy's twin brother, who could hear and knew sign language. He showed me the sign for "I'm sorry," which I signed to the deaf boy at the first opportunity. He looked puzzled, and I reminded him in gestures about the event with the knife at the tree. Although only one sign was exchanged during that conversation, our facial expressions and gestures left no doubt that the apology had been sincerely given and accepted. In retrospect, it is telling that the first sign in my vocabulary was "I'm sorry:" It took nearly a decade of involvement with deaf people to learn that it was not necessary for me to apologize for being able to hear.

I was deeply touched by the experiences at the camp, and sought more contact with deaf children. I did volunteer work with a twelve-

year-old deaf boy who had been labeled "aphasic" and "disturbed." Interaction with him revealed the labels did not apply; he was simply frustrated in being deaf with no easy way to communicate--his school did not allow the use of signs. We repaired a bicycle together, and I arranged his enrollment in a sports program with boys his age. The greater part of my time, however, was given to his mother, who had received little support or instruction in managing a deaf child. Years later I learned that interventions with hearing parents are crucial for facilitating satisfactory adjustment in the deaf child.

As a teacher aide at the Horace Mann School for the Deaf in Boston, where sign language was not used in instruction, I praised five- and six-year-old deaf children for their efforts to utter words. Older students signed among themselves at recess and I began wondering why signing was not used in the classroom, and why no deaf adults were involved either in teaching or in policy making. I decided I wanted to meet and know deaf adults, and arranged to attend Gallaudet College on a year long exchange from Oberlin, where I was doing undergraduate work.

Living with deaf students in the Gallaudet dormitories and working at the Linguistics Research Lab gave me the immersion I desired. I learned in reverse about the type of exclusion deaf people face; I was one of only ten hearing people on campus, and many students rejected me because I could hear. I had a love affair with sign language and learned the rudiments of deaf culture. I acquired

basic interpreting skills and two years later became a certified interpreter.

The field of mental health was as enticing to me as were communication and linguistics. As an interpreter at the St. Elizabeth Hospital program for deaf patients, I realized that the choice between psychology and linguistics for graduate study was going to be difficult. I chose the language route for a time and became a teacher of sign language interpretation in Denver. After several years of training interpreters, it became clear that the thing I loved about teaching was creating environments in which people could grow; the content became less and less important. It was time to pursue psychology.

The interpreting culminated the summer before graduate school in a working visit to France as a consultant on sign language interpreter training. I lived at the historic Institut National de Jeunes Sourds in Paris, the school which had become in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the nexus of the emerging French deaf community. The American and French deaf communities are closely tied: Laurent Clerc, a talented young deaf teacher, came to the United States to help establish in 1817 the first American school for the deaf in Hartford. In meeting deaf people and interpreters in France, I felt I had completed my journey by arriving at the starting point.

My summer ended in Bristol, England at an international conference on sign language research and teaching. I was struck by the ease with which deaf people from different countries could

communicate. These individuals who had experienced isolation as a fact of life had the capacity, by virtue of their facility with gesture, to make contact with one another in a way that is quite uncommon among travelers who can hear. Being deaf afforded an awesome sort of freedom and human connectedness.

Fifteen years after the initial encounter, I remain inspired by the possibilities which deafness creates; I hope that a portion of that inspiration has found its way into this work.

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INTRODUCTION

There is a puzzling discrepancy between personality profiles arising from studies of deaf adults and impressions gained through close contact with deaf persons. Research tends to characterize deaf people as egocentric, impulsive, unempathic and lacking in insight (see Donague (1968) and Levine (1981) for summaries of this work). In a probing review, Levine presents a contrasting view: "To one familiar with the life behavior of deaf children and adults, with their ability to cope, with their remarkable tolerance for frustration, and with their social energies and enthusiasms, the test-derived personality picture is singularly uninformative, flat, and lifeless" (p. 199). Most of the literature seems to teach more about what deaf people are <u>not</u> than about who they are. The present study is an attempt toward resolving this discrepancy.

This study is an investigation of the experience of being deaf from the point of view of deaf adults. The aim of the project was to describe experience as revealed in conversations between the researcher and the deaf participants in the study. The outcome was broader than expected: what emerged was not only a careful description of the experience of a unique group of people, but a deepened understanding of certain human universals. The experience of being deaf is the experience of being different; we all differ from one another in some respects. The development of self for deaf people occurs in the context of certain salient, fundamental limits

(communication difficulty, for example); we all must come to terms with limits. We are all different and we are all limited; these conclusions are both reassuring and unsettling. They reaffirm our sameness in being human, but rob us of the safety in thinking that there are unfortunate groups out there whose "psychology" is different from our own.

The dissertation begins with a review of psychological literature on personality and psychopathology in deaf adults. A critique of the literature is given, with emphasis on the ways research has fallen short of tapping unique aspects of the experiential world of deaf people. A human science alternative for exploring deaf experience is introduced. In Chapter II the particular phenomenological approach chosen for the present study is articulated. Chapter III contains an exhaustive description of the experience of being deaf as given by the participants in this investigation. In Chapter IV these results are discussed as they bear on the experience of minority groups, on fundamental aspects of the human life world (time, body, others and self) and on developmental theory. Human universals illumated by present findings are explored.

CHAPTER I

A PHENOMENOLOGICAL CRITIQUE OF PRIOR PSYCHOLOGICAL RESEARCH ON DEAF ADULTS

Review of the Literature

Reviews of research on personality and psychopathology of deaf persons paint a rather dismal picture. Among the commonly found traits cited in Donague's (1968) summary are rigidity, hostility, egocentricity and insensitivity. Schlesinger and Meadow (1972) cite "emotional immaturity" as the trait which best encompasses findings of these studies. Similar in tone is Levine's (1981) characterization of this body of research:

> The inference from personality studies of the deaf is that beneath the buoyant life behavior of most deaf persons lurks a pattern of emotional disturbance and maladjustment. (p. 196)

A close look at these research summaries reveals that certain potentially useful distinctions are omitted. In presenting these profiles of "the deaf," reviewers usually combine results of studies of hard of hearing and deaf samples, of clinical and nonclinical samples, and of samples with early- and late-onset hearing loss. Teasing out a research-based picture of personality characteristics of the deaf adult is no easy task. Upon close scrutiny of individual studies of deaf adults, investigators can be seen to be more sensitive than research summaries would suggest to certain distinctions. These researchers acknowledge a continuum of adjustment from the pathological to the outstanding, and their experimental designs and

sample selection reveal an awareness that variation along this continuum is a function of a variety of factors including genetic predisposition, age of onset of hearing loss, degree of hearing loss, linguistic competency and environmental factors, especially responses to the deaf individual by important persons in his or her life.

The first section of this chapter will be organized around the major questions posed by personality and psychopathology research on deaf adults. Following this summary of research will be a critique, with particular attention paid to methodological and theoretical problems posed by psychological research with this population. The chapter will close with an introduction to phenomenological research as it applies to investigating deaf experience, and a statement of the purpose of the present study.

Research question: Are the incidence and nature of psychopathology different for deaf and for hearing people, or are they the same for the two groups? A sizeable group of studies are primarily demographic and epidemiological in nature. The most comprehensive and oft-cited of these is a series of projects carried out by the Department of Medical Genetics of the New York Psychiatric Institute on family and mental health problems of deaf persons (Rainer, Altshuler and Kallmann 1969; Rainer and Altshuler, 1966). Conceived as a fact-finding inquiry into the size, adjustive norms, vocational propensities and reproductive trends of the deaf population of New York State, the project was designed to cover three broad areas: mental health research, psychiatric guidance for disturbed

deaf persons, and a training program for specialized guidance workers. Assessing the range of adjustment variations in the deaf population was a major project goal: "One cannot be constructive in guiding poorly adjusted members of a deaf group, unless one knows the various life performance levels of those who appear relatively well adjusted." (Rainer et al., 1969).

Of the findings of the numerous sub-projects carried out by this research group, those most pertinent to this section pertain to the incidence of certain forms of psychopathology in the New York State deaf population (Altshuler and Rainer, 1958; Altshuler and Sarlin, 1962; Altshuler and Rainer, 1969.) Of the total 230 deaf patients in New York State mental hospitals in 1958, 120 or 52.2% had a diagnosis of schizophrenia (Altshuler and Rainer, 1958); this percentage closely approximated the 56.5% of non-deaf patients with the same diagnosis. The prevalence of schizophrenia in the total deaf population was estimated at 2.5 % (Altshuler and Rainer, 1958), as against the one per cent estimated in the hearing population. Altshuler and Sarlin (1962) point out that the 2.5% schizophrenia risk figure for deaf persons is open to question, in light of differences between hearing and deaf populations in the ratio of hospitalized to non-hospitalized cases. A significantly greater proportion of deaf schizophrenics have been hospitalized for more than five years. The authors, having observed no significant differences between deaf and hearing schizophrenics in age of onset or severity of illness, attribute the differences in length of hospital stay to difficulties

in clinical evaluation and treatment posed by severely disturbed deaf schizophrenic patients with limited communication skills (proficiency neither in English nor in sign language). The New York study concluded that "schizophrenia is fundamentally the same clinical entity in the deaf as in the hearing." (Rainer et al., 1969). Contrary to popular belief, there is no evidence for a preponderance of paranoid symptoms in deaf schizophrenics (Altshuler and Rainer, 1958). Interestingly, auditory hallucinations were reported by several deaf patients. Close questioning of these patients led the authors to conclude that the alleged auditory hallucinations were probably mediated through vibratory and proprioceptive senses unimpaired by the hearing loss. A more detailed discussion of auditory hallucinations in deaf patients appears later in this review.

As was the case in schizophrenia, no major differences between deaf and hearing patients were found in other psychotic disorders. The authors note:

> In manic-depressive disease, involutional psychosis, psychosis with mental deficiency, and the group of organic brain syndromes, the basic diagnostic signs may be correctly diagnosed in deaf patients... (Rainer et al., 1969).

Certain differences in incidence of psychiatric disorders did appear. Incidence of "Psychosis with Mental Deficiency", even after careful, assessment-based elimination from this group of deaf persons with limited communication skills but normal intellectual capacity, was significantly higher in the deaf hospital population (18.2%) than in the hearing (3.7%). Alcoholic psychoses were not represented in

the deaf hospital population but constituted about 4% of the hearing (about one-third of the organic psychoses in the hearing hospital population.) Organic psychosis associated with retinitis pigmentosa appeared in 4.8% of the deaf hospital population but was not present in the hearing. Incidence of organic psychosis not related to alcoholism or retinitis pigmentosa was about the same in the deaf and the hearing groups. Cycloid and involutional psychoses occurred with lower frequency in the deaf (5.2%) than in the hearing group (8.0%), with endogenous depression underrepresented.

A second comprehensive study of mental health and deafness was conducted by Grinker and his associates at the Institute for Psychosomatic and Psychiatric Research and Training at the Michael Reese Hospital and Medical Center in Chicago (Grinker, 1969). This multifaceted project included mental health research, training and the establishment of inpatient and outpatient services to a deaf population drawn from several midwestern states and California. Extensive demographic data were gathered, including information on etiology, age at onset and degree of hearing loss, intelligence, age, marital status, sex and ethnicity, communication skills and psychiatric diagnosis. Variation in sample characteristics, diagnostic categories used and manner of presenting data make difficult any comparison between the Chicago and the New York studies in terms of incidence of disorders. The Chicago study includes outpatient data, resulting in a greater prevalence of personality disorders than was reported in the New York study. Psychoneurotic

Reactions, Personality Disorders and Transient Situational Personality Disturbances accounted for 52.8% of the patient sample (N=159), with organic syndromes, psychotic disorders and mental deficiency making up the remaining 47.2%. Comparable figures for the hearing population were not presented.

Worthy of note are two differences in findings between the New York and Chicago studies. The New York group found no higher incidence of paranoid symptomatology in the deaf than in the hearing population (Rainer and Altshuler, 1969). The Chicago group, in contrast, concluded that "paranoid behavior or suspiciousness is probably somewhat more common among the deaf mentally ill than corresponding hearing populations" (Grinker et al., 1969, p. 27). The contrast can most likely be accounted for by the differences in age of onset and degree of deafness in the two samples. The New York study was restricted to early onset, severely to profoundly deaf patients; the Chicago study included adventitiously deafened and hard of hearing patients. Paranoid symptomatology appeared to be more prevalent in the latter group.

A second difference between the New York and the Chicago study is in reported incidence of depressive disorders. Contrasting theoretical rationales accompany the two studies' findings. Altshuler's (1964) results suggest that endogenous depression is less prevalent among deaf than hearing patients. Using a psychoanalytic conception of the dynamic processes involved in depression, the author theorizes that the internalization of rage characteristic of

depression is deficient in deaf persons, for reasons related to distortions in object relationships imposed by the communication barrier of deafness and by the limitations in abstract conceptual ability said to accompany early onset hearing loss. Grinker (1969), in contrast, reported a primary diagnosis of depression in 6% of their deaf patient population. The authors concluded that

> ...the frustration and isolation of deafness combine to produce considerable depression in deaf persons, especially those who have intellect and ambition which is thwarted by the limitations of deafness and by inappropriate educational and habilitative techniques. Deafness, with its isolating quality, forces an internalization of interests and preoccupations, often correlated with depression. The anger resulting from the frustration compounds the difficulty. (p. 29)

The authors note a high prevalence of denial in their deaf patients, and emphasize the importance in treatment of addressing the denial, and "mourning" the loss of hearing, followed by a realistic acceptance of the deafness. Once again, comparison of the results produced by these two studies with regard to incidence of depression is confounded by the difference in age of onset and degree of deafness. In a sample which includes persons of late-onset deafness, mourning a loss of hearing may be more salient than in a group whose deafness was present from birth, or prior to the age of language acquisition. In addition, the theoretical explanation proposed by Altshuler would not apply to the adventitiously deafened patients of the Chicago study, since their early object relations were not affected by hearing loss.

Remvig (1969) conducted a study of deaf patients in mental hospitals in Denmark. Like Rainer, et al. (1969), Remvig noted a lower

incidence of depressive disorders, and an incidence of paranoid disorders no higher than that of the hearing population. Incidence of schizophrenia was significantly lower in the Danish study (20% of hospitalized deaf patients) than in the New York study (52%). "Non-classifiable psychoses," however, constituted 20% of the Danish deaf hospitalized sample. In the absence of specified diagnostic criteria for the Remvig study, meaningful comparison of the Danish and American findings is difficult.

Research question: What sort of relationship exists between deafness and personality characteristics? Most psychological studies of deaf adults have been concerned with variations on this broad question. Investigators wonder about "the mental effects of deafness" (Menninger, 1924); about "psychic consequences of congenital or early acquired deafness" (Basilier, 1964); about "facets of personality associated with deafness" (Baroff, 1969); or about "the relationship between deafness and personality factors (Myklebust, 1960). To these questions, one answer emerges with increasing frequency: It depends. The type of adjustment arising in a deaf individual varies not only with the particular interaction of genetic and environmental variables which form personality in any human being, but with factors unique to deaf persons, including etiology of hearing loss, age at onset, degree of loss, hearing status of parents, linguistic competence, preferred communication mode, and responses of family members and others to the person with impaired hearing.

These variables were largely ignored in early studies. For

example, degree of hearing loss was not specified in certain studies: Although Welles (1932) and Pintner (1933) refer to their subjects as hard of hearing, and Pintner, Fusfeld and Brunschwig (1937) refer to their sample as deaf, the basis for the distinction is not clear. Of these three studies, age at onset of loss and preferred communication mode were specified in only one (Pintner, 1933).

Research designs by later investators reflected a more explicit cognizance that personality characteristics of deaf persons vary on a continuum from pathology to "normality" to health (see, for example, Rainer et al., 1969; Jarvik, Salzberger and Falek, 1969; Neyhus, 1964; Levine and Wagner, 1974). Increasingly, researchers are taking into account such variables as age at onset of hearing loss (e.g., Rainer et al., 1969; Myklebust, 1960; Neyhus, 1964; Levine and Wagner, 1974; Mendelson, Siger and Solomon, 1960) and preferred communication mode of subjects (e.g., Neyhus, 1964; Levine and Wagner, 1974; Mendelson, Siger and Solomon, 1960; Basilier, 1964).

A central issue in personality research in deafness is the extent to which personality development is influenced by the sensory deficit per se versus being shaped by responses of important people in the deaf individual's life. Of particular importance in the latter category are attitudes of parents and of school personnel toward the condition of deafness, and related decisions regarding the communication mode to be used with a deaf child (lipreading and speech to the exclusion of sign language, for example, versus utilizing both oral and manual modes) and the choice of educational setting for the

child (public school versus residential school for the deaf, for example). Hearing status of parents is another crucial factor. It is reasonable to ask whether the news that one's child is deaf will be received and responded to differently by parents who are themselves deaf than by parents who have no knowledge of the experiential implications of being deaf. Although these questions have been systematically addressed in research on deaf children (see especially Stuckless and Birch, 1966; Meadow, 1968; Schlesinger and Meadow, 1972) they are rarely explored in research on deaf adults. Certain investigators (in particular Basilier, 1964 and Ingalls, 1946) do not attribute personality characteristics in deaf adults to the hearing loss per se; familial and pedagogical influences are held to be important as well. Their research designs do not, however, address these factors. Of the studies reviewed here, only Jarvik, Salzberger and Falek (1969) in a study of deaf adults of outstanding success, included in their design an investigation of the influence of parental attitudes on later success.

What follows is a summary of conclusions of the major studies on the relationship between deafness and personality characteristics in deaf adults. The studies are grouped according to the primary data gathering technique employed. First will be presented studies utilizing personality tests. Studies whose data were gathered primarily by clinical interview will be summarized next.

Studies utilizing personality tests. Five studies investigated deaf adult personality characteristics using paper-and-

pencil measures. Three of these were among the earliest research studies conducted on deaf adults (Welles, 1932); Pintner, 1933; Pintner, Fusfeld and Brunschwig, 1937) and utilized the Bernreuter Personality Inventory. This inventory consists of 125 items which may be answered "yes", "?", or "no". Responses are scored for four traits: neurotic-tendency, self-sufficiency, introversion and dominance. The broad conclusion reached by these studies was that persons with impaired hearing tended to be slightly more neurotic, introverted and submissive than persons with normal hearing, but the large overlap between the two groups was more significant than the differences.

Myklebust (1960) used the MMPI to compare personality characteristics of hard of hearing and profoundly deaf adults. Hard of hearing subjects were members of a Hearing Society where they participated in Speechreading classes and other activities; deaf subjects were students at Gallaudet College, the world's only liberal arts college for deaf persons. Age of onset, degree of hearing loss and sex were found to be significant variables. Using as a criterion for "emotional deviation" a consistent pattern of statistically significant scale departures from a T-score of 50, Myklebust found that subjects with profound, early deafness manifested the greatest deviation from a normally hearing population. Males irrespective of age of onset or degree of hearing loss showed more personality disorder than females. Profiles of females with profound early hearing loss resembled those of males with similar onset and degree of

loss, whereas the hard of hearing females showed no characteristic adjustment pattern. Although differences were found by age of onset of loss, degree of loss and sex, nonetheless a characteristic profile of personality for Myklebust's entire sample did emerge. "The pattern was one of lack of apprehension, worry and concern with oneself, and the manifestation of obliviousness..." (p. 157). The most pronounced feature of this profile was a peak at the schizophrenia scale, the only scale on which the mean value for his sample exceeded a T score of 70 (sample mean 70.12). Myklebust attributed the Sc elevation to the interpersonal isolation brought about by deafness, rather to "mental illness". Myklebust concluded:

> The personality pattern which emerges is a feeling of severe isolation and detachment with aggressive, almost desperate attempts to compensate and thereby maintain interpersonal contacts. The primary conclusion to be drawn from this study, therefore, is that deafness, particularly when profound and from early life, imposes a characteristic restriction on personality but does not cause mental illness. (p. 158).

A study by Trybus (1973) yielded results strikingly different from those of Myklebust. Trybus used the Sixteen Personality Factors Test, an objective instrument designed to measure dimensions of personality derived from factor-analytic study of real-life behavior and self-reporting answers on questionnaire items. Primary factors range on a continuum from low to high and include such contrasting pairs as "reserved, aloof" vs. "outgoing, warmhearted"; "submissive, humble, mild" vs. "dominant, assertive, aggressive"; and "confident, self-assured" vs. "insecure, apprehensive". Like Myklebust's deaf subjects, Trybus' were students at Gallaudet College. Trybus

summarized his results by gender, as follows: females were substantially brighter than the norm group, as expected for a college group by comparison with general norms. Females were also more emotionally stable, more happy-go-lucky, more liberal in their thinking, and more controlled and self-disciplined than normative averages. They were less suspicious, less apprehensive and troubled, less self-sufficient, and less tense than the norm. Males were more intelligent, more liberal in their thinking, more sensitive and tender-minded, more impulsive and happy-go-lucky, more outgoing, emotionally stable, assertive, bold, suspicious, controlled and self-disciplined than the norm. Trybus considered his findings preliminary normative data for a deaf college population, but was careful to caution against generalizing the findings to the deaf population at large, given the unique intellectual and personal capacities necessary for admission to Gallaudet College.

Four studies were found which utilized projective tests to assess personality characteristics in deaf adults. Three of these are Rorschach studies. Zucker (1947) administered the Rorschach to deaf and hard of hearing adults attending a clinic for otological treatment. Subjects were heterogeneous for all other variables, including education, occupation, and degree and onset of hearing loss. In the administration, Rorschach instructions were given in print, and more than usual praise was given. Zucker reported massed data only, and concluded that the subjects showed a high stereotypy in thought content, and little originality in cognition as a whole. The

subjects' responses suggested passivity, submissiveness, resignation, suppressed hostility, anxiety and depression.

Baroff (1969), in an attempt to separate facets of personality primarily associated with deafness from those influenced by the added presence of psychiatric disorder, administered the Rorschach to ten deaf schizophrenics, eleven deaf persons with neuroses and character disorders, and ten deaf adults with no manifest psychopathology. Characterization of Baroff's findings is difficult, as data are presented in narrative form and no summary or conclusion is given. In general the findings suggest that certain cognitive and affective features are unique to deafness, and that these differences tend to be more pronounced in groups with psychopathology. Certain additional differences emerged in the psychopathological groups. Subjects' cognitive approach tended to be concrete, practical and unimaginative. Thinking was vague and undifferentiated rather than synthetic, with a lack of attention to detail and nuance. Conventional, reality-bound perception characterized all but the schizophrenic subjects' responses. Affectively, subjects showed a diminished sensitivity to both inner and outer stimuli, with an accompanying propensity to act on impulse. Baroff concludes:

> The test data ... may be interpreted as consistent with the observations that the deaf are disinclined to self-exploration, generally not anxiety-prone, and deficient in impulse control. At the same time, the data give the impression of an overall lack of depth in emotional responsiveness (p. 180).

Neyhus (1964) in an effort to define cognitive and emotional

characteristics of successful deaf adults, used a projective battery including the Rorschach, the Make-a-Picture Test, the Rotter Incomplete Sentences Blank, and the Human Figure Drawing Test. Subjects were severely to profoundly deaf members of religious and social organizations of the deaf in two large Midwestern cities and from the staffs of three residential schools for the deaf. Favorable socio-economic status, superior educational achievement and above average intelligence were further criteria for subject selection. Neyhus' results are reminiscent of those of Myklebust. Analysis of subjects' responses to the MAPS suggested social isolation, with limitations in scope and number of those interpersonal relationships which are formed. "Maladjustment" emerged on the Rotter Incomplete Sentences Blank and "distorted perception" on the Human Figure Drawing test. The Rorschach revealed the personality of deaf adults to be "restricted in breadth of experience, rigid and confused in thought processes, and characterized by an inability to integrate experiences meaningfully" (p. 325). Language facility (skill in English, presumably) was found by Neyhus to be a significant factor in performance on projective tests, leading him to speculate that language skill enables fuller communication of affective experience.

Levine and Wagner (1974) conducted a carefully designed and executed projective study. The authors wished "not only to disclose personality traits but more particularly to get at the roots of personality differences in deaf groups." (p. 1195) The authors hypothesized that sharp linguistic differences among groups would be

manifested in sharp personality differences. Subjects were severely-to-profoundly deaf individuals who had lost their hearing at or before age five. They represented four groups, labeled "Exceptional", "Illiterate or Marginal", "Typical" and "Psychotic". Primary independent variable differences among the first three groups centered on Method of Communicating and Reading Level. The Exceptional group read at high school and college levels and preferred oral-aural communication modes (lipreading, speech and use of residual hearing) over the use of sign language. The Typical group were high school pupils who preferred a combination of manual (sign language) and oral communication modes, and whose mean reading level was 6.9. The Illiterate group's mean reading level was 2.4 and their major communication mode was pantomime. The test employed, the Hand Test (Wagner, 1962) consists of ten cards, nine of which portray simple line drawings of hands in ambiguous poses. The tenth card is blank. For the first nine cards subjects tell the examiner what the hands appear to be doing; for the tenth card, subjects imagine a hand and tell what it is doing. Responses are said to mirror the subjects' prototypal action tendencies and are scored on a number of dimensions within each of four major categories: Interpersonal responses involving relations with other people; Environmental responses in which impersonal objects are manipulated; Maladjustive responses reflecting difficulty establishing effective interpersonal and environmental contact; and Withdrawal responses indicating an inability to project a meaningful or realistic action tendency.

In discussing their results, Levine and Wagner highlighted two findings: a consistently negative Acting Out Score, suggesting "...that deaf people as a whole are not prone to "act out"-- to strike out aggressively against their fellow man" (p. 1201); and consistently high Communication scores, especially for the Illiterate and Typical groups, leading the authors to conclude that these groups of deaf people may expend energy in communication to the detriment of activity and introspection. The authors summarized the differences among groups as follows:

> The Illiterate deaf were characterized by compulsive and stereotyped efforts to maintain communication, difficulties in relating to certain aspects of reality, and a keen sense of inferiority. The Typical deaf, while psychologically more intact that the Illiterate deaf, still showed a tendency toward compulsive efforts at communication. The Exceptional deaf demonstrated no untoward deviations when compared to norms derived from hearing peers. These Psychotic deaf evidenced a profound withdrawal from and inability to relate to the world of reality (p. 1213).

Levine and Wagner's broad conclusion is that the personalities of deaf persons are divergent, and that psychological development is strongly influenced by linguistic competence.

Studies utilizing clinical interviews. Four studies used clinical interviews as their sole or primary mode of inquiry into the relationship between deafness and personality characteristics. Knapp (1948) conducted psychiatric interviews with hard-of-hearing soldiers receiving aural rehabilitation service during the second World War at the Deshon General Hospital, an Army Hearing Rehabilitation Center. Onset of hearing loss of most of his subjects was sudden and late in life rather than congenital or prelingual. Of 1280 patients admitted

to the center for aural rehabilitation during the six month period chosen for the study, 250, or 19.5 % were referred for psychiatric interviews. The total 1280 may be classified as follows:

Group I	No psychiatric disease, or disease unrelated to hearing disability	82.3%
Group II	Neurotic reaction to physiologic hearing loss	5.5%
Group III	Mixed cases with both neurotic reaction to loss and psychogenic increase in loss	2.8%
Group IV	Psychogenic hearing loss, physiologic loss minimal or insignificant	5.7%

Knapp's results are reported primarily as detailed and sensitively written case histories. Neurotic reactions (Group II) occurred primarily in those with more severe and chronic loss, and included somatic symptoms (tinnitus, headache), intellectual difficulties and social insecurity. Defensive responses included "overcompensated" outgoing striving, denial of the hearing loss, retreat from society, displacement of anxiety, and neurotic exploitation of the hearing loss. Group III was characterized by periodic fluctuations in hearing acuity, apparently brought on by obvious emotional stress. Knapp described patients with psychogenic hearing loss (Group IV) as seclusive, depressed, and sometimes unduly suspicious, with occasional paranoid reactions. Knapp took pains to note that the ideas of reference in his patients often had a more realistic than delusional base, arising often from actual communication difficulties faced by these patients.

Knapp's broad conclusions are: 1) that his population showed "no

one "psychology of deafness", but the psychology of many individuals defending themselves against a sensory handicap which led primarily to a difficulty in communication", and 2) that "psychogenic hearing loss... was a subtle and significant entity, important in the diagnosis and treatment of aural patients."

Zeckel (1950), like Knapp (1948), studied psychiatric problems in a group of patients receiving audiological services. Zeckel interviewed an unspecified number of deaf and hard of hearing patients from the deafness clinic of the Vanderbilt Clinic. He presented case histories in a format designed to explore the relationship between psychiatric symptoms and several factors: degree, duration and age of onset of deafness, mental make-up prior to hearing loss, influence of early otological treatment or psychotherapy, and accompanying symptoms such as tinnitus, discharge and dizziness. For each of the six factors, the data were presented as case studies with discussion. The majority of Zeckel's subjects' onset of hearing loss was during adulthood. A variety of symptomatic and defensive trends emerged. These included denial of deafness; suspiciousness, with more marked paranoid symptomatology and defensive style in some patients; depressive trends, with seclusive and self-punitive tendencies and occasional suicidal ideation; restless irritability; self-consciousness; work inhibition; and in children, hyperactive and oppositional behavior. Healthy adjustment was also chronicled in some of Zeckel's subjects, facilitated by audiological and psychiatric treatment. Zeckel concluded that adjustment of individuals to hearing

loss ranges from the healthy and realistic to the maladaptive, with neurasthenic-hysterical, obsessive and paranoid-depressed types. These adaptive styles are not unique to deaf individuals, noted Zeckel, but typify those with other physical disabilities. Premorbid personality style was cited as a significant determinant of success in compensating to loss of hearing. Zeckel did not consider deaf persons to be characterized by pathological levels of suspiciousness. He accounted for suspiciousness in his subjects as a compensatory measure similar to that developed by members of racial minorities adjusting to a mildly hostile environment. Paranoid adjustment to deafness arises only in those subjects who were premorbidly psychoneurotic.

Zeckel's final conclusion was that "There is certainly no uniqueness to be expected, but there are varying reactions, all dependent on the personality of the patient who became deaf. What the deaf have in common is discouragement about conquering the hearing world, often resulting in resentment." (p. 346.)

Basilier (1964) interviewed twenty patients with early-onset deafness in a hospital psychiatric unit in Oslo, Norway. Results were presented in the form of four selected case histories. Impulsive, depressive, oppositional and passive-dependent themes emerged in these histories. The author concluded that "congenital or early acquired deafness may give a certain personality structure-- a surdophrenia-- and that deaf persons with nervous reactions are in need of specialized psychiatric service." The author tended to attribute special characteristics of deaf persons primarily to environmental

factors, in particular the educational insistence on only-oral/aural communication modes for deaf students. He cited detrimental effects on cognitive and social development arising from a refusal to allow deaf children to communicate in sign language.

Altshuler (1964) presented a summary of the clinical findings of the 1955-1962 Mental Health Project for the Deaf conducted under the auspices of the Department of Medical Genetics of the New York State Psychiatric Institute at Columbia University. The purposes of his report were to summarize the personality traits of deaf persons as revealed by the Project's numerous investigations; to relate these traits to characteristic features of certain psychotic illnesses in deaf persons, in particular depressive disorders; and to discuss implications of these findings from physiological and psychodynamic viewpoints. Data for Altshuler's summary include the histories of roughly 200 deaf outpatients; histories of hospitalized deaf patients, numbering about 225 at any given time; and information gained in interviews of over 300 normal deaf persons and their families, a random sample of the Project's census of the deaf population in New York State.

The focus of Altshuler's report is on depressive disorders in the deaf samples. He concludes that although the incidence of manic-depressive and involutional psychoses in the total deaf population probably does not differ from that in the hearing population, the pattern of these disorders does seem different in deaf patients. He points to a relative infrequency in deaf patients of depression with

retardation, guilt and feelings of worthlessness. Depressed deaf patients show instead a tendency toward anxiety, agitation and paranoid defenses, especially projection. Altshuler attributes these tendencies in deaf patients to a deficiency in the internalization of rage, the theoretical dynamic behind the guilt, self-derogation and retardation characteristic of many depressed patients. The proclivity toward externalization rather than internalization of rage Altshuler holds as related to disruptions in early object relations imposed by the lack of hearing. Structural personality deficits are said by him to result. Specifically, he proposes that the early mother-infant bonding process is distorted or attenuated by virtue of the child's inability to maintain sensory contact with the mother when she is outside its field of vision. Later, superego formation is disturbed by the communication barrier: The lack of opportunity to mediate verbally the instilling of familial and cultural moral codes creates a mutually frustrating situation for mother and child, characterized by a preponderance of coercion on the part of both. The end result, according to Altshuler, is a tendency toward externalization and action rather than an internalization of the parental figure's mores and regulatory functions. The hypothesized lack of internalization of rage in the depressed deaf individual, he proposes, is one instance of this broader externalizing tendency.

Research question: How does being deaf affect specific perceptual phenomena? Specific sensory phenomena in deaf persons are examined in three studies. Two investigations look at dreams

(Mendelson, Siger and Solomon, 1960; Sarlin, 1984), while a third study is an inquiry into auditory hallucinations in deaf schizophrenics (Remvig, 1969).

In a carefully designed study, Mendelson, Siger and Solomon (1960) hypothesized that deaf college students' fantasy behavior and dreams would incorporate unique modifications of perception and communication related to auditory deprivation. Subjects were grouped by age of onset of hearing loss: Congenital, Acquired Before Age Five, and Acquired After Age Five. In general, the authors' hypothesis was borne out: Dreams of their deaf subjects differed from those of hearing persons. Specific differences were greater vividness, greater use of three-dimensionality, more use of color, and greater frequency of recall. The congenitally deaf subjects tended to manifest these differences most markedly. Of the three groups, their dreams were most frequently recalled, most vivid (this quality is not defined in the study), contained the brightest, most saturated and intense colors and utilized three dimensions most often. In efforts to account for the unique qualities of their deaf subjects' dreams the authors looked to the possible effects of a lack of hearing on the balance between dream repression and dream recall. Hearing sound upon awakening would tend to disrupt dream recall and a lack of sound would facilitate it. Stated differently, hearing sound upon awakening would facilitate dream repression, whereas a lack of sound would hinder dream repression.

An intriguing feature of this study was the attention paid to

sign language and its bearing on symbolic processing in deaf persons. The most striking finding in this regard was the presence of "primitive signs" in the dreams of only the congenitally deafened subjects. "Primitive signs," as defined in this study, are "gestural communication employed by parents or parental figures in early childhood before the standard language of signs was learned. Such gestures usually conveyed strong affective qualities such as anger, disapproval, warning, fear, and occasionally approval and praise." The authors utilize this finding to argue against those who theorize that deafness engenders unique deficits in superego formation.

Sarlin (1984) reported on his use of dream interpretation in psychoanalytically oriented psychotherapy with four lower socioeconomic-class deaf patients ranging diagnostically from an adolescent compulsive personality to depressive, borderline and acute psychotic disorders. Sarlin found his patients able to be trained to increase their capacity for self-observation and self-report. They possessed sufficiently developed abstract abilities to enable meaningful interpretation of unconscious material, facilitating insight into intrapsychic conflicts. Greater autonomy and object constancy were achieved through clarification of the conflicts illuminated by dream interpretation. He used his findings to argue against the notion of a stereotypic "deaf personality" characterized by impulsivity, rigidity and suspiciousness, asserting that "The distortion in interpersonal functioning due to early total deafness can only be determined on an individual basis" (p. 86).

Remvig (1969) studied the experience of auditory hallucinations in psychotic deaf patients. Despite the seeming contradiction in the notion of "heard" hallucinations in persons who cannot hear, the phenomenon has been reported by a number of investigators (Koppe, 1867; Cramer, 1896; Hallgren, 1959, all cited in Remvig, 1969; also Altshuler and Rainer, 1958; Basilier, 1964). Of the 50 psychotic deaf patients whose records Remvig reviewed, 27 were designated as having hallucinated at some time. The hallucinations of thirteen of these were reported to be auditory in nature. Seven were described as "talking to themselves in finger language" or "appearing to be hallucinated". Two stated that they "heard sounds", and four reported hearing "voices" (Remvig, 1969, p. 115). Remvig interviewed these four patients and reports his data in the form of case summaries with particular attention to descriptive accounts of the hallucinatory experiences. Although initially reported as sound or voices, close questioning of the subjects revealed that the experience takes various tactile forms. One patient reported that "he was being subjected to "air shocks" and electricity which he thought was hitting him under the soles of his feet, in the hollows of his knees and on his body." (p. 116). Another stated that he heard voices. These struck both his ears and it felt as if they were being breathed upon. (Author's emphasis. p. 117). A third patient had signed conversations with a hallucinated person in an attempt to have "spiritualistic (sic)" contact with her deceased, deaf-blind sister. She reported that during these conversations "she felt herself to be under the influence

of sound waves that she could feel against her cheek." (Author's emphasis). These sound waves "spoke" to her by hitting her cheek with such force as almost to knock her over.... They would also sometimes beat against her heart. (p. 118). Remvig's observations regarding the tactile nature of these phenomena are consistent with those of Altshuler and Rainer (1958), who report a deaf patient whose auditory hallucinations, on close questioning, "seemed mediated through the proprioceptive and vibratory senses which are not affected by the hearing loss." (p. 79)

Remvig notes that the exploration of auditory hallucinations in deaf patients sheds light on the nature of these experiences in general. He asserts that hallucinations should not be considered an isolated symptom, but rather one manifestation of the broader perceptual and cognitive disruption characteristic of psychotic functioning. Those aspects of these patients' distorted perception and thinking which have a communicative quality can only be conveyed to others as "voices", for the voice is the means by which one person communicates to another. It is the effort to convey this experience to the investigator, rather than an inherently auditory nature to the hallucinatory experiences, which leads the deaf patient to describe them as voices. Remvig's conclusion is consistent with that of Schroder (cited in Remvig, 1969): "That the patients, with superficial inquiry, speak of hearing and generally accept the term "voices" readily, is itself an explanation for the fundamental appearance of the feeling of foreignness of one's own thinking. This

explanation lies closest to hand indeed because words which we do not think or speak ourselves are only known as something heard'" (Schroder, 1926, cited in Remvig, 1969; translated from the German by John Shell; emphasis added).

Critique of the Literature

The overriding criticism of this body of research grows out of a discrepancy already touched upon in the Introduction: the immature, rigid, egocentric, impulsive, externalizing characterization which seems to emerge is difficult to reconcile with the adequate personal, familial and social adjustments which are evident to many to relate closely with deaf persons.

Levine (1981) addresses this problem in a useful way: She notes that personality research with deaf persons has tended toward a norm-centered, rather than a person-centered approach. Norm-centered approaches, according to Mischel (1977) compare differences between people, usually on a trait-or attribute continuum. A set of norms derived form a reference group constitutes the standard against which all are compared. The question which arises regarding research with deaf persons is "Whence the norms?". Against what standard are deaf people being compared? Of the studies surveyed here which utilized personality assessment instruments, the tests without exception were standardized on hearing samples. The argument could be made that these instruments yield the most valuable information about deaf persons, since deaf people live in a predominantly hearing world and

the instruments give a picture of how the deaf person measures up in that world. On the other hand, Levine argues that despite their daily immersion in a world filled with hearing people, deaf people do not necessarily inhabit the same psychological world. The construction, administration, scoring and interpretation of existing instruments are based upon hearing persons' experience. This may distort the personality picture of deaf persons which emerges.

Three aspects of this broad problem stand out. First is the issue of possible "hearing bias" in the construction and interpretation of the tests used in these studies. Second is language: the language used by most deaf adults is American Sign Language, whereas tests are constructed and administered in English. Third is a tendency in this body of research to focus on the pathology end of the health-to-pathology continuum, with a resultant failure to elaborate average and healthy deaf experience. Each of these issues brings into question internal validity: Is the set of traits which emerges from these studies a function of personality as shaped by deafness or a function of other factors? The three concerns will be addressed in turn here.

First is the issue of the tests themselves, and the extent to which they may be biased toward the hearing experience. One test used in several early studies (Welles, 1932: Pintner, 1933; Pintner, Fusfeld and Brunschwig, 1937) is the Bernreuter Personality Inventory. Some of the potentially biasing items, recognized by Welles, are:

28. Are you very talkative at social gatherings?
29. Do you ever heckle or question a public speaker?
32. Do you prefer traveling with someone who will make all the necessary arrangements to the adventure of traveling alone?
59. Do you find it difficult to speak in public?
87. Do you take the responsibility of introducing people a party?

To address the validity issue regarding items like these, Welles had such items assessed by a panel of judges composed of psychologists and staff members of a league of the hard of hearing. Agreement among panel members was sufficiently low as to the items' potentially biasing effects that Welles concluded the instrument was valid when used with hearing impaired samples.

Myklebust (1960), in his MMPI study of deaf adults' personality, attempted to be sensitive to the issue of biased items in the instrument. Potentially loaded items cited by him included:

5. I am easily awakened by noise.
25. I would like to be a singer.
185. My hearing is apparently as good as most people.
341. At times I hear so well it bothers me.

Based on the insignificant statistical differences in results when "loaded" items were eliminated, Myklebust did not question the overall validity of his basic finding that deafness imposes a "characteristic restriction of personality" typified by severe isolation and detachment, but does not cause "mental illness" (p. 158).

Myklebust's consideration of validity issues could have probed deeper. First, Myklebust assumed that his subjects had no difficulty responding to these items, citing the lack of "can't say" responses. Response set, specifically subjects' expectations that items ought to

be responded to, could account for subjects' adherence to "true" and "false" responses. More importantly, Myklebust could have addressed the validity issue in a more subtle way, along the lines of an analysis of the Bernreuter inventory conducted by Pinter, Fusfeld and Brunschwig (1937). The investigators noticed that certain inventory items might carry different meanings for deaf than for hearing respondents. Most of these items related to subjects' responses to being in various social situations. Specifically, the investigators guessed that deaf and hearing persons' responses would differ depending upon the hearing status of those present in the social group. They rewrote several questions to test their hypothesis. Examples follow:

24a. Are you troubled with shyness among hearing people?
b. ... among deaf people?
28a. Are you very talkative at social gatherings of hearing people?
b. ... of deaf people?

54a. Do you often feel lonesome when you are with hearing people?
b. ... with deaf people?
87a. Do you take the responsibility of introducing people at a party of hearing people?
b. ... of deaf people?

Statistically significant differences emerged between hearing impaired subjects' responses when deaf versus hearing people were involved. The difference was in the expected direction, i.e., deaf people tended to be more at ease and less inhibited in deaf groups than in hearing.

Items other than those cited by Myklebust might be differently answered by deaf respondents if hearing status of those present were specified. These items include:

24. No one seems to understand me.
52. I prefer to pass by school friends, or people I know but have not seen for a long time, unless they speak to me first.
305. Even when I am with people I feel lonely much of the time.
309. I seem to make friends about as quickly as others do.
353. I have no dread of going into a room by myself where other people have already gathered and are talking.
369. At parties I am more likely to sit by myself or with just one other person than to join in with the crowd.
396. In a group of people I would not be embarrassed to be called upon to start a discussion or give an opinion about something I know well.

Assuming these questions are set in a hearing context, if a hearing person were to answer a high proportion of them in the direction of shyness and discomfort, MMPI results would suggest a personality characterized by social isolation and alienation. Imagine the same hearing person answering the same questions set in a deaf context, however. Barker, et al. (1953) present the argument well: "A nondeaf person in a group of deaf might display more withdrawal behavior than a deaf person, yet we would not conclude from this that the former is more introverted." (p. 214). We would be more likely to see the withdrawal as an expected response to finding oneself among people with whom one does not share easy communication. The argument holds in the reverse. A deaf person who tends to recede socially in hearing settings is not necessarily manifesting a personality trait. His response may be situational, and markedly different in settings in which communication flows more easily (i.e., with other deaf persons).

Five of the MMPI items listed above are on the Schizophrenia scale (Sc). Elevation on this scale by Myklebust's subjects formed

the backbone of his conclusion that deaf people's personality is characterized by social isolation and detachment. In light of the above arguments, the meaning of the Sc elevation is called into question: Do these subjects feel alienated in hearing or deaf settings, or both? Is their withdrawal a personality trait or an understandable situational response? In studies using the MMPI and other instruments in which the unique characteristics of deaf persons' psychological world are not tapped, these questions remain unanswered, and the conclusions must be viewed with a skeptical eye.

Both Knapp (1968) and Zeckel (1953) were sensitive in relating their results to possibly unique qualities in the experience of the deaf person. In their studies of hard of hearing and deaf adults, both Knapp and Zeckel noted a relatively high degree of suspiciousness in certain of their subjects. Both qualified this finding, however, viewing it as a reality-bound compensatory measure in light of their subjects' life experiences of being avoided, exploited and talked about by others, in ways similar to those experienced by minority group members. Both investigators question psychological lore stating that deafness engenders paranoia. Both point to the importance of personality structure prior to the onset of hearing loss, in influencing adjustment to it. Knapp, whose study included an investigation of psychogenic deafness, suggested that patients who are initially paranoid are more vulnerable than are others to develop hysterical hearing loss. "Traditionally it has always been thought that the deaf man is likely to be paranoid, but perhaps the reverse is

more true; possibly paranoid personalities may enhance, or even create, their own deafness" p. 220.

Levine and Wagner (1974), in their study of personality and deafness using the Hand Test, showed insight into many facets of the deaf experience, both in a comprehensive and critical literature review, and in a rigorous research design. They took the position that the notion of 'the' personality of 'the' deaf is untenable, and set out to disclose personality differences among deaf groups based on communicative differences. Despite a sensitivity to the unique requirements of doing research with this population, and in particular their care in choosing examiners skilled in communicating with deaf people to administer the test, the investigators stopped short of extending this sensitivity fully to the interpretation of their findings. One of the most significant results was a relatively high COM (communication) score. In hearing populations such elevations suggest an over-preoccupation with communicative activities. The investigators pointed to the high COM, in conjuction with the relatively low ACT score (ACT stands for "activity" and indicates constructive accomplishment) to conclude that "...the verbal handicap has extracted its toll in requiring that an inordinate amount of psychological energy be directed toward establishing communication rather than 'doing'." (p. 1211).

Levine and Wagner make the mistake of drawing these conclusions about their deaf subjects' personalities on the basis of comparisons with hearing norms, in a domain (hands) in which there is a clear

difference in psychological significance for the two populations. In a group for whom the hand, in addition to being an agent of functioning in affective, interpersonal and occupational spheres, is also the primary tool in the linguistic sphere, a higher proportion of communicatively oriented responses seems inevitable.

A second aspect of the psychological world of deaf individuals which, in being overlooked, has proven problematic for research, is the unique use of language by this population. The majority of deaf adults consider themselves far more skilled in the use of sign language and fingerspelling than in the use of English (Schein and Delk, 1974, p. 63). The sign language used by deaf adults in this country is American Sign Language or ASL, a language whose semantic, morphological and syntactic structures are different from those of English, just as Russian, French or Chinese differ from English. Beginning with Stokoe's (1960/1978) seminal monograph, "Sign Language Structure: An Outline of the Visual Communication Systems of the American Deaf", originally published in 1960, the last twenty-five years have seen an explosion of research into the structure of this visual-manual language (for collections of this work see Siple, 1978; Klima and Bellugi, 1979; Stokoe, 1980; Baker and Battison, 1980).

Deaf persons inhabit the larger hearing society, and most, in addition to using sign language, acquire English to some degree. Fluency in English is attained by some. The acquisition and use of the English language without the benefit of hearing, however, is an exceedingly difficult project. Deaf students' scores on standardized

achievement tests attests to this difficulty. Furth (1966), in a survey of 5000 deaf students' reading achievement as measured by the Metropolitan Elementary Reading Test, reported a mean grade equivalent of 3.5 for deaf students aged 15 1/2 to 16 1/2. The Gallaudet College Office of Demographic Studies (Gentile, 1972) reported similar findings, using the Stanford Achievement Test. Scores in achievement areas not dependent on proficiency in Standard English syntax (Arithmetic Computation, Spelling) were higher than scores on areas requiring English knowledge (Word Meaning, Paragraph Meaning, Social Studies, Science, Word Study Skills). For the average seventeen-year old deaf student in Gentile's sample of over 16,000 students, Arithmetic Achievement was at the 6.03 grade level and Paragraph Meaning at the 4.02 grade level.

The implications for personality research on deaf adults are clear: When paper and pencil measures are used, one must ask whether results give a picture of personality or are related to incomplete comprehension of items composed in English. The MMPI is particularly troublesome in this regard. Rosen's (1959) study of deaf students suggested aberrant personality functioning based on the MMPI. Rosen qualified these results, cautioning readers about comparing deaf persons to the test's hearing norms. She noted that the use of English in the instrument, in particular the idiomatic expressions, rendered it inappropriate for deaf subjects.

Solutions are being devised to the sticky methodological problems posed by the poor linguistic match between existing instruments and

deaf persons. Brauer (1982) listed nine self-report instruments which have been translated on videotape into ASL by a process known as "back-translation" (Tweney and Hoemann, 1976). Such procedures are not yet widely known to psychological researchers in deafness, and the body of work reviewed here was done prior to the advent of such sophisticated techniques.

Another language-related issue in these studies is the manner of communication between investigator and deaf subject. Given that communication preference among deaf subjects varies so widely (the majority use sign language but many prefer to speak and lipread), it seems evident that the communication mode used by the investigator in interacting with deaf subjects should be matched to the subject's preferred mode. Without such a match, validity may be compromised: In investigations involving face to face interaction between subject and investigator (the Rorscach or clinical interviews, for example), findings which emerge may be a function of poor communication between subject and investigator rather than indicative of personality characteristics. Disturbingly, some studies give indication neither of subjects' nor investigators' communication mode (e.g. Knapp, 1948; Menninger, 1924. In other studies, communication mode can be inferred but is not explicitly stated (e.g. Zeckel, 1950; Altshuler and Rainer, 1958; Baroff, 1969). In one study, subjects' preferred communication mode is not given, but examiners' communication mode is specified as a combination of written instructions and praise (Zucker, 1947). Some studies specify subjects' communication mode as signing

but do not clearly describe investigator's communication mode (e.g. Basilier, 1964; Remvig, 1969). In some studies there is an effort to utilize examiners skilled in communicating with deaf subjects (e.g. Grinker, 1969.) Two studies stand out for the sensitivity with which they address the need to ensure full communication between subject and investigator. One (Levine and Wagner, 1974) left communication mode entirely to the subjects' choice. Communication modes included spoken language, fingerspelling, signs and pantomime. Deaf persons skilled in these communication modes were utilized as examiners. In the other study (Mendelson, Siger and Solomon, 1960), examiners used sign language interpreters during semi-structured interviews designed to gather information about subjects' dreams.

The findings of Rorschach studies illustrate a potential danger in failing to make provisions for full communication with subjects. A frequent finding in these studies is of "constriction". Zucker (1947), for example, found stereotypy in thought content and little originality. Baroff (1969) reported a "natural constriction" characterized by concreteness, a lack of richness in imagery and an indifference to precision, detail, and nuance (p. 179). Neyhus (1964) reported deaf adults to be "restricted in breadth of experience, rigid and confused in thought processes, and characterized by an inability to integrate experiences meaningfully" (p. 325). In Zucker's and Neyhus' studies, Rorschach instructions were conveyed in print. In Neyhus' study, subjects wrote down their Rorschach responses. No information is given as to how the Inquiry was

conducted. In Baroff's study, no explicit information is given as to communication, although sign language is implied.

Sachs (1976), a deaf psychologist experienced in Rorschach with deaf patients, points out that the constriction found in studies such as these could relate to communication factors. She contrasts studies finding Rorschach constriction in deaf subjects with her own clinical impressions that constriction is no more common among the deaf patients to whom she has administered Rorschachs than it is in the Rorschachs of hearing persons. Sachs argues that constriction may be generated by the nature of the interaction. A deaf subject who is asked to use a communication mode with which he or she is uncomfortable (e.g. writing) may give stereotypic responses and few determinants, due not to cognitive constriction but to a desire to shorten a distasteful task. Similarly, a deaf subject who is aware that an examiner has limited ability to comprehend signs is unlikely to give elaborately organized and multi-determined responses, in the knowledge that these responses will not be understood. In these cases constriction becomes an artifact of poor rapport and communication rather than a facet of personality. Sachs concludes that Rorschachs administered to deaf persons in sign language by persons familiar with deafness will be less likely to yield constricted protocols than those administered by persons unfamiliar with deaf persons and their language.

Hansen (1982/1983) addressed this issue empirically in his study of variables affecting Rorschach constriction in deaf college students.

The Rorschach was administered to fifty-six college students deaf either at birth or before the age of five. The Rorschach was administered by an examiner, who was deaf, under three conditions: In Condition 1, the examiner posed as a hearing person who did not know sign language, and used a sign language interpreter. In Condition 2, the examiner posed as a hearing person who did know sign language, and the test was administered in sign. In Condition 3, the examiner was identified as deaf, and the test was administered in sign language. Analysis of variance yielded no significant relationship between the chosen Rorschach constriction/dilation indices (F%, A% and M + Sum C) and the three experimental Conditions. Mean scores for these variables in Condition 3 (deaf examiner), however, differed from those for Condition 1 (hearing examiner) in the direction of less constriction. A sign test found this difference statistically significant, and the author argues that this supports the notion that the average Condition 3 record is less constricted when viewed overall than is the average Condition 1 record. Although this trend is in the expected direction, it is not powerful enough statistically to support the hypothesis that Rorschach records would be more constricted when administered by an examiner identified as hearing than when administered by the same examiner identified as deaf. An additional result was that this sample yielded profiles closer to those of the normative hearing population than samples of previous studies had done. This difference was attributed to the high educational status of the sample and to the use of sign language in all three

experimental conditions, in contrast to prior studies in which sign language was seldom used.

A third major problem with this body of literature is an overemphasis on the psychopathological end of the health-pathology continuum. The majority of studies investigate psychopathological deaf populations. Some studies do assess both pathological and normal samples; however in the conclusions drawn, distinctions between results of the two groups are sometimes blurred. The New York studies exemplify this problem. Altshuler (1964) summarized the results of the 1958-1962 Mental Health Project for the Deaf. Although he clearly delineated three distinct deaf samples (an outpatient, an inpatient and a normal group), in his summary statement the relevant distinctions disappear:

> Among the outstanding personality features of the deaf observed in the course of this project are: a lack of understanding of, and regard for, the feelings of others (empathy) coupled with inadequate insight into the impact of their own behavior and its consequences in relation to others. With a generally egocentric view of the world and with demands unfettered by excessive control machinery (conscience), the adaptive approach is characterized by gross coercive dependence. The preferred defensive reactions to tension and anxiety are typified by a kind of primitive riddance through action. In the presence of more sophistication, such defensive reactions remain at the level of simple projection. Behaviorally, this mode of handling tension is reflected in considerable impulsivity and the absence of much thoughtful introspection. (p. 65)

Altshuler notes that these characteristics exist most prominently in clinical deaf samples, but "the impression gained in clinic interviews and the general population survey is that they are present among relatively well-adjusted deaf as well" (p. 65). A collection of

major articles produced in the course of this project (Rainer, Altshuler and Kallman, 1969) contains little basis in reported interview- or other data for such a generalization to the nonpathological deaf population.

It must be reiterated that a close reading of the various aspects of this project, as well as of this body of work as a whole, reveals far more cognizance of a continuum of healthy to pathological functioning among deaf persons than summaries suggest. Unfortunately, it is the summaries which are most often cited in other studies, most often incorporated into reviews of this corpus of research, and most influential in forming an image of deaf persons' psychological functioning in the minds of mental health professionals interested in this population but not able to delve deeply into the research.

Research is needed which attempts to articulate more fully the continuum from healthy to pathological functioning in deaf persons. Psychology needs to look more closely at specific aspects of the psychological world of deaf persons, asking what influence deafness exerts on the structure of experience. Psychological instruments, if used, should be adapted or constructed to suit deaf persons. They should be administered, scored and interpreted in ways that ensure that the emergent description is a picture of personality and not a function of language differences or differences in psychological significance of stimuli. In short, methods of inquiry need to be utilized which minimize a norm-centered bias founded on the experience

of hearing persons, and allow for the detection of uniquely "deaf" experience.

A Human Science Alternative for Investigating Deaf Experience

To summarize, psychological investigations of deaf persons include a "hearing bias" in the construction and interpretation of psychological instruments used; a failure to attend to deaf persons' unique linguistic realities, both in choice of instruments and in investigator-subject communication; and an overemphasis on the psychopathological end of the health-pathology continuum. These studies too often have a deafness-as-deficiency orientation, a bias noted by numerous commentators (see for example Markowicz and Woodward, 1978; Padden, 1980). There is a persistent failure in these psychological studies, noted by Levine (1981), to consider the possibility that deaf persons inhabit a psychological world that differs from that of hearing people, and that existing modes of psychological inquiry are less than adequate in tapping that unique world. Psychology needs an approach capable of gaining access to and describing deaf experience from the point of view of deaf persons.

Phenomenology offers such an approach. Giorgi (1970) gives us a useful historical look at the evolution of method in psychology, highlighting psychology's "self-conscious" attempts, after its initial break with philosophy, to achieve status as a true science. Psychology's adherence to natural science methods of inquiry, beginning with Wundt's establishment of the first experimental laboratory in Leipzig in 1879, reflect the discipline's yearning for

recognition as a science. Giorgi traces a parallel evolution of thought in psychology, founded on a conception of psychology as a "human" rather than a natural science. Citing such thinkers as Dilthey, Brentano, and William James as seminal and tracing this line of thinking to the present, Giorgi teaches that psychology seen as human science is rooted in the premise that the domain of psychological inquiry, human experience, is so fundamentally different from the domain of natural science that natural science methods cannot do it justice.

Colaizzi (1978) elaborates this point and notes that the basic tenets of the natural science approach as applied to psychological inquiry lead to a paradox:

> ...if only observable, duplicable and measurable definitions have psychological validity, then a crucial dimension of the content of human psychological existence, namely experience, is eliminated from the study of human psychology--and this is done in the name of objectivity (p. 51).

Colaizzi suggests a different sort of objectivity, "fidelity to phenomena", as appropriate to psychological research. Fidelity to phenomena was a major component of Husserl's (1962) advocacy of a "return to the things themselves". Heidegger (1962) counseled the phenomenologist "to let that which shows itself be seen from itself in the very way in which it shows itself from itself" (p. 58). Ihde (1979) presents phenomenology as descriptive rather than explanatory:

> A phenomenological analysis (or description, as it is technically called) is... a probing for what is genuinely discoverable and potentially there, but not often seen (p. 26).

Understanding, rather than prediction or other forms of manipulation,

is the aim. The phenomenological investigator will discover that

> ...understanding the investigated phenomenon qualifies exquisitely as a criterion for research knowledge, specifically, an understanding that does not set out explicitly and exclusively to master, control, or dominate it (Colaizzi, 1978, p. 56; author's emphasis).

Keen (1975) emphasizes that rather than a methodology per se, phenomenology is "an approach, an attitude, an investigative posture" (p. 41). Regardless of the particular method chosen,

> the goal... is to help the phenomenon reveal itself more completely than it does in ordinary experience... to uncover as many meanings as possible and their relations to one another as the phenomenon presents itself in experience (p. 41).

Seen in this way, phenomenology not only describes instances of experience, but uses these descriptions to tap the structure of experience: its components and their complex interrelationships. Phenomenology seeks, Husserl tells us, to delve into "essential features" (essences) of phenomena. Ihde (1979) refers to these as "structural features" or "structural invariants" within phenomena. The product of a phenomenological study is hence a description of the phenomenon which captures those features of a given experience (anger, joy, boredom, for example) which are common to all who described it, without compromising unique features of each individual's experience. The phenomenologist strives "to articulate an abstract description of the general phenomena that will illuminate our specific experiences" (de Rivera and Kreilkamp, 1981, p. 3).

Conceptualizing phenomenology as a way of thinking or of seeing the world rather than as a particular method reminds us of

phenomenology's roots in philosophy, especially in the works of Husserl (1962), Heidegger (1962) and Merleau-Ponty (1963). Mindfulness of these philosophic roots can help the phenomenological investigator to see specific phenomenologically oriented methods emerging in various disciplines as springing from a common soil, rather than arising independently and coincidentally. Ihde (1979) cites phenomenological approaches in fields as disparate as physics, psychology, sociology and anthropology ("participant-observer" and "ethnomethodological" techniques are labels given to these approaches in sociology and anthropology). Ihde goes on to mention phenomenological thought in religion, literary criticism, and logic.

Two major "human science" oriented investigations of deafness have been conducted in the discipline of sociology (Higgins, 1980; Nash and Nash, 1981). Descriptions of these research purposes and methods are remarkably consonant with the basic tenets and methods of phenomenological psychology. Higgins (1980, p. 187) notes: "I was interested in understanding rather judging my deaf respondents". Higgins' primary source of data were interviews of one to four hours' duration with deaf adults.

> The specific incidents which my respondents related to me... serve several purposes. They are used by the respondents in organizing their world, giving meaning to it, and then displaying that world and its meanings to others (e.g. researchers like myself)....Those incidents are the concrete reference points for deaf people's feelings and perspectives (p. 190).

Higgins can be seen, then, to seek the structure of a deaf person's social reality by examining interrelationships of meanings as

revealed in accounts of specific experiences. The experience of being "outsiders in a hearing world" is the most essential feature emerging from Higgins' study. "Community," "Identity" and "Interaction" are other essences, and Higgins carefully interrelates the three. He closes with a discussion of the interdependence of deaf and hearing people in establishing identity; deafness emerges as meaningful only against a hearing ground, and majority group members (hearing people, in this case) help solidify their identities by contrasting themselves from outsiders (deaf people, in this case).

Nash and Nash take an "ethnographic" (see Spradley, 1979) approach to investigating sociological aspects of deafness: "The ethnographic approach merely aims for... the understanding of organized, culturally circumscribed experiences" (Nash and Nash, 1981, p. 5). It achieves this end by the use of field observations and interview techniques designed to preserve the "native's" point of view. The authors describe ethnomethodological research as expressing "a renewed appreciation of the subjective character of social reality" (ibid, p. 2). The validity of the emergent description is "judged according to how well it preserves the participant's standpoint" (ibid, p. 6). Like other phenomenological approaches, ethnomethodology seeks to describe experiential structure, in the form of "essences" or fundamental categories. Nash and Nash refer to these as "dimensions," and the fundamental dimensions of deaf people's social reality emerging from their study include language; deafness as

"handicap;" class consciousness; having hearing parents; community; and adaptation.

The need for a human science investigation of deaf experience within psychology has not gone unrecognized. Kohl (1967) reviewed the findings of three major studies of deaf people and concluded that although the sets of results were consistent with one another, their value was limited in that a delineation of psychological problems in a population is incomplete without an accompanying explanation for the specific ways that being a member of that population might give rise to those problems. Kohl called for "A phenomenological-descriptive model" (p. 9) as a potential means of tapping the facets of experience missing in the existing studies.

Schowe (1979), a deaf man himself and a self-made scholar beyond his 1918 bachelor's degree from Gallaudet College, took Kohl's prescription to heart. Citing "descriptive phenomenology" as "a prime tool of my own thesis" (p. 4), he examined humanistic psychological works and sociological literature on minority group experience, applying the tenets of these works to written autobiographical accounts by deaf persons. The primary theme to emerge is embodied in the title of Schowe's work, Identity Crisis in Deafness. Major themes within this broad thesis are given chapters in Schowe's book, and include "Inequality," "The Successful Imitation," "The Art of Being Deaf," and "The Sign Language."

Lisowski's (1981) Naturalistic Study of the Experience of Living as a Deaf Person is the only psychological study conducted in the

spirit of human science. Unfortunately, serious methodological flaws render the study a poor example of human science research efforts. The study will be described in brief: Participants were twelve profoundly deaf adults ranging in age from fifty-eight to eighty-two. All were residents on the same floor of a housing project. In a method borrowed from cultural anthropology, nine interviews were conducted and seventy social observations were made in a variety of settings over an eleven month period. Interviews and social observations were conducted in sign language and translated into English. In the interview, "the person was asked to 'tell' about his or her life and to describe... feelings about deafness" (p. 20). Observation settings included meetings, building and restaurant luncheons, parties, building sponsored festivities and shopping trips.

Doubt is cast on the study's credibility by the author's comments on the language use of her participants. The author states that the study's interviews were conducted in ASL. This is quite unlikely, as the author had learned to sign only about two years prior to conducting the study, and cultural forces in the deaf community (discussed in more detail in the Methods chapter of this dissertation) work against the use of ASL with a novice, hearing signer. Lack of familiarity with sign language is further seen in the author's assertion that "sign language adequately deals with the concrete, but is lacking in the adjectives that provide texture and shading to the world about us. As a result, a deaf person perceives concreteness where a hearing person does not" (p. 294). This statement reflects

ignorance of the lexicon of American Sign Language, which contains many signed adjectives, as well as inattention to linguistic research on ASL which documents a complex set of adverbial modulations on adjectival predicates (see Klima and Bellugi, 1979), and derivational processes for transforming nouns to adjectives (see Bellugi, 1980). In addition, the statement reveals a failure to take into account a body of cognitive research which refutes the notion that deaf persons' thinking is restricted to the concrete (see for example Furth, 1971, 1973; and Moores' (1978) summary).

Methodological difficulties emerge in the author's description of data analysis. Interview and observational data were transcribed. Data were edited to eliminate interviewer questions, comments by non-deaf people, and irrelevant comments and redundancies by participants. These edited transcripts were included in the work in a chapter entitled "Data." The author reports having conducted a thematic analysis, but results of this analysis are not given. The absence of a discernible analysis and set of results limits the study's usefulness: Although topics raised in the discussion do reflect common issues in the area of psychological aspects of deaf experience, there is no rigorously forged link between the data and these topics. They appear to be impressions formed by the author on the basis of her interactions with the participants and her transcriptions of those interactions. While interesting, such impressions fall far short of reflecting the rigorous fidelity to experience which is so sorely

needed in alternative approaches to psychological research into being deaf.

Just as the human science movement in psychology has spoken more quietly than has the natural science approach, so in psychological study of deafness the works of Kohl and Schowe cited above have received relatively little attention, as the methods they propose are less traditionally "scientific," and the outcomes they portend perhaps distasteful to those who would prefer to focus on "absence" rather than "presence" in deaf experience.

The following chapter presents the method employed in conducting the present study of the experience of deafness using an empirical phenomenological approach (Colaizzi, 1978). The purpose of the study was to gain an understanding of the adult experience of being deaf. The outcome of this attempt at understanding is a comprehensive description, presented in Chapter III, the aim of which is to capture essential meanings of being deaf and their interrelationships as these emerged from interviews with adults who are deaf.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Deaf Consultants

Collaboration with deaf persons was essential in conducting this project. The researcher is a sign language interpreter with Comprehensive Certification from the national Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf. This credential denotes a high level of skill in sign language and familiarity with the culture and concerns of the deaf community. Nonetheless the researcher is neither deaf nor a native signer, and linguistic and cultural consultation from deaf, native users of American Sign Language was sought to help maximize access to and faithful rendition of deaf experience.

Both consultants to the present project were members of the deaf community where the study was conducted. Both were native sign language users: they had acquired sign language naturally from deaf parents, just as hearing people acquire spoken language naturally. Both consultants were from families with several generations of deaf members; hence they were experts not only in the language, but in the culture of deaf people. Consultants provided assistance at three points in the course of the research. First, they facilitated the process of co-researcher selection and recruitment. Second, they provided help to the investigator in formulating appropriate interview questions, as described in the next section. This involved being interviewed as the first co-researchers in the study. Third,

consultants provided a validation check near the end of data analysis to help ensure that the emergent descriptive structure reflected deaf experience as they understood it.

Co-researchers

In empirical phenomenological research, meanings of the phenomenon under investigation emerge within a dialog between a researcher and the experiencer of some phenomenon. The process is a collaboration between researcher and co-researcher rather than a procedure administered by researcher to subject. The term 'co-researcher' will be used in this chapter rather than the term 'subject' because the word 'co-researcher' conveys this sense of collaboration.

Criteria for selection of co-researchers are discussed by Colaizzi (1978) and de Rivera and Kreilkamp (1981). Any person who experiences the phenomenon and is able to talk about it qualifies as a potential participant in a phenomenological study. Certain additional qualities heighten the chances of a rich account of the experience. Ideally, subjects should be introspective and verbally articulate. The importance of these qualities becomes evident when we consider the narrative nature of phenomenological data: we are dealing with the co-researcher's account of concrete instances of an experience rather than with the experiences themselves. De Rivera and Kreilkamp point out that the account is "a mixture of literal statements about actual events, more abstract reflections about what happened, and figurative evocative language" (p. 11). The participant must be willing to "get

back into" the experience, and able to use language to convey its nuances to the other.

Co-researcher characteristics. Co-researchers in the present study were eighteen articulate, introspective deaf adults, all skilled in the use of sign language. Ten men and eight women participated. General demographic characteristics of the co-researchers appear in Table 1. Age ranged from thirty to sixty-two, with 30-39 as the modal decade. Educational experiences were diverse, as indicated in Table 1. These co-researchers are on the whole more highly educated than is true of the deaf population at large, with seven of the eighteen holding at least bachelor's degrees. Thirteen are married and five divorced. Education-related occupations were most frequent.

Information regarding pertinent deafness-related co-researcher attributes was gathered; some of this information appears in Table 2, and the rest is presented in the text. This is a sample of persons deaf from early life. Fifteen of the eighteen were either born deaf or had become deaf by the age of four. One became deaf between the ages of four and six. Two became deaf between the ages of seven and nine. Spinal meningitis was the major cause of deafness. Causes unknown to the co-researcher were the next most frequent. Genetic etiologies, whooping cough and pneumonia were also represented.

All eighteen co-researchers attended residential schools for deaf children. Three participants attended public school for periods of time as well. Signing and fingerspelling predominated as forms of communication in the residential schools attended by the

Table 1. General Demographic Characteristics of Co-researchers (N = 18)

	Number of Co-researchers
Gender	
Male	10
Female	8
Age	
30-39	9
40-49	4
50-62	5
Educational Level	
Left High School Early	1
High School Graduate	2
Technical Training/Business School	3
College Courses	5
Bachelor's Degree	2
Master's Degree	5
Marital Status	
Married	13
Divorced	5
Occupation	
Education	10
Printing/Photography	4
Computers/Business	3
Factory Work	1

Table 2. Deafness-Related Demographic Characteristics of Co-researchers (N = 18)

	Number of Co-researchers
Age of Onset of Hearing Loss	
Congenital	8
0-3	7
4-6	1
7-9	2
Etiology of Hearing Loss	
Spinal Meningitis	7
Hereditary	3
Whooping cough, pneumonia	2
Unknown causes	6
Type of Schooling	
Residential school for deaf children	18
Public school with hearing children	3
Deaf Members of Family of Origin	
No deaf members of family of origin	12
Both parents	3
One or more siblings	5
Extended family	4
Deaf Members of Nuclear Family	
Spouse	18
Children	0

co-researchers, with the exception of one school attended for several years by one co-researcher, where speech and lipreading were used exclusively. Some co-researchers reported that signs were allowed outside the classroom and were used among peers; speech and lipreading were the required forms of communication in the classroom. Other co-researchers noted that speech was used for classes of "brighter" students whereas signing was reserved for classes of "slow" students.

As indicated in Table 2 under Deaf Members of Family of Origin, these co-researchers come from predominantly hearing families, an experience they share with over ninety percent of deaf Americans. Twelve of the co-researchers have no deaf family members. Three have deaf parents, and five have one or more deaf siblings. This proportion of deaf family members is higher than that in the deaf population at large: Fewer than ten percent of deaf children in the United States have even one deaf parent. Fewer than four percent have two (Schein and Delk, 1974).

Co-researchers reported a variety of types of communication used at home while growing up. Signing was used exclusively in families with deaf parents. In the majority of cases, those in which all family members except the co-researcher were hearing, communication occurred by various combinations of speech, lipreading, gestures, home signs (gestures which have become frequently enough used in a family that they acquire the status of lexical items within that family), and writing. Some co-researchers had a hearing parent or sibling who learned some signs and/or fingerspelling. In families in which there

were deaf siblings, signing was used with those siblings and various combinations of the modes listed above were employed with other family members.

As presented under Deaf Members of Nuclear Family, all co-researchers are or have been married to deaf spouses. Thirteen co-researchers have one or more children. All these children are hearing.

The deafness-related demographic information was gathered to help define this sample of deaf persons. The co-researchers are persons who consider themselves deaf rather than hard of hearing. They are deaf from early life, attended residential schools with other deaf children, have chosen sign language as a preferred communication mode, and interact on a regular basis with deaf as well as hearing people.

Other segments of the deaf population were not tapped in this study. These include persons who become deaf later in life; deaf persons who attend "mainstreamed" classes for deaf children in hearing schools; and deaf persons who choose to speak and lipread to the exclusion of sign language, and interact little with other deaf people. Although it was felt that the study's emergent structural description of being deaf might shed light on these groups' experience, this was not the primary aim.

Obtaining Co-researchers

Selection of co-researchers followed a format similar to that used by Higgins (1980), who began his search for participants by acquainting two members of the Chicago deaf community with the aims

and methods of his research, and requesting their assistance in choosing other deaf community members felt by the initial co-researchers to be amenable to taking part in such an endeavor. Higgins asked for similar assistance from each co-researcher, and in this 'branching' manner obtained the number of participants necessary for the study. In the present study, the researcher utilized the assistance of the two deaf consultants described in the preceding section. Names of potential co-researchers were requested of these two initial co-researchers. Each of the two deaf consultants produced a list of about fifteen potential co-researchers judged by the consultant to meet the criteria outlined by the researcher (articulateness, capacity for introspection, willingness to discuss their experiences with a hearing person). The researcher added a few more names to the list of potential co-researchers, bringing the total of those contacted to thirty-three.

The researcher began contacting potential co-researchers by telephone, using her telecommunication device for the deaf (TDD). This is a portable modem-like device with a keyboard and an electronic readout, which allows telephone communication with deaf persons who own similar devices. The first two telephone contacts yielded negative responses: the four deaf persons contacted (two married couples) did not wish to participate in the study. The researcher felt uneasy about the nature of the initial contact, sensing that the number of communication barriers and cultural differences between herself and the potential co-researchers was too great to expect the

deaf persons contacted to feel comfortable enough to consent to participate. She returned to her consultants, and a plan was devised to draft a letter of introduction and endorsement, to be mailed to the remaining twenty-nine potential co-researchers. The letter introduced the researcher and the project, informed the individual that he or she would be contacted (by TDD) by the researcher soon, and suggested that the individual meet with the researcher before making a decision whether to participate. Three signatures appeared on the letter: that of a hearing professor in the department of Special Education and Rehabilitation, an individual with a long history of active service to the deaf community; and those of the two deaf consultants to the project. A copy of this letter appears in Appendix A. Subsequent telephone contacts by the researcher with potential participants were more successful: There were eighteen acceptances and only four refusals. Potential co-researchers agreed to meet with the researcher at a place of their choosing (about half chose their homes, with the rest preferring to meet at the researcher's office) in order for the researcher to explain the aims of the study and the nature of the interview to be conducted. These meetings were conducted in sign language. All but one of the potential co-researchers who engaged in this meeting with the researcher agreed to participate in the study. At the end of this initial meeting the Information and Consent Form was given to the co-researcher to read. The researcher then summarized each paragraph of the form in sign language, and any questions about the form were answered. The co-researcher signed the

Information and Consent Form (Appendix B), and a time for the interview was arranged.

Interview

The primary aim of the study was to describe the adult experience of being deaf. A dialogic process was chosen to attempt to tap this experience. Interview questions were developed over the course of several meetings with the two deaf consultants in this study. Both consultants had an initial, two hour meeting with the researcher, who carefully delineated the unique nature of phenomenological research, with special emphasis on its collaborative nature and the 'expert' status of co-researchers as experiencers of the phenomenon. The remainder of this meeting was devoted to arriving at an appropriate and comprehensible set of questions to tap the phenomenon. Assistance from deaf consultants was critical during this phase of the project, as the questions asked needed to be meaningful to deaf persons, and couched in their language facilitate a full reporting of their experience.

The two consultants were the first co-researchers to be interviewed, and based on discussion of these interviews with these co-researchers, the researcher revised the initial questions prior to conducting further interviews.

These initial questions served as guidelines only. The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured, open-ended manner. The researcher attempted to allow the co-researcher to describe his or her

experience with as little prompting or interference as possible. Co-researcher's comments were followed up with open-ended questions in a way designed to facilitate active involvement in the interview and an elaboration of experience. This style of interviewing is consistent with de Rivera and Kreilkamp's (1981) view of the phenomenological interview as a "conceptual encounter" between researcher and co-researcher.

The interview was structured in such a way as to obtain a set of events or situations in which the co-researcher noticed being deaf. (Guidelines for the interview appear in Appendix C.) For each situation mentioned, the researcher sought to obtain as complete an understanding as possible of the co-researcher's experience. This was usually done simply by asking the co-researcher to elaborate; at times questions were asked about the impact on the co-researcher of particular aspects of the event or situation. Many participants chose to relate not only specific instances of awareness of being deaf, but more general statments about the impact of deafness on their daily lives, as well as ways in which they had come to terms with being deaf, and opinions about the ways that deaf people are and should be treated in society. The researcher would on occasion ask for clarification, restate, and summarize the co-researcher's account. The dialog would continue until a sense of mutual understanding was achieved.

Language Use in the Interview

Language use in the deaf community has been described as a "diglossic continuum" (Stokoe, 1970). At one end of the sign language continuum is signing in the word order of English, the language of the larger, hearing society in this country. At the other is American Sign Language (ASL), the language used by most American deaf adults when conversing among themselves. ASL has been the subject of intense linguistic study in the last two decades, and has been shown to possess phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic structures which distinguish it from English and establish it as a language in its own right. Collections of linguistic research on ASL appear in Baker and Battison (1980); Klima and Bellugi (1979); Siple (1978); and Stokoe (1980).

The need for communication between deaf and hearing people has given rise to language varieties with pidgin-like characteristics between the two extremes of the continuum (Woodward, 1973b). One way deaf people maintain their ethnic boundary, however, is to reserve ASL use almost exclusively to interaction among deaf persons and to switch to more English-like signing when a hearing person enters the conversation (Markowicz and Woodward, 1978). In this study, despite the researcher's relatively high level of sign language skill, it was felt to be unlikely that co-researchers would consistently use ASL with her, as she is a hearing person who learned sign language later in life rather than acquiring it as a child from deaf parents. The primary mode of communication used by both researcher and co-

researchers during the interviews was Pidgin Sign English, a label given to signing in the middle area of the diglossic sign language continuum. As would be expected, there was variation along this continuum: some co-researchers delivered signs in very close to English word order. Others used syntax more like that of ASL. One co-researcher chose to speak while signing, and the researcher signed and spoke simulataneously in response. Other participants signed without speaking; the researcher did the same.

Data Collection

Interviews were held in a room in the Psychological Clinic at the University. This location was necessitated by the visual nature of the language to be used by co-researchers and researcher. High quality, color videotape equipment was available in comfortable rooms in the Clinic. Co-researchers met the researcher at her research office in the same building as the Clinic, rather than in the Clinic waiting room, and were escorted directly to the interview room. This measure was taken to help minimize any "clinical" or "pathological" flavor to the co-researchers' experience of the interview. Interviews were videotaped with the full knowledge and consent of the co-researchers. They lasted from forty-five minutes to two and a half hours, with seventy-five to ninety minutes being the most common duration.

The demographic information given in Table 1 and discussed under "Co-researcher Characteristics" was gathered in a signed conversation with the participant immediately before the interview began. The list

of demographic questions asked appears in Appendix D. The demographic information was gathered in this manner for two reasons: First, it was felt that a face-to-face, signed interaction would be experienced as less mechanical and distant than a written questionnaire would have been. Secondly, the deaf consultants strongly recommended the use of the questions as a non-threatening, rapport-building prelude to the interview itself. The questions, in particular those which were deafness-related (age of onset, type of school attended, deaf family members, modes of communication used), are commonly asked of deaf people, and were felt by the consultants to facilitate a sense of familiarity and comfort.

In phenomenological research, number of co-researchers is dictated not by statistical considerations but by the commitment to a rigorous and exhaustive description of the phenomenon. Hence participants are enlisted until the material presents no new contribution to the emerging description of the structure of the experience, that is no new themes. After eighteen interviews had been conducted, these criteria were met and the researcher scheduled no further interviews. Seven potential co-researchers who had received the initial letter of introduction were sent a second letter thanking them for considering the first letter, and informing them that their participation would not be necessary. A copy of this letter appears in Appendix E.

Analysis of Interviews

The purpose of the analysis was to develop, from the interview data, a set of structural invariants or basic categories which, considered as a whole and in relation to one another, would describe the experience of being deaf. There is no standardized set of steps for completing such an analysis: for discerning essences or basic meanings from interview data is a complex task that must be tailored to the particular phenomenon under investigation. Nonetheless, guidelines have been provided by a number of investigators, and the steps used in this study were adapted from those discussed by Kruger (1979) and Collaizi (1978). Alteration of and additions to these steps were made to accommodate the unique features of this study's data as those features emerged in the course of analysis.

The present analysis followed seven steps:

1. Gain a holistic grasp of the data
2. Discern Natural Meaning Units
3. Note tentative categories and patterns
4. Arrange categories into an interrelated, overall structure
5. Refer categories back to original protocols to help ensure fidelity to the data
6. Thematize the categories and the overall structure
7. Formulate an exhaustive description of the fundamental structure of the phenomenon

Step 1: Gain a holistic grasp of the data. The aim of this step is to become so well acquainted with each interview that a sense of

the whole interview, and of the person of the interview, could be retained throughout subsequent steps when the interviews would be broken into small pieces. Obtaining a holistic grasp of the data was done for each interview as follows: The investigator watched the videotaped interview in its entirety, jotting down major topics discussed and noting transitions between them. The investigator then watched the taped interview again, translating it into English. This step involved watching a several second section, stopping the tape and writing the English equivalent of that section, watching the next brief interval, writing the translation, and so on.

Despite the frequent stopping and starting, the investigator had the experience of "reliving" the interview with each co-researcher. Watching certain portions of the interviews was as moving as it had been during the actual encounter. Kruger (1981) emphasizes the importance of bracketing one's presuppositions during this step of the analysis. For this investigator, a specific set of preconceptions had to be suspended: the investigator's bias is to view deaf people as a minority in linguistic and cultural terms, and to minimize the negative impact that being deaf may have. In this investigator's experience, her attempts to bracket these presussposi:ions facilitated a fuller appreciation of the data. Reciprocally, viewing the data again made adherence to the presuppositions impossible: the co-researchers spoke so eloquently of negative as well as positive aspects of being deaf that the investigator was compelled by them to see both aspects. Since the translation of the interview took several

hours to complete, it felt akin to "spending the day with" the co-researcher. These vivid recollections of the actual interview encounter continued to breathe life into the process of the analysis throughout the subsequent steps.

The handwritten translations were typed onto computer diskettes for further analysis. These were called "first reductions" of the data. A copy of the translated interview for one co-researcher, to be called "Co-researcher X" for purposes of discussion, appears in Appendix F.

Step 2: Discern Natural Meaning Units. The term Natural Meaning Unit appears in Kruger (1981). The task of this step is to divide each interview transcript into "chunks" of meaning small enough to be manageable without eliminating or distorting essential aspects of the co-researcher's message. Although it could be argued that the only true and complete meaning unit is the entire interview, its length and complexity render it too cumbersome for use in deriving essential meanings. At the other extreme, the use of single sentences as meaning units would divorce meanings from their context to such a degree that the co-researcher's intended message could become trivialized or lost altogether.

The meaning unit chosen shares some features with the 'significant statements' discussed by Dapkus (1982). She described these units as the conversational equivalents of paragraphs, bounded by markers like pauses, shifts in topic, or a marked change in voice quality. The essential feature of the Natural Meaning Units in this

study is a cohering of the utterences in the unit around a central idea. In this sense they resemble the unit described by Cloonan (1971): "...a statement made ... which is self-definable and self-delimiting in the expression of a single, recognized aspect of [the person's] experience" (p. 117). In some cases, a Natural Meaning Unit was a vignette in which one was reminded of being deaf. In other cases, a single vignette contained several Natural Meaning Units. Not all data were given in the form of vignettes. Co-researchers often spoke in more general terms about deaf experience. A generality of this sort would become a Natural Meaning Unit. Occasionally, a single sentence carried sufficient meaning to constitute a Natural Meaning Unit.

A necessary sub-task in discerning essential meaning units is reducing the amount of raw data. This was accomplished by eliminating repetition, irrelevant comments, and elaboration not critical to establishing essential meanings. Co-researchers' specific words and phrasing were retained as much as possible, although minor changes in punctuation and use of conjunctions was necessary to eliminate repetition and comments not directly bearing on the experience of being deaf. Researcher questions were eliminated. Where necessary to make a co-researcher's statement understandable in its context, questions were embedded into the statement. Brackets were placed around the researcher's question to distinguish it from the co-researcher's words. For example, one co-researcher told several vignettes about responding by "fighting" to treatment which he

felt to be unfair. The researcher commented: "So, after your realization that your deafness affected your life in those ways and you became a fighter... what did you feel you were fighting for?" The co-researcher's response was "Deaf dignity. That we 'can'." The corresponding natural meaning unit became "[I was fighting for] Deaf dignity. That we 'can'."

These condensed collections of Natural Meaning Units were termed "second reductions" of the data. The second reductions became the primary source of subsequent analysis; they enabled a quick and complete reading of any given interview, and consisted of discrete units small enough for ready placement into the descriptive categories which emerged in the subsequent steps. The second reduction of co-researcher X's interview appears in Appendix G. A comparison of this second reduction with the first reduction given in Appendix F illustrates the type of condensation and "chunking" involved in discerning Natural Meaning Units.

Step 3: Note tentative categories and patterns. Throughout the first and second steps, in the course of immersion in the videotaped and transcribed data, certain themes or types of experience were mentioned often enough or in such a compelling way as to stand out as possible fundamental categories of deaf experience. The researcher kept a growing list of these tentative categories. Patterns of occurrence of tentative categories with reference to other tentative categories also began to emerge. For example, some categories seemed to occur more often in early portions of the

interviews; others occurred later. Some categories seemed to be mentioned in relation to early life deaf experience, whereas others seemed tied to deaf experience later in life. Notes were kept on these types of tentative patterns.

In addition to categories which spanned protocols, a set of summary statements was derived for each individual protocol. These summary statements were communicated in sign language to each co-researcher by the researcher during individual feedback meetings, to assess whether the researcher had understood the co-researcher's experience as given in the interview. (This meeting is described in the section on "Fidelity of the structure to co-researchers' experience".) Summary statements were derived through a process of further reduction of second reduction transcripts, with the aim of capturing basic meanings of the interview. Summary statements for co-researcher X are given in Appendix H. The purpose of these summary statements was for face-to-face communication to the co-researcher concerning the meanings of his or her interview; they were not used in subsequent analysis. Subsequent analysis was done using second reduction transcripts; the natural meaning units contained in these second reductions were more complete renditions of experience than summary statements could provide.

Step 4: Arrange categories into an interrelated, overall structure. Steps 1, 2 and 3 involved a continuing process of immersion in the data while noticing basic categories and their relations to one another. This process culminated in the emergence in

the researcher's mind's eye of a visual, metaphoric representation of a tentative overall structure for the experience of being deaf. The image was of ripples emanating in concentric circles from a central point, as though a pebble had been dropped into a still body of water. The central disturbance, the falling of the pebble into water, represented the focal events which brought being deaf into awareness for co-researchers. The concentric circles of ripples were the outcomes of the focal events, for example the dawning awareness that one is deaf, the emotional responses to this awareness, the constraints and possibilities entailed in being deaf, ways of coping with these conditions, and an eventual acceptance of oneself as deaf. The researcher made a drawing of the image and labeled the central point the focal event, and the concentric circles as the categories of outcomes.

These were the categories which had begun to emerge in Step 3. The sequential nature of their relation to one another, depicted in the ripple image, was a way to represent the tentative patterns which had been noted in Step 3. This sequential quality lent itself to an understanding of the categories as a set of sequential phases of development. The structure emerging from the data appeared to be a set of developmental phases for becoming aware of and coming to terms with being deaf. This conception of the data-- as a set of sequential phases of development-- was checked against the data and against co-researcher's and consultants' impressions through subsequent steps of the analysis and through Fidelity checks to be described in the next

section. A complete description of the final set of categories appears in the Results chapter.

The emergence of the "ripple" metaphor had the quality of an "Aha" experience. This moment of insight resembled the "illumination," the third stage in Wallas' (1926) theory of the creative process. The immersion-in-data embodied in Steps 1, 2 and 3 of this study's method parallels Wallas' first and second stages, "preparation" and "incubation". In the next step of this study's analysis, the structure which grew out of the ripple metaphor was subjected to a rigorous test of its fidelity to actual interview data. Step 5 in this study and subsequent checks for fidelity to the experience exemplify "verification", the final stage of the creative process in Wallas' theory.

Step 5: Refer categories back to original protocols to help ensure fidelity to the data. The basic categories (phases) which had emerged in Steps 3 and 4 were referred back to the Natural Meaning Units to ensure that the emerging category system encompassed every meaning in every protocol, and introduced no meanings not contained in the protocols. This procedure is Collaizi's (1978) criterion for validating a category system.

Checking was done as follows: each category was given an initial. Every Natural Meaning Unit of every protocol was examined and "scored" with the initial(s) of the category or categories to which it belonged. Early attempts at this process led to significant revisions of the category system. For example, what had originally

seemed to be two discrete categories were found to be so inextricably linked as to constitute one larger, overarching category. The number of categories (and the number of "ripples" in the metaphoric representation) hence became smaller and the overall structural description more concise as the checking back procedure progressed. In addition, the names of the various categories changed several times over the course of re-examining of the Natural Meaning Units, until the category names reflected as accurately as possible the group of Meaning Units subsumed under that category.

Step 6: Thematize the categories and the overall structure. In order to render as rich a description as possible of each category (or phase), Natural Meaning Units were subgrouped within each phase. This was done as follows:

Master lists of every instance of each phase were compiled. This was done by condensing each and every Natural Meaning Unit subsumed under a given phase to a highly succinct statement which retained the essential meaning of the Meaning Unit. These highly condensed statements retained some of the co-researcher's words, but for most phases were not stated in the first person. These master list appear in Appendices I through O.

Each master list (seven in all, including 'Ground') was organized into clusters of similar statements until a small number of clusters (three to six) was derived for each phase. These clusters are essentially groups of similar instances of experience. The clusters may be thought of as sub-themes for each phase. In the

Coping and Creating phase, for example, three subthemes emerged: Communicating/Belonging, Asserting and Becoming Patient (see Results chapter). The clustering and re-clustering process continued, with frequent checks back to the master list, until all instances in a given master list were subsumed by the subthemes. These subthemes, or clusters of similar ways of experiencing, are given and discussed in the Results chapter under each phase.

Overarching themes across phases were sought as follows: Subthemes for all phases were gathered together in an array, grouped, re-grouped, collapsed and further grouped. Out of this process a single, overarching theme emerged: Deafness as Difference. Moving through the developmental phases over time could be described as experiencing oneself, in increasingly elaborated ways, as the same as and different from other people over time. Each phase could be glossed as a variation on this Deafness as Difference theme. These glosses are given in Table 2 in the Results chapter, where the overarching theme is discussed in detail.

Step 7: Formulate an exhaustive description of the fundamental structure of the phenomenon. Having checked and double-checked that every Natural Meaning Unit could be categorized in one of the phases emerging in Steps 4 and 5, and that every instance in the Master Lists of every phase could be categorized in one of the subthemes which emerged in Step 6, an exhaustive description was written of the experience of being deaf as given by these co-researchers. This

description appears as the section "Developmental Phases for Becoming Aware of and Coming to Terms with Being Deaf" in the Results chapter.

Obtaining Co-researcher Permission to Print Interview Excerpts

While writing the description of deaf experience (Step 7) the researcher chose excerpts from co-researcher interviews which illustrated each of the major categories (phases). At least one excerpt from every co-researcher interview was chosen; some interviews provided numerous excerpts. Permission to print these excerpts in the text was secured as follows: A letter was sent to every co-researcher requesting permission to print the excerpts. A separate page containing a copy of the particular co-researcher's excerpts was enclosed. Co-researchers were instructed to inform the researcher by returning an enclosed slip if they did not wish their excerpts to be included or if they desired revision of excerpts prior to inclusion. A copy of the letter requesting permission to print excerpts appears in Appendix P. Of the eighteen co-researchers, fourteen allowed their excerpts to be used without changes; three requested minor changes before their excerpts were included; one requested that the excerpts not be printed. The researcher made the requested changes before including excerpts of co-researchers who had suggested revisions. She deleted the excerpts of the co-researcher who had requested they not be included.

In addition to incuding selected interview excerpts in the text, the researcher wished to include one entire interview and its second reduction, to exemplify the interview process and the procedure of

extracting Natural Meaning Units. The researcher wrote to a co-researcher whose interview was felt to illustrate these processes, asking to print the interview and second reduction in their entirety. For reasons of confidentiality, this letter is not included in an appendix. The co-researcher requested a meeting with the researcher to go over the interview and second reduction in detail, and suggested several minor revisions. After these revisions were made, the co-researcher granted permission for the interview and the second reduction to be included. These appear in Appendices F and G.

Ensuring Rigor

The manner of ensuring rigor in psychological research is dependent upon the aims and assumptions of the research approach used. Traditional psychological research has emulated natural science in its choice of methods. Accuracy and quantification in explaining and predicting phenomena are hallmarks of natural science, and were adopted as goals by experimental psychology in the early decades of this century. In this tradition, objectivity is a necessity; an engaged position with respect to subjects, data and analysis was thought to contaminate results by introducing researcher bias. Phenomena are assumed to be determined by immutable, lawful, causal relationships capable of being discerned if aspects of the phenomenon are held constant. Repeatability is a logical criterion for rigor, given these assumptions and goals. A truthful, worthy result is one which another objective investigator should be able to replicate,

given the same set of conditions. Reliability is a necessary and useful concept in this context. It enables quantification of the degree of consistency of a result across people or across time. It enhances the explanatory and predictive power of psychological research.

The aim in phenomenological psychological research is an understanding of human experience. The product of a phenomenological study is a description of that experience. Subjectivity is a desired element rather than a threat, given these aims. Accurate description of experience is sought through engagement, and the result is a co-creation emerging out of a three-way dialog between researcher, co-researcher(s) and data. Preconceptions about the topic under study are articulated and bracketed to ensure maximum openness to the emergent meanings in the data. Absolute bracketing is understood not only to be impossible but to be undesirable; this could only occur by removing the researcher from the field entirely, a condition which would contradict the engaged nature of phenomenological research.

Rather than being viewed as immutable Truth, a phenomenological description is understood as an interpretation in the hermeneutic sense, a product of reciprocal interaction between "interpreter" (researcher) and "text" (data). There is an effort to discern structural invariants of experience, but a recognition that two persons conducting an investigation of the same phenomenon may find basic meanings which differ somewhat. Differences are understood to arise from unique attributes brought to the investigative situation by

researcher, particular co-researchers and the emerging interaction between them. Given that researchers take measures to render their descriptions faithful to the experience of their co-researchers, the phenomenological task in the face of differing descriptions becomes a continuation of dialog: how may the two descriptions inform one another, and ultimately enhance understanding of the phenomenon for the researchers and co-researchers involved? This position is borrowed from hermeneutics by phenomenoloy, and labeled by Kvale "legitimate plurality of interpretations" (Kvale, 1983, p. 192).

Reliability is a means of demonstrating rigor which is appropriate to the aims, assumptions, method and subject matter of natural science and of the traditional psychological approach which emulates natural science. The qualitative, engaged, understanding-seeking attributes of phenomenological psychological research suggest a need for other methods of ensuring rigor. Collaizi uses the notion 'fidelity to phenomena' to redefine objectivity in phenomenological terms (Collaizi, 1978, p. 52). The concept of 'fidelity to phenomena' could play a more central role in a phenomenological approach than Collaizi suggests. If the aim of a phenomenological study is to describe experience, a suitable criterion for rigor would seem to be the extent to which the description can be demonstrated to be faithful to that experience. In this study, <u>fidelity to experience</u> was used as the criterion for rigor. The study thus included checks on four aspects of the match between co-researchers' experiences of being deaf and the emergent description of those experiences.

Fidelity of co-researcher narratives to the experience itself. One way in which phenomenology attempts to capture experience is by systematizing verbal accounts of it. In more traditional approaches self report of this kind is considered "subjective" and therefore suspect. In a phenomenological approach, capturing a first-person perspective is the very aim of the endeavor. Measures must be taken to ensure that co-researchers "re-enter" the experience to the degree necessary to give a rich account. Dangers to fidelity at this stage include overt lying, over-intellectualized, sparse or otherwise distanciated accounts of the experience, and accounts which attempt to please the investigator but fail to reveal the experience. These dangers can be minimized by carefully conveying to co-researchers the collaborative nature of the research, and by conducting interviews in a way to maximize trust. Stated differently, the researcher must convey to the co-researchers that he or she both seeks the truth and is trustworthy (Colaizzi, 1978; de Rivera and Kreilkamp, 1981).

An atmosphere of trust is especially difficult to create when members of a social majority group interview minority group members. Higgins (1980) cites research by Phillips (1971), Pettigrew (1964) and Williams (1964) demonstrating that white interviewers of black subjects typically elicit more docile and subservient responses than do black interviewers. Higgins discusses a similar danger when hearing persons interview deaf persons: the hearing interviewer may "miss some of the outrage felt by the deaf, especially with respect to

their relations with the hearing" (p. 186). The picture which emerges may be more idyllic than what a deaf researcher might obtain.

In phenomenological research as in other interpersonal endeavors, there is no formula for instilling trust in the other. Keen (1975) points out that genuine dialog can only ensue when there exists

> a clear agreement on what is sought, why it is being sought, and what will be done with the information...The critical cement of such an agreement is the subtle cues to which we are all sensitive when we converse with others. The only way really to convince someone that you are in good faith is to be in good faith (p. 58).

In this study, the following measures and researcher attributes were felt to facilitate full accounts of the deaf experience by co-researchers: First, the project's aims and method were made clear to co-researchers. As outlined in the section on Co-researchers, the researcher took pains to outline to the initial two co-researchers the fundamental differences between the phenomenological research approach and more traditional approaches, with special emphasis on the 'co-researcher' concept. Similar, although less detailed, explanations were given to all co-researchers. Co-researchers also were given ample time and at least one opportunity to talk with the researcher about the aims and procedure of the project prior to agreeing to participate. Freedom to withdraw from the project at any time was of course stipulated in the consent form.

Secondly, confidentiality was ensured. Painstaking measures were necessary in this regard, as the data were personal, and the deaf community is small and highly attuned to the issue of confidentiality. Being deaf necessitates the use of interpreters, at times in sensitive

situations in which most persons are able to maintain privacy (the doctor's office or court, for example). Deaf persons must rely on the interpreter's professional integrity to ensure that private matters to which the interpreter is privy do indeed remain private. Deaf persons have experiences on occasion with interpreters who do not maintain these confidences; being deaf entails being faced with this issue in a way that hearing people do not experience. The researcher, being an interpreter herself, was known by the co-researchers to be aware of the special status of the confidentiality issue for deaf persons. She further attempted to instill assurance that confidentiality would be maintained by addressing the following issues in her initial discussions with the co-researchers, and in the Consent form:

The co-researchers were informed that demographic data would be reported in statistical form only. The local, state and national organizations and gatherings of deaf people form a highly interconnected network in many ways akin to a small town. Even seemingly innocuous bits of information reported (for example marital status, number of children and occupation) are sufficient to identify one member of the deaf community to another member, even one who lives in another city or another state.

Co-researchers were assured that their names would not be used in any way that could threaten confidentiality: neither in the labelling of tapes or transcripts, for example, nor in the final text. They were informed that videotapes of the interviews would be kept in the researcher's office, to be locked when she was not present.

Assurances were given that interview excerpts included in the final text would be edited to eliminate possibly identifying information. Co-researchers were informed that any excerpts to be used would be mailed to them for their perusal and approval before being included in the text.

Thirdly, It was hoped that certain researcher attributes would facilitate trust. Higgins (1980) points to his status as a child of deaf parents as the most persuasive factor giving him access to deaf community members. Sign language interpreters who do not have deaf parents are not as readily trusted by deaf community members as are children of deaf parents, but they have a far better chance of earning this trust than do most other hearing people, for their skill in the language denotes a relatively long period of close contact with deaf persons and their culture. The status held by skilled hearing signers who have attained a measure of trust from deaf persons is termed by Markowicz and Woodward (1978) that of "friend" to the deaf community. Padden (1980) has a somewhat different conception of the deaf community. She defines it as:

> ...a group of people who live in a particular location, share the common goals of its members, and in various ways, work toward achieving these goals. A deaf community may include persons who are not themselves Deaf, but who actively support the goals of the community and work with Deaf people to achieve them (p. 92).

The capitalization of the word 'Deaf' has a particular significance in this body of literature. A deaf person is one who has an audiological hearing loss. A Deaf person is one who considers him or herself a member of a community of Deaf persons who share a culture made up of

common past experiences (attendance at residential school for the deaf, for example) and, most importantly, a common language (ASL). Hence in Padden's scheme a skilled hearing signer can be a member of the deaf community, but does not share in the Deaf culture.

The researcher conducting this study fits this category: she is a "friend" to the community, a skilled sign language interpreter with over ten years' contact with deaf persons, and works toward achieving deaf community goals. It was hoped that these qualities would facilitate co-researchers' trust and willingness to share complexities of the deaf experience.

Fidelity of emergent structure to co-researcher experience. A second facet of fidelity is the degree to which the themes derived from analysis of interview data match the experience of co-researchers. De Rivera and Kreilkamp (1981) point out that co-researcher agreement as to the truth of the conceptualization constitutes a form of validity. Once again, conditions must be such that the co-researcher feels disagreement is welcome rather than feared by the researcher. Co-researcher overcompliance in this regard can lead to a description pleasing to the researcher but not faithful to co-researchers' experience. In this study, a meeting was held with each co-researcher near the end of the analysis. These meetings were conducted in sign language. The researcher brought to the meeting the co-researcher's second reduction protocol (the Natural Meaning Units), brief summary statements of the co-researcher's interview, and a drawing of the metaphoric representation of the overall structure

which was emerging from the data. The statments summarizing the co-researcher's interview were shared with the co-researcher, who was invited to make comments, criticisms and corrections of the researcher's developing understanding. These comments were incorporated into the final stages of the analysis.

The researcher then described the overall structure which was emerging from the analysis, showing each co-researcher the drawing of it. The researcher explained to each co-researcher how his or her interview had contributed to the formation of the overall structure, pointing to specific Natural Meaning Units in the co-researcher's second reduction protocol. For example, if a given co-researcher had articulated in a particularly clear way the distinction between two phases by giving statements representing the transition between them, the co-researcher was informed of this, and pertinent statments in the interview shown to him or her. Once again the co-researcher was asked to give comments and criticisms; these were noted by the researcher and incorporated into the final description.

Fidelity of emergent structure to interview data. This is an aspect of of the phenomenological research procedure discussed by Colaizzi (1978). As structural invariants emerge from the analysis, they are checked by referring them back to statements in the interview, in order to determine

> ...whether there is anything contained in the original protocols that isn't accounted for in the clusters of themes, and whether the clusters of themes propose anything which isn't implied in the original protocols (p. 59).

In this study, as described in detail in Step 5 in the Analysis section, the emerging major categories underwent several revisions in the course of referring them back to the Natural Meaning Units, until every Natural Meaning Unit could be categorized into one of the major categories or phases. In Step 6, the subthemes describing experience within each phase were revised by referring them to the Master Lists of instances for each phase, until every instance was subsumed under one of the subthemes.

Fidelity of the description to colleagues' understanding of the phenomenon. On three occasions the researcher presented her ongoing understanding of the data to colleagues in the phenomenological psychology research group. During the first two presentations the researcher shared portions of interview data with her colleagues in order to familiarize them with the deaf experience as given by the co-researchers. The tentative categories and patterns mentioned in Step 3 came to light in part during these meetings. In the third meeting, the researcher presented the overall structure and portions of the Master Lists of instances of each phase. Members of the research group provided impressions as to the fidelity of the emerging description to the data as they understood it. They also assisted the researcher in categorizing particularly complex and subtle Natural Meaning Units and, in the process, helped to illuminate aspects of the overall structure which had been unclear to the researcher.

The effectiveness of each of these four types of fidelity will be reported in the Results chapter.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Phases in the Process of Becoming Aware of and Coming to Terms with Being Deaf

Analysis of interview data yielded a set of developmental phases for becoming aware of and coming to terms with being deaf. Over all phases, there emerged a single overarching theme: deafness as difference. Moving through the developmental phases entails an evolution of the experience of difference over time. In each developmental phase, difference comes to bear in some way: In early phases, before one is able to reflect on being deaf, difference impinges on one in painful ways. Over time, one comes to know that the sense of being different has to do with being deaf, and to recognize the limits and possibilities deafness brings. One learns to act on these limits and possibilities. As one comes to accept being deaf and to impart to others the knowledge and wisdom borne of this acceptance, difference recedes. Although one's deafness is fully and matter-of-factly acknowledged, being different from others by virtue of being deaf becomes less figural than being the same as others by virtue of being human.

It is important to note that it was the not the aim of the study to create a developmental scheme. The nature of the topics which the co-researchers chose to share, and the manner in which they were related, led to description of the emergent themes in these terms.

Developmental phases became the most faithful and parsimonious way to describe the structural invariants of the co-researchers' experience as they related it.

A useful image for understanding co-researchers' experiences of being deaf is that of ripples in a body of water. Most co-participants said that they do not think about being deaf much of the time. The body of water is this ground-- living without noticing being deaf. (A list of interview statments pertaining to deafness as non-figural appears in Appendix I, titled "Ground.") Occasionally, events occur which bring being deaf into focus. The event is like a pebble dropped into still water, setting up a small disturbance in it. Concentric circles of ripples emanate from this central point, and these circles may be seen as the phases of awareness and coping which make up the developmental progression of coming to terms with being deaf. In order, the phases are: Encountering, Knowing, Acknowledging Facts of Life, Coping and Creating, Accepting, and Guiding. Figure 1 presents a summary depiction of this progression.

Table 3 shows these relationships in a different way. This grid is employed to illustrate the evolution of the experience of difference over the developmental phases. For each phase, the grid depicts two broad aspects, doing and being, of the experience of being deaf as being different. These aspects of experience are elaborated in the following descriptions of each developmental phase.

Encountering. In relation to the overarching theme of deafness as difference, Encountering may be viewed as "undergoing difference"

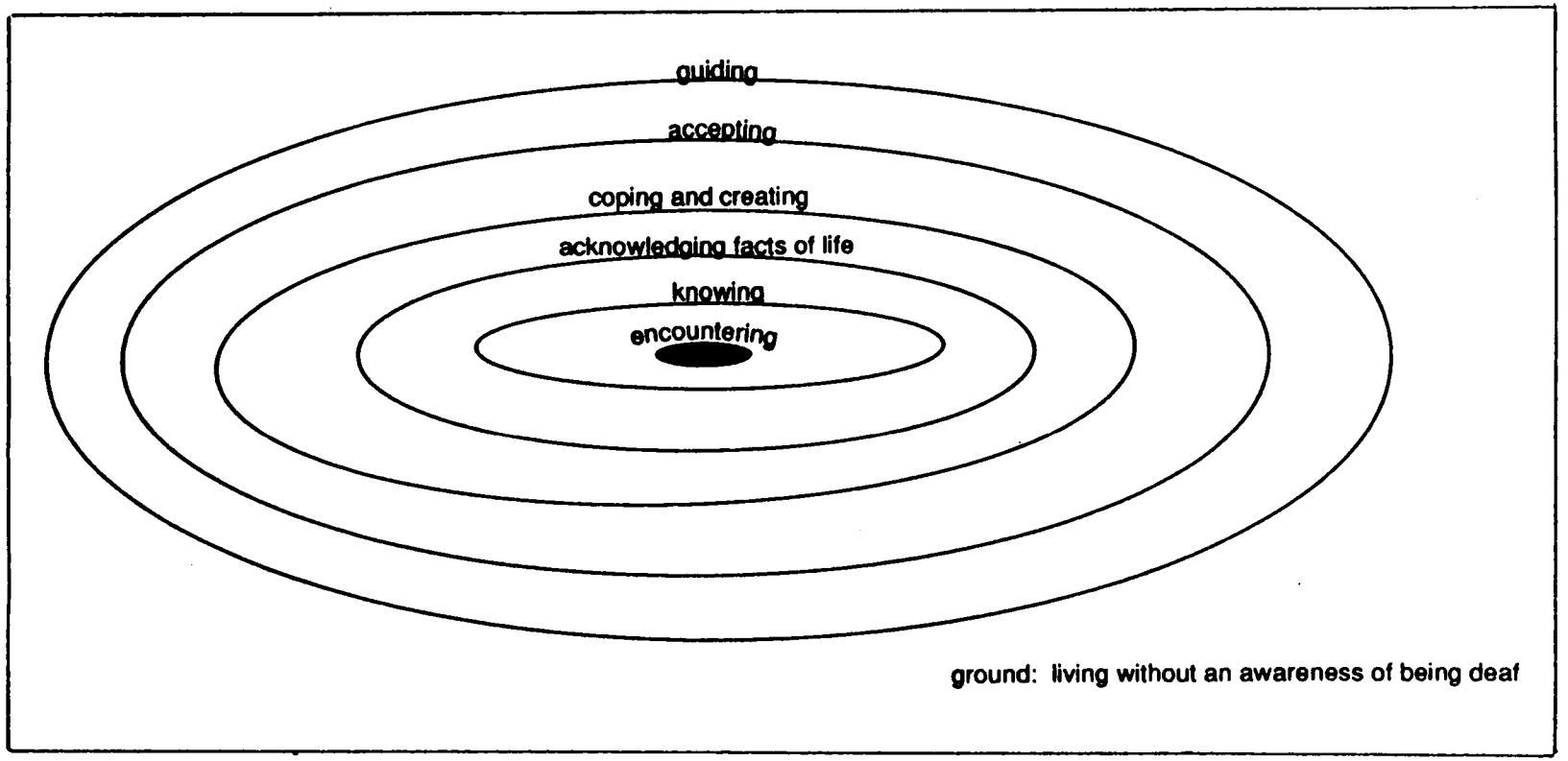


Figure 1.

Phases in the Process of Becoming Aware of and Coming to Terms with Being Deaf

Table 3. Deafness as Difference

Phases in the Process of Coming to Terms With Being Deaf	Types of Doing	Qualities of Being
Encountering	undergoing difference	inability to participate, bad feelings
Knowing	reflecting on sameness and difference	relief, discovery of self
Acknowledging Facts of Life	becoming aware of limits and possibilities emerging out of sameness and difference	(limits): effortfulness, frustration, exclusion (possibilities): ease, expression, inclusion
Coping and Creating	acting on the limits and possibilities	comfort, pride, belonging
Accepting	transcending difference	freedom, maturity
Guiding	enriching others through difference	leadership

(see Table 3). In this phase, one feels unable to participate, and the accompanying feelings are predominantly negative. For co-researchers, the experience of being deaf has at its core a set of focal events, or encounters. With few exceptions, these events occur at the interface of a world of people who hear and a world of people who do not. The relating of encounters during the interview took the form of stories or vignettes, and these were often quite emotionally charged and moving. Encounters which occurred early in life tended to be accompanied by more painful and intense emotions than those later in life. With respect to the ripple metaphor, one experiences only the central disturbance caused by the dropping of the pebble: The "body of water" of one's life is too small in the earliest years to allow for the emanation of the ripples; one does not yet possess the cognitive and emotional sophistication to "Know" one is deaf and to begin to cope.

A comprehensive list of instances of Encountering appears in Appendix J. Below are interview excerpts exemplifying Encountering.

> This is one of the very few memories I've been able to capture. I must have been around four. I asked my parents "Where's my cap?" and we searched high and low, all over the house, and couldn't find it. When all the while, you know where it was? I had it on. I realized then, well, obviously, we had no communication whatsoever. It was darkness. My parents did not understand me.

> The morning my parents sent me to the school, I was really excited about going. They waved good-bye and cried a little, but I was excited. In my mind was the idea that I'd be going home at 3:30. I'd seen neighbor kids coming and going from school, and that's what I thought I'd be doing. So I arrive. And I see that it's a dorm. I HIT THE CEILING. I'm arguing with them, and crying. So I realize then, and ask my dad "You mean I <u>stay</u> here??" "Yes," he

says. "You come home every two or three months." "But other kids don't do that!" I'm objecting. "You're deaf," he says. Deaf. I didn't understand about deaf and hearing...

I had to go to a hearing college. I was nineteen. The first day I'll never forget. I got there, everyone was buzzing and talking. It was different! There were no interpreters. It was orientation and the teacher was giving important information. I asked a young student to write notes for me, and she wrote brief little sentences. It was frustrating. Everything went right by me.... I was so uncomfortable. I decided never to go back. I couldn't stop thinking about it.... I did get another chance later...

I just went to McDonald's and ordered milk. They gave me a coke. I say to myself "What's this? I wanted milk and I got coke." So I have to write it down, because they can't understand my voice saying 'milk'. I'd just like to make things clear. Sometimes I wish I had better speech.

In Encountering during the early years of one's life, difference is undergone: it is imposed upon one before one has the personal resources to understand reasons for the upsetting events and to begin to cope. Later instances of Encountering are less jarring, and tend to be accompanied by more reflection and coping. The examples presented above illustrate this distinction: in the first two examples the experience is of "darkness" and of "hitting the ceiling". In the second two examples, the situation is uncomfortable and frustrating, but in both there is an attempt at coping: asking a fellow student to take notes, and recognizing that one needs to write down requests in order not to be misunderstood. (The nature of the reflection and coping exemplified by these excerpts will be discussed in the subsequent sections on Knowing and Coping/Creating.)

Undergoing difference through Encountering occurs in a variety of ways. Encounters described by co-researchers fell into six types.

Other types undoubtedly exist; these six illustrate the quality of experience in this phase. The first and most frequently cited type of Encountering was that in which communication difficulty led to a reduced ability to participate with others. Participants experienced being shut out, cut off, ignored, misunderstood. Bad experiences with interpreters, having limited knowledge of the English language, and having one's hands slapped for using sign language are examples of this type of Encountering.

The following excerpt provides an illustration:

> I remember one time I was walking down the street with my mother and we ran into a friend of hers. They started talking and I was just standing there looking around. Finally I decided to go on. I got home. My mother got home a little later and said "You left! That was a friend of mine! She knows you!" and like that. I asked what did she expect me to do, stand there shifting from one foot to another while she went on talking? ... I wondered whether it involved me or not. I figured it probably didn't, so I went on. But my mother thought it was rude. I felt... shut out, maybe. Cut off, or somethings. Ignored, maybe. Like they'd forgotten I was there, and wouldn't notice I was gone. I just figured I'm not included.

Bad feelings tend to accompany these experiences of exclusion through communication difficulty. Co-researchers spoke in general of discomfort and of being upset, with the most frequent emotions being anger and fear. Other emotions were shock, confusion, restlessness, depression and embarrassment.

A second way that co-researchers Encounter being deaf-- and therefore different-- is through unhelpful attitudes of others toward them as deaf persons. Participants are mocked, teased, pitied, underestimated and discriminated against in job settings. People on

occasion attempt to take advantage of deaf persons, assuming that they will be unable or unwilling to object to mistreatment.

The following reduced excerpts illustrate negative attitudes on the part of others:

> One time in college a group of us were on a city bus on our way to the zoo or something. A couple people near us started mocking our signs by waving their hands and fingers around. The others started getting real mad, "who do they think they are" kind of thing. I just said ignore 'em!
>
> I was the only deaf person in a class one time. One day they invited a hearing blind woman to speak to our class. At one point the interpreter asked her to raise her voice a little. The woman asked who she was interpreting for. She said a deaf student. "Oh, a deaf student. I'm so sorry, he's deaf... or is it a her or him?" "Him." I'll never forget that moment. I restrained myself. Everyone in the class is staring at me then. She's going on, saying how I miss hearing beautiful music... how wonderful it is to hear... how she hopes that one day there'll be an operation possible to restore my hearing. I said, "I'm not hoping for any magical cures..."
>
> My mother-in-law had asked us [co-researcher and co-researcher's husband] to attend a Christmas church service with her. We agreed, and when we arrived one of our neighbors was sitting next to us. He was the assistant preacher. Over the intercom he asked whether anyone could intpret for us. So here we are, the center of attention of about five hundred people! Eeek! Why didn't he ask us first whether we wanted an interpreter?? Someone did come over and sat in front of us, so we're obligated to watch this person, bringing even more attention to us. I'd have preferred to make her disappear. We never went back to that church again. He had no respect for our feelings. He thought he was trying to help, wanted us to feel involved, but it wasn't the right way!

Emotional responses to nonhelpful attitues range on a continuum from immediate and intense reactions like anger, fear, hatred and feeling hurt, to reactions which include a recognition that the other's treatment of one indicates a limitation in the other (e.g., the other

is ignorant about deafness, the other is insensitive). Midpoints along this continuum include feelings of suspiciousness, defiance and incredulity.

A third category of Encountering includes a variety of close relationships with hearing people that bring one's differentness into sharp focus. Examples are being asked to give a talk on deafness to a graduate school class, being asked to supervise hearing employees, falling in love with a hearing person, and being told that one's newborn baby can hear.

> Being a mother. When I was pregnant my parents and grandparents were deaf, so I figured there was a good chance I'd have a deaf child. It didn't worry me, it was something I accepted. I did hope the child would be hearing, though, a normal child. When the doctor informed me "Your baby can hear" I thought "...can hear. I'm deaf. Hmm. What will the difference be?"

Like the emotional responses to the negative attitudes of others, reactions to being faced with one's deafness through relating closely with hearing people range along a continuum from the immediate and intense to the more modulated. There was anger in response to disagreement with a hearing person; fear, competition and a sense of inferiority when one felt expected to perform to standards equal to those of hearing people; wonderment, curiosity, learning and a sense of being accepted in a love relationship with a hearing person.

Some vignettes concerned being left or feeling abandonned, the fourth type of Encountering. Although few in number, these stories were poignant in communicating the pain which can accompany aspects of

the deaf experience, especially early in life. One such vignette appears earlier in this section. Here is another:

> When I was seven, my family was getting ready to go out to visit relatives and we were on the sidewalk in front, and I wandered off, eating some candy. It dawned on me all of a sudden I'd better get back, and when I got there POOF! the car and everyone were gone, the house closed up, everything. I panicked, burst into tears. Meanwhile my mother was counting heads as usual (there were nine of us) and Ooops! I was missing, and they came speeding back. By that time I was covered with melting candy, a real mess. I was really mad-- they'd called everyone to pile into the car and I hadn't heard, being deaf as a post of course. So we finally got to the friend's house and my parents were telling the story, which they thought was funny. I didn't think so. I was upset, mad!

Emotional responses to such events were usually reported as intense, and included rage, panic, feeling lost, and doubting whether one is loved.

A few co-researchers related occurrences of Encountering being deaf through dangerous situations. The danger ranged from life-threatening to mild. Two examples follow:

> ... playing on a country road one time. I was eight... and my brother YANKED me out of the road and yelled at me to WATCH for the cars coming. So I moved to the side of the road. I realized that neither he nor my sister had to watch as carefully, since they could hear. It impressed me.

> I was riding a horse. I was three. The horse stopped three times, for no reason, and I'd say "Giddy-up!" I couldn't figure out what was going on, but turned around and realized my dad was trying to get my attention: A rope that was dangling from the horse had gotten caught around the haystack and would have upset it... so my father was yelling at the horse to stop and I was trying to make it go! (laughs)

Co-researchers usually reported fear in these Encounters, although some reported being impressed with the importance of caution and

visual alertness, and noted becoming more visually alert after these events.

A few co-researchers described Encountering deafness and difference through being told by someone that they were deaf. For example:

> One boy brought up the word 'deaf'. Deaf. And he signed it, deaf or deaf (signs the two common signs for 'deaf'), it doesn't matter. And I said "What does that mean?" I didn't understand the word. "Deaf," he said. "You're deaf. You can't hear." I thought about that. "I can't hear. Hmm." The boy was older than me. I asked him again, "So what, what is it...?" and grilled him on what it meant. He explained. I was maybe eight or nine. That was when I realized that there were two different worlds, a deaf one and a hearing one. I understood that then. I had thought my family and I were just alike, but after that I began to understand.

Emotional responses to being told one is deaf varied depending upon the circumstances of being told, in particular who did the telling and the manner in which it was done. Being told by a deaf peer or a deaf adult resulted in a sense of relief and understanding, whereas being told by a hearing speech teacher in a way which was felt to be insensitive brought an angry response.

The vignette just presented exemplifies a transition from Encountering to Knowing, the next developmental phase.

Knowing. The focal events which make up Encountering often are accompanied by a moment of recognition that one is deaf. The phase typified by this recognition is called Knowing. A complete list of instances of Knowing can be found in Appendix K. Early in the lives of co-researchers, these moments had a quality of discovery. One realized for the first time that he or she was deaf. In relation to

the ripple image, one experiences the central disturbance in the water and the first concentric circle or ripple; one has not yet consolidated these experiences into a generalized set of Facts of Life (the next ripple), or developed reliable ways of Coping (the following ripple). These initial realizations very often occurred in the context of comparing oneself with deaf peers at the residential school and noticing that one is "the same," in contrast to one's experience in one's family, where one is "different" (i.e., in the case of deaf children with hearing parents and siblings). With respect to the central theme of difference, Knowing may be viewed as reflecting on sameness and difference (see Table 3). Later instances of Knowing have the quality of being reminded that one is deaf.

Here are examples of early Knowing, or realizing:

> Maybe two or three years after I entered the school, I was talking with my cousin. He was asking me a question about history, and I didn't know the answer. He was comparing to see whether I knew as much as he did, ... and I didn't! ... I think that was the time I found out who I was. We were not the same. On the contrary, we were very different. I could see it. He and I were different. He was hearing, I was deaf. There it was.

> By seeing other deaf people, children at the school. (Gestures as though communicating with another deaf child:) "You don't hear... don't speak... I don't hear or speak... we're alike". It sank in. I'm not the only one in the world who has the problem. We were all like one another in that way. And I was tremendously relieved. It helped, helped us a lot psychologically. I knew I had found people of my own kind.

A variety of comparisons may result in Knowing. One notices sameness and difference between the self and other deaf people; between the self and hearing people; between deaf and hearing people in general;

and between what it is like in the school setting and in the home setting. Emotional responses to the inital instances of realizing that one is deaf tended to be positive: relief, feeling more "normal" and confident, having a sense of belonging, and acquiring a sense of identity: "I found out who I was"... "discovered my identity"... "had a sense of who I am".

The confirmation of one's deafness occasionally occurred in the context of realizing that one cannot regain one's hearing. One co-researcher believed that the numerous visits to doctors after the illness which caused his hearing loss would result in the restoration of his hearing. The discovery that this was not the case contributed to his realization that he was deaf. Another co-researcher, who believed that attending residential school might result in a restoration of her hearing, was was told by a deaf couple who had taken an interest in her that this was not the case:

> I spent the night with them and asked them: "If I keep going to that school, will I hear again?" They said "No." Then I realized I wasn't going there to hear again. I couldn't hear, period.

Later instances of Knowing, or of being reminded that one is deaf, usually occur in the context of an Encounter at the intersection of the deaf and hearing worlds. Experiencing job discrimination, being the only deaf person at a party, supervising hearing workers, giving a talk to a class of hearing graduate students, and being unable to hear a radio when others are listening to it, are examples given by co-researchers of times when they are reminded of being deaf.

Here is an excerpt which exemplifies being reminded that one is deaf:

> I could see that hearing people could talk better, and I couldn't. Or... when I talked, people would turn and stare at me. Or... to get my attention a person would tap me. I noticed different things like that. When I would talk to someone I could see by their facial expression that they were making an effort to understand me, to catch what I was saying. That would make me stop and realize.

The co-researchers' choice of sign for Knowing is noteworthy; a single sign stood out as being the preferred way to talk about noticing that one is deaf. Although there was some use of the sign glossed KNOW, and occasional use of the initialized sign glossed REALIZE, the most frequently used sign to denote being aware of being deaf was the sign glossed HUH. The sign was inflected in an impressively wide variety of ways, yielding such diverse English translations as: Oh; Huh; I acknowledged; I realized; there it was; it became evident; I noticed; I reflected on; I stopped and thought; I took stock; it sank in; the dawning awareness.

Instances of Encountering and Knowing accumulate over time, and become more general "facts of life" associated with being deaf. Acknowledging these conditions of living becomes the next developmental phase.

Acknowledging Facts of Life. In terms of the ripple metaphor, when one is able to acknowlege the Facts of Life that accompany being deaf, one has reached the third ripple beyond the central disturbance in the water. A master list of Acknowledging Facts of Life appears in Appendix L. Being different from hearing people imposes certain

constraints on one's daily life. The majority of the Facts of Life cited by the co-researchers exemplified these constraints. In contrast, being the same as other deaf people in terms of common experience and language yields certain possibilities. In relating their experiences, a number of co-researchers juxtaposed limits-by-virtue-of-difference with possibilities-by-virtue-of-sameness. These excerpts illustrate this process of comparison:

> I could enjoy myself more easily with my deaf friends than I could with the hearing. I felt really awkward, I was young, I just felt out of step hanging around hearing people. Whereas communicating with deaf people made me feel comfortable.

> With deaf people I use signs, and when I go home I'll use home signs, or write. Mostly, I'm with deaf people. They understand me, we can communicate, discuss things. I can't do that with hearing people. Like jokes or comedy. With hearing people it's hard for me to understand, communication is limited. With deaf people it's easy. We have the same way of communicating. We're the same.

Close examination of the data revealed, however, that being different from hearing people resulted not only in limits, but in possibility; and that being the same as deaf people created not only possibilities, but also certain limitations. The following excerpts exemplify possibilities emerging out of relating with hearing people and limitations arising out of being with deaf people:

> Deaf people may not know things that hearing people have picked up by being able to hear. I like to associate with both. With deaf people I can share, but with hearing people I learn more. Happenings, news. Sometimes I learn new words from hearing people.

> Very few deaf people are intellectually inclined. A large percentage of them simply are not interested in discussions of the sort I like. So I'll go to hearing people, but very

few of them learn to sign well enough to talk about these things.

> The deaf community here doesn't meet my needs. To meet my needs for association, communication, on a equal basis, I spend time with hearing people. I like [certain sports], for example. Hearing people have groups for that. Deaf people don't.... well a handful of other teachers, but... I may want to take a trip and the deaf people can't afford it, so I go with the hearing. If I lived in Washington, DC, it'd be a very different story, maybe. I'd associate only with deaf people.

The last excerpt illustrates, once again, that being deaf becomes figural in the context of a larger hearing society. The co-researcher posits that a larger deaf community might provide some of the stimulation which is lacking when there are few deaf people. For him, it is not deafness per se which brings limits, but the condition of being so few in number that diversity of interests is diminished.

Here is an excerpt which illustrates that although deaf people feel like one another in terms of communication and shared experience, difference exists as well:

> There was a [manual laborer]. He and I both went into a meeting one time, and the deaf people gathered around him and felt comfortable. Only two or three came up to me. I was the intellectual one, and a few more intellectual ones came to me. Teachers, mostly. The attitude of the others was "They're teachers, intellectual snobs, we can't communicate with them".... I asked another deaf teacher about it, and he told me that's the way it is. There's a line there. I am on a kind of border between deaf and hearing people. It's mostly the intellectual thing.... they [non-intellectual deaf people] sense the difference and back off.

Clearly, there is no such simple correspondence as 'hearing people are different from me and therefore bad; deaf people are like me and therefore good'. Interacting with each group can both open up and close off possibilities. In terms of the central theme of

difference, Acknowledging Facts of Life may be understood as becoming aware of limits and possibilities emerging out of sameness and difference (see Table 3). The subjective experience which accompanies limits, both in relation to hearing and to deaf people, is one of effortfulness, frustration and exclusion. In contrast, the subjective experience associated with possibility is of ease, expression and inclusion. On the whole, affective responses were less frequently mentioned to Facts of Life than to Encounters, and those emotions which were reported tended to be less intense than those in response to Encounters. It appears that repeated Encountering and Knowing over time allows for some integration of the disruptive aspects of the experience of being deaf, such that Facts of Life become acknowledged in more and more matter-of-fact ways.

The notion of limits and possibilities emerging out of sameness and difference is expressed in the form of a two-by-two table in Table 4. The top two cells give examples of limits by virtue of difference and sameness, respectively. The bottom two cells give instances of possibility by virtue of difference and sameness, respectively.

Although being the same as other deaf people can impose limits, and being different from hearing people can yield possibilities, the vast majority of Facts of Life given by the co-researchers pertain to limits experienced by virtue of being different from hearing people. These limits fell into four broad categories: being left out, having communication difficulty, being the recipient of unhelpful

Table 4. Examples of Limits and Possibilities Emerging out of Difference (interacting with hearing people) and Sameness (interacting with other deaf people)

	Difference	Sameness
Limits	-inability to communicate easily and resultant isolation, e.g., in family and at hearing social events -co-workers leaving one out -having to put out more effort than hearing people do to earn recogntion -missing a lot -others' assumptions of incompetence	-things tending to stay the same rather than progress, e.g., in deaf organizations -some tight knit subgroups of deaf people having their own inflexible "laws" and ideas; divisiveness rather than unity -relative intolerance for intellectual pursuits
Possibilities	-learning more, e.g., organizational skills, vocabulary -having more access to intellectual exchange -having access to broader range of interests and activities, e.g., sports, travel	-ease and enjoyment in communication and resultant sense of belonging -mutual understanding arising out of shared experience -sense of equality, comfort, sharing -"forgetting" one is deaf; ability to "be myself"

attitudes and behaviors toward deaf people, and having limited opportunities. Once again, other types could emerge if interviews were done with other deaf people; this list is meant to be exemplary, not exhaustive.

The following excerpts illustrate the four types of limits-by-virtue-of-difference:

Being left out:

> Sometimes it got lonely. I couldn't participate in family gatherings. Everyone would be talking, and I'd just be sitting there looking around. I'd ask what was being said and they'd say they'd tell me later, and when later came they didn't tell me a thing. I finally decided to stop going. I was left out. That's when I turned to books. I read a lot.

In response to being left out, co-researchers felt "limited," "low," "uncomfortable" and "at a loss." Subjective experiences included lonliness, anger and puzzlement. Participants whose parents were deaf did not experience this type of exclusion during early life, and commented on this as an advantage:

> It might have been different... if I'd grown up in a hearing family where communication was frustrating. Say if gatherings at Christmas or family reunions were times when I had to sit around because no communication was possible. My family is three-fourths deaf! So at family reunions, it's the few hearing people that sit in a little group looking kinda dull and out of it, because everyone's signing! The situation's reversed. I can see how frustrated they must feel.

Communication difficulty

> My confidence evaporates. It's [the English language] a weak area. I can't discuss things the way I want to. If I could set language aside and show my experience and my ability to learn without it, it'd be OK. But sometimes I can't do that. I feel limited.

> At home I was at a loss... what could I do? I couldn't communicate. It was exasperating.
>
> I can't hear, and I can't talk... and I know that. There are some inconveniences. I have a TDD [a communication device enabling deaf people to use a telephone] and I tend to think that's normal... but there are some people who can't call me, and I can't call them, because of the phone. It's hard to get insurance for the car because I'm deaf. Watching TV and not knowing what they're saying, having to ask someone. Frustrations like that. But they're fairly minor, really.

For these co-researchers, communication difficulty brings unpleasant feelings including frustration, diminished confidence, irritation, being startled (for example when someone approaches from behind), and embarrassment or a sense of being exposed (when having to ask an interpreter to make a personal phone call, for example).

Others' unhelpful attitudes and behaviors:

> At the first school, if I signed in class I was punished. My hands were slapped, or I had to stand in a corner, or not get a reward. The teachers told us "sign is bad." We couldn't sign at home either. They never said why they were bad, they were just bad.
>
> I've noticed a lot of hearing people try to please me by babying me. "You poor thing." I don't want that. I'll go to church occasionally and when people find out I'm deaf they'll say "Oh I'm so sorry!" Or they'll rush around to get an interpreter, when I never asked for one. One man said "I'll pray for you." I didn't want that. I don't need it. I don't mind being deaf... It's frustrating when people don't understand deafness--they're so ignorant about it. If they did, maybe they'd be able to relate on an equal basis, rather than as superior.

Negative attitudes held by others clearly have become a facet of daily living for these co-researchers and include assumptions of incompetencee, job discrimination, pity, attempting to take advantage of the deaf person with the assumption that no resistance will be

offered, and devaluing and prohibiting the use of sign language. There is no difference between the attitudes cited in this section and those discussed in Encountering. They are located in both phases of development because co-researchers both told vignettes about specific instances of other people's lack of sensitivity to them (Encountering) and spoke about accumulated instances of this sort in a more general way (Acknowledging Facts of Life). There was a difference, however, between Encountering negative attitudes and Acknowledging them as Facts of Life in terms of co-researchers' rendition of their responses to these attitudes. They mentioned emotional reactions to negative attitudes as Facts of Life less frequently than they did to negative attitudes experienced in Encounters. Emotional responses to negative attitudes as Facts of Life included anger, irritation, feeling bothered, feeling hurt and like a freak (when others mock one's speech or one's signing), and withdrawal.

Limited Opportunities

> Deaf children live in an overprotected world. They stay in the dorm, and aren't exposed to what goes on outside.
>
> I'd be something other than a teacher. Maybe in business... engineering... management... But as I saw what I'd have to do to advance in those fields, I didn't want it. I decided to stay where I am.
>
> When I was a junior at the residential school, they wouldn't allow visitation between boys and girls. I fought for that. I thought there was nothing wrong with that, so I'd break that rule. We'd wave to each other, flash the "I love you" sign, find ways to maintain contact anyway.

As children, some co-researchers experienced restrictions on communication, interaction and mobility. As adults, some encountered

limitations in terms of job choice and job responsibilities, in part as a result of others' assumptions of limited competence. Frustration was the predominant response to these limits.

The last excerpt contains elements of constructive coping with the restrictions imposed. The co-researcher found ways to maintain interpersonal contact despite the rules against it. This exemplifies Coping and Creating, the next developmental phase.

Coping and Creating. Interviews revealed that co-researchers do not passively tolerate the constraints imposed by being deaf, and that the experience is not an overridingly negative one. Rather, interviews were filled with statements about the ways co-researchers actively coped with the challenges presented by being deaf and the ways in which they created aspects of living unique to deaf existence. With respect to the overarching theme of difference, Coping and Creating may be seen as acting on the limits and possibilities which emerge out of sameness and difference (See Table 3). It is the fourth ripple, in the ripple metaphor. There may be intimations of the fifth and sixth phases, Accepting and Guiding, but Coping is the figural experience. The subjective experience which accompanies Coping and Creating is positive: In this phase, self esteem and quality of life are enhanced. There is a sense of comfort, pride and belonging. A comprehensive list of instances of Coping and Creating appears in Appendix M.

Statements about Coping and Creating fell into three broad

categories: communicating/belonging, asserting, and becoming patient. These three types will be discussed in turn.

Communicating/Belonging. Sign language is an integral component of daily living for co-researchers. Each co-researcher mentioned it, and several spoke at length about its importance in his or life. For these co-researchers, signing is the easiest, most comfortable and most frequently used form of communicating. It appears that sign language, a seen language made up of movement rather than sound, is an aspect of living which arises naturally and uniquely out of deaf human existence. For co-researchers from hearing families, the initial exposure to sign language brought about by entering school was a critically important contributor to the realization that one was deaf. For many co-researchers this realization was an essential ingredient in the dawning sense of self which characterizes the Knowing phase. Only one co-researcher attended a school where signing was prohibited, and for this person the prohibition led to confusion and embarrassment about communicating. This discomfort diminished gradually after the person entered a school where signing was encouraged by peers and adults.

Several co-researchers commented on the isolation they experienced in their families by virtue of the fact that family members never learned to sign. Participants from deaf families felt that being in a signing environment contributed significantly to their sense of themselves as "normal". One co-researcher spoke at length about a particular sign system developed for use in school settings,

in which naturally occurring sign language structures are altered in order to attempt to convey the English language in manual form. This co-researcher commented that one impact of this system was to create a barrier between her and elementary school age deaf children: she described the children's inability to understand her when she used American Sign Language, and expressed hurt and anger that the policy endorsing the sign system has contributed to generating this communication barrier.

A number of other forms of communication were cited by co-researchers as common tools for daily living. When conversing with hearing people the co-researchers use speech, lipreading, writing and gestures. A small number of hearing people are able to fingerspell and/or sign, and co-researchers would fingerspell and sign with them. For extended interactions with non-signing hearing people, co-researchers use sign language interpreters. Several co-researchers mentioned technological advances which have enhanced communication. These include telecommunication devices for the deaf (TDD's, enabling communication with deaf persons by phone), closed caption devices which provide captioning for television programs, and flashing lights to signal the doorbell or telephone ringing. Participants commented on the good feelings which come of the communication made possible by such devices: "It's wonderful"... "It feels good to understand"... "It helps a lot"... "It's less frustrating".

The necessity for being visually alert was mentioned by two co-researchers. Watching for cars approaching from behind, and checking

a room before leaving to be sure no one is trying to get one's attention, are examples.

Having avenues of communication enhances a sense of belonging for these co-researchers. In addition to opening these avenues, co-researchers created numerous other means of maintaining human contact and affiliation. Many co-researchers spoke about the importance of family members' love and assistance:

> I asked my mother "Do you love [sister] more than me?" My mother was shocked. "Why do you ask me that question??" I told her she always paid attention to [sister] first, and I'd come second-- she'd listen to [sister] talking. I believed she loved her more because I was deaf and she was hearing. My mother assured me that she and my father loved all of us equally. I was reassured, but she continued to attend more to my sister.. it's natural... When I was around twenty, though, I devised a strategy: I'd come home for vacations about two days after my sister did, so that by the time I got there my mom would be more able to turn her attention to me. It worked very well.

> There was so much love in the family, too... my father especially... he spoiled me... he'd get mad at the others, but never at me. See, in that way I took advantage of the fact that he couldn't communicate with me. He'd be stumped! (laughs) He really did favor me. He wrote poems for me about the ways he cared for me.. he didn't do that for anyone else in the family. My father was never one to openly express himself, to be overtly affectionate. But we knew absolutely that he loved us... it was in his eyes... his innermost feelings... he couldn't his feelings communicate well, but we knew beyond a shadow of a doubt.

After parents, siblings were the most often mentioned family members who helped enable coping with being deaf. Deaf siblings were particularly helpful; they were available for easy communication in sign language, and some facilitated the co-researcher's entry into the deaf community by taking their deaf sibling to the deaf club and deafness-related events.

During the school years, deaf peers played an important role in fostering a sense of belonging. Participants felt for the first time that they had found people like them. Peers helped ease the pain of initial separation from family. And language, rather than being acquired from parents in the home, was acquired among peers at school.

> I was standing in the hall crying. My parents were just leaving. She came up to me and gestured and said the words "Is that your mom?" I nodded and gestured and mouthed "Yes, that's my mom!" She made the sign for 'mother.' I looked at her, wondering what was going on. Why she was moving her hands like that, you know. She made the sign for 'mom' again and I started catching on. She showed me the sign for 'ball' and other things. She tried fingerspelling but I had no idea whatsoever about letters or words. She asked me why I'd never been to school before. [This co-researcher entered school at a late age.] I told her I didn't know. That was the way I started learning from her.

Deaf peers who have deaf parents play a particularly important role as guides for those who come from hearing families. The helpful child in the excerpt just cited came from a deaf family. Participants spoke of the importance of having older peers who have had the opportunity to sign from the very earliest years of life. These children are the bearers of sign language, and have spent their earliest years feeling more "normal" than different.

Here is an excerpt from a co-researcher who grew up in a deaf family:

> Being deaf didn't bother me. It was just normal. I didn't see much difference between me and hearing people. I had deaf parents and grandparents and had always been signing and interacting with deaf people. We were all the same. I'd watch my parents write notes back and forth to get their message across. My parents were well respected citizens in the community. I grew up in a good family.

Deaf peers were important not only for facilitating entry into the

social mileu of the residential school and contributing to the formation of a sense of self but also for ongoing support and companionship as co-researchers progressed through their school years.

> At the residential school I didn't go out that much. During the summer time, though, I would go out all the time in the evening. I had deaf people living near where I did. I realized eventually it was because of communication. That was also the reason I enjoyed going to school so much. I could communicate freely, in Sign, with no effort, whereas when I would associate with hearing people I was uncomfortable.
>
> I had a couple of deaf friends, and the three of us would go out with hearing people. If I'd try to do that alone I simply couldn't have done it.
>
> I was in a small town, kind of in the country. There weren't many deaf people. I couldn't get out easily when I was young, to see friends. In the earlier years I was mostly with hearing kids. Once I learned to drive, then I could get out and get to my deaf friends' houses.

Not only deaf peers, but deaf adults assisted co-researchers in coping. For the three co-researchers with deaf parents, this occurred from infancy onward. A few of the co-researchers of hearing families had occasion to meet deaf adults before entering school, and these encounters were always helpful, as exemplified by the co-researcher cited in the Knowing section, who learned from a deaf couple that she would never regain her hearing. This knowledge, imparted by adults like her in being deaf, laid to rest questions that had gone unanswered until that time and helped enable the co-researcher to accept her status as deaf and move on.

The majority of co-researchers did not meet deaf adults until they entered school. These adults became important mentors:

> I was very fortunate to have one exceptionally good teacher, a deaf teacher, who became a "tutor" to me. He was extremely bright, and gave me extra assignments, all kinds of reading material. Really fostered my learning. He was a very knowledgeable man, and literary too-- he wrote poetry. I felt truly fortunate to have the opportunity to learn from him. I understand that he had wanted to become a physician, but had been cautioned against it, because of his hearing impairment. He stayed with teaching until he died. He was a truly impressive man.
>
> The deaf teachers supported us, they identified with us.... Communication. Signing, fingerspelling.... They were so good at explaining things to us, communicating with a lot of action and expression. We'd look up to them. They had nice cars, nice homes. We'd say to ourselves, "We can do the same thing." ... They understood our feelings, especially about probems in the dorm. We'd complain about the rules and they'd acknowledge that but also explain them to us in a way that we could live with them. Deaf and hearing people were very different that way. Hearing people living at home and being out in the world, and deaf people living in the dorm, having all come from different towns. The deaf teachers understood all that.

Beyond the school years and into adulthood, contact with deaf people continued to be highly valued by co-researchers. Several co-researchers stated their preference for socializing with deaf people, although they remain aware of the benefits of interacting with hearing people and of the drawbacks of associating with deaf people exclusively. All co-researchers are or have been married to deaf or hard of hearing spouses. None have married hearing people. (Deaf persons' preference for deaf spouses is well known and documented. Nationwide, fewer than ten percent of spouses of congenitally and early-deafened persons are hearing (Schein and Delk, 1974).)

Organizations of and for the deaf give regularity and structure to affiliations among deaf people and are vehicles for political and social change designed to benefit deaf persons. Several co-

researchers spoke of their involvement in creating and maintaining deaf organizations and of the importance of these groups in their lives. Athletic associations were most frequently mentioned and co-researchers were involved at both regional and local levels. Participants also spoke of membership in the National Association of the Deaf and of involvement in its state and local affiliate chapters. Also mentioned were the Gallaudet College Alumni Association, the National Fraternal Society for the Deaf, an organization dedicated to providing affordable insurance to deaf people. Regional gatherings of deaf persons also become arenas for sharing ideas about life as deaf persons, and about organizational development:

> ...there were people from all over... who'd all come together and meet one another... it was comfortable. The communication... learning about their lives... their work... their organizations... things like that. Deaf life. The group from [city] never had a clubhouse. They didn't have rent. So they'd talk to the others about how to raise moøney... we'd compare memberships... notice that cities with a larger number of deaf people could raise the kind of money that was needed, but the smaller cities couldn't.

A wide variety of relationships have been mentioned as contributors to a sense of belonging: those with family members, deaf adults, deaf friends and spouses, and those made possible in deaf organizations. The effortfulness, frustration and exclusion which characterize the limits of being deaf are significantly ameliorated in the context of these relationships. Participants spoke of life being beautiful, more interesting and less frustrating.

Several co-researchers spoke about general increases in societal awareness as fostering a sense of belonging. One spoke of diminishing

job discrimination over the years and several commented that seeing signing is more commonplace and more easily accepted today than it has been in years past.

A small number of co-researchers mentioned religious beliefs as enhancing their capacity to cope with being deaf. One co-researcher viewed it as his responsibility to live with being deaf, as it was God's wish. Another used God's help to prepare for the difficult task of giving a talk about being deaf to a group of hearing graduate students. One co-researcher mentioned being angry with God at times: Posing to God the question "Why? Why am I deaf?" never brought a satisfactory answer. She too has resolved the question with the belief that she was chosen to be deaf, and that good faith and acceptance are her responsibility.

Asserting. Whereas the focus of the Communicating/ Belonging subtheme concerns relationships which help one create and cope, the focus in Asserting is on the self. Participants improve the quality of their lives by demonstrating competence, asserting their beliefs, competing and persevering. In so doing they combat job discrimination, prevent exploitation and change attitudes toward them.

These excerpts illustrate these experiences:

> I wanted them [company] to get professional interpreters. I didn't want just anyone. For example, [a person not skilled in interpreting] was doing some interpreting, and I said I didn't want her. I wanted [deafness agency] to send in an interpreter.

> When I'd be working, I'd want them to give me work, to allow me to demonstrate I could do things. They would assume that

> I couldn't, and I would try to convey that I could. It was tough.
>
> I grew up with the stubbornness. If some children didn't understand deafness--didn't play with me because I was deaf, I'd get mad and fight with them. I wanted them to know I was no different. Whatever they could do, I could do it too. I'd tell their parents, who'd say "So what's wrong with deafness?" Then the children would let me play with them.
>
> My attitude toward hearing people changed. I had to challenge them. I had to compete, beat them, defeat them. It's still my attitude today, to work doubly hard to show that I can do.

Several co-researchers told colorful stories too lengthy to reproduce here, of having prevented being exploited by repairmen or people with whom they had been involved in an automobile accident. The person who was attempting to take advantage of the co-researcher based upon assumed ignorance or passivity would be shocked by the co-researcher's demonstrated intelligence and sophistication and the attempted exploitation would fall flat.

In the context of demonstrating competence, self esteem was enhanced for these co-researchers. They reported feeling more normal, proud, confident and mature.

Becoming patient. Although co-researchers recognized that assertion is effective, they also were cognizant that both they and others have limits. Asserting in the face of an immutable limit wastes energy better reserved for other pursuits. Several co-researchers described activities in which they would engage when communication with others would have been difficult or impossible, for

example. These activities included reading, sewing, drawing, focussing on work and taking walks.

Here are other examples of becoming patient:

> I don't demand that hearing people learn sign language. If they want to, fine, I'll sign, but if not I leave them alone. If I were to demand it they'd lose interest. We write and gesture. It works out fine.

This excerpt is taken from a vignette about a group of deaf people being teased on a bus by hearing people:

> I just said ignore 'em! You're never going to see those people again, what do they matter to you? Just leave 'em! ... My feeling was why waste your time on people like that? Getting angry, getting mad at people like that can backfire on you too-- it could make them mad too and the whole thing could escalate. Is it worth it? Nah. Just let 'em go.
>
> Gradually the fighting changed. I realized I needed to change the method, toward more patience, less griping. I became more patient, even if I knew something was being done wrong. Wait awhile, for the right way to proceed. I changed my attitude. I can't change the fact that I'm deaf after all. It's no use being upset about it. I've learned there are problems that go with that. Like you can't change the old myth that deaf people are incapable that easily.

This final example illustrates the transition from Coping and Creating to the next developmental phase, Accepting.

Accepting. Coping and Creating concerns itself with the ways that deafness shapes the things that the co-researchers do. Accepting, in contrast, is a less doing-orented, more being-oriented aspect of the deaf experience. Participants noted that one can cope, compensate and live in uniquely deaf ways, but that there comes a point when one "lives with it". Phrases like the following were used to convey acceptance: "It's simply a fact"... "It's a given"... "I can't heal myself"... "I live with it"... "I accepted it and went

on"... "I can't change it"... "I am deaf. I am." A complete list of statements about Accepting appears in Appendix N. It is the fifth ring in the ripple metaphor; mature acceptance is unlikely without the integration of the meaning of deafness which characterizes the earlier phases.

Some co-researchers articulated factors which had facilitated their ability to accept being deaf. Coming to terms with limits in a broader sense seemed closely linked for some co-researchers to coming to terms with the specific limits imposed by being deaf. The excerpt cited at the end of the Coping and Creating section illustrates this notion. Other co-researchers mentioned satisfying aspects of their lives which offset the limiting aspects of being deaf. Having a family, having a good education and job, and having the ability to assert oneself in general, were all mentioned as useful in enabling acceptance of being deaf.

Several co-researchers contrasted their condition with that of persons whom they felt to be more unfortunate than they. The other groups included blind, "crippled", mentally retarded and deaf blind persons, as well as persons who had become deaf late in life rather than at birth or during their very early years, as these co-researchers had. These comparisons often included a stated preference for being deaf from early life over these other conditions and seemed to contribute to accepting oneself as deaf.

Acceptance is not resignation, for these co-researchers. On the contrary, a frank acknowledgement of ones's deafness seemed to enable

the experience of difference to recede or become transcended (see Table 3). Subjective experiences included a sense of normality, pride, confidence, self expression, freedom and maturity. The following excerpts illustrate Accepting:

> A long time ago, I just accepted it. You can't beat deafness... can't open the ears up. It doesn't make sense. Things that I can beat, I do it.
>
> I accept being deaf, I don't think it's a terrible thing that happened. I feel normal. It's better than being blind or crippled or not normal in some other way. I'm proud that I'm deaf.
>
> Sometimes I wish I were still hearing. I could talk on the phone, talk to my family. But I'm deaf, and I accept it. There's no need to be bitter, because I have a family now.
>
> Acceptance means I truly understand my deafness from my innermost feelings. It means self understanding.
>
> I'm more independent now, in part because others depend on me. Pride has made me freer... understanding about my deafness gave me pride, and I was freer to express myself... I didn't care any more what people thought when they saw my deafness. I no longer felt inferior.

Accepting is far from simple and a small number of co-researchers discussed their struggles in this regard.

This excerpt illustrates this point:

> I feel limited by being deaf. I accept the fact that I can't do these things, and I've set them aside and made adjustments in my life... I read... have many hobbies to keep my mind occupied. So it's been alright. But still I imagine what it would be like if I could take in things through hearing.

The following two excerpts are from a single co-researcher's interview, and suggest pronounced ambivalence about being deaf and a moving in and out of acceptance:

> I get mad at God. I ask Why? I try to finesse the problem,

> but I'm never satisfied. For some reason I was chosen to be deaf, and I have good faith, and I have to accept it. I hope some day that I will be granted hearing again.
>
> If I hadn't accepted it, I wouldn't be the person I am today. I feel good about myself. I have healthy children. I think being educated has helped me accept it. I learned that I could always discuss it, argue if something was having an impact on me.

One co-researcher stated firmly her preference to be hearing:

> I still wish I were hearing. For example my husband's aunt who'd done so much family history research. I've been absolutely amazed at the types of thing she talks about, the wealth of her knowledge. I realize how much communication I've missed with her all this time. And I'd like to be able to do things like use the phone without asking a hearing person's help-- I get so tired of having to swallow my pride every time and ask. It's so much better to have direct contact. Some deaf people accept being deaf. Not me. I still wish I were hearing.

A prominent feature in discussions of acceptance is that of imagining what it might be like to hear and of being aware of the types of experiences one is missing by being deaf. A key factor in Accepting seems to be the degree to which the co-researcher experiences these missed things as irreplaceable. For some co-researchers, aspects of living like family, work, education and interests can in part make up for what is missing. For the co-researcher of the last excerpt, both the missed communication with the aunt and the personal affront of having to ask a hearing person's help, are acutely felt. For this co-researcher, no amount of coping, understanding or assistance can compensate for these experienced losses.

Guiding. Ten of the eighteen co-researchers spoke of an aspect of being deaf which seemed to represent a phase of development beyond Accepting. These co-researchers had become advocates for deaf people,

providing support, education and leadership to both hearing and deaf people who were endeavoring to understand and cope with deafness in themselves or in significant others. These co-researchers teach sign language classes, assist deaf friends in managing personal and business affairs, become officers in deaf organizations, and express their views on the education of deaf children to the administration of the school for the deaf.

Guiding is the sixth and final ring in the ripple image. It presumes having accepted one's deafness, and having traversed the preceding phases. With respect to the central theme of difference, these co-researchers are finding ways to assist others by virtue of their acknowledgement and understanding of the ways that being deaf makes them unique. They enrich others through their difference (see Table 3).

A comprehensive list of instances of Guiding apears in Appendix O. Here are excerpts exemplifying Guiding:

> I taught sign language both before and after I became aware. I didn't have an interpeter... they'd just have to learn from me as I am, a deaf person. After becoming aware I did share more with my students about my deafness. I wanted to demonstrate that deaf people are capable of succeeding despite limits. That we can be as good a person as any hearing person.
>
> [I was fighting for] Deaf dignity. That we "can". That you and I are the same. It's just that I can't hear, that's all.
>
> I feel I'm obligated to help. They come to me. People will come to the house to settle some insurance problem, say. "You're smart," they'll say. "You can read and write straight English but you're so good at signing ASL too," they'll say. I'll help them write something. It's like

being a "god," in a manner of speaking. They look up to me. Leadership. If I make a mistake I get a lot of blame, though. It's a risky position.

The most important thing is the children's developing their identities. Like I try to do with my children. Sometimes what I want isn't what they want. If they dont' like whatever, I accept that. With the deaf children it doesn't matter what it is. The teachers tell them no. They force them. The children just have to take it! It bothers me. Telling people they can't all the time, the children lose. There's not enough opportunity.

Co-researchers were not unaware of drawbacks that can accompany Guiding. In the third excerpt, the co-researcher notes that carrying such responsibility entails the risk of blame when one's suggestions lead to undersirable results. The co-researcher of the last excerpt discussed occasions of approaching the school administration to make her concerns known about existing policies and practices which affect deaf children. She described a growing ambivalence over whether to continue advocating in this way, in light of retaliation she has received from those who oppose her views.

Ground. Noticing being deaf occurs against a ground of living without an awareness of being deaf. A discussion of this ground has been placed after rather than before the descriptions of the developmental phases, because the meanings of co-researchers' 'ground' statements can be better understood when juxtaposed with the meanings of 'figure', that is with the articulated experience of being aware of being deaf over time.

A relatively small number of statements (listed in Appendix I under Ground) pertain to living without noticing being deaf. Some of

these were general statements of non-reflection on being deaf, with no speculation as to how the non-reflectedness might have come about.

These excerpts illustrate:

> I'm not really aware of my deafness in everyday life. I consider myself normal, like any other person.

> I really don't think about being deaf. I just go about my day. It's not a problem. I don't think about it.

In the majority of Ground statments, however, co-researchers talked about a specific state of affairs surrounding the non-reflection on being deaf. The conditions described were essentially those in which one did not encounter one's deafness; in terms of the major theme of Difference, Ground may be described as 'not encountering difference'. The statments are encompassed by three types of conditions in which difference is not encountered; that is, where deafness remains outside awareness. These conditions are: being very young, experiencing deafness as the status quo, and being alone.

Being very young. A few co-researchers spoke of being unaware of being deaf during their earliest years. Non-awareness in this case is probably a function of not yet possessing the capacities for extended self reflection. The following statements exemplify this category:

> When I was three, four, five, I never really thought about the deafness. Then at five or six I went to the school...

> Before I went to preschool I never realized I was deaf, that I couldn't hear, but I did know I wasn't the same as others, so to speak.

Experiencing deafness as status quo. A number of statements described deafness as continuous, either with respect to self over time ("I've been deaf all my life!") or with respect to self-in-relation-to-others ("I had grown up at the school and around deaf people, so I'd never learned about deafness really."). These statements depict being deaf unbroken by encounters with being hearing, either in the self or in others. The continuity of deafness in the self was brought into focus by some co-researchers by comparing themselves with people deafened later in life:

> I didn't think about it. It was normal. I just went on. I never noticed it. Say a person who grows up hearing loses their hearing at age ten, twelve. That person and I are completely different. That person is hurt... gets frustrated, disgusted... asks "Why did I have to be deaf?"... all that. I grew up deaf, so I didn't know.

> I've never experienced being hearing. There was nothing different about it to me. It didn't bother me. I just went on. I suppose if I had lost my hearing when I was eight or nine it might have been different. It would be something stopping all of a sudden.

Here are excerpts exemplifying the experience of deafness as continuous across people such that difference is not encountered:

> I was born to deaf parents and had deaf relatives; I've known I was deaf most of my life, but never really thought about my deafness when I was growing up. I attended the residential school for the deaf, and in general interacted a great deal with deaf people. Communication was with the eye, and I never thought about communicating with ears. I didn't bother to know I was deaf. Until I was about fifteen.

> [Before the awareness] I simply never thought about them [hearing people]. I was immersed in a world with deaf people... Until that party at age fifteen when I was the only deaf person there-- being the only one, I came to reflect on being deaf.

Being alone. A third condition in which deafness (and difference) are not encountered is solitude. Some co-researchers spoke about times when they feel comfortable. Deafness receded in these statements; there is no occasion to encounter it:

> I'm most comfortable being alone. I think about myself, about what's happening at work; at home; around with friends. I drive to the mountains alone. It takes the pressure off. I'm probably least nervous when I'm driving, or getting exercise.

> At home. At my apartment alone. Everybody's away from me. No one bothers me, picks at me. It's quiet. I can think. I like watching TV.

There are interesting similarities between Ground, that is living without being aware of being deaf, and Accepting. In both cases, deafness does not preoccupy the person. In both, the experience of difference recedes. Comparing oneself with those deafened later in life, for whom becoming deaf would entail a loss, is both a way of talking about being unaware of deafness and a way of talking about accepting it. It seems paradoxical, at first glance, that the relatively sophisticated achievement of having frankly acknowledged and accepted being deaf with all its complexities should share features with being unaware of those complexities. A helpful way to make sense of the paradox may be to recognize that although deafness and difference recede in both, the means by which this occurs is different. In statements about Ground, the experience of being deaf-as-different either has not yet come into play or has receded because of circumstances which obviate its emergence (there is no deaf-hearing interface, as when alone or in an exclusively deaf environment). In

Accepting, the deaf-hearing interface has been encountered and addressed: Both being deaf among deaf people and being deaf among hearing people afford possibilites and limits. These sitations are differentiated, elaborated and integrated over time. Disruptive qualities of encountering one's deafness diminish and are offset by life assets such as important relationships and achievements. Deafness as difference recedes through integration in Accepting, rather than through lack of encounter (as it does in Ground).

Fidelity

As discussed in Chapter II, four aspects of the faithfulness of the emergent description of deaf experience were scrutinized. The perceived effectiveness of these efforts in ensuring fideltiy is reported here:

Fidelity of co-researcher narratives to the experience itself. Several steps were taken to facilitate a rich account of experience in the dialog. In brief, the aims and method of the study were carefully explained to co-researchers, with an emphasis on the co-researcher concept; co-researchers were given ample time and more than one opportunity to meet with the researcher before deciding to participate; freedom to withdraw from the study at any time was assured; confidentiality was guaranteed through a variety of means; and the researcher's status as "friend to the deaf community" was felt to be a condition fostering trust.

The data-rich quality of the interviews attests to the effectiveness of these means of ensuring fidelity to experience.

Every interview made a contribution to the overall structure which emerged. With the exception of a small number of statements which pertained to the experience of persons other than the co-researcher, every statement in every interview was utilized. This situation indicates that co-researchers understood and invested themselves in the task at hand; there was very little "chaff" in the interviews. Without exception, co-researchers related incidents in which being deaf was figural; some related many such events. Not unexpectedly, some co-researchers were more at ease in the dialog than were others and non-intrusive encouragement was needed to facilitate dialog in the less interpersonally facile and articulate. The interviews of even these co-researchers, however, contained statements which helped to formulate the structural invariants of the experience. It was the researcher's impression that co-researchers were engaged during the interview. Some appeared especially eager to make known not only their personal experiences, but their beliefs and values concerning societal attitudes toward and policies concerning deaf people. Many co-researchers seemed pleased to be involved in an endeavor whose sole aim was to understand them, especially in light of the fact that being misunderstood is such a fundamental fact of life for most deaf people. Some expressed hope that they would learn something about themselves in the interview. Others expressed gratitude at the end of the interview for having been asked to participate.

Fidelity of emergent structure to co-researcher experience. The manner of ensuring this level of fidelity is discussed in detail in the Methods section. The researcher shared three types of information with each co-researcher: the summary statements for his or her interview; the overall structure (the developmental phases); and the specific ways in which the co-researcher's interview had contributed to the formation of the overall structure. The co-researcher's second reduction statements were brought to this meeting and used for reference during the discussion.

Co-researchers felt that the summary statements captured their experience. None felt that the statements misrepresented them and none had statements to add. Some co-researcher's were especially pleased to have had their views condensed and articulated in the form of the second reductions and the summary statements. One stated "That's me. You've captured me." Another asked for a copy of his second reduction to give to a relative, to help her understand him and his experience. Paricipants seemed quite intrigued to see the ways that their comments had contributed to the overall structure; it seemed to lend credibility and meaning to the overall structure to be told how they had helped to create it. Some co-researchers, upon seeing the phases of development, generated further examples of particular phases. Some made comments about phases which were used to enrich the description of the phase in the Results section. For example, one co-researcher wanted to be sure the researcher understood that Accepting for him was not resignation and did not imply a kind of

passive over-dependency on others which could be condoned because of the condition of deafness. These notions were incorporated into the descriptions of the Coping and Creating and Accepting phases.

Fidelity of emergent structure to interview data. The major categories-- the developmental phases-- were checked against the Natural Meaning Units and were revised until every Meaning Unit could be placed into one or more categories. In addition, subthemes within phases were revised until every statement on every Master List of instances of phases was placed into a subtheme. By the time the phases and subthemes had undergone their final revision, no data fell outside the structure and no categories within the structure existed which did not arise from data.

Fidelity of the description to colleagues' understanding of the phenomenon. Three presentations of the ongoing project were made to the researcher's colleagues. In early stages, the researcher used her colleague's assistance in discerning tentative categories and patterns as they emerged from interview transcripts. Later, she incorporated their impressions in categorizing particularly complex and subtle instances of data thereby refining the overall structure. By the time the structure had reached final form, colleagues characterized it with such descriptors as "easy" (meaning capable of being communicated and comprehended by others) and "elegant." These descriptors suggest that the criteria for completion of a phenomenological analysis had been reached.

Collaizi (1978) reminds us that in phenomenological research one

can never reach a point where "the full assessment of existential significance is achieved" (p. 70). Phenomenological research does yield a description of experience, not experience itself. Nonetheless, "relative adequacy" (Ihde, 1977) may be achieved: One works to balance the opposing needs of searching for more possibilites and completing research at a point where a good-enough formulation has been reached. Collaizi writes of a "feeling of being satisfied" which comes when the tension between these two forces has been squarely faced. De Rivera and Kreilkamp articulate this juncture nicely in asserting that the description must "Reveal the phenomenon in a new light, fit all different experiences, and be parsimonious, simple and elegant" (pp.6-7). By the time the researcher had completed the other steps in ensuring Fidelity and had received colleagues' impressions during her final presentation, these criteria were experienced as having been met to her satisfaction.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

Deafness as Difference

Deaf experience, as described by co-researchers in this study, can be understood as a progression through a set of phases characterized by emergent awareness of and coming to terms with being deaf. At the core of this experience is a set of events which bring deafness into focus. These events occur almost invariably at the interface of a world of people who hear and a world of people who do not. The most emotionally charged events appear to occur early in life, before one has the personal resources to make sense of and cope with them. Movement through the various phases brings increasing capacities to reflect on being deaf and on the limits and possibilities deafness entails, and to use personal initiative and interpersonal relationships to cope with it. Coming to terms involves accepting, but not resigning oneself to, the unique ways that being deaf both closes and opens possibilities. For some, imparting to others the wisdom and knowledge which grow out of this process only enriches the other and enhances one's own self esteem and quality of life.

For these co-researchers, the experience of being deaf is the experience of being different. Early in life, difference impinges on in confusing and often painful ways, especially if the person is a member of a hearing family, as are the great majority of deaf people.

Exposure to other deaf children sets the stage for reflection on oneself as different-from-some, but the-same-as-others. One begins to know one is deaf-- to form the deaf aspect of one's identity. What is salient at first is the contrast between limits-by-virtue-of-being-different from hearing people and possibility-by-virtue-of-being-the-same as deaf people. Over time and with maturity, one realizes that being different also opens up certain possibilities, and that being the same can constrain one in certain ways. These limits and possibilities emerging from experiences of sameness and difference engender aspects of being unique to deaf existence and a vast array of ways of coping. As one begins to accept being deaf, the experience of difference recedes: one is the same as others by virtue of being human. Far from having forgotten or cast aside one's difference, one has acknowledged and integrated it, and is now in a position to enrich the lives of others through being different.

Such enrichment is only possible when the other is receptive to difference rather than threatened by it. Autobiographical, sociolinguistic, psychological and historical analyses of deaf experience have demonstrated a societal failure to welcome difference (see Jacobs, 1980; Vernon and Makowsky, 1969; Lane, 1976 and 1984; Woodward, 1982). Deaf people, as other minority groups, have experienced rejection by the majority group. This is the theme of a comprehensive and sensitive account by Lane (1984) of the struggle of deaf people in France and in America from the mid-eighteenth century to 1900 to establish and conduct the education of deaf children in the

language of signs. Lane's treatise is based upon a view of the deaf community as a linguistic minority, and his book chronicles the intolerance of this difference by the larger society, in particular by the educational establishment. Decisions made in the late nineteenth century banning sign language from the classroom reflect "the incurable deafness." Lane borrows this notion from Victor Hugo, who in 1845 commented to a prominent deaf educator of deaf children:

> What matters deafness of the ear, when the mind hears. The one true deafness, the incurable deafness, is that of the mind (in Lane, 1984).

The present study corroborates other analyses of deaf experience which hold that deafness only enters awareness against a 'hearing' ground. This notion is articulated by Higgins (1980), whose sociological analysis yielded a view of deaf people as "outsiders in a hearing world." Higgins explains:

> Being an outsider is meaningful in relationship to and primarily in contrast with those who monopolize reality. Being an outsider is only possible if there are those who are not outsiders. Being black has meaning only if there are white people. Blindness must be contrasted to sight in order to be fully understood. Homosexuality takes on its importance within a heterosexual world, and so on. (p. 174)

This figure-ground relationship between deaf experience and hearing context was illustrated in numerous ways by co-researchers. Those from deaf families emphasized that their deafness did not emerge in family contexts. They felt "normal;" deafness was "status quo." For them, it took contact with hearing people through sporting activities or social events to be confronted with being deaf. Other participants

commented that they did not "feel deaf" when with other deaf people, but only when with hearing people.

A figure-ground reversal of this state of affairs is illustrated in a humorous way in a segment of the National Theater of the Deaf's production "My Third Eye." It depicts a world inhabited only by deaf people. On an expedition to another planet, a species [hearing people] bearing a remarkable resemblance to human beings is discovered, and specimens are brought back for display. These creatures, who in every other respect seem human, are found to "see with their ears" and "sign with their mouths." In addition, they use odd contraptions, including one [a telephone] with an attachment resembling "a miniature dumbbell" [the receiver], presumably for exercise. This artistic work depicts deafness as status quo, and being hearing as being different.

Deafness as difference is one instance of the broader issue of differences between minority and majority groups. The phases which emerged from this study for coming to terms with difference tie in with other discussions of human difference, including those by Goffman (1963), Adam (1978), Gilligan (1982), Belenky et al. (1986), Wright (1983) and de Monteflores (1986). Parallels between this study and De Monteflores' ideas will be discussed as her perspective is psychological (rather than sociological) and she strives to address difference in general, rather than the difference of any specific group.

From a social psychology standpoint de Monteflores describes some

strategies used by groups and by individuals within groups to manage difference. She describes a phenomenon similar to Knowing, called "Confrontation," in which the individual "faces up" to being different. This requires "an acknowledgement to ourselves of who we are." Just as co-researchers' discovery of their deafness and its inherent limits and possibilities paved the way for coping and creating, so Confrontation involves the "transformation of an apparent deficit into a strength." One mediating element in this transformation, as in Knowing, is "a recognition that one is not alone with a difference, which leads to a bridging of isolation and eventually to a building of community and support."

One has the option of "Ghettoizing," or living a large part of one's life within the confines of a subculture within which one identifies. Credibility and support within the subculture thereby accrue. Considerable energy is given by some groups and indivduals within groups to strengthening the group boundary (cf. Markowicz and Woodward, 1978). De Monteflores notes, however, that "The mature identity necessarily includes a recognition of sameness as well as difference." This requires a certain flexibility in boundaries, emerging out of a sense of security about individual identity. The phase Acknowledging Facts of Life for co-researchers of this study entails the very process described by de Monteflores. Co-researchers discover not only the benefits, but the pitfalls of associating with deaf people; and not only the limits, but the opportunities entailed in associating with hearing people.

A strategy which could be placed at the opposite extreme from Ghettoization is termed by de Monteflores 'Assimilation.' To survive in the majority culture, variant groups "need to learn the language of the dominant group, that is, the current modes of communi-cating and managing." For the deaf person, this is true in a literal sense: To the extent possible, one learns English. A certain degree of "passing," or appearing to be like the dominant group, is common to most members of variant groups. A tension is created between sameness and difference, between strivings to belong to the larger society and to remain loyal to the minority group. In the deaf community, as explicated by more than one co-researcher in this study, to be intellectually inclined is to be somewhat suspect, as it is a quality often attributed to hearing people. There is a sign used to describe the "oreo" or "Uncle Tom" in the deaf community: the sign for 'hearing person' is moved from its standard position at the mouth (a reference to speaking) to the forehead (the location of signs pertaining to cognitive processes), to convey the notion of "a deaf person who thinks like a hearing person."

Another strategy discussed by de Monteflores is "Specialization." Some members of minority groups cope by highlighting unique personal or group qualities including being exotic, having special talents, being superior for having suffered, or feeling "chosen." One way the larger society copes with difference is by fostering these roles. The popularity of the play "La Cage Aux Folles" represents the portrayal of deviant traits as exotic. De Monteflores notes that deviant groups

are alternately denigrated and made exotic; this splitting serves "to place the different individual or group in a realm outside ordinary human intercourse, in order both to distance from them and to make them appear inhuman" (p. 81). Exploitation is easier when we can construe those we abuse as less human than ourselves. In an anthology of fictional works depicting deaf characters, Batson and Bergman (1985) note that nineteenth century hearing authors portray deaf characters as uncommonly "good":

> Because they are outside of society, they have not imbibed the evil within society, so are superior to their hearing counterparts... They are beautiful... or strong,... they are resourceful, loyal, generous, sincere, etc. (p. 3)

The attribution of special qualities to a different group can function to oversimplify and to keep one in one's place. Deaf people are often said to seem "happy," possibly as a result of the animated appearance of the sign language. A common phenomenon in college programs where many hearing students are beginning to learn sign language is the seeking out of deaf fellow students for the purpose of "practicing" signing. There is a fine line between "cultural exchange" and exploitation. One sophisticated co-researcher in this study was not only fully aware of being used in this way, but was cognizant of the ways that he in turn exploited his hearing peers to learn aspects of culture to which he had had limited access in the deaf community.

Viewing oneself as a survivor is another type of specialization used as a strategy for managing difference. Deaf people relate

stories of having had their hands slapped for signing; of having been openly ridiculed in public because of the sound of their voice or the appearance of their signs; of having suffered acute isolation in childhood. Some, in keeping with the Guiding phase in this study, feel an obligation to help others survive; these people become informal or formal leaders in the community.

Finally, there is "the exile." Some members of a variant group believe that a better way of life will come in the form of a fantasied golden age, a country of origin or a utopia where an ultimate sense of belonging will come to pass. Lesbians long to return to the islands of Lesbos; Jews to the Promised Land. The National Theater of the Deaf's production "Deaf Dominion" is a dramatic protrayal of this notion. Staging such productions could be seen as Guiding; they serve not only to educate others about deaf experience but to foster in deaf persons a pride in being different.

Prerequisite to a valuing of difference is an awareness of it. Deaf people remind us that we too are different, and we are both fascinated by and apprehensive about this fact. Batson and Bergman (1985) convey this message in typifying portrayals of deaf characters by twentieth century hearing authors. These characters tend to be used to express the absurdity and alienation of the modern condition as seen by these authors. Batson and Bergman elaborate:

> It seems that a large segment of people today see themselves as victims and therefore feel they too are "deaf" in the sense of being ignored, not heard, lost in a world which they cannot understand. And so, by a strange twist of fortune, one who has always been an outsider (the deaf person), suddenly becomes accepted,

> but only because everyone else feels as much an outsider as he...(p. 137)

Deafness as difference can be seen, then, as one instance of "human existence as difference." It brings into focus not only differences between groups but differences between individuals. Even in the most harmonious marriage, husband and wife are different. Regardless how like-minded we may feel, we differ from our colleagues. No matter how empathic we may be, we never fully see eye-to-eye with the other, not even our closest friend. Despite the deepest love for our children, we see the world through our eyes, not theirs. A love affair may be a passionate union, but lovers are never one and the same. We all must come to terms with difference. Working to understand the experience of deaf people, for whom difference is more salient, can shed light on this universal process of coming to terms.

It is interesting to note that depictions of deaf characters in literature by deaf authors differ from depictions by hearing authors. Difference as described from the inside is not the same as difference described from the outside. Two qualities stand out in the works by deaf authors: the description of day-to-day experience for the deaf person, and a quality of defiance. Batson and Bergman (1985) highlight the contrast between deaf and hearing authors with respect to describing everyday experience:

> Rarely does a hearing writer concern himself or herself with the actual experience of being deaf-- for example, hearing authors generally create deaf characters who can lipread anyone from any angle in any kind of light, which is an impossibility as anyone who has tried it knows. (p. 205)

One aspect of the defiance which typifies deaf characters of deaf

authors is a rejection of the "victim" role and of the pity it elicits. In his poem, "Monologue of a Deaf Man," the deaf English poet David Wright (1969) writes:

> The injury, dominated, is an asset:
> It is there for domination, that is all. (p.3)

There is a pride in having faced adversity and succeeded. The choice between defiance and playing victim, so central a part of the deaf experience according to Batson and Bergman, is manifested in the phase of Coping and Creating, from the standpoint of the present study. Does one choose to be done-to, or to do-for oneself, through the use of personal attributes and interpersonal relationships? A question is raised with respect to defiance, however, when we approach the next phase, Accepting: Where does defiance stop and acceptance begin? Or, more realistically, How do defiance and acceptance co-exist; What happens at the interface between them?

This question is raised not for the purpose of exploring possible answers (a topic for future research, perhaps) but to raise an issue: The researcher asking this question is hearing person; Would a deaf investigator ask such a question? Perhaps. Perhaps not. Literary and experiential concerns converge with methodological ones at this juncture, raising the issue of hearing status of the person conducting research on deafness. Just as a hearing author might portray deaf characters differently than a deaf author would, so might a hearing and a deaf investigator of deaf experience ask questions and construe

answers differently. The next section is a discussion of this and other methodological topics.

Methodological Concerns

The purpose of this study was to describe aspects of the adult experience of being deaf. The goal was to reveal "presences" rather than "absences": to obtain a sense of who deaf people are, rather than to log "gaps in experience" with respect to hearing people. Efforts were made to avoid pitfalls which were seen to be too prevalent in existing research. These included: a "hearing bias" in the construction and interpretation of instruments used; a failure to attend to deaf persons' unique use of language; and an overemphasis on the pathological end of the health-psychopathology continuum.

Numerous studies have demonstrated that a dialogic approach can successfully generate meaningful statements about important aspects of human existence, including the experience of time (Dapkus, 1985), of the body (MacGillivray, 1985/1986), of death (Ross, 1986) and of painful emotion (Parks, 1987). The experience of being deaf proved to be quite amenable to description in this way. The dialogic method contributed greatly to the success of the study in articulating deaf experience from the point of view of deaf people. The benefits of the interview approach in this study are felt to outweigh its limitations; both will be discussed here.

In utilizing an interview method, issues of hearing bias in construction and interpretation of formal instruments became moot: no formal instruments were used. The researcher attended carefully to

linguistic issues: the interviews were conducted in sign language, with adjustment to points along the sign language continuum which would facilitate comfort and a full account of experience. (See Appendix C for an explanation of this process.) The basic structure of the interview is discussed in detail elsewhere; here it will only be reiterated that an open-ended format was used, in which topics were raised by the co-researcher and followed up by the researcher, rather than being introduced by the researcher. An interview would be continued until a sense was achieved that the co-researcher's experience had been fully articulated and mutually understood.

The success of an interview approach is limited by the interviewer's skill in facilitating a rich account of experience as well as by the co-researcher's ability and willingness to give such an account. It is to be expected that some aspects of experience will be neglected, either because they were not raised by co-researchers, or because they were not properly explored by the researcher. Given the reservations expressed by Sachs (1976) and by Higgins (1980), as well as the literature on minority group member responses to insider versus outsider interviewers, the potential of the researcher's hearing status as a limiting influence must be considered. It is possible that co-researchers were more reserved in expressing anger or other negative emotions than they might have been with a deaf interviewer. This factor is not felt to have compromised the results. Negative affects were described very often by co-researchers, and these found their way into the overall description emerging from the interviews.

Another possibly limiting factor is felt to be the researcher's non-native command of American Sign Language. The researcher is a skilled signer and was able to comprehend all that was told to her by co-researchers; nonetheless, communicating in a second language necessitates a certain proportion of one's attention be given to linguistic comprehension. It also requires that co-researchers give over a certain portion of their effort to ensuring that their message is conveyed in such a way that a non-native will understand them. Subtle nuances of experience may be lost. Once again, this is not felt to have constrained the dialog to a serious degree; participants did not appear communicatively strained and the researcher rarely had to ask for clarification for linguistic comprehension purposes.

Although 'hearing bias' in formal instruments was bypassed through the use of an interview, bias can also exist in the conduct of an interview. The researcher did everything possible to bracket her expectations and beliefs about deaf experience, but complete bracketing is impossible. The manner of attending to and following up co-researcher comments undoubtedly reflects to some degree the researcher's linguistic and anthropological biases.

In discussing the influence of hearing status, linguistic competency and interviewer bias on the results, one risks losing sight of an important mitigating factor: the researcher's desire to understand, and the communication to co-researchers of that desire. This factor is felt to have contributed a great deal to co-researchers' willingness to share their experiences. Conveying

her sincere wish to understand her co-researchers had the effect of highlighting the researcher's sameness with them by virtue of being human. Her difference by virtue of being hearing, although present, receded during the collaborative effort of each interview.

The first two major problems with existing psychological research on deaf adults, hearing bias in instrumentation and neglect of language issues, were addressed by using a dialog in sign language. The third major issue, the overemphasis on pathology, was addressed by the nature of the co-researcher sample chosen. Co-researchers were intelligent, relatively well-educated, relatively successful, articulate people who were willing and able to reflect upon and share with a hearing person their experience of being deaf. The description which emerged articulates possibilities for a coming to terms with being deaf characterized by integration, growing self esteem and relatedness to others. Such an articulation of possibilities for healthy coming to terms is needed in this body of literature.

Selecting a healthy, articulate sample does raise questions for the study. It would be difficult to say whether present results would generalize to deaf persons less inclined to express themselves articulately, or to deaf persons in other age ranges, or of different educational backgrounds, occupations, and socioeconomic status. Another significant co-researcher characterstic which could have influenced results is the Deaf nature of this sample. These co-researchers are deaf from early life, attended residential school, think of themselves as deaf rather than hard of hearing, and choose to

associate with other deaf people. Would the same categories have emerged if the nature of the sample had been different? Without further research, answers to this question can be speculative only. The possible impact of each of these co-researcher characteristics is considered here:

Age. The life-spanning quality of present results reflects the adult status of these co-researchers, who ranged in age from 30 to 62. Had adolescents been interviewed, for example, it is doubtful the Guiding phase would have emerged with such clarity, if it were represented at all. The Accepting phase may also have been less well defined. Mid-life is a period often characterized by assessment of one's life accomplishments to date, and projection of possibilities for the future. The limits-and-possibilities aspect of the Facts of Life phase may be a manifestation of this more universal adult concern.

Educational level. Seven co-researchers had either bachelor's or master's degrees. Three had other types of training beyond high school. This sample is more highly educated than the deaf population at large. [Over half the adult deaf population have not completed high school; 28 percent have an eighth grade education or less. Twelve percent have attended college for one or more years (Schein and Delk, 1974).] Educational level may have contributed to the ease with which co-researchers described experience. The specific subthemes within phases might have been fewer or less intricately described, for example, if co-researchers were less well educated and/or articulate.

Occupation. These co-researchers are relatively successful in their careers. An unusually high number (ten of eighteen) are in the field of education. This occupational status may give these co-researchers an especial propensity to teach and guide, reflected not only in their desire to participate in the study but in the sincerity of their engagement in the dialog and their efforts to "teach" the researcher about themselves. It may also have contributed to the emergence of the Guiding phase. This phase might not have surfaced at all had the study been conducted with a sample of persons who were less community-minded than are these co-researchers. In addition, Coping and Creating may be more highly represented in this sample than it would be in a less successful, "doing oriented" group of people.

Status as Deaf persons. These co-researchers have been deaf all their lives. They consider themselves members of the deaf community; they have attended residential schools, and they associate with other deaf people. The Knowing phase would have been quite different in a group of persons deafened later in life: Becoming deaf, and the loss this involves, would be figural for such a group; for the participants in this study, the figural event was realizing that one was already deaf; loss was less figural. Later, day-to-day reminders of being deaf would probably be similar for the two groups.

Aspects of the Coping and Creating phase may have been different in a sample of deaf persons who have chosen to interact in the hearing world exclusively; for them, contact with other deaf people might diminish self-esteem and the perceived quality of life rather than

enhancing them as it did for the co-researchers in this study. The use of sign language, rather than being a valued aspect of daily life, might be experienced either as simply foreign and unknown or, perhaps, as a personal stigma. Accepting might also have a different quality for deaf persons who do not associate with other deaf persons. They might be less inclined to bring up or elaborate on having accepted being deaf; in this group deafness may be more intensely experienced as stigma.

Although a phenomenological approach to analyzing protocols was felt to be successful in yielding rich and faithful description, one possible limitation must be discussed: the translation of interviews into English. The rendering of interviews and subsequent reductions into English necessary in order to have a 'frozen' form of the data for use in analysis. Sign language does not have a written form. Alternatives to English translation would be to transform all data into glossed form (see Appendix C for an example of this), or attempt to reduce the data in signed form. This might involve watching an interview, discerning significant statements and signing these (or having them signed by someone else) in front of a video camera. Both alternatives were deemed to be so time consuming as to be unrealistic; the second also raised possible problems with confidentiality. The issue of having used English translations bears discussion nonetheless: To the extent that language shapes rather than morrors experience (Whorf, 1956), deriving a description of one language group's experience in the language of another may not do justice to

the experience. Themes which might emerge if analysis were conducted on data in its original linguistic form may be "imprisoned" in the data if it is transformed into a language whose users do not experience that theme.

A final methodological point is the manner of ensuring rigor used in this study: fidelity to experience. Recent years have seen growing interest in the development of human science research methods (see for example Barrell et al., 1987; Allender, 1987). Increasing attention has been given to issues of validity and reliability; a dialectic has been articulated between natural science and human science conceptions of meaning, truth and rigor (see Shapiro, 1986; Wertz, 1986). Natural science aims for objectvity and predictability lead to quantitative attempts at demonstrating rigor. Human science aims for subjectivity and understanding bring the appropriateness of such quantification into question.

Phenomenology as a research approach in psychology is relatively new, and runs outside mainstream thinking in psychological research design. For this reason, the burden is on phenomenological researchers both to earn credibility among more traditional researchers by demonstrating rigor, and to educate researchers about this alternative approach to investigating human experience. Phenomenological researchers have chosen a variety of means of addressing rigor in a way which takes into account the natural science/human science dialectic. A number of studies have included reliability checks (see for example Dapkus, 1985; Myers, 1985;

MacGillivray, 1985/1986; Ridgeway, 1985/1986). Researchers in these studies developed a system of categories for describing an aspect of human experience (time, special possessions, the body, boredom). They trained raters to score statements from their interview protocols according to their category systems. Percentages of interrater agreement were obtained. This manner of ensuring rigor aims for "communicability" of results to another person.

In the present study a less quantitative form of rigor was used. The researcher demonstrated fidelity of her results to deaf experience. The explication and use of fidelity in this way is the researcher's contribution to thought on methodology arising out of the dialog between natural science and human science approaches in psychological research. Her choice of 'fidelity', and her justification for its use, were made with both of the above-stated aims in mind: to show that the study was done in a rigorous way, and to teach others about thinking in this new way. It was neither assumed nor expected that the outcome of this study would constitute Truth about deaf experience, only that it would be a faithful representation of deaf experience as related by co-researchers in this study. It is probable that another study of deaf experience conducted in a similar way with a similar sample would yield comparable results. To the extent that the two might differ, a dialog between the two could ensue, resulting in enhanced understanding of each and of the experience of being deaf.

Relation of Present Findings to Aspects of the Human Life World

Human experience can usefully be understood in terms of the fundamental aspects Time, Others, Body and Self (Pollio, 1982). Aspects of the present study which pertain to each of these facets of being are discussed in this section.

Time. The outcome of this study is a description of a process; that of coming to terms with being deaf. Process is change over time. Hence the findings of this study have everything to do with time; they are grounded in time; the study describes the deaf person's developing awareness and evolving abilities to cope over time. The notions 'developing awareness' and 'evolving abilities' are useful reminders that deaf experience is not static. It is ongoing, lived interaction between self and world, and self and others.

Of the three temporal themes described by Dapkus (1985), Change and Continuity is most prominent in the present study. Dapkus explains that the category of Change and Continuity

> ...refers to the fact that things (people, nature, etc.) are constantly changing and yet have continuity in time... This is essentially a category of "becoming in time." (p. 411)

This study describes becoming aware, becoming able to discern possibilities and limits, and becoming able to cope, accept and guide.

The Limits and Choices dimension of time is also represented in the present study. According to Dapkus,

> This category refers to the fact that people chose to spend their time on certain activities and are limited in what they can do because of the amount of time they have. Having

> a limited amount of time forces us to make choices and the choices we make give meaning to our lives. (p. 411)

Co-researchers in this study revealed that deafness imposes limits and necessitates choices in the same way that time does. In some instances, the two sets of limits converge: one co-researcher chose not to switch to a profession which would have given him more prestige and financial success; in his view, taking the measures necessary to compensate for his deafness in these professions would have taken more time away from his family and leisure pursuits than he was willing to give.

Others. Deafness emerges in relation to others, a second fundamental aspect of the human life world. Every event described by co-researchers in the Encountering phase took place in an interpersonal context. While it is an the individual who comes to Know that he or she is deaf, such knowing comes about by virtue of comparing and contrasting oneself with others.

Awareness of the limits and possibilities attendant to being deaf first emerges in the context of relating: I am different from hearing people, and this limits me; I am the same as deaf people, and this opens possibilities. Deaf people have the option of splitting (Kernberg, 1975, 1984): 'Deaf people, because they are like me, are good. Hearing people, because they are different from me, are bad.' Co-researchers in this study revealed that with maturity, integration occurs: Relating to people different from me can open aspects of the world, and associating with those like me sometimes curtails

possibilities. 'Hearing people are not always bad, and deaf people are not always good.'

One of the most essential aspects of Coping and Creating is in utilizing relationships with important others to gain a sense of belonging. The difficulties deafness brings are ameliorated by family members who love me; by friends at school who are like me; by deaf adults whom I can aspire to be like; by friends in organizations with whom I can communicate easily and work toward community goals. Sign language, one of the most unique and defining elements of deaf existence, is (like every other language) a quintessentially interactional human phenomenon.

Even the Accepting phase, which would seem on first thought to be more privately reflective than the others, is grounded in the world of others: I feel less different-from-others-because-I-am-deaf than I feel the-same-as-others-because-I-am-human. Finally, in the Guiding phase, one explicitly focuses on the other, in order to support, educate and lead.

Body. References to the body are strikingly few in these data. One co-researcher did comment: "You can't beat deafness... can't open the ears up." Several mentioned that being deaf means, simply, that one cannot hear. Other allusions to the body were in the context of events which made the co-researcher aware of physical danger, e.g., the approach of a car from behind which was not heard. All these references to the body would fall into the Instrument category of bodily experience described by MacGillivray (1986):

> Instrument refers to the capacity to experience the body as a "tool," capable of performing actions... As an instrument, the body can be seen as requiring maintenance and care... it can be experienced as composed of parts and functions that can be "broken down" and/or "built up" for the acquisition of strength or ability. (p. 107)

The infrequency of references to bodily manifestations of the experience of being deaf seems odd at first, because deafness is a physical condition. This scarcity of allusions to the body becomes understandable when we attend to a fact made very clear by these data: The impact of deafness is not experienced in the domain of the body; it is experienced in the world of others. The accommodations required of the deaf person are not bodily ones, but interpersonal ones. The part of the body which does not work is a part which is uniquely attuned to and adapted for commerce with other people.

Self. The results of this study illuminate aspects of the development of a sense of self in the deaf person. Given the prominence of others in the experience of being deaf, it is not surprising that present results are consistent with theories which hold self development occurs in a process of reciprocal exchange with the other (Erikson, 1950; Sullivan, 1953; Fairbairn, 1952; Winnicott, 1965; Kohut, 1971, 1977, 1984; Guntrip, 1971). Kohut's theory will be used to frame this discussion, as his notions about the roles of "mirroring", "idealization" and "twinship" in self development apply well to the results of this study.

Kohut (1977) holds that the beginning of an individual's selfhood occurs in the context of relations with caretakers:

> I have in mind the specific interactions of the child and his self-objects through which, in countless repetitions, the self-objects empathically respond to certain potentialities of the child (aspects of the grandiose self he exhibits, aspects of the idealized image he admires, different innate talents he employs to mediate creatively between ambitions and ideals), but not to others. This is the most important way by which the child's innate potentialities are selectively nourished or thwarted. The nuclear self, in particular, is not formed via conscious encouragement and praise and via conscious discouragement and rebuke, but by the deeply anchored responsiveness of the self-objects, which, in the last analysis, is a function of the self-objects' own nuclear selves. (p. 100)

In this theory, the "nuclear self" is the earliest, rudimentary "core" self. A "selfobject" is for the child a specific type of inner representation of the parent, one in which the parent is experienced as an extension of the self rather than as separate, and which completes the self. The parent can reflect the 'greatness' of the self, or be a source of 'greatness' in which the self takes part. Reflecting the child's greatness is called "mirroring" and fosters development of one aspect of self, the "grandiose self." Successful development of this aspect results in healthy ambitions and self-esteem. The parent who allows the child to experience him or her as great is enabling development of a second aspect of self, the "idealized parental imago." Healthy development along this line is manifested in well formed ideals and respect for other people.

A third aspect of self was added to the theory by Kohut in his later writings (Kohut, 1984). This aspect is characterized by "the reassuring experience of essential alikeness" (p. 193); selfobjects available to the individual for use in this way are termed "alter ego selfobjects." Gaining support and self-sustenance from the presence

of a similar, understanding other (an alter ego selfobject) is called "twinship," and differs from maintaining self-cohesion through being mirrored or through idealizing the other. Adequate development of this third aspect of self results in well developed talents and skills.

Being deaf with hearing parents can complicate mirroring between parent and child. Co-researchers spoke of being misunderstood and excluded in early life. In particular, the deaf aspect of their developing self was not mirrored; deafness in one's child is unfamiliar, frightening and depressing for most hearing parents (Mindel and Vernon, 1971; Altshuler, 1974). It is difficult for parents to convey to a deaf child acceptance of this unique aspect of his or her being when parents themselves are attempting to cope with the narcissistic injury of having an "imperfect" child, and when communication with the child is so difficult. The probable result for the deaf child is some disruption in the early foundation of self esteem. This situation makes understandable the powerfully ameliorative quality of initial encounters with other deaf children, who could be said to serve the function of alter ego selfobjects. It may be that mirroring deficits are offset by twinship experiences for deaf children.

The following co-researcher comment is included again here to illustrate this point:

> It was at the residential school that I discovered my identity, by seeing other deaf children. [Gestures:] "You don't hear... don't speak... I don't hear or speak... we're

> alike." It sank in. I'm not the only one in the world who has the problem. I was trememdously relieved. I knew I had found people of my own kind.

Other co-researchers said "I found out who I was," and "I began to feel normal." Twinship continues to enhance sense of self in the deaf person later in life, as illustrated by the importance of elaborate social and organizational networks of and for deaf persons.

In contrast to deaf children of hearing parents, deaf children of deaf parents probably experience little deficit in mirroring. Deaf parents are not as traumatized by the news of having a deaf child, and they know how to communicate with their child. Co-researchers in the present study who had deaf parents spoke of feeling "normal" in their families. Research on self concept in deaf children indicates that those with deaf parents are higher on measures of self concept (Meadow, 1969; Schlesinger and Meadow, 1972).

Idealization, like mirroring, can be disrupted for deaf children of hearing parents. While the child can admire the parents and feel powerful by virtue of the parents' power, aspirations to be "just like" them can never be realized-- the parent can hear and the child cannot. The child idealizes an unattainable quality. Children at the Horace Mann School for the Deaf, where sign language was not used until 1974, told this researcher when she worked there in the early seventies that they would be hearing when they grew up. This belief is understandable in light of the fact that they had never seen a deaf adult; every adult who worked at the school was hearing, and the children probably assumed that growing up included learning how to

hear. These children were striving to become a self that was impossible for them to be. From the standpoint of self development, the importance of deaf adults in the lives of deaf children becomes evident. Co-researchers in this study bore this out: a number of them talked about the importance of deaf teachers and other deaf adults in shaping their lives.

The following excerpt is presented to exemplify this:

> The deaf teachers supported us, they identified with us... Communication. Signing, fingerspelling... They were so good at explaining things to us, communicating with a lot of action and expression. We'd look up to them. They had nice cars, nice homes. We'd say to ourselves, "We can do the same thing."

Having deaf parents may be an advantage in terms of idealization as it is with regard to mirroring. The deaf child, in admiring and beginning to identify with the deaf parent, is not faced with an irreparable discrepancy between himself or herself and that parent. One co-researcher with deaf parents felt that his parents' status as respected community citizens contributed to his own sense of confidence as he was growing up.

Many aspects of narcissistic development are probably identical for deaf and hearing persons. It may be the <u>deaf</u> aspect of self, the sense of identity as a deaf person, which is most vulnerable to disruption, since over ninety percent of deaf children grow up in families where they are different from other family members. Movement through the phases of Knowing, Acknowledging Facts of Life, Coping and Creating and Accepting could be understood as a way deaf people have

developed to acquire stable selfhood in the face of the challenge of being different.

A final issue in the development of self raised by the results of this study is that of the self as finite. Coming to terms with the limits imposed by being deaf is one instance of a coming to terms with one's finiteness as a human being. This is "taming grandiosity." Sullivan (1940) depicts in a lovely way the problem faced by us all:

> The infant seeing for the first time the full moon, reaches for it. Nothing transpires. He utters a few goos and nothing transpires; then he starts to cry in rage, and the whole household is upset. But he does not get the moon, and the moon becomes "marked" unattainable. (p. 6)

Most of us never fully recover from this narcissistic insult. We never get the moon, and we never like that fact. We want to cook the best meal, to be the most empathic friend, to write the most influential book, to be the most loving spouse. We cannot. The experience of deaf people, whose deafness constitutes a more noticeable and ever present form of finiteness than most of us face, sheds light on the universal demand imposed by reality: we must accept limits. Limits in environmental, personal and social resources scale down aspirations. Limits in resources (access to communication being the most obvious) are more dramatic for deaf people than for people who can hear. Deafness makes finitude figural. Because deaf people are confronted with their finiteness earlier in life and in a more focal way than are the rest of us, their process of coming to terms with it becomes articulated more clearly than it does for the rest of us. In this way they guide us.

Relation of Present Findings to Developmental Theory

The phases which emerged from this study share features with certain stage theories. Points of convergence will be highlighted between this study and Erikson's Eight Ages of Man (1963) as well as with the stages in coming to terms with death and dying described by Kubler-Ross (1969). Parallels will also be drawn to the process of adjusting to physical disability (Wright, 1983). Finally, the controversy regarding invariant sequence in developmental theory will be discussed as it relates to the phases in the process of becoming aware of and coming to terms with being deaf.

Erikson's Eight Ages of Man. As a reminder to the reader, Erikson's eight stages are listed here:

Basic Trust versus Mistrust
Autonomy versus Shame and Doubt
Initiative versus Guilt
Industry versus Inferiority
Identity versus Role Confusion
Intimacy versus Isolation
Generativity versus Stagnation
Ego Integrity versus Despair

These stages are marked by psychosocial crises; Erikson's theory is similar to the present study in its emphasis on the importance of other people in individual development. He holds that

> ...the human personality in principle develops according to steps predetermined in the growing person's readiness to be driven toward, to be aware of, and to interact with, a widening social radius... (p. 270)

The theory is psychosocial in a biological context. Resolution of the psychosocial crisis at any given stage is contingent upon having the

biological maturity implied at that stage. Autonomy versus Shame and Doubt, for example, occurs in the context of the development of bladder and bowel control. The phases in this study, in contrast, are not tied to biological maturation.

It is important to note that deaf people, like all people, pass through Erikson's eight stages; other authors have written about the impact that being deaf might have on an individual's progress through these stages (Schlesinger and Meadow, 1972; Best, 1973). The developmental phases described in this study do not represent an alternate course but an additional course of development, overlaid on existing ones. The idea that there is a parallel course of development specific to deafness was discussed by one co-researcher:

> Everyone goes through cycles as they grow up. Different sets of ocurrences at different ages... the preschool years... becoming six... age ten... the teenage years, the curiosity... age eighteen, gaining your "freedom'... age twenty one, more control over your life... deciding what to do at the end of college... an so on. Deaf people go through these same cycles, but they have a parallel cycle concerning their deafness, that hearing people don't have.

The description in this study of phases for becoming aware of and coming to terms with being deaf is an attempt to articulate this "parallel cycle."

The fourth stage, Industry versus Inferiority, is the first point where clear similarities emerge between Erikson's stages and the phases described in study. Absence of applicability of earlier stages can probably be accounted for by the span of time chosen to discuss by co-researchers: most began their narrative with events from early school years. Industry involves

> ..."entrance into life," except that life must first be school life, whether school is field or jungle or classroom... The child... has experienced a sense of finality regarding the fact that there is no workable future within the womb of his family, and thus becomes ready to apply himself to given skills and tasks... He develops a sense of industry-- i.e., he adjusts himself to the inorganic laws of the tool world. He can become an eager and absorbed unit of a productive situation. (p. 259)

The Knowing phase fits nicely here. The deaf child enters school and there discovers he or she is deaf. Erikson emphasizes that even in societies where formal schooling and 'teachers' as such do not exist, some form of systemetized instruction does, and older children often play an important part in it. Older deaf children guide their younger peers through the difficult transition to residential school life, and are the bearers of sign language, one of the most important "tools" for Industry for the deaf child. Early acknowledgement of Facts of Life, and youthful instances of Coping and Creating would also occur during the stage of Industry vs. Inferiority. Inferiority in Erikson's sense was relatively rarely mentioned in these protocols; the incidence might have been higher in a less well-functioning sample or if co-researchers had attended public schools with hearing peers, where they might have been more likely to experience exclusion and academic difficulty with respect to other children from whom they were different.

The only other of the phases of this study which seems tied to a specific stage in Erikson's scheme is Guiding. The intermediate phases, Acknowledging Facts of Life, Coping and Creating and Accepting, occur and recur, probably in a spiral fashion, throughout

adolescence and early adulthood, in the course of the achievement of Identity and Intimacy. Generativity, according to Erikson,

> encompasses the evolutionary development which has made man the teaching and instituting as well as the learning animal. (p. 266)

As described by co-researchers, Guiding is a phenomenon predominantly occuring in adulthood and which entails acting as an advocate for others through support, teaching and leadership. Erikson is careful to clarify that although Generativity is most commonly expressed in raising children, it can be manifested by many other types of giving. Five of the co-researchers who talked about Guiding have children, and five do not.

The psychosocial crisis of Integrity versus Despair does not appear to apply to data in this study. The relative youth of the co-researchers probably accounts for this: Since the most frequent age span was 30-39 and the oldest participant was only 62, the concerns of Integrity vs. Despair are not yet figural.

Stages in the experience of the dying patient. Kubler-Ross' (1969) stages in the experience of the dying patient bear mention in this discussion because they, like the phases outlined in this study, describe a process of coming to terms with a limiting aspect of reality. According to Kubler-Ross, the dying patient passes through six stages: Shock, Denial, Anger, Depression, Bargaining and Acceptance. For parents of deaf children more than for the children themselves, the news of deafness brings a very similar evolution of

Theoretical issues and future research. The outcome of this study is a description of deaf experience from a developmental perspective. The similarity between the phases described in this study and developmental theories brings to mind a question: Do these phases constitute a theory? Generating theory is not the aim of phenomenological research, but the potential for utilization of these phases in this way is so clear as to require discussion of the issue.

In the spirit of synthesis of the traditional scientific paradigm and phenomenological approaches, the findings of this study could be viewed as a description forming the basis of a hypothesis: that deaf people move through a set of sequential phases in the process of becoming aware of and coming to terms with being deaf/different. Hypothesizing a developmental sequence necessitates that one address a set of issues specific to developmental theory. Broadly stated, the problem is that developmental sequences are poorly understood. Campbell and Richie (1983) outline some of the specific issues:

> There is a growing awareness... that fundamental questions remain to be resolved: What constitutes a developmental sequence? How are sequences to be established? What larger structures do sequences fit into ('stages' vs. 'no stages')? What are the major kinds of sequences, distinguished on what basis? (p. 156)

No developmental theory has escaped scrutiny. Criticisms and reconceptualizations of stage theory have been made with respect to the work of Piaget (see for example Ennis, 1975; Brown and Desforges, 1977; Shayer, 1979), of Erikson (Logan, 1986) and of Kohlberg (Simpson, 1974). One fundamental question is whether or not the "stage" concept is valid and useful. Flavell (1963) states the issue well:

> ... if behavior simply becomes better and better in a completely continuous way with no readily discernible qualitative changes in the process... any abstraction of "stages" becomes meaningless and arbitrary. (p. 19)

A second question, given the existence of stages, is whether or not they occur in invariant sequence as theorists propose. Tied to this issue is the question of how stages are related to one another. Piaget proposed a hierarchical relation: structures of earlier stages become integrated into those of later stages. Flavell (1972) elaborated on Piaget's notion, describing a taxonomy of developmental sequences identifying five ways that two events, A and B, can be related in developmental sequence (with B always following A). In "addition," B arises as an alternative ability to A, which remains present. In "substitution," B arises as an alternative to A, which diminishes. In "modification," B is derived from A; A metamorphoses into B. In "inclusion," A becomes tied to other structures to form B, i.e., A + C + D = B. In "mediation," A is necessary for the development of B, but once B develops, it is independent of A. Campbell and Richie (1983) point out serious limitations in our methods of observation and experimentation making it difficult to discern which of the above relations exists between any given "A" and "B."

In an attempt to clarify the ill-defined nature of theory of developmental sequence, Campbell and Richie introduce the concepts "prerequisite" and "precursor." A prerequisite is a necessary condition for a later ability. A precursor is both necessary for the

development of a later ability, and an earlier analog of it (mother-infant turn-taking may be a precursor to conversational turn-taking, for example). The authors offer these concepts as a contribution to the broad task of developmental psychology-- that of explaining, not only describing, observed sequences of abilities.

This summary rendition of a very complex set of issues is included to point out the impossibility of drawing definitive conclusions at this time about the implications of present results for developmental theory. The researcher acknowledges that none of the questions raised in developmental theory can be answered with respect to these phases for coming to terms with being deaf. Further research would be needed to address the issues-- to test the hypothesis that coming to terms with deafness/difference occurs via a progression through the phases described in this study.

Here are some of the unanswered questions: Is the sequence of phases described here invariant-- could a person Cope and Create without Knowing, or Guide without Accepting? Is there a reciprocal relation between adjacent phases-- can the manner in which a person comes to Accept enhance the creativity of their Coping?; does Guiding facilitate Accepting? Are the phases tied to chronological age-- is there an age before which Knowing would be impossible, for reasons of limits in the individual's cognitive development? Are there discrete phases at all (are there "coupures naturelles bien nettes," in Piaget's terms), or do these phenomena co-occur to such an extent as to render the "phase" concept unfaithful to experience? What is the

natural endpoint of these phases-- is 'coming to terms' with being deaf necessary? What happens if a person doesn't?

Only research can answer these questions. Some may remain open to question even with further work; active controversy surrounds the most widely known and used developmental theories even after a lifetime of research efforts. The fact that this study was done on deaf adults but includes description of aspects of deafness in childhood has ramifications for future research. For example, it may be that Knowing-- the realization that one is deaf and the sense of identity which often accompanies it-- was remembered by these deaf adults as having occured over a relatively brief span during their latency years but is a concatenation of experience which includes early adolescent identity formation. The existence of the phases for becoming aware of and coming to terms with being deaf would need to be corroborated by studies with deaf children. Whether experimental or phenomenological in nature, these studies would need to assess, for example, whether deaf children do indeed pass through a Knowing phase characterized by comparison of themselves with others, hearing and deaf, thereby facilitating a realization that they are deaf. These studies would need to document childhood and adolescent instances of Acknowledging Facts of Life and of Coping and Creating.

If the various phases were found to be valid reflections of experience, further research at each phase could be conducted. The present study was panoramic and as such did not tap intricacies of experience at any given point in the life span. It might be

appropriate for studies of experience at each phase to be conducted by deaf, signing investigators who would not face the linguistic and cultural differences from co-researchers which came into play for the present researcher.

Applications

The problems of deaf people are generated to some degree by lack of understanding and unhelpful attitudes on the part of hearing people. In the words of Leo Jacobs (1980), a deaf adult who writes about deaf experience, "we can say that the great hearing majority is indeed 'deaf' to the needs of the deaf!" (p. 20). The application of present findings which seems most apparent is in the area of educating persons who are in close contact with deaf people: parents of deaf children, dormitory counselors, teachers and administrators in schools for the deaf, vocational rehabilitation counselors and mental health professionals working with deaf persons, sign language students, interpreters, audiologists and speech pathologists.

The focus of such education would concern deafness as difference-- that deaf persons share with members of other minority groups the experience of being stigmatized by virtue of being different, but that difference also opens possibilities for both deaf and hearing people. The implications of being deaf for self development would also be taught; emphasis would be given to the process of coming to terms with being deaf as it elucidates the universal problem of "taming grandiosity," or facing human limitation. Formulations which emphasize loss (e.g., Kubler-Ross' stages in death

and dying and Wright's ideas about physical disability) do not apply well to the experience of being deaf from early life, and would be de-emphasized.

Hearing parents of deaf children who were exposed to the experience of the deaf adults described in this study might be less frightened about their child's prospects for leading a "normal" life. There of course would be a necessary period of adjustment after learning of the child's deafness before such educative efforts should begin. School administrators need to understand deaf experience to make policy congenial to it. Among adults, teachers and dorm counselors are probably second only to parents in their degree of impact on the deaf child's life; learning about deaf experience from the point of view of deaf persons could enhance their sensitivity. Rehabilitation and mental health workers, as well as audiologists and speech pathologists need guidance to remain aware that the deaf individual brings more to the relationship than the "deficit" which a professional remediates.

The findings of this study could augment existing interventions with deaf clients and patients in mental health settings. In addition to gathering information on family, educational, social and medical and legal history, inquiry could be made into the person's experience of being deaf. Questions similar to the ones used in this study could be asked, to gain a sense of the meaning of deafness for the person: the degree to which it is figural, the place of other deaf people in

the individual's life, the ways of coping, the degree to which the person feels at peace or in conflict in being deaf.

Finally, the findings of this study could be used as a framework for teaching about human difference in a broad sense. Students of all ages exposed to these ideas might gain an appreciation for the potential which members of variant groups have to enrich others by virtue of being different. Deaf children and adolescents who were guided to reflect on their difference might come to value it. De Monteflores notes:

> ...the valuing of one's difference, as a member of a rejected minority, can lead to the valuing of difference itself, which is perhaps one of the most important contributions which minorities can make to the larger society. (p. 75)

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INTRODUCTORY LETTER TO CO-RESEARCHERS

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37996-3400

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL EDUCATION
AND REHABILITATION

TELEPHONE: AREA CODE 615-974-2321

We are writing to tell you that you will be hearing soon from Laurel Goodrich, a U.T. student who is working on her doctoral degree in pscyhology. You may know Laurel: She is an interpreter, and was formerly a board member for KACCD. Laurel was an exchange student for a year at Gallaudet, where she lived with deaf students and received her training in deafness. Laurel is doing a research project about deafness. [Consultant 1 and Consultant 2] are advising her.

Laurel is interested in knowing more about deaf people's experiences. She wants to find out about deafness by asking deaf people themselves. She will talk face to face with deaf people, and will write down what she learns. She hopes her project will help hearing people to understand deaf people better.

Within the next two months Laurel will be calling you. She will ask if you would like to meet with her so she can explain the project to you. We would suggest that you meet in person with Laurel before you decide yes or no. We think you will find it easier to communicate in person than over the TDD! We picked you because you are a deaf adult who is intelligent and thoughtful. We thought you might be interested in talking about your experiences. But if you do not wish to participate, you are perfectly free to say no. We find the project interesting, however, and we hope you will think so too.

Many thanks for your attention to this letter.

Sincerely,

William E. Woodrick, Professor
University of Tennessee

[Consultant 1]

[Consultant 2]

APPENDIX B

INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM

INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM

Description

I am currently doing my doctoral research in clinical psychology, and I would like to ask you to be a co-participant in this work. The purpose of the study is to gain an understanding of the experience of being deaf. There has been relatively little psychological research with deaf adults, and studies are needed which ask deaf adults about their own experiences, so that we can better understand what deafness is like from deaf people's point of view.

The study will take one to three hours of your time now, and about a half hour at a later time. During our first meeting I will interview you about your experience of being deaf: how you became aware you were deaf, how you feel about being deaf, what being deaf means to you, etc. This interview will be recorded on videotape. Excerpts from these interviews (or whole interviews) will be included in a written discussion of this research project. At a later time I will contact you again for a shorter meeting (about thirty minutes) to give you feedback about your participation in the study, and to ask you if you have anything to change or add. This meeting will also be recorded on videotape.

Risks and Benefits

As stated above, you will be asked to talk about your experience of being deaf. It is possible that saying what you think and feel about your experiences could cause you some discomfort or distress. On the other hand, you may find that thinking about your experiences and your feelings about them could help you learn more about yourself.

Confidentiality

All of your responses during the first interview and the later meeting will be kept strictly confidential. Your name will not be put on the videotapes, included in any written transcript of the interviews, or included in the final report of the project. Instead, a code number will be used. No one but me will view the videotapes. Any transcribed excerpts which are included in the study will be carefully edited to eliminate possibly identifying information. You will have the opportunity to see the written excerpts before they are included in the final written report of the research project. The videotapes will be stored for ten years in my possession, at which time they will be destroyed. Without your written permission, no one other than myself will be permitted to see the videotapes.

Right to Refuse or to End Participation

You may choose not to answer any questions that make you feel uncomfortable or that you feel are too personal. If at any time you do not want to continue, you can stop the interview. If you wish to withdraw from the project at a later time, you are free to do so without questions or penalty.

Contact with the Investigator

If you have any questions about the study now, at any time during the study, or afterward, please do not hesitate to ask. You will be given a copy of this information and consent form to keep. I can be reached at the address and phone numbers given below:

Laurel B. Goodrich
Department of Psychology
Austin Peay Building
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee 37996-0900

Telephone:
office: (615) 974-2161 (voice)
home: (615) 573-6509 (voice or TTY)

I have read the above information and consent form, and agree to participate in this project.

_____ _____

Signature Dates

APPENDIX C

GUIDELINES: OPEN-ENDED INQUIRY INTO

THE EXPERIENCE OF BEING DEAF

Situations

The interviewer requests that the co-researcher recall situations when being deaf was figural; when the co-researcher noticed being deaf, or when his or her deafness "stood out." As the interview progresses, the interviewer asks whether any other occasions come to mind.

Sample Questions: "Look back and try to remember an occasion when you noticed you were deaf, as though saying to yourself 'Oh. I'm deaf.'" This question was signed in a variety of ways, depending upon the interviewer's perception of what sort of signing along the continuum from ASL to English order would be most congenial to the co-researcher. Here is a gloss of the question signed near the ASL end:

(_____gaze up) (_____gaze rt)
WANT ASK YOU LOOK-BACK, TRY REMEMBER SOMETHING HAPPEN, HUH DEAF ME HUH

This system of conveying signed utterances on paper is adapted from a system set forth in Cokely and Baker (1980a, 1980b). In this system, an English word is chosen as a representation, or "gloss', of each sign. The glosses are set down in the syntactic order in which they appear in sign language. The result is not an English translation, but a series of English glosses appearing in the order the signs were executed. In the utterance glossed here, 'WANT,' 'ASK,' 'YOU,' 'LOOK-BACK' etc are glosses for ASL signs. A signer familiar with the English glosses can recapture the essential meaning

of the signed statement by reading the gloss. Additional marks are added to the glosses to convey nonmanual behaviors which contribute to the language's grammar, and clarify the meaning of the statement. In the statement above, the line and the words "gaze up" in parentheses above LOOK-BACK, TRY REMEMBER SOMETHING indicate an upward eye gaze for the duration of those signs. The line and "gaze rt" above HUH DEAF ME HUH indicate an eye gaze to the right; eye contact is not made with the interlocutor at this point. (Eye contact is resumed with the co-researcher immediately after the completion of the question.) The commas in the glossed utterance indicate grammatical breaks, signaled by a body shift and/or a change in facial expression, and usually a pause. The comma between LOOK-BACK and TRY in the above gloss signifies a change to a facial expression which conveys the effort of scanning or searching one's memory which is being requested of the co-researcher. The comma between HAPPEN and HUH represents a shift in head position, eye gaze and facial expression from the 'remembering' mode of the previous clause to noticing-being-deaf, a reflective rather than a remembering mode. This manner of signing the question was formulated by the deaf consultants after lengthy discussion of the researcher's aims, and after experimentation with other ways of conveying it. When needed, further clarification of this basic question was added.

The more English-like rendition of the question does not differ greatly. The gloss is as follows:

(_____gaze up)
ME WANT ASK YOU LOOK-BACK, TRY REMEMBER SOMETHING HAPPEN MAKE YOU

(_____gaze rt)
HUH DEAF ME HUH

The essential difference is the addition of the signs MAKE YOU, conveying the clause "which made you notice you were deaf" in a more English-like manner. In addition, this rendition contains the article at the beginning of the sentence.

Experiences

The interviewer watches for as complete a description as possible of each situation. Where necessary, elaboration of specific aspects of experience is requested. The interviewer occasionally rephrases in order to clarify her understanding and assure agreement.

Sample questions: "What was that like for you?" "How did that feel?" "Can you tell me more about that?"

Other topics

When co-researchers choose to discuss more general impressions about deaf experience, the interviewer is receptive; not all the time is spent in describing specific instances. Topics raised by co-researchers are explored until interviewer and co-researcher feel that a mutual understanding has been reached.

Two questions are asked of each co-researcher in addition to the basic question given above. These are: "How do you think your experience of being deaf might differ from that of other deaf people?" and "Is there anything else at all that you would like me to know about your experience of being deaf?"

APPENDIX D

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION SHEET

Background Information

1. Age _____

2. Sex _____

3. Schooling

   Public school or residential school _____

   Lived at home or lived at school _____

   Type of communication used at school _____

   Education beyond high school _____

   Special services provided in education beyond high school _____

   _____

4. Other deaf family members _____

5. Type of communication used at home when you were growing up _____
   _____

   _____

6. Are you married? _____
   Is your husband or wife deaf or hearing?

7. Do you have children? Boys or girls? Ages? Deaf or hearing? _____

   _____

   _____

   How do you communicate with your children? _____

   _____

8. What sort of work do you do? _____

   How do you communicate with people at work? _____

   _____

9. Do you feel you are deaf or hard of hearing? _____

10. When did you become deaf (hard of hearing)? _____

11. How did you become deaf (hard of hearing)? _____

    _____

APPENDIX E

LETTER THANKING POTENTIAL CO-RESEARCHERS

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE

College of
Liberal Arts

Department of
Psychology

Earlier in the year you received a letter from Bill Woodrick, [Consultant 1 and Consultant 2]. In it they told you that I would be contacting you about my research. I am doing a study which involves interviewing deaf adults about their experience of being deaf. The study has gone very well. Many more people have said "yes" to being interviewed than I had expected, and I now have enough interviews. So your participation will not be necessary. I would like to thank you very much for your attention to this letter and the previous one.

Sincerely,

Laurel Goodrich

307 Austin Peay Building Knoxville, Tennessee [illegible] (615) 974-2531

APPENDIX F

FIRST REDUCTION, CO-RESEARCHER X

C: From infancy to the age of six, that entire span, I know absolutely nothing. I don't know what happened. It's utter darkness. I have no recollection at all of how I might have communicated with my parents. I do know they didn't know how to communicate with me. Many people use home gestures. I am certain that we did use a few home gestures in our communication, because we need them to meet daily domestic needs, but still I don't recall exactly what they were. I have no idea whatsoever. I may have a few glimmers of memories, but most of it is obscure.

I do have one tiny memory, although it too is a little vague. I must have been around four. This is one of the very few memories I've been able to capture. I asked my parents "Where's my cap?" and we searched high and low, all over the house, and couldn't find it. When all the while, you know where it was? I had it on. I realized then, well, obviously, we had no communication whatsoever. It was darkness. My parents did not understand me.

One time they dressed me up very carefully, made sure I was spotless, and had me sit quietly in a chair so I'd be sure not to muss myself, while they got ready. My father was shaving, and my mom putting on a nice dress, and it was taking a while. I got restless, and by the time they were ready and came to look

for me I had disappeared! I had wandered out behind the barn. They found me near the creek playing in a big patch of mud. I was covered from head to foot, absolutely filthy. They took me back and scrubbed me down and dressed me up again, and we went out on some trip. I didn't know where. But as I've wondered why I would have gone down to the water like that and gotten completely covered with mud that way, I've realized it's because my parents failed to explain to me why I was dressed up. I had no idea what was happening next in the sequence of events. You see? Absolutely no communication. When I add up the incidents like that--it's darkness.

Then when they put me in the deaf school... left me at the cottage... The memories up to that time are almost completely gone, but... My parents went off... and I found myself in a new world. That was the first time I found children, boys and girls, who were like me. The word `deaf' played no part in it, you understand--I had no notion of it. Until I entered the school for the deaf, and I found I was deaf. Deaf. And I'd say to another child "You're deaf? We're the same." Now I had no notion yet what `hearing people' were, and I had no sense of regret about being deaf. In a matter-of-fact way I was coming to know that I happened to have been born deaf.

So it was at the residential school that I discovered my identity. I didn't know who I was before that. I may not even have known my name. I didn't know what to call my parents. I

didn't know the notion 'my mother' and 'my father.' I didn't know, until I looked at a family album and saw my grandparents in a picture, with a tiny me beside them... it began to dawn on me that I was 'with' them in some way. But still I would have no memory of being with them. You see most hearing and deaf children have memories of the period before they went to school. The foundation for those is communication. That's the way events become impressed upon your memory. But, I had no communication. I was utterly closed off to the world of communication so I simply didn't know. It was quite something really, quite a sad situation.

R: Absolutely. Yes, those are the kinds of things I'd like to ask you... just as you've already begun to do... look back and try to recall these sorts of events, when you noticed your deafness... when it stood out for you, kind of like "Oh... I'm deaf"...

C: Well, it wasn't at that instant... You see, I didn't know there were 'hearing' people as such. I had no basis for comparison, myself with hearing people, you see? None whatsoever.

R: Yes, I see what you mean... so... tell me if you can... you went into the deaf school... saw there were others like you... that was the first time that happened; up to then you'd had no idea... tell me if you can how it did happen... how you came to know you were deaf.

C: The school was very isolated. Quite insular, oh yes. The girls and the boys were strictly separated, except during classes-- even if you had a sweetheart, the time together was very limited. That I bring up only to illustrate how isolated the school was from the outside world, with hearing people. We never saw it! We associated almost exclusively with other deaf people. Even though hearing people did work there, we didn't associate that with the notion of a larger `hearing' group outside, people who would be like them. So there really wasn't a way to find out I was deaf. So when that happened in the passage of time, I really don't know.

But time did pass, and maybe two or three years after I entered the school, I was talking with my cousin at my grandparents' home. He was asking me a question about history, and I didn't know the answer. We asked my uncle... and he was embarrassed. He knew of course, being a teacher. It was a comparison between the two of us to see... He was very bright for his age... to see if I knew the things he'd learned in school.... and I didn't! I think it was at that time that I was beginning to find out. With him as the comparison, it dawned on me... he was hearing and I was deaf. He was way ahead of me. It seemed that they moved along much faster in the hearing school, and I was sorely behind, oh a good three or four grades behind him, but I was two or three years older than he was! I think that was the time I found out who I was. We were not the

same. On the contrary, we were very different. I could see it. He and I were different.

R: What were you noticing that was different?

C: He was hearing, I was deaf. There it was. Now I hadn't grasped the concept that his ability to hear, and acquire information that way, and the fact that I had to acquire mine through my eyes, accounted for the difference. I simply wondered why I was behind him in school. It was only much later that I caught on that hearing enables people to gain information easily ...and that hearing people have an advantage over me in that way.

R: You noticed you and he were different in that way... what sorts of feelings did you have about that?

C: To be honest, I was depressed a little. Disappointed. Comparing him with myself... Well actually many things like that happened to make me think very hard... to ask why... things at school... it was an accumulation of events of that sort of over a period of time that culminated in the dawning awareness... It infused me with a... I wanted to compete with him... It really gave me... I can't find the right word. Anyway,... a motiv... I became very much aware of myself, in relation to him... because I felt I must <u>do</u> something... to speed up my progress... you understand? It really was a good thing to have happen, because it woke me up to the fact that I was deaf and

behind hearing people in that way, and it made me push myself.

R: Push yourself...

C: To progress more quickly... at school... I was extremely ambitious... they couldn't give me enough to do, to read. At home too... when my parents didn't communicate with me I always looked for something to read. I was constantly reading anything I could get my hands on-- books, magazines, newspapers. Even if I didn't know words I would keep on reading. I think that's the way my mind began to develop. It was a slow process, but gradually I caught on to more and more-- I really took off! There was really no one to help me, but when I was home, sometimes I did ask my mother to help. I did it pretty much on my own, through my own ambition... no guidance. Except for a couple of friends at the school. They weren't deaf. They had lost their hearing when they were young; they had language. They're called "postlingually" deaf. They were real bookworms. I was very fortunate to know them... they would expose me to books, explain things that were hard for me to understand. They encouraged me to be patient, and thorough. Gradually I picked up more and more, and took off from there. Those two helped, and my cousin as well. He's a medical doctor now, graduated very young. I was never able to reach his level, but I did narrow the gap.

R: Were there any other ways those two and your cousin helped you?

C: The two boys, you mean?

R: Yes, and you also mentioned your cousin.

C: Well the two of them helped me gain an interest in reading books, newspapers, magazines... see I hadn't had an interst in books prior to that... not enough pictures, maybe. But they helped me understand difficult passages, explained things in great detail to me, so I got past that, and things really took off from there.

R: So, after you realized, you say you felt depressed, disappointed. And also inspired to progress quickly. Can you recall other ways that your life changed after your realization?

C: I became more aware of the world in which I lived. I woke up to the fact that the deaf and the hearing both existed separately, yet interacted. Oh, one important... my mother was a teacher. Her school opened earlier in the year than mine did, so she would take me to school with her. I'd observe, to see how hearing kids at school might be different. A lot of deaf people tell me they're afraid of hearing people-- that they're smarter, they can talk...the deaf people feel behind... or inferior. At first I felt inferior too. But after going to the school over and over and seeing the children, I realized I was no worse than they were. We were alike. I was no different than they were. In many ways, I <u>could</u> compete. During, that time I gained a lot of confidence. It was important.

R: How? How did you learn you could compete with them... how did the confidence come?

C: OK, let's say maybe... my mother would be teaching from a book. She taught different subjects... language, math... I would see what my mother was teaching... and I would take the book myself and peruse it... and I found ... Oh, is this all? I can learn that! I'm not any different than they are! I teach a lot of children now who don't have that feeling. Many of them have hearing brothers and sisters, and they feel inferior to them-- that they're way ahead of them, that the books are too hard and all. I didn't feel that way. I could take a book and look through it and realize I could learn just as well as they could. It was just that I couldn't hear, and they wouldn't accept me for that reason. The teachers would never have time to sit down with me and write things out the way I would have needed. There was simply no place for me in the hearing school, and I accepted that fact... but it really was that process of picking up a book, glancing through it, and realizing I could learn it just like they could, normally.

So things went along in this way, with me working very hard to learn... until around the fifth grade or so, they transferred me from the oral program to the manual program, because I refused to learn speech. I didn't see any sense in it. I remember, back then, thinking that since I couldn't hear, learning to talk would be so difficult as to be pointless. I'd

watch the children in speech classes pretending to talk, putting their mouths through contortions, making sounds. But, they were never able to apply those skills to true speaking. They would sign, use ASL. I didn't want to waste my time learning speech. Looking back on it now, I think I was mistaken. I should have learned it. But my school did not seem to place a strong emphasis on a good program for teaching speech. If I had gone to another school with an excellent speech program, I might have learned speech and speech reading.

R: So at that time they transferred you to the manual program...

C: Yes, the manual... and I was moving so quickly, and got put into the seventh grade level. (They didn't have twelve grades at that time. It stopped at ten.) The throught about putting me into the ninth grade, but I was too young. So after some deliberating, they allowed me to study 9th grade level material although I was only in the seventh grade, because I was moving along so quickly. I was very fortunate to have one exceptionally good teacher, a deaf teacher, who became a "tutor" to me. He was extremely bright, and gave me extra assignments, all kinds of reading material. Really fostered my learning. He was a very knowledgeable man, and literary too-- he wrote poetry. I felt truly fortunate to have the opportunity to learn from him. I understand that he had wanted to become a physician, but had been cautioned against it, because of his

hearing impairment. He stayed with teaching until he died. He was a truly impressive man.

When I moved to the manual program a number of my friends ridiculed me, thinking I was dumb, slow. It was a misconception, and I knew that. I didn't care what they thought. I could see for myself that I was no less smart. My parents and the school officials agreed that it was the sensible thing to move me, because I would be with this one teacher. I stayed with him for five years.

R: OK, let's see where we are. You've told me that after you realized, through that experience with your cousin, that you were deaf, that you felt depressed; became moved to progress very quickly; you were transferred to the manual program and learned from your tutor; and that one way your life changed is that you began to be aware of a deaf and a hearing world, partly through the experience of going to school with your mother and seeing hearing children... and found that you could learn, just as they could.

C: (Nods throughout summary, and at its completion)

R: I wonder if you could tell me any other things that you noticed about that idea that there was a deaf group and a hearing group that existed separately but interacted.

C: It comes down to communication. I was an only child, but my father came from a family of nine children. We'd go to the grandparents' for family reunions... often on Sundays, for

dinner. Let me tell you, those hurt me. They'd forget about me. They'd take up with each other, and I'd recede. I was a "social outcast", so to speak, truly isolated, with no one to be with but myself. I had absolutely no control in that situation. I was stuck there. I'd wonder around among them, sit and watch a while...there was nothing for me.

But, often I would go upstairs and explore. My grandparents knew that, and their attitude was "Oh well, let him go ahead." I'd open closets, take out things to look at, get tired of those things, go on to find others. My grandfather's office (he was a doctor, remember) was adjacent to the house. I'd go in there and take things out and examine them. I'd look into everything I could find until my curiosity was satisfied. Then sometimes, I'd go down to the barn and nose around in there. But imagine, in all of this I was alone. It was very tough. I was closed off from the world of communication.

My father was a preacher. I'd go to church and sit there. I'd take the books out of the pews and look through them. I'd count the windows in the church. I'd even count the window panes. I wanted to find a way to make friends with some of the people; it occurred to me I could bring my alphabet cards to church. There was one pretty little girl in particular I was interested in. I brought the cards and passed them out. My parents knew I was doing that, and didn't say anything one way or the other. I felt as if I were never encouraged to take the

initiative to associate with anyone. So I passed the cards out, and during that week I imagined that they took them home and set about learning the alphabet. I imagined one or two coming to church the next week and approaching me, maybe trying to spell "Hi" or something. I anticipated all week. When I went to church the next week, I wanted to see what they'd do, so I sat back, didn't approach anyone myself. But no one came to me. No one did a thing. I was depressed, really. Then I thought well... I had to accept it. It wasn't enough to defeat me, but... it was one of the facts of life. I stopped and reflected on that. People didn't mix with me, a deaf person, probably because I was somewhat different from them or they didn't just know how to communicate with me. Really by these mountain people, I felt as if I were looked on as a misfit. They didn't know anything about deafness. It made paople uneasy, apprehensive. I was considered a strange case. So, you see I really was shut out from the world of communication. That was a long time ago, though. Things have changed a great deal.

My cousin did learn to fingerspell, and to sign a little. But, he lived a good distance away, and I only saw him in the summers. I'd go to see him on occasion; he had hearing friends but he never introduced me to them. I've never known why... because I was deaf I suppose, and I'd be put aside. I'm not blaming him for feeling way... why it was, I really don't know. Sometimes while he was visiting me during summers, I introduced

him to a person or two who lived nearby. He told me about them through fingerspelling. That helped me to know better about my neighbors.

My mother did learn to fingerspell...I taught her some. we did not communicate as much as I would like to have. My father didn't learn the alphabet. I'm not sure why...maybe he was embarrassed about the deafness... He and I did communicate a fair amount in later years, with pen and paper. And sometimes he would write in the air with his finger, and I could read that. But he didn't learn to fingerspell and sign. My mother would use home gestures. Again, you can see we did not communicate as much as I would like to have, probably because I had been in school away from home most of the time.

R: Yes. Yes, I can see what communication was like for you with hearing people. What about with deaf people?

C: We use sign, ASL, as the mode of communication. We communicate freely. Ideas are exchanged comfortably, without effort. We understand each other. Now and then I'll run into a deaf friend downtown in the summertime, and we'll be signing, and hearing people will watch, as if we seemed odd, maybe something they'd never seen before and we're nuts, and someone oughta toss us in an asylum or something. That's the impression I get from hearing people sometimes. But, with deaf people it's free flowing communication, easy exchange.

R: What's it like for you, having the sense that the hearing people watching might have those sorts of thoughts?

C: Oh. I don't pay any attention. See the status quo for deaf people is to be lonely. So, when I run into a friend during the summer, I'm so happy to have someone to talk to--it's almost as if I'd forgotten they existed--that I don't pay attention to passers by. I don't care what they're thinking. I'm too busy catching up, having someone to talk to. I forget about anyone watching.

R: A little bit ago you mentioned that when you entered the deaf school you found your identity. Can you tell me how that happened?

C: By seeing other deaf people, children at the school. 'You don't hear...don't speak...I don't hear or speak...we're alike.' It sank in. I'm not the only one in the world who has the problem. We were all alike one another in that way. And I was tremendously relieved. It helped, helped us a lot psychologically. I knew I had found people of my own kind. We were alike, could exchange freely and easily. I had found people of my own kind. In contrast to the hearing society where I felt powerless and found myself different from them. They didn't accept me. I found another society, a deaf society, where we all were alike in this way. It was truly exciting.

R: Can you tell me more about being 'alike'?

C: That's hard. I don't know if I can explain it. It was

mostly... the similarities... realizing that I couldn't hear or speak and neither could they... they would think in signs... we'd compare home gestures... maybe their facial expressions... movements... I was like them in those ways. Those sorts of similarities. I'd find myself saying yes... I'm deaf too... a sort of confirmation. Maybe the explanation's not right, but it's the best I can do. It's like... looking at the person and saying yes... we're alike. I don't know if that's a good enough explanation, but it approaches it.

R: That helps a lot...you've given me a clear picture. I wonder whether there are any other times in your life when you deafness stood out for you?

C: With the telephone. And TV, not being able to follow. Decoders, captions have helped a lot. But way back, when TV was first introduced, it was difficult. What it is..."the limits...of being deaf." Limits. I may be filled with energy to do a whole variety of things, but, many of them I can't do. I can't hear, so I can't. It stops me. It's very real. The phone... crowds of people will to to church, or a public speech. I can't take part. They'll be roaring with laughter, and I don't know what's going on. I'd have liked to join in, enjoy the events. But, I'm deaf. Again, it sinks in. That kind of thing. This was before interpreters came on the scene.

But, even with interpreters--I don't find it satisfactory. There's something about being able to take in sound...I'd watch

my dad preaching at church and notice that he could look down, look all around, pick something up and glance at it. He can do two or three things at the same time. I envy that. He doesn't have to use his eyes to watch, to strain to take it all in visually. In that way, being deaf I feel handicapped. You see? I can't follow things. I'm deaf. There it is.

I miss many things. For example, I get a lot of letters inviting me to attend seminars. But, that involves a speaker, and I'm deaf and can't follow. I've missed many, many opportunities because of my deafness. Cultural advancement, improvement... financial improvement, for example... ways to find real enjoyment... I was leafing through the psychology journals upstairs. I'd enjoy pursuing something like that, but... I couldn't, because of my hearing. I've gone to lectures at the University, but again, I miss so much. I have a lot of enthusiasm, but am faced with so many things I can't do. I'm limited.

R: And interpreting doesn't seem satisfactory.

C: There are a lot of problems with interpreters... in my case. I don't really know what the person said. I'll go to these mock trials, for example. I'd like to know in detail the arguments between the attorneys on the defendant and the plaintiff's side... I'm fascinated by the mental processes involved in puzzling it though. But, watching the interpreter doesn't give me the kind of information I need. It seems as

though the interpreter's making stuff up rather than giving me precisely what's going on. Sometimes I wonder whether they alter things a bit if they'd understand a passage, because I see a change in the flow as they're signing. I'm not good at following interpreters. If I could hear I could take it in and process it all myself. So, I don't get the mental gratification I'd like to. It limits me.

R: Limits you. How do you feel about the limits?

C: I'm limited. I can't keep up with the pace of the events. I'll go to church, and ther's an interpreter, but it's not enough. I want to know exactly what'd being said. Often the interpreter doesn't follow what the preacher says exactly. I'm not criticizing interpreters, it's just that... I'd like to be able to follow things effortlessly, the way hearing people can by picking up sound.

Like if I can't sleep. A hearing person can turn on the radio, have sound coming in, things to fill the mind, until you're satisfied and can drop off to sleep. I can't do that. I watch TV a while, and that makes me more wide awake, not less. I feel limited, handicapped by being deaf. I accept the fact that I can't do these things, and I've set them aside and made adjustments in my life... I read... have many hobbies to keep my mind occupied. So it's been alright. But, still I imagine what it would be like if I could take in things through hearing.

Oh! I have dozens of ideas for how I would use the

telephone. You could make countless contacts. It'd be a wonderful way to get information. And you can do it in such a short amount of time. To contact a deaf person I often have to drive a long distance. It can take as long as a day! With a phone it could be done in an hour! You see those are some of the ways I feel handicapped by being deaf.

R: I think I have a good sense now of what being deaf is like for you. How do you think you might be different than other deaf people-- in your experience of being deaf?

C: I don't want to compare myself with other deaf people. Many deaf people are satisfied with their lives. They accept their handicap, the limits and frustrations involved, as a fact of life. Many deaf people don't think the way I do. Maybe, having been to college... I was taught to enjoy life, through reading, cultural diversity... it all makes it very hard to compare myself with other deaf people, whose lives might be more simple.

R: Is there anything else you'd like me to know about your experience of being deaf?

C: When I get home I'm sure something will come to mind (laughs). But, that's about all I can think of.

R: Thanks for working so hard to remember.

C: You're welcome.

APPENDIX G

SECOND REDUCTION, CO-RESEARCHER X

From infancy to the age of six I know absolutely nothing. It's utter darkness. I have no recollection of how I might have communicated with my parents. They didn't know how to communicate with me. We did use a few home gestures but I don't recall what they were. I may have a few glimmers of memories, but most of it is obscure.

I must have been around four. I asked by parents "Where's my cap?" and we searched high and low, all over the house, and couldn't find it. When all the while, I had it on. I realized then, we had no communication whatsoever. It was darkness. My parents did not understand me.

One time they dressed me up very carefully, and had me sit quietly in a chair while they got ready. I got restless, and by the time they were ready and came to look for me I had disappeared! They found me near the creek playing in a big patch of mud. They scrubbed me down and dressed me up again, and we went out. I've wondered why I would have gotten completely covered with mud that way. It's because my parents failed to explain to me why I was dressed up. I had no idea what was happening next in the sequence of events. Absolutely no communication. When I add up the incidents like that--it's darkness.

In the deaf school I found myself in a new world. That was the first time I found children who were like me. I had no notion of the word 'deaf' until I entered the school and I found I was deaf. Deaf. I'd say to another child "You're deaf? We're the same." I had no notion yet what `hearing people' were, and I had no sense of regret about being deaf. In a matter-of-fact way I was coming to know that I happened to have been born deaf.

I may not even have known my name before [going to school]. I didn't know the notion 'my mother' and and 'my father' until I looked at a family album and saw my grandparents in a picture, with a tiny me beside them... it began to dawn on me that I was `with' them in some way. But still I would have no <u>memory</u> of being with them. Most children have memories of the period before they went to school. The foundation for those is communication. But I was utterly closed off to the world of communication so I simply didn't know. It was a sad situation.

[My realization that I was deaf] wasn't at that instant. See I didn't know there were `hearing' people. I had no basis for comparison, myself with hearing people.

The school was very isolated from the outside world. Girls and boys were separated; even if you had a sweetheart, time together was limited. We associated almost exclusively with other deaf people. Even though hearing people did work there, we didn't associate that with the notion of a larger 'hearing' group outside, people who would be like them. So there really wasn't a way to find out I was deaf.

I didn't know as much as my cousn did. With him as the comparison, it dawned on me... he was hearing and I was deaf. He was way ahead of me. I think that was the time I found out who I was. He and I were different. He was hearing, I was deaf. There it was. I hadn't grasped the concept that his ability to hear, and acquire information that way, and the fact that I had to acquire mine through my eyes, accounted for the difference. It was only much later that I caught on that hearing enables people to gain information easily ...and that hearing people have an advantage over me in that way.

It was an accumulation of events of that sort [comparing self with others] that culminated in the dawning awareness.

I was depressed a little. Disappointed. Comparing him with myself. I wanted to compete with him. I became very much aware of myself, in relation to him. It woke me up to the fact that I was deaf and behind hearing people in that way, and it made me push myself to progress more quickly. I was extremely ambitious... they couldn't give me enough to do, to read. At home too... when my parents didn't communicate with me I was constantly reading anything I could get my hands on. I think that's the way my mind began to develop.

I did it pretty much on my own, through my own ambition... no guidance. I did ask my mother to help. And a couple of friends at the school. They weren't deaf. They had lost their hearing when they were young; they had language. They were real bookworms. I was very fortunate to know them... they would expose me to books, explain things, encourage me to be patient, and thorough. Things really took off from there. Those two helped, and my cousin as well. I was never able to reach his level, but I did narrow the gap.

I became more aware of the world in which I lived. That the deaf and the hearing both existed separately, yet interacted. A lot of deaf people tell me they're afraid of hearing people--they feel behind... or inferior. At first I felt inferior too. My mother was a teacher. I'd observe, to see how hearing kids at school might be different. I would peruse the book and realize I was able to learn it. I was no different than they were. In many ways, I could compete. I gained a lot of confidence.

I teach a lot of children now who don't have that feeling. Many of them have hearing brothers and sisters, and they feel inferior to them. I didn't feel that way. It was just that I couldn't hear. The

teachers would never have time to sit down with me and write things out the way I would have needed. There was simply no place for me in the hearing school, and I accepted that fact.

They transferred me from the oral to the manual program, because I refused to learn speech. I remember thinking that since I couldn't hear, learning to talk would be so difficult as to be pointless. I'd watch the children in speech classes pretending to talk, putting their mouths through contortions. They were never able to apply those skills to true speaking. They would sign, use ASL. I didn't want to waste my time learning speech. Looking back on it now, I think I was mistaken. But my school did not have a good program for teaching speech. If I'd gone to another program with an excellent speech program, I might have learned speech and speech reading.

They allowed me to study ninth grade material although I was only in the seventh grade, because I was moving along so quickly.

I was very fortunate to have one exceptionally good teacher, a deaf teacher, who became a "tutor" to me. He really fostered my learning. He was very knowledgeable, and literary too, a truly impressive man. He had wanted to become a physician but had been cautioned against it, because of his hearing impairment. He stayed with teaching until he died. I stayed with him for five years.

When I moved to the manual program a number of my friends ridiculed me, thinking I was dumb, slow. It was a misconception, and I knew that. I could see for myself that I was no less smart.

It comes down to communication. We'd go to family reunions. Those hurt me. They'd forget about me. They'd take up with each other, and I'd recede. I was a "social outcast", so to speak, truly isolated. I had absolutely no control in that situation. I'd wander around among them... there was nothing for me.

Often I would go upstairs or to my grandfather's office or to the barn and explore. I'd look into everything I could find until my curiosity was satisfied. But in all of this I was alone. It was very tough. I was closed off from the world of communication.

I'd go to church and sit there. I'd take the books out of the pews and look through them. I'd count the windows in the church. I'd even count the window panes. I wanted to find a way to make friends with some of the people; it occurred to me I could bring my alphabet cards to church. I passed the cards out, and during that week I imagined that they took them home and set about learning the alphabet. I anticipated all week. When I went to church the next week, no one did a thing. I was depressed, really. I thought well... I had to accept it. It wasn't enough to defeat me, but... it was one of the facts of life. I stopped and reflected on that.

I felt as if I were never encouraged to take the initiative to associate with anyone. People didn't mix with me, a deaf person, probably because I was different from there or they didn't know how to communicate with me. I felt as if I were looked on as a misfit. They didn't know anything about deafness. It made people uneasy, apprehensive. I really was shut out from the world of communication. That was a long time ago, though. Things have changed a great deal.

My cousin did learn to fingerspell, and to sign a little. He helped me learn about my neighbors by fingerspelling to me about them. But he lived a good distance away, and I only saw him in the summers. He had hearing friends but he never introduced me to them. I've never known why... because I was deaf I suppose, and I'd be put aside. I'm not blaming him for feeling that way.

My mother did learn to fingerspell... I taught her some. My father did not learn the alphabet. I'm not sure why...maybe he was embarrassed about the deafness... He and I did communicate a fair amount in later years, with pen and paper. Ane he would write in the air with his finger. My mother would use home gestures. You can see we did not communicate as much as I would like to have, probably because I had been in school away from home most of the time.

We use sign, ASL. We communicate freely. Ideas are exchanged comfortably, without effort. We understand each other.

I'll run into a deaf friend and we'll be signing, and hearing people will watch, as if we seemed odd. I don't pay any attention.

The status quo for deaf people is to be lonely. When I run into a friend during the summer, I'm so happy to have someone to talk to--it's almost as if I'd forgotten they existed.

It was at the residential school that I discovered my identity. By seeing other deaf children. 'You don't hear... don't speak... I don't hear or speak...we're alike.' It sank in. I'm not the only one in the world who has the problem. I was tremendously relieved. I knew I had found people of my own kind. We could exchange freely and easily. In contrast to the hearing society where I felt powerless and different. They didn't accept me. I found another society, a deaf society, where we all were alike in this way. It was truly exciting.

Being 'alike' was... realizing that I couldn't hear or speak and neither could they... they would think in signs... we'd compare home gestures... maybe their facial expressions... movements... I was like them in those ways. I'd find myself saying yes... I'm deaf too... a sort of confirmation.

"The limits of being deaf." Limits. I may be filled with energy to do a whole variety of things, but many of them I can't do. It's very real. The phone...TV, not being able to follow...crowds of people will to to church, or a public speech. I can't take part. I'm deaf. Again, it sinks in.

Decoders, captions have helped a lot.

There's something about being able to take in sound... I'd watch my dad preaching at church and notice that he could look down, look all around, pick something up and glance at it. He can do two or three things at the same time. I envy that. In that way, being deaf I feel handicapped. I'm deaf. There it is. I've missed many, many opportunities because of my deafness. Cultural advancement, improvement... financial improvement, ... ways to find real enjoyment... I've gone to lectures at the University, but I miss so much. I have a lot of enthusiasm, but am faced with so many things I can't do. I'm limited.

Even with interpreters I don't find it satisfactory. I don't really know what the person said. I'll go to these mock trials, for example. I'm fascinated by the mental processes involved in puzzling it though. But watching the interpreter doesn't give me the kind of information I need. Sometimes I wonder whether they alter things a bit if they don't understand a passage. I'm not good at following interpreters. If I could hear I could take it in and process it all myself. So I don't get the mental gratification I'd like to. It limits me.

I can't keep up with the pace of the events. There's an interpreter, but it's not enough. Often the interpreter doesn't follow what the preacher says exactly. I'd like to be able to follow things effortlessly, the way hearing people can.

If I can't sleep. A hearing person can turn on the radio, have sound, things to fill the mind, until you're satisfied and can drop off to sleep. I can't do that. I feel limited, handicapped by being deaf. I accept the fact that I can't do these things, and I've set them aside and made adjustments in my life... I read... have many hobbies to keep my mind occupied. So it's been alright. But still I imagine what it would be like if I could take in things through hearing.

I have dozens of ideas for how I would use the telephone. You could make contacts, get information in a short amount of time. To contact a deaf person I often have to drive a long distance. It can take as long as a day! These are some ways I feel handicapped by being deaf.

Many deaf people are satisfied with their lives. They accept their handicap, the limits and frustrations involved, as a fact of life. Having been to college... I was taught to enjoy life, through reading, cultural diversity... it all makes it very hard to compare myself with other deaf people, whose lives might be more simple.

APPENDIX H

SUMMARY STATEMENTS, CO-RESEARCHER X

1) As a child, facts of life which were quite difficult and sad, e.g., "darkness", having no communication, feeling an outcast

2) Identity forming through experiences of comparing and contrasting self with others, both deaf and hearing

3) Managing through:

    a) asserting own values and interests, e.g., actively seeking knowledge, refusing to learng speech because it seemed useless, finding it was possible to compete

    b) important relationships, e.g., friends at school, hearing cousin, deaf teacher

4) Awareness of "limits of being deaf" (e.g., missed communication, missed opportunities); imagining being able to hear

APPENDIX I

MASTER LIST, GROUND

1 not thinking about it; it being normal; never noticing it; being completely different from a person who grows up hearing and loses their hearing at age ten, twelve-- that person is hurt, frustrated, disgusted; growing up deaf, so never knowing

2 never really thinking about the deafness when s/he was three, four, five

3 not thinking about being deaf in everyday life

4 nothing bothering him/her about being deaf

5 feeling comfortable at home, alone with no one to bother him, where it's quiet and s/he can think or watch TV

6 never really knowing or thinking about being deaf when s/he was a child, because s/he came from a deaf family and attended the residential school, interacted a great deal with deaf people

7 never stopping to examine his/her deafness; was comfortable, had a nice marriage, children, good job, felt normal like hearing people

8 remembering nothing prior to the illness; it being a complete blank

9 being most comfortable when alone, thinking about self, work, home, friends; driving to mountains or getting exercise; takes the pressure off

10 being so used to being deaf that s/he doesn't think of him/herself as being deaf; having been deaf since s/he was three, it's hard to talk about what it's like to be deaf

11 being immersed in a world with deaf people until age fifteen, so never thinking about hearing people

12 not being aware of deafness in everyday life; considering him/herself normal, like any other person

13 never thinking about being deaf at school; didn't think "I am deaf"; just began communicating through gesture and didn't feel one way or another about that

14 being comfortable when looking at the sky, seeing its beauty, seeing the grass grow, watching water flow

15 never having experienced being hearing, there was nothing different about being deaf; didn't bother him/her; would be different if s/he'd lost hearing at age eight or nine-- would be something 'stopping' all of a sudden

16 having deaf parents, deafness was the status quo

17 growing up at the school and being around deaf people, so s/he never learned about deafness really

18 didn't <u>think</u> about being deaf until age twenty-five

19 associating with deaf people exclusively, before s/he became aware

20 it being just the status quo; it being simply a part of life; not noticing it; simply going on

21 it never coming to mind; thinking of self as normal

22 being happy most of the time, and comfortable at home, talking, with the children, playing golf, watching TV, at work

23 not thinking about being deaf; going about the day; it not being a problem

24 having lived with it all his/her life

25 not realizing s/he was deaf before s/he went to preschool; knowing, however, that s/he wasn't the same as the others

APPENDIX J

MASTER LIST, ENCOUNTERING

1 hearing co-worker pretending he's deaf, since deaf are "happy and peaceful" / incredulousness; told him you can't pretend

2 having a very close relationship with a hearing person/ feeling accepted; learned things; dealt with life differently

3 not knowing a word in front of friend and friend's mother/ very embarrassed

4 going to a meeting where no interpreter was provided/ bugged me

5 talking with a man deafened late in life; needing an interpreter

6 mother getting mad when s/he took a washing machine apart to demonstrate his/her skill to her/it was funny

7 father and his friends being surprised s/he could work a math problem quickly/ pride

8 having a nightmare about harsh lights and intense heat/ screamed, woke up

9 disagreeing with a guy at work/ lost my temper, hit him

10 waitress throwing a towel at a deaf friend when participant and he are signing in a restaurant/rejected; embarrassing

11 waking up after illness, searching for parents; walking in street, doesn't hear car behind honking/ cried; upset; scared

12 being left at the residential school for the first time/crying

13 having his/her hand slapped by a teacher who disapproved of a sign s/he was showing her/crying

14 there being conflict among relatives over his/her deafness; one relative thinks s/he'll "always be dumb"; asking the relative years later about this; relative confirming this belief/ hard to believe; not close to this relative

15 a little boy bursting into tears while s/he's performing as a clown, when he discovers s/he's deaf; hit me very hard; felt I'd failed because couldn't communicate with him

16 waking up from illness and discovering s/he couldn't hear

17 older child at school explaining what "you're deaf" means/ impressed me a lot

18 oral school friends warning him/her that at the school s/he was transferring to used signs/ I worried

19 deaf members of a community organization being more interested in talking with a deaf manual laborer than in participant, an intellectual/ shrugged it off

20 mother not including him/her in a conversation with a friend/ shut out, cut off, ignored

21 as a child, getting on the wrong bus and being afraid to ask for help/ fear, embarrassment

22 being informed by the doctor that his/her newborn baby can hear/ wondering what the difference will be

23 going through a tough extra tryout for the area baseball team because s/he had to return to residential school during the regular tryout time/ miffed; worrying; didn't like it; frustrating

24 repairman thinking he could do a poor job and take advantage of him/her/ imagine!

25 hearing people mocking deaf people's signing on a bus

26 being turned down for summer jobs because employers are concerned about insuring a deaf person/ frustrating

27 hearing supervisor elbowing him/her when s/he refused to follow an unreasonable rule

28 ordering milk at a restaurant and being given coke/ wish for better speech

29 not being understood and having to repeat him/herself loudly, causing people to stare/ embarrassing

30 a friend making an insensitive comment to someone else about him/her being deaf/ realized s/he was among uneducated people

31 a lady getting up and moving away from him/her on a bus when participant told her s/he could no longer read her lips because it was getting dark/ embarrassed, felt bad; also realizing the woman didn't understand

32 while dining with a hearing friend, some hearing people mocking them/ felt hurt

33 had a bad car accident in a small town

34 feeling sure co-workers are saying bad things about him/her/ mad for a minute, dropped it

35 getting his/her fancy clothes muddy because no one had explained to him/her the reason s/he was dressed that way: the family was going visiting/ restlessness

36 passing out alphabet cards at church in attempt to make friends; anticipating being approached, but no one does/ anticipation, depression; didn't defeat me

37 school superintendent trying to scare deaf students into getting haircuts before meeting with state congressmen; having a double standard for deaf and hearing young people/ defiance

38 going to a hearing party at age fifteen, noticing others can't communicate with him/her, s/he can't participate the way s/he wants to/ lonely, depressed me, irritating, frustrating, out of it

39 being asked to give a speech to a class about his/her deafness; talking with deaf people in preparation; giving the talk/ initially, felt inferior to the hearing grad students; wondered why I hadn't thought about my deafness before; after, life became bright: more exciting, less frustrating; had more confidence, maturity, true awareness about his/her deafness

40 being asked to supervise several hearing workers/ initially aware of others' seniority; felt challenged; everything went smoothly

41 going to the first day of class at a hearing college; everything goes by him/her/ I'll never forget; frustrating; uncomfortable

42 saying "I can't hear" to a man who thinks s/he means s/he's wearing earplugs/ rehalized it was important to be able to acknowledge I was deaf

43 blind woman expressing pity for him/her as a deaf person/ restraint of emotion

44 attempting to give a talk through an unskilled interpreter/embarrassment; anger; felt like a fool

45 hearing person trying to take advantage of him/her after a car accident/ mistrust, suspicion; fear; concern about car;

46 administration and hearing colleagues failing to confront male deaf students who were mistreating female students/ that stinks

47 being left at school for the first time/ I HIT THE CEILING

48 asking teacher whether s/he'll "get better"; teacher saying no, "you'll be deaf forever"/ anger

49 favorite jacket being stolen by a hearing person at a sporting event/ mad

50 as a child, person stops him/her on the street to ask the time; noncomprehension until the person gestures

51 reporter interviewing his/her parents who were deaf, and the possibility existing that their address would be printed in the newspaper/ vigilance

52 first entering the University/ scared, apprehensive

53 first exam at the University/ worried about measuring up

54 flushing his/her hearing aid down the toilet/ frustrated

55 family leaving without him/her; s/he didn't hear them call/panic, upset, mad

56 family talking rapidly at a meal; s/he can't follow/mad, sick of it

57 while explaining to mom she needs to attend better, mom turns to listen to someone calling her/appalled

58 daughter telling deaf mother she doesn't bring friends home because her mother's deaf/ looked at her, taking it in; peculiar impact

59 daughter not wanting to come home after overnight visit because parents are deaf/ it hit me very hard; angry; hurt; what're you gonna do?

60 man at church saying he's sorry s/he's deaf/ angry

61 at age 3 or 4, dad becoming frustrated with him/her while working on speech/ quiet, taken aback, shocked

62 dorm counselors taking away a cherished deck of playing cards and

other toys/ taken aback, preoccupied with it, thought they were mean, hated them

63 children insulting his/her sister about participant's being deaf, sister fighting with then/ brought a hoe to help sister

64 seeing a story on deafness depicting deaf people as dependent "deaf mutes"/ made my hackles rise

65 being left at school for first time by father and uncle/ felt lost

66 riding a horse and trying to make it go when his/her father was calling the horse from behind to stop/ couldn't figure out what was going on; impressed me

67 hearing brother and sister teasing him/her, making him/her try to say a long and difficult word/ felt they took advantage of my deafness at times; took it (tempered by gratitude for help from them in other areas)

68 brother yanking him/her out of the road where s/he'd been playing and warning him/her to watch for cars/ impressed me

69 asking his/her mother whether his/her mother loved his/her sister more because his/her sister was hearing and s/he was deaf/ reassured after mother's assurance of love

70 borrowing a hearing aid from a friend and becoming aware of sounds/ amazed

71 preacher requesting an interpreter over intercom for him/her and spouse without first consulting them/ eeek! he had no respect for our feelings

72 asking his/her parents "Where's my cap" and them searching, when all the while s/he was wearing it; they hadn't understood him/her/ realized my parents did not understand me

73 hearing teacher, a co-worker coming up to ask him/her how to spell a word/ shocked (in light of common attitude by hearing teachers that deaf people are incompetent)

74 being "stabbed in the back" by some people after speaking out to the administration about mistreatment of children at the residential school/ ambivalence over wisdom of taking advocacy role

75 discovering that high school deaf kids can't understand his/her ASL signing because they're being taught a different system/ hurt

APPENDIX K

MASTER LIST, KNOWING

1 realizing it was because s/he was deaf; it 'hits' him/her [being turned down for summer jobs]

2 saying "Oh... huh" [being turned down for summer jobs]

3 finding eventually-- "Oh... it's that I'm deaf. Oh, that's it." [after having been puzzled about why his/her sister went to one school and s/he to another]

4 people saying "you're deaf?" and acknowledging that... teachers telling him/her: "You're deaf"; the fact that s/he was there [at the residential school]

5 it coming to him/her that the hearing world and the deaf world were different

6 a teacher telling him/her s/he was deaf; asking what that meant; her explaining it means you can't hear, and demonstrating by having him/her listen through earphones in a soundproof booth; knowing then that s/he was deaf [age seven or eight]

7 never stopping and noticing or saying to him/herself "I'm deaf," because s/he'd grown up with it and was so accustomed to it; feeling s/he'd always been the "same me."

8 realizing that the reason s/he had to be left at school was that s/he was deaf [maybe age six, seven, eight]

9 being at the residential school where everyone signed; "So... I was deaf"

10 stopping to think about the fact that s/he was deaf [realizing that being deaf would necessitate making major sacrifices if s/he were to enter a different profession]

11 noticing being deaf [in an emergency or when confronted with hearing people]

12 a moment when s/he stops and thinks about being deaf [hearing people try to put one over on a deaf person]

13 knowing s/he was deaf by going to the school, but not right away: a few months to a year or two after entering

14 realizing then that s/he couldn't hear [not hearing car from behind]

15 it hitting him/her that a boy was talking to him/her and s/he couldn't hear him, couldn't understand him; wondering how to communicate with him

16 not feeling deaf until faced with people using their hearing when s/he doesn't; then it's "Oh. I'm deaf."

17 thinking s/he'd be able to hear again until s/he went to school and found s/he and the other students were all alike in that way

18 things making him/her stop and realize [seeing that hearing people could talk better, people would tap him/her to get his/her attention, people would make an effort to understand him/her, it was easier to understand people if they weren't chewing]

19 it making him/her stop and take notice that s/he was deaf [noticing some hearing people showed a negative attitude toward deaf people]

20 at age fifteen, in the context of relationship with hearing friend, beginning to acknowledge his/her deafness-- "hmm I'm deaf and she's hearing"; beginning to appreciate implications of that

21 being deaf being evident; unsure what to do

22 stopping to think and examine him/herself and his/her deafenss [being asked to give a talk on deafness]

23 becoming aware of his/her deafness through involvement in hearing world, esp. as a university student and as supervisor of hearing workers

24 not being in a deaf world until s/he went to the school for the deaf; starting to understand more, from the deaf people there

25 realizing s/he wasn't going to the school to hear again; s/he couldn't hear, period [asking a deaf couple if going the the school for the deaf would make him/her hear again; they said no]

26 having the difference between deaf and hearing explained to him/her, and feeling better knowing rather than being in the dilemma; being able to accept it

27 finding that wasn't the case [that the school is where one's hearing is restored]

28 beginning to realize s/he was deaf through meeting deaf people; realizing "we were all alike"; beginning to feel normal

29 knowing s/he was deaf for the first time; it impressing her: "I was deaf... different from others" [trying to make a horse go when someone behind him/her was yelling for it to stop]

30 a moment of awareness: "I'm deaf, they're hearing"... [being asked to supervise hearing workers]

31 becoming more open [after becoming aware of being deaf]; open to positive and negative experiences; knowing where s/he stood

32 finally stopping to think [about being deaf]; wondering why s/he hadn't done so way back; believing s/he'd be a different person if s/he had

33 not thinking about being deaf until age twenty-five; confidence and maturity increasing since then

34 reflecting on being deaf, being the only one at a hearing party

35 stopping to think: "She's hearing, I'm deaf, and I don't know [not knowing a word]

36 thinking "... can hear. I'm deaf. Hmmm. What will the difference be?" [having a hearing baby]

37 having to contend with a frustrating aspect of his/her deafness for the first time [doing a tough extra tryout for little league baseball because attending residential school during the week precluded his/her attending regular tryouts]

38 finding s/he was deaf; realizing neither brother nor sister had to watch as carefully [for cars], since they could hear; it impressing her

39 finding out who s/he was: "He and I were different. He was hearing, I was deaf. There it was" [comparing him/herself to hearing cousin]

40 an accumulation of events of that sort [comparing self with others] over a period of time culminating in the dawning awareness

41 having no notion of the word 'deaf' until entering the school and finding s/he was deaf; saying to another child "You're deaf? We're the same"; having no notion yet what 'hearing people' were, and no regret about being deaf; coming to know in a matter-of-fact way that s/he happened to have been born deaf

42 discovering his/her identity at the residential school by seeing other deaf children "You don't hear... don't speak... I don't hear or speak... we're alike."; it sinking in; knowing s/he wasn't the only one with the problem, that s/he had found people of his/her own kind

43 "I'm deaf"; it sinking in [noticing limits, things s/he can't do: phone, TV, public speeches]

44 starting to notice that s/he was deaf and the other teams were hearing and they were in opposition; feeling an identity as a deaf person, and antagonism toward hearing people; taking stock of that [playing hearing teams in high school]

45 father telling him/her s/he's deaf; not understanding about deaf and hearing; time passing, and saying to a kid "You can't hear? I can't hear," and realizing s/he was deaf; "That's it, I'm deaf. I see"

46 seeing and acknowledging that s/he was deaf and couldn't get better, through playing sports in middle school and seeing hearing kids

47 "Deaf forever? Huh." [being told by hearing teacher that s/he cannot regain his/her hearing]

48 knowing and accepting s/he was deaf; feeling comfortable with deaf people

49 finding out why s/he and the other students used their hands the way they did, to converse: "Oh... it's that I can't hear. And neither can you; we're the same that way"

50 acquiring a sense of belonging, of "who I am," at the school by seeing that the children signed; s/he was like them; and the teachers talked and didn't use signs

51 an older deaf boy telling him/her "Deaf. You're deaf."; grilling the boy on what that meant, and realizing there were two different worlds, a deaf one and a hearing one; before that s/he'd thought s/he and his/her family were just alike; now s/he began to understand [maybe eight or nine]

52 starting to realize it's an invisible handicap, that s/he's looked on as a normal person, that there's no significant difference [being asked what time it is on the street]

53 realizing s/he was deaf and would have to "break through" in the context of a difficult developmental phase during his/her teenage years

54 taking it in [realizing that his/her daughter doesn't want to bring friends home because s/he, the parent, is deaf]

55 "Yep. We're deaf. What're you gonna do?" [daughter doesn't want to come home after an overnight because parents are deaf

56 thinking that may be when s/he realized s/he was deaf; it being impressed on his/her mind [father becoming frustrated with him/her while working with him/her on his/her speech]

APPENDIX L

MASTER LIST, ACKNOWLEDGING FACTS OF LIFE

1 having to depend on an interpreter in order not to miss things

2 having missed things... vocabulary, words, knowledge

3 deaf people miss a lot

4 in an emergency or when confronted with hearing people, having to write, and explain about being deaf

5 having the advantage of having a written record of what was said in the case of an accident, for example

6 hearing people trying to put one over on deaf people/ it irks me

7 being limited in terms of opportunites/ as far as anger, resentment, wishing I were hearing-- I had none of that

8 people assuming that s/he can't do things at work

9 being able to communicate freely in Sign at school, whereas associating with hearing people felt uncomfortable and awkward, clumsy

10 being able to enjoy self with deaf friends, but feeling out of step with hearing people

11 social life at the deaf school being better than it was with hearing people, based on communication

12 not knowing his/her siblings personally; superficial communication with them

13 being in a small town with few deaf people, so being with hearing kids mostly

14 being relegated to doing certain kinds of things at work

15 not being allowed to demonstrate competence

16 wishing s/he could be hearing for just one day, to explain everything clearly just one time/ irked, frustrated

17 having limits, but having other things one can do

18 being unable to be a pilot; requires using headphones

19 being weak in language/ confidence evaporates

20 deaf people tending not to be thoughtful; being rude at times

21 going to one school while sister goes to another/ puzzled

22 signing at school, talking at home

23 being unable to communicate at home/ at a loss; exasperating

24 parents not knowing how to sign, whereas at school he'd sign with friends

25 having time highly structured at school

26 not understanding why s/he was being left at school and separated from his/her family

27 being unable to hear and talk; having some inconveniences (some people can't call, hard to get car insurance, not knowing what they're saying on TV

28 being a late learner, because parents had never communicated to him/her in sign

29 it being easy to communicate with deaf people, and it being hard to understand, with limited communication

30 not knowing how hearing people feel, since communication with them is limited; understanding deaf people's feelings

31 having difficulty communicating with a very close hearing friend/ frustration; wanted his/her friendship

32 co-workers leaving him/her out

33 interpreting services being unavailable

34 always being the only deaf person in a university class

35 being unable to communicate easily in social situations with hearing people

36 being surrounded by hearing people for most of the time during the day

37 having some people not see the deafness, teasingly say s/he really is hearing

38 working 23 years at a place before any other deaf people were hired

39 people at work good-naturedly teasing him/her and his/her deaf friend by cupping their hand trying the "hear" what they were signing

40 people watching when s/he and his/her deaf friends signed / bothered by it when young; now, to heck with 'em

41 people at work sitting in a group, talking

42 having no interpreter at his/her parents' church/ bored

43 being closely supervised and having lots of limits at school

44 being at a loss at home, having nothing to do; at school, being able to talk about anything

45 being the only deaf one at family reunions/ uncomfortable, at a loss

46 hearing people stretching their breaks at work while I work; being used more than they/ burns me up, lose temper sometimes

47 hearing people disagreeing with deaf people

48 hearing people wanting to be above deaf people, not respecting their ideas

49 having most of his/her deaf co-workers leave the job; they didn't like the new boss; not knowing how his/her boss feels about deaf people

50 boss showing newspaper items to hearing co-workers but not to participant; wondering whether boss thinks s/he can't read/ makes me feel low

51 things becoming unequal between hearing and deaf when new boss came

52 being deaf means... the opposite of being hearing

53 having to put out twice the effort that hearing people do in order to: be chosen, have them be interested in me, be involved with hearing people

54 having to put out twice the effort in volleyball

55 having to put out twice the effort in teaching

56 having to put out twice the effort in business

57 having had no choice but to be a teacher rather than in business, engineering, management, because of the things s/he would have had to give up (time with family, home pleasure) to advance in those fields

58 having very little contact with hearing people as s/he was growing up; not caring about hearing people

59 the local deaf community not meeting his/her needs for association, communication, sports, travel

60 hearing and deaf differ... in talking, vocabulary, interests.

61 hearing co-workers giving him/her a condensed, incomplete version of a funny story/ it's limited

62 feeling equal, comfortable, a sameness with deaf people

63 waitress being thrown off when s/he starts talking after having been signing with a group of deaf people at a restaurant

64 deaf community having become divided up into groups with similar tastes, rather than congregating as a single group as they used to do

65 in bars, hearing people not having the patience to communicate with him/her; hearing people rejecting deaf people

66 people having to come up to me to get my attention

67 parents not accepting it, taking him/her to many doctors

68 looking for work for seven years/ frustrating

69 someone approaching from behind when s/he's unaware of their presence/ it scares me

70 being taken advantage of in work areas, e.g., others giving him/her their work/ mad

71 not being able to participate in family gatherings/ lonely; left out

72 having to go through a third person, e.g., using interpreters/ hate it; makes me feel exposed

73 people gawking when s/he signed with other deaf people on the street

74 some children not understanding deafness, not playing with him/her/ mad

75 being able to communicate with deaf children; communication with hearing people being labored

76 having co-workers give him/her a hard time when s/he started supervising because s/he was deaf; "You're deaf, you can't"

77 people tending not to come to him/her directly at work because of communication

78 having the advantage of having a written record of what was said in buying a car, for example

79 being spared frustration in communicating with family, because his/her family was deaf

80 You can't hear. That's it.

81 deaf and hearing people cope with the same issues, e.g., when I was a teenager I hated visiting relatives

82 insurance not covering deaf people; workman's comp would be too high

83 having co-workers doubt his/her ability because s/he can't use phone, is "limited"

84 being the only deaf person in his/her aerobics class

85 seeing his/her dad only once every four or five years (divorce because s/he was deaf)

86 as a little girl, being scared to go to other children ; feared s/he couldn't communicate

87 being able to sign, use ASL, communicate easily with deaf people; hearing people at times being unable to understand his/her speech/ awkward

88 being able to share more with deaf people and to learn more from hearing people

89 being faced with people using their hearing and I don't, e.g., no interpreter at church, hearing people listening to radio/ left out

90 having to use hands and fingers to converse

91 being unable to talk and enjoy with family/ I feel deaf; being able to communicate and enjoy with deaf people/ I don't feel deaf

92 being in the hearing world in general, not only with family/ left out; being ancle to converse among people who sign/ don't feel left out

93 approaching hearing people being difficult

94 learning more in the hearing world; may not learn as much in deaf world

95 things tending to stay the same in deaf world; things changing rapidly in hearing world

96 not knowing much about the hearing world because s/he lives in deaf world most of the time

97 there being a line between deaf and hearing worlds, making it easy to contact deaf people and harder to contact hearing people

98 teachers talking, not signing, while deaf students signed

99 not being part of the deaf "breed", since s/he comes from a hearing, not a deaf family

100 some deaf people in tight knit groups having their own laws, ideas, rules

101 can't communicate with hearing people/ left out; don't join with deaf "breed" / don't feel sense of affiliation

102 it taking a lot of effort to communicate

103 some hearing people showing negative attitude toward deaf people/ sorry they had those attituds

104 deaf children living in an overprotected world

105 being stared at and made fun of when communicating in public/ uncomfortable, like a freak, hurt, I'd cry, anger, withdrawal, stuck

106 spending early years with hearing people and not being in a deaf world until going to school

107 at oral school, being told sign is "bad" but not why; having hands slapped or other punishment for signing; at second school, being able to communicate constantly/ embarrassed to use sign at home with parents

108 having only vague memories of oral school becuase that experience was unpleasant

109 not signing much his/her first year at the school that allowed sign/ fear

110 deaf and hearing people having different cultures

111 deaf people being behind in clothing styles

112 having mixed feelings, positive and negative, about being deaf

113 being on the fence between the deaf and hearing worlds

114 few deaf people being intellectually inclined

115 a lot of hearing people pitying him/her/ don't want it

116 people not understanding deafness, being ignorant/ frustrating

117 some people thinking that being deaf means there's something wrong with the mind, odd

118 can express feelings, share in deaf world, whereas with hearing people I can't

119 few deaf people enjoying reading, exchanging ideas

120 feeling limited, not really accepted in deaf world, since s/he's an intellectual and from out of state

121 there being a line between intellectual and nonintellectual deaf people

122 seeing s/he was different from his/her siblings: they could be involved in conversations with his/her parents/ it irked me; lonely, left out; I'd object

123 being unable to communicate as easily as his/her sibs with his/her father/ jealous; cheated

124 mother attending more to sister because sister can hear and talk/ belief that sister is loved more

125 forgetting s/he's deaf, being him/herself, relaxing, while interacting with deaf people/ relaxed; forget I'm deaf; can be myself

126 being left out of communication with hearing groups/ maddening; I get sick of it; no intimacy

127 feeling a "sameness" with deaf people, but an inferiority to hearing people because they can hear, talk, make calls

128 hearing people not sharing the same problems as deaf people do

129 people staring when s/he talks in a public place because of the sound of his/her voice/ amusing

130 noticing his/her voice is different from other people's/ suprise

131 missing communication with a favorite relative

132 having to ask hearing supervisors to make calls

133 hearing people looking down on deaf people

134 hearing people where s/he works knowing more about the deaf people than the deaf people do about them, because the hearing people make phone calls for the deaf people

135 hearing people having conversations when deaf people are present without signing

136 having no communication with his/her parents/ it was darkness

137 having few early memories because language was not available as a basis for them/ darkness

138 being isolated and alone, a "social outcast", in family reunions/ those hurt me; it was very tough

139 being looked on with apprehension by people who saw him/her as a misfit

140 not being introduced to his/her cousin's friends by his/her cousin; being put aside follow, can't take part

141 feeling limits, feeling handicapped: phone, TV, radio, not being able to follow, can't take part

142 not having as much communication with his/her parents as s/he would like to have had

143 being lonely

144 the residential school being very isolated from the outside world; not associating with hearing people, so having no basis of comparison between hearing and deaf

145 no knowing as much as his/her cousin did

146 hearing people having an advantage over him/her in being able to gain information through hearing

147 feeling inferior to hearing people, until s/he discovered that s/he could learn as well as they could

148 finding him/herself in a "new world" in the deaf school; having no notion of the word "deaf" until s/he entered the school

149 exchanging freely and easily in the deaf school in contrast to the hearing society where s/he felt powerless and different

150 being "the same" as other deaf people in being unable to speak, thinking in signs, facial expressions, movements, having "home gestures"

151 using ASL with deaf people; communicating freely, exchanging comfortably, without effort; understanding each other

152 hearing people watching when s/he signs with another deaf person, as if they seemed odd

153 being behind hearing people: not knowing as much as they do

154 fellow students thinking s/he was "dumb" or "slow" when s/he entered the manual program at school

155 having limits: in using the phone, not being able to follow the TV, unable to follow a public speech, unable to take part

156 feeling handicapped: having missed opportunities-- cultural advancement, financial improvement, ways to find real enjoyment

157 finding that even with interpreters it's not satisfactory

158 feeling limited: can't listen to the radio while trying to fall asleep

159 often having to drive a long distance to make contact with another deaf person

160 hearing players making sneering comments when they were playing deaf players, when they were tackling, for example

161 opposing hearing players; hearing players not wanting to communicate with deaf players, thinking the deaf players were below them; wanting to fight back

162 having things in common with other deaf students: having a deaf heritage, having deaf parents, going through things together, dads being members of the same deaf clubs, visiting deaf people in the evening

163 not being as up to date as hearing people in dress, appearance in general

164 being different from hearing people in that they lived at home and were out in the world, and deaf students all came from different towns and lived in the dorm

165 being deaf being just normal, since s/he came from a deaf family; not seeing that much difference between deaf and hearing people

166 hearing people making fun, not accepting him/her and other deaf students as "normal"; being treated as seond class citizens

167 people getting exasperated when they see s/he's deaf and s/he gives them paper and pencil to write with

168 there being four kinds of hearing people: one accepts and respects him/her as a person; the second accepts him/her with some reservations; the third takes stock of him/her, keeps his evaluation to himself and in effect, rejects him/her; the fourth rejects him/her outright

169 deaf and hearing people being alike in terms of feelings, needs, desires, forming groups; deaf and hearing people differing in terms of communication

170 deaf people being reserved in terms of expressing feelings

171 deaf people getting fed up with the elite group of deaf intellectuals; it being provincial in the larger deaf group

172 members of the elite deaf subgroup having greater ability to move between various deaf subgroups than deaf people who are not in the elite group

173 as a child, noticing that hearing people, not deaf people, tended to use the phone and watch TV

174 teachers and counselors at the school being able to sign

175 during high school, detesting hearing teachers and hearing people in general

176 the school administration not understanding deafness well; administrators not having enough contact with deaf children

177 hearing and deaf families being the same in terms of arguments, fights, parental authority, the internalization of family code

178 his/her deaf parents being concerned about his/her involvement in the hearing world

179 problems in deaf and hearing families being the same

180 feeling nothing was wrong with him/her, since s/he grew up in a deaf family; communication being as smooth as silk, no roadblocks

181 his/her deaf parents being uneasy about his/her crossing over into the hearing culture

182 hearing and deaf people associating little; there being a "line" between hearing and deaf people that's not there between two deaf people; being more on guard with hearing people

183 deafness leading to a kind of vigilance, a concern for one's safety, e.g., being cautious not to make one's address known to the general public; a person who knew the family was deaf could attempt a break in

184 hearing people at the workplace not taking as active an interest in the wellbeing of deaf people as s/he would like them to

185 being deaf means you can't hear; silence; using eyes more; seeing a hand move and thinking someone said something; visual alertness; using the body more; using a "sixth sense" to know when something's wrong interpersonally

186 family talking rapidly at meals; s/he can't follow/ anger builds; wanting to know what's going on; pinpoint of my life; terrible; I was a bomb

187 being behind sibs in school work

188 not being able to carry on conversations with daughters while driving; daughters get mad about this

189 having to ask over and over again what people are saying/ refuse to speak to them, esp. mom

190 not having an interpreter for sorority meetings/ frustrating; would refuse to go sometimes

191 women at work talking among themselves; never knowing what they were saying; treating him/her like a kid; never asking him/her to lunch; not letting him/her in on the gossip, happenings/ upset

192 secretary taking messages for him/her rather than coming to get him/her when s/he got a phone call/ mad

193 there being no other deaf people where s/he worked

194 people talking during coffee break without including him/her/ steamed

195 deaf people having similar "cycles" of development to hearing people, but having a parallel cycle of their own concering their deafness

196 problems with having to depend on people to phone for him/her, before TDD's were available: lack of privacy, or the call becoming "theirs," not his/hers, or the person saying something s/he hadn't said/ embarrassing, hard, frustrating

197 it being hard for people to understand s/he couldn't hear because s/he could talk so well

198 the fact that s/he could talk being misleading; having to explain s/he couldn't hear at all

199 becoming a little withdrawn with strangers

200 his/her mother not talking to him/her about deafness

201 it being a little hard to leave home to go to residential school; mother would cry; mother wanting him/her to continue in public school

202 being able to tell that a hearing signer is hearing by their signs, unless they have deaf parents; then it's harder to tell

203 not remembering how s/he communicated with parents before preschool; mind being a blank before s/he went to preschool and learned signs

204 not being treated as normal children by the dorm counselors; saying "no" to everything, giving curt commands

205 playing with cousins but not being able to remember how they communicated

206 hating the dorm counselors as a child, having no idea why they treated the children so inconsiderately, thinking they were mean

207 being apprehensive that if s/he chose office work as a career, machines might come into use that would require hearing and s/he might get laid off

208 having more opportunities than his/her hearing siblings to acquire education without cost, because s/he was deaf

209 there being advantages and disadvantages to being able to talk and therefore able to help his/her peers with school work: gaining a lot through helping, but some teachers thinking s/he was overstepping his/her bounds

210 teachers not understanding the deaf students and punishing them for things wrongly

211 children receiving undeserved punishment; wishing the teachers could sign and communicate better with the children

212 some people having the attitude: "Deaf people can't"/ bothers me a lot

213 thinking s/he was dumb or mentally retarded when s/he was small, since s/he couldn't understand people talking, and s/he was going to a special school

214 mother not understanding when s/he signed to him/her

215 not being able to understand relatives talking

216 feeling closer to deaf people than to his/her family, because s/he can talk, communicate-- we're so much alike; family talks and s/he's left out

217 some deaf people being complacent, giving hearing people more opportunity to control things

218 some hearing people being scared of deaf people

219 some hearing teachers pretending they understanding deaf children talking to them, but it being clear they really do not understand

220 there being lack of understanding and oppression of deaf children

221 there being coercion of deaf children

222 the school communication policy hindering rather than enhancing the deaf children's learning of language; lack of recognition in the school for the need to use ASL as a first language and to teach English as a second language

223 at the school, communication between young deaf children and deaf adult staff being hindered because the children are learning new sign systems rather than ASL/ it hurts

224 family never learning sign language except for sister who learned a little

225 communicating with family by writing, gesture, home signs

226 being closer to deaf people and to his/her children, because they communicate with him/her-- they sign

227 feeling a bond with deaf people, feeling close, like sisters and brothers; deaf people visiting him/her more often than family does

228 feeling at a loss when family visits; not much communication, just simple talk/ disappointed

229 feeling not worth anything and feeling stupid until s/he went to the deaf school

230 some hearing people making fun of deaf people, insulting them

231 some hearing people understanding deaf people

232 in rural towns, hearing people less often making fun of deaf people than in cities

233 not knowing what people are talking about; being left hanging

234 something happening at work and the place is buzzing but nobody tells him/her; left hanging

235 not understanding when people talk/ irritating sometimes

236 being able to tell at work when co-workers are talking about him/her

237 having a few people s/he talks with most at work

238 when s/he first entered school, wanting to stay home rather than go; later, preferring school to home

239 no one in family talking to him/her; they'd talk to each other; fingerspelling being inadequate for full communication/ at a loss

240 being able to talk freely, enjoy him/herself, learn and interact with everyone at school

241 communicating at school by signing and fingerspelling/ enjoyed that very much

242 teachers not being able to sign

243 being able to talk to people at school but not at home

244 in the workplace, being mostly with hearing people; very few deaf people

245 knowing when s/he sees another deaf person that he or she is deaf; thinking a hearing person who signs is deaf at first, especially if they are a child of deaf parents

246 not seeing his/her parents for a long time after s/he first went to live in the dorm; it was school policy, to facilitate the children's transition to school life

247 missing being able to hear his/her children's voices; feeling cheated out of it; feeling something of a lack of communication with them

248 being one of the only deaf people at work

249 being able to express more through an interpreter than through writing, but it bothering him/her that the doctor (for example) tends to watch the interpreter rather than him/her when they're communicating

250 not being treated like the others at work; being left out; getting little recognition for working hard

251 some people thinking there are things deaf people don't know;

252 people bypassing him/her and asking someone else, when s/he's capable of answering the question

APPENDIX M

COPING AND CREATING

1 asking a friend to interpret

2 realizing the need to understand own deafness before explaining to others

3 talking with mother about mother's being deaf; asking mother "Why me?"

4 working extremely hard and quickly to prove capability

5 communicating with others by fingerspelling, signing, writing

6 fighting less than s/he used to, recognizing that some things s/he can't beat (e.g., a large corporation)

7 insisting that the company get professional interpreters rather than using less skilled signers

8 conveying that s/he could do things at work when superiors assumed s/he couldn't

9 fighting for deaf dignity, that we "can", that you and I are the same

10 fighting for his/her rights

11 during summers at home, visiting deaf people who lived nearby, because of communication

12 enjoying him/herself more with deaf friends than hearing/ comfortable

13 enjoying social life at the deaf school: educating him/herself, learning new words, enjoying talking

14 meeting deaf people away from home, so s/he could talk, communicate

15 going with a couple of deaf friends when s/he went out with hearing people; couldn't have done it alone

16 having had deaf parents, and communication, while growing up

17 a hearing friend and friend's mother explaining the meaning of a word

18 being "programmed", prepared when confronted with need to communicate, e.g., taking paper and pen, or gesturing "I'm deaf"

19 filing a memo with supervisor after no interpreter had been provided for a meeting; supervisor providing one from then on

20 arranging for an interpreter to communicate with a man deafened late in life

21 seeking knowledge through contact with very intelligent deaf people, and with hearing people; realizing it had been a mistake not to associate with people who were intellectual equals

22 keeping self informed, using interpreters, TTD, captions

23 realizing the need to provide sound in the environment for hearing child (radio, voices, music)

24 neighbor who was acquainted with co-researcher's athletic ability offering to help by talking to the coach who was requiring an extra tryout because co-researcher had to miss regular tryout because of attending residential school

25 hanging out mostly with deaf friends now

26 getting out to deaf friends' houses when s/he was a teenager

27 using his/her union card to finally get a job, after being turned down because s/he was deaf

28 becoming more patient in his/her approach to advocating change

29 working effectively in order to convince employer that s/he's capable

30 considering leaving the company to set up his/her own business, if s/he can't make the changes s/he hopes to

31 trying to convince employer that s/he's capable

32 confronting problems head on, but recognizing that there are some things s/he can't beat, and it's not worth fighting those (bureacracy in a corporation, for example)

33 helping a deaf friend work out a problem with a phone bill

34 trying various approaches to overcoming limits, but recognizing s/he can't do anything about and that s/he has to live with it

35 thinking s/he's limited in a certain way, but finding s/he can overcome it

36 having the attitude "I can"

37 finding s/he could do shoe repair, through the union, even after being told he/she couldn't

38 tending to analyze things and deliberate in solving a problem, e.g., figuring out insurance

39 preferring to be married to a deaf person, because of communication

40 reading, sewing, focusing on work when left out

41 finding ways to maintain contact with children of opposite sex at school even though visitation was prohibited

42 encouraging supervisees to view him/her as their supervisor, not their deaf supervisor; supervisees cooperating in this

43 communicating at work by fingerspelling, writing, signing

44 joining hearing people; asking them to play sports

45 when confronted with hearing people, using writing to communicate, and explaining that s/he's deaf

46 not allowing him/herself to be taken advantage of by a repairman who wanted to do an incomplete job, put one over on him/her

47 not wasting time getting upset about people who don't want to interact with him/her; realizing there are plenty who do want to interact with him/her

48 having the attitude: why waste your time on people who mock deaf people? Just ignore'em!

49 realizing that the hearing employers who weren't hiring him/her did not really know him/her, did not realize s/he could compensate by seeing

50 becoming a fighter

51 developing a mentality for preventing unfair treatment, for gaining access to places

52 telling the superintendent when s/he was treated unfairly by a supervisor at school, resulting in that supervisor being fired/ my position was right; didn't feel bad about what happened

53 asking mother, deaf relatives, interpreters about deafness in preparation for a talk on it/ confidence grew

54 using God's help to pull through [preparing for the speech]

55 asking a student share written notes in University class

56 children seeming to know instinctively how to communicate with him/her/ it's wonderful

57 associating, sharing with hearing people; feeling "hearing" even though deaf/ beautiful, felt more normal

58 not feeling that having a deaf child would be upsetting; recognizing s/he'd have unique things to offer the child

59 recognizing that being married to a person who didn't know sign or deaf culture would create misunderstandings

60 altering the way s/he signs things, or explaining, to be sure his/her hard of hearing spouse understands

61 chatting politely with his/her parents, and leaving to see deaf friends so s/he can <u>really</u> talk

62 when feeling at a loss at hime, looking at TV, trying to read, plalying with kids, learning to write, meeting deaf children s/he could communicate with

63 helped the team win sometimes, and kept mouth shut in spite of not liking being used so seldom on the team

64 put forth extra effort, worked double, was "a bit more than equal"

65 recognizing that in some arenas it's not worth making a double effort because of the things that would have to be given up; working equally hard, not doubly hard

66 enjoying, thinking positive, feeling it's a waste to feel bitter, disappointed, upset

67 when encouraged to be more than "just a teacher", not being willing to work "doubly hard," and recognizing that teaching was making an important contribution

68 using self examination and discussions with spouse to make decision whether to pursue further education

69 preventing apathy from creeping into teaching by seeking out ways to make the job interesting; staying optimistic

70 adopting an attitude toward hearing people of challenge, competition

71 beginning to understand and share with hearing people after having cared little about them during early years

72 spending time with hearing people to meet certain needs (certain sports, travel)

73 not demanding that hearing people sign, recognizing that they might lose interest/ it works out fine

74 looking to the older kids to teach him/her signs, explain things

75 getting along on his/her own, going ahead and doing what s/he wants/ not filled with frustration

76 his/her dad being involved with him/her, giving him/her things to do at home, not being afraid to let him/her make mistakes and learn from them

77 most of his/her friends being people s/he went to residential school with, with the same life experiences; being able to communicate with them

78 having skills, like carpentry

79 having learned patience

80 learning to use TTY's, even though s/he forgets at times and goes to the person's house

81 getting involved, excited about doing things, forgetting about him/herself/ not frustrated

82 learning signs from kids who had learned to communicate when they were small

83 being with deaf people, mostly; using signs with deaf people, and using home signs or writing at home

84 talking with deaf people if s/he's hurt, because they understand; helping other deaf people when they're hurt

85 working a math problem quickly while his/her father and friends watched/ pride

86 communicating with people at work by writing, fingerspelling

87 spending time with the one other deaf employee at work, having someone to communicate with/ it was good

88 when people gawked, stopping his/her signing and looking at them as if to say "yes? you wanted something?"/ they'd look away

89 hearing people understanding more about deaf people now; interpreting services, people stare less

90 at work reading the newspaper, drawing plans, when others were talking

91 occasionally, joining the hearing co workers to swap sections of the newspaper

92 coming up with hand signals for some of the poker terms/ fun

93 having interpreting available/ felt good to understand

94 realizing one can't depend on the deaf world alone/ has matured, grown, built confidence

95 became more active in acquiring information and deepening relationships with hearing people

96 learning to acknowledge being deaf, to say "I'm deaf" rather than "I can't hear", to cut down on frustration in communication

97 getting compliments/ pride

98 teaching sign language without an interpreter, giving students the opportunity to learn from him/her as s/he is, a deaf person

99 using voice reluctantly with people one doesn't know well, but more often with people who are accustomed to it

100 having close relationships with hearing people leading to dealing with life differently, having more fun

101 leaving the church service where no interpreter was provided, to go downtown with a couple friends

102 preferring to stay at school when s/he got to early adolescence, because s/he could communicate

103 TDD's, closed captioning for TV/ I enjoy it a lot

104 being able to watch many more programs than s/he used to, because of captions and decoders

105 talking about popular TV characters with his/her deaf friends

106 TDD's saving time, gas/ help a lot

107 depending on others for communication; daughter, agency

108 using an early model TTY to make birth announcement

109 becoming involved in deaf organizations (Frat, local athletic organizations) /more comfortable with myself

110 helping to set up the first local athletic association for the deaf, because there was a need

111 meeting with members of deaf organizations in other states/ it was comfortable

112 learning about deaf life from other deaf people

113 comparing and contrasting organizations from different states, to help one another improve their respective organizations

114 faced with family reunions, having cousins to play with, and later when s/he learned to drive, leaving to spend time with deaf friends and talk

115 daughter interpreting for him/her

116 deaf people explaining every word of a story, rather than giving a condensed version as hearing people do/ more interesting

117 spending time with deaf people at sporting events, night clubs, their homes

118 asking a local merchant to make phone calls for him/her

119 asking someone to interpret when s/he has to go to court

120 deciding with a deaf friend to leave a restaurant where a waitress had thrown a towel at them because they were signing; wanting to avoid a scene

121 relatives knowing and understanding s/he's deaf; no favoritism; things remaining the same as far as relatives are concerned after s/he became deaf

122 not letting employers beat him/her; arguing that not being able to use the phone is not a good excuse for not hiring him/her

123 using his/her eyes all the time; turning to see whether someone's approaching from behind, if s/he feels someone may be there

124 refusing to do others' work; telling the boss of his/her frustration

125 finally deciding to stop going to family gatherings; reading a lot

126 going him/herself, without a third party, when s/he wants confidentiality

127 when people were gawking at his/her signing with other deaf people, teasing them about passing a hat

128 becoming stubborn; refusing to give up (looking for work)

129 getting mad and fighting with kids would didn't understand, wouldn't play with him/her; telling their parents; then they'd let me play with them

130 arguing with people who say something s/he's opposed to

131 deaf people in the community being encouraging, helping him/her keep from being depressed, when s/he was looking for work

132 learning to ignore the fact that hearing kids would be talking without him/her knowing what they were saying

133 not thinking deaf people are different from hearing people

134 things beginning to open up, more deaf people working in places s/he'd tried earlier but had been refused

135 hearing people being more aware of deafness now than before

136 advent of TTD's; phone relay service; things being more accessible / less frustrating; it's wonderful

137 a deaf child teaching him/her signs when s/he first entered the residential school

138 boss and some co-workers encouraging and supporting him/her in his/her new position as supervisor; with their support, realizing s/he is capable

139 arranging for customers who might be apprehensive about communicating with him/her because s/he's deaf to come to him/her directly rather than consulting someone else, in order to ensure the job is done correctly

140 not emphasizing his/her deafness at work; preferring co-workers not to think of him/her as handicapped; talking rather than signing at work

141 not thinking of herself as limited: writing, reading lips, having others make phone calls when necessary

142 in aerobics call, watching and following the others; reading lips to see what the next step will be

143 requesting that the aerobics teacher give hand signals for when it's time to start a routine, check pulse, stop a routine

144 trying to imagine sometimes what the sound of water flowing is like

145 wondering when s/he was stricken with an extremely serious disease as an adult why s/he was allowed to live, when others were less fortunate; finding answers from his/her preacher

146 his/her mother's support being very important; mother pushing him/her, telling him/her s/he was capable

147 mother refusing to "give him/her up" because of his/her deafness, even though s/he was being pushed to do so because the other thought deafness would mean s/he "would always be dumb"

148 deciding not to press a relative to tell him/her his true feelings about his/her being deaf; thinking it might be better not to know

149 mother's steady support through a serious childhood illness contributing to his/her own resolve as an adult to fight for life when facing another critical illness

150 mother encouraging him/her to associate with both deaf and hearing people

151 when s/he was afraid to associate with other children for fear of being unable to communicate, mother encouraging him/her to try

152 a hearing neighbor friend encouraging him/her to join the other kids

153 associating with deaf people in clubs, deaf organizations, giong out for drinks

154 associating with hearing people mostly, but tending to stick to one to one situations or small groups so that s/he's not left alone as they're all talking

155 preferring deaf people in his/her free time because of communication

156 getting inolved in the deaf community through deaf organization picnics, sports clubs; feeling comfortable with them since s/he could sign, share feelings

157 going back and forth between deaf and hearing people; being able to use straight English with hearing people and ASL with deaf people

158 liking to associate with both hearing and deaf people

159 being thankful to his/her mother for having encouraged him/her to associate with both hearing and deaf people

160 mother encouraging him/her not to give up a certain enjoyable activity after s/he had had a discouraging experience with someone responding negatively to his/her deafness

161 as a child, involving hemself busily in having fun, playing, talking rather than dwelling sorrowfully on the fact that s/he was deaf; no time for self-pity

162 not feeling left out in situations where interpreters are provided or people are present who can sign

163 feeling it's his/her responsibility to take the initiative to instill interest in signing and to teach signs to hearing people; feeling if s/he doesn't do so it's his/her own fault if s/he feels left out

164 assessing whether it's worth the time and effort to teach a hearing co-worker to sign, e.g., if they won't be around long, just using writing and talking

165 tending to associate with the deaf people who are involved in organizations

166 taking organizational skills s/he learns from hearing people and applying them in the deaf community

167 services for deaf people and TDD's gradually becoming more widespread

168 being apprehensive about entering a new school where signing was allowed after being in an oral school; friends telling him/her not to worry

169 kids encouraging him/her to go ahead and sign when s/he came to a new school after having been at a school where signing hadn't been allowed; coming out of his/her shell with their help

170 students and teachers noticing his/her intelligence and drawing him/her out, encouraging him/her to communicate

171 telling jokes that are unique to deaf culture; being aware these are not humorous in hearing culture

172 gravitating sometimes to the hearing world because there are ways deaf people are behind, but also leaning toward the deaf world where s/he is accepted; being on the fence

173 going to hearing people at times because they are interested in some of the intellectual discussions s/he likes, but remaining aware that not many hearing people learn to sign well enough to talk with him/her about these things

174 having to explain to some hearing people who try to "help" by doing things like offering him/her a hearing aid that s/he's profoundly deaf and it won't help; not needing or wanting pity

175 enjoying intellectual conversations with a select few deaf people who share these interests

176 taking note of the negative attitude toward intellectuals that some deaf people have, and shrugging it off

177 being him/herself; satisfying him/herself with the few deaf people more like him/her

178 being aware that there are jokes unique to hearing culture, which are not humorous to deaf people

179 deciding to leave a conversation in which s/he had not been included, rather than stay and feel left out; justifying this position to one of the parties involved, who agreed to include him/her next time

180 after having gotten on the wrong bus, asking someone to direct him/her to the correct one; the person being helpful

181 asking people to repeat themselves when s/he didn't understand the first time

182 realizing that some people who make insensitive remarks about deaf people are simply uneducated

183 reading a book to avoiding communicating with strangers at times because communicating was so difficult

184 a local deaf couple who had heard s/he had become deaf providing comfort and help in a variety of ways

185 people noticing s/he had a talent for teaching and encouraging him/her to go into the profession

186 finding ways to compensate for being deaf as an office worker, e.g., picking up the phone when it rang and asking the person to hold on; then going to find a hearing person to take the call

187 being capable and efficient as an office worker, and providing interpreting services when needed

188 applying for teaching as well as office jobs, since s/he knew technological changes could eliminate deaf people from certain office jobs

189 being able to talk having benefits; gaining through helping other students

190 defending other students when she felt they'd been misunderstood or wrongly punished

191 getting both support and resentment when promoted to a supervisory position; having the attitude that deaf people "can," with the proper support

192 being determined to show that deaf people can, and that s/he could, with support; realizing s/he needed to depend on interpeters but that s/he had things to offer as well

193 teachers and family fostering his/her sense of determination as s/he was growing up

194 going to the school and finally discovering ways to communicate, e.g., writing

195 having a close deaf friend at school who'd teach him/her gestures and signs and help in other ways/ thrilled to learn

196 "coming to deafness" and no longer feeling worthless and stupid, because s/he could now communicate and not be rejected

197 ignoring people who make fun of deaf people

198 after a car accident in a small town, the doctor calling a girl who had deaf parents to come interpret for him/her

199 hearing people sometimes telling him/her the general topic of a conversation, so that s/he's not always left hanging

200 not insisting that someone explain what's going on at work at times when the place is buzzing and nobody tells him/her what it's about

201 family being more understanding than people at work; telling him/her more often what's going on; still, not asking them every time to tell him

202 when s/he feels people at work may be talking about him/her, checking with a friend who reassures him/her

203 understanding that the friend might not want to hurt his/her feelings by telling him/her if people at work really were talking about him/her

204 not dwelling on it if someone does talk about him/her at work; dropping it

205 feeling lost at first in school, but it gradually becoming OK in the new world

206 preferring home when younger, but preferring school when older and more involved in learning and activities at school

207 going to deaf clubs and to a college where there were deaf people; shooting the breeze/ enjoyed it a great deal

208 traveling to deaf clubs all over the country; meeting people, talking, playing pool, dancing

209 being involved in local deaf organizations and church activities

210 becoming more visually alert; checking before leaving a place to be sure no one is trying to get his/her attention

211 others explaining how to say a word; others helping in other ways

212 dad letting him/her know by looking at him/her that it was his/her turn to say the prayer; being included in this family ritual

213 dad writing poems for him/her to express his affection for her

214 coming home for vacation two days late, so mother and sister can talk and his/her mom will be more able to attend to her

215 there being a great deal of love in the family; it being known absolutely that s/he was loved

216 helping mother and father so they would not lose love for him/her

217 deaf brothers being very helpful: learning fingerspelling and ASL quickly

218 family members being helpful over the years in many ways: teaching skills, giving gifts, introducing him/her to people and activities/ didn't stay angry about being deaf

219 being taken to deaf parties, picnics, where s/he "forgot" s/he was deaf

220 trying to ignore it when people stare when s/he talks in public places

221 bearing with it and putting people's reactions to the sound of his/her voice when s/he talks in a public place

222 family background helping: the love, having other deaf people, not being at a loss

223 not bothering to try to interact with people at work who don't make efforts to sign to him/her

224 asking that at mealtimes family members slow down some when they talk

225 others calming him/her down and realizing they need to make changes, be more careful

226 family starting to slow the pace down; sister regulating things; becoming more patient herself

227 telling his/her mom she needed to be more careful to look at him/her while they were talking

228 mom getting more careful not to look away while talking to her

229 relying on one woman whose speech was clear, easy to read

230 coworkers giving him/her a going away party; expressing his/her anger over being excluded

231 hanging out with deaf people at the private school, doing normal high school things

232 getting better at speech and understanding what people were saying

233 it being easier at home when there were fewer siblings; easier to follow what was going on

234 arranging with boss for secretary to go get him/her when there was a phone call to see if s/he wanted to take the call, rather than taking a message without asking

235 believing that hearing peole are the tools of deaf people's lives; without them you can't survive

236 believing that the ability to speak is important, and that only a hearing person can teach and encourage this

237 coworkers being attentive, warm; still, preferring to sit out sometimes to write a letter or take a walk rather than join the group at work

238 one coworker helping by making phone calls, keeping him/her updated on office news and rumors by writing them down

239 watching captioned news every morning to know what's going on

240 instructing daughter to tell phone callers that s/he (parent) was deaf and ask if they wanted to leave a message

241 spouse and self leaving parties early if no other deaf people are there; at a dinner party, making sure they're seated next to someone who speaks clearly or can sign

242 when inviting others to dinner, inviting one couple only, so communication is more direct

243 not wanting an operation to regain hearing; wouldn't want the noise

244 it being important for a deaf person to "break through"; not hold feelings in; talk it out

245 learning s/he could always discuss, argue if something was having an impact on him/her

246 arranging to have seats for the hearing impaired, if s/he and spouse go to a cultural event

247 at home when very young, gesturing, pointing, using some speech

248 growing up in a well respected deaf family facilitating his/her ability to feel normal and not much different from hearing people

249 fighting back when treated like a "second class citizen" by hearing people

250 deciding to try moving onto hearing people's "turf" for a period of time, to compare and contrast hearing and deaf people's experience

251 spending a period of time in the hearing community and thus being able to integrate aspects of the hearing and deaf philosophy and culture

252 moving back and forth between hearing and deaf communities

253 seeking out members of the subgroup of deaf people who enjoy talking about intellectual, financial and political matters

254 having the ability to move between various deaf subgroups comfortably

255 responding forcefully and articulately to a woman who was expressing pity about his/her deafness

256 insisting that a skilled interpreter be provided for him/her to give a talk, rather than accepting the originally assigned, unskilled interpreter/ relieved

257 being tactful in requesting a more skilled interpreter in order to protect her

258 teacher acknowledging and respecting his/her right to having a skilled interpreter to give the talk/ felt better

259 feeling confident that his/her message would be conveyed, having procured a skilled interpreter/ relieved, happy, felt I was right

260 long after the event, telling his/her parents about being mistreated in the school dorm; they were appalled

261 three cousins being important to him/her; looked up to them; they'd play, pay attention to him/her

262 parents treating him/her the same as hearing sister; having the same expectations; encouraging independence

263 preferring not to rely on others to communicate; using pencil and paper; realizing it can be helpful to use interpreters

264 owing a lot to parents, who helped him/her learn English well

265 being independent, and feeling s/he owes a lot to the family for teaching this

266 feeling grateful to his/her parents for teaching him/her language so well

267 being opposed to the term "deaf mute"; writing a letter to the editor objecting to an article that had used this term and had implied that deaf people are not capable

268 wanting to be recognized and treated like other coworkers in the same position as s/he, rather than being neglected, left out, but learning to stay out of things because of potential bad consequences

269 having to work very hard to show that s/he is capable, knows many things

270 learning to keep mouth shut, be discreet about expressing disagreement in the workplace, based on past experience with reprisals

271 ASL being deaf people's natural language; using it out in the world, and learning English in school

272 requesting that the staff in the delivery room remove their masks during the births of her children, so that she could see the changes in their faces

273 planning to have an interpreter at the birth if she has another child
enjoying the relationship with his/her parents a lot

274 learning and conversations being a daily occurrence in the family; everyone signs; parents are his/her best teachers

275 noticing the contrast between school, where counselors treated him/her unreasonably, and home, where parents were "really parents"

276 fondly remembering visits by his/her parents to the dorm

277 valuing communication with his/her children: explaining things to them, asking about their day, telling about his/her day

278 reverse interpreting for other deaf people at times; being relied upon often for this; coming to understand how other deaf people feel, having to use interpreters

279 using an interpreter when s/he goes to his/her children's school sometimes when driving, pulling over so s/he can talk to his/her children

280 his/her parents' upper middle class status having an influence on his/her choices of associating in both hearing and deaf worlds

281 "breaking through" only being necessary if one chooses to go beyond the confines of deaf circles

282 using an interpreter when s/he gives a talk

283 sharing culture, communication, belonging, pride with deaf people

284 going with deaf friends to visit deaf people in the evenings; never hearing

285 having a "vendetta" against hearing people; standing up for self with the support and togetherness of other deaf people

286 deaf teachers being supportive and respective of the deaf students

288 not allowing a hearing person to "put one over"on a group of deaf students

289 looking up to and identifying with deaf teachers, who understood the deaf students' feelings and experiences

290 participating in an "exchange" in interacting with attractive female hearing students: they learned to sign, he got to be with pretty girls

291 being assertive, forceful, preventing a hearing person from taking advantage of his/her deafness after a car accident

292 in high school, exploiting the fact that he was regarded as an "innocent" while knowing s/he actually was informal leader of a secret, activist student group

293 experimenting with leadership on a sports team in college

294 standing up through an abusive fraternity entrance interview and rising quickly through the ranks

295 being involved in student government leadership in college preparing him/her for taking the reins of leadership in deaf culture and deaf heritage later

296 having to encourage people to think for themselves, not just take his/her word as leader; being aware their constant compliance would generate resentment

297 receding from leadership in recent years to pursue personal concerns

298 the disappointment at having to live at the deaf school rather than be at home being mitigated by having an enclave where communication was easy; being in the "right world"

299 knowing that even though some people had the attitude that deaf people are inconsequential, that is not true; fighting back

300 softening the hatred of hearing people, in part through a relationship with a hearing professor whom s/he respected

301 being involved in the struggle for rights to access to TV, telephone, etc.; being able to sit back now and enjoy it

302 alternating now between sitting back and going out and involving him/herself in issues

303 fighting for equality, acceptance, sameness

304 acquiring identity at school

305 parents warning him against involvement with hearing people

306 crossing over into hearing culture by dating a hearing person

307 being cautious not to make his/her deafness too public to reduce the possibility of being exploited, e.g., robbed, assaulted

308 parents encouraging him/her to be independent as a child, e.g. communicate by writing or pointing; mother helping him/her with writing

309 having come from a deaf family, feeling reinforced; having learned from them not to allow him/herself to be intimidated

310 having a couple friends at school and a cousin who encouraged him/her in her academic efforts

311 being very ambitious, reading a lot, pushing himself to progress quickly

312 refusing to learn speech, believing that learning to talk would be so difficult as to be pointless

313 knowing that people who thought he/she was "dumb" when transferred from the oral to the manual program were mistaken

314 decoders and captions helping a lot

315 making adjustments for not being able to hear: reading, having hobbies to keep the mind occupied

316 having many ideas for uses of the telephone if it were possible

317 having been to college, exposed to reading and cultural diversity; this making it hard to compare self to other deaf people

318 being careful not to make one's address known; a person who knew the family was deaf could attempt a break in

319 having a deaf teacher as a model of outspkenness at school; learned from this teacher that s/he was capable, had rights

320 being outspoken but being aware that this can make you vulnerable to retaliation; being cautious for this reason

321 being aware that you must win support from a broad base before selling your ideas; adopting a strategy of winning over one hearing person at a time to his viewpoint; winning their confidence

322 not being afraid to approach hearing people directly to see what they think about his ideas; not feeling threatened by hearing people

323 finding another deaf student was in one of his/her classes when s/he first entered the university/ relieved

324 at the university, not wanting special treatment because s/he was deaf; wanting to find out where s/he stood with hearing people

325 leaving the family gathering to explore, find things to read and look at

326 passing out alphabet cards at church in hopes of finding friends

327 cousin learning to fingerspell

328 running into a deaf friend and talking

329 looking through schoolbook while visiting mother's school, and finding that s/he can compete

330 finding children who were like him/her at the school

331 finding a deaf society where s/he was like others; truly exciting

332 having an exceptionally good deaf teacher at school who fostered his/her learning

333 not paying attention to hearing people who watch when he signs with a deaf friend

APPENDIX N

MASTER LIST, ACCEPTING

1 feeling that if s/he thought constantly about his/her deafness it could cause problems; trying not to think about it, set it aside; knew s/he was deaf, and simply accepted it and went on

2 there being no use in regrets; just going on from there

3 not feeling ashamed about doing things like arranging for interpreters; not expecting to catch up completely; believing s/he can catch up some

4 assuming his/her deafness was simply a fact, accepting it; it was established; developing an acceptance of it and going on; not getting upset about it

5 just accepting it, a long time ago; you can't beat deafness... can't open the ears up; "beating" the things s/he can beat, not the things s/he can't

6 knowing s/he can't change being deaf, having lost his/her hearing; living with what s/he can, but knowing s/he can't do anything about certain things

7 not completely accepting his/her deafness until s/he was twenty-five when s/he realized s/he was really deaf, had a permanent handicap, would never become hearing like hearing friends of his/hers

8 finally completely, maturely accepting his/her deafness after sharing with other deaf people, talking with his/her parents, exploring in depth

9 realizing s/he should have accepted his/her deafness-- by being open and sharing it maturely with others-- way back

10 after explaining to others about his/her deafness, having more confidence, maturity and true awareness; this making him/her feel more open, less emotional, good about him/herself

11 being completely different from a person who loses their hearing at age ten or twelve; that person is hurt, frustrated, asks why they had to be deaf; growing up deaf, so seeing nothing wrong with it; acknowledging that other people are hearing that s/he's different; thinking s/he's normal; not feeling sorry s/he's deaf; being happy

12 being completely used to being deaf, having been deaf for forty-two, forty-three years

13 not caring what people think about him/her being deaf, because s/he knows him/herself better than they do

14 not being bothered by being deaf, ever since s/he knew s/he was at age three

15 it not bothering him/her; it's a given; living with it

16 it being nothing, not able to be changed; it's there; being happy with it; no disappointment, no depression

17 accepting that s/he couldn't heal him/herself; the idea that s/he'd be able to hear again gradually fading, and knowing s/he was deaf; it gradually not bothering him/her

18 accepting it easily, after a deaf boy explained what "deaf" meant and beginning to understand

19 it being no big deal, nothing; not understanding why some deaf people are bitter about being deaf, unless they've been hearing before; accepting it; being happy as a deaf person

20 getting mad at God, asking "Why?"; trying to finesse the problem but not being satisfied; believing s/he was chosen to be deaf and must accept it; having good faith; hoping to be granted hearing some day

21 believing s/he wouldn't be the person s/he is today if s/he hadn't accepted it; feeling good about him/herself: has healthy children, is educated, has learned to assert his/her beliefs

22 accepting it while growing up, but feelings changing when s/he had children; wishing s/he could hear his/her children talking

23 it not bothering him/her when s/he was growing up; being aware of the things others could hear but not feeling s/he was missing anything; it didn't matter

24 preferring being deaf over being blind, because blindness limits mobility and deafness still allows you to see beautiful things

25 not becoming bitter or upset or blamed other people for his/her deafness; accepting deafness better than a lot of other deaf people, like people who had heard for some time before losing their hearing; some of them were bitter

26 being more independent now, in part because others depend on him/her; understanding about his/her deafness giving him/her pride, freedom; didn't care any more what people thought when they saw the deafness; no longer felt inferior

27. life becoming brighter, more positive; being proud of being deaf

28 some people not seeting the deafness and teasing him/her, saying s/he really is hearing; assuring them s/he is deaf, has a handicap, can't hear music

29 being attracted to things about hearing but knowing s/he can't pretend s/he's hearing

30 a <u>personal</u> understanding of his/her deafness coming late in life

31 believing if s/he doesn't accept his/her deafness, s/he can't expect other people to accept him/her as a deaf person; acceptance meaning s/he truly understands his/her deafness from his/her innermost feelings; self understanding

32 thanking God for being deaf and not mentally retarded or blind or crippled; it being better to be deaf; being like a hearing person except that s/he can't hear or speak; feeling normal

33 imagining if s/he were deaf and blind s/he'd just sit around; it wouldn't be worth it

34 wishing sometimes s/he were still hearing, but accepting being deaf; no need to be bitter because s/he has a family now

35 accepting being deaf; not thinking it's a terrible thing; feeling normal; it being better than being blind or crippled or not normal in some other way; being proud of being deaf

36 wishing s/he could hear sometimes, but not being bothered by it; being happy: good job, family

37 accepting the fact that his/her mother still attends more to his/her sister than to him/her

38 wishing s/he were hearing; could communicate with aunt who does family history research; could use the phone without asking a hearing person's help; preferring direct contact; knowing that some deaf people accept being deaf, but not him/her

39 feeling limited, handicapped by being deaf; accepting these limits and making adjustments: reading, hobbies; but still imagining what it would be like to take in things through hearing

40 deciding it wasn't worth the sacrifices s/he would have had to make to try another profession; recognizing and accepting his/her potential, and that s/he was deaf; accepting his/her limitations

41 deciding to stay where s/he was, not to "work double"

42 it not bothering him/her that deaf people miss a lot; shrugging it off

43 not having anger and resentment, or wishes that s/he were hearing; knowing that s/he happens to be deaf, and accepting it and the limits that go with it

44 not hoping for any magical cures; preferring to be deaf over being blind; being the same as a normal person because of the things you can see and do

45 after his/her first realization that s/he was deaf, thinking: "OK, so much for that!" and going on; knowing s/he was in the right world; being capable, withing that enclave

46 being deaf, knewing it, accepting it, feeling comfortable with deaf people; knowing that s/he's not inconsequential even though some hearing people think so

47 being looked upon as a normal person in terms of mind, background; there being no significant difference; feeling normal; it being no big deal

48 deciding not to spend the time and money to get another degree; being involved in leisure activities and in the deaf cause

APPENDIX O

MASTER LIST, GUIDING

1 encouraging his/her deaf friends to ignore people who mock deaf people

2 recommending that parents of small deaf children start communicating with them at age two or three, to prepare them for school; recognizing that when parents never learn to communicate with their deaf children it can cause problems

3 wishing hearing people to know that deaf people are capable, human, the same as hearing people at work; they just can't hear

4 becoming involved in deaf organizations out of interest and a desire to provide leadership

5 having mixed feelings about whether it's a good idea to speak out when s/he feels staff behavior toward the children is inappropriate

6 feeling the children should be given more opportunity to develop individual preferences and identity

7 wanting the school to foster che children's development into their own independent persons, rather than oppressing them

8 enjoying organizing things in the organizations, and seeing the changes, feeling s/he too can benefit

9 wanting hearing people to know that s/he wishes to be treated equally to them; that s/he's really the same, except that his/her hearing doesn't work

10 being an advocate, a defender of deaf people's rights

11 intervening to prevent a deaf person's being taken advantage of after witnessing a minor car accident

12 being proud of being deaf; getting involved in deaf awareness week, and other activities

13 sharing with his/her [sign language] students about him/herself as a deaf person, demonstrating that deaf people can succeed despite limits

14 providing guidance and support to other deaf people about understanding one's deafness

15 certain deaf people seeing that s/he had potential to be more than "just a teacher," that deaf people needed him/her; realizing s/he was contributing by teaching

16 feeling an obligation to help other deaf people; being looked up to by other deaf people as a leader

17 being the leader of a group in high school that had a vendetta against hearing people

18 being captain of sports teams at Gallaudet and providing moral support and guidance to the teams when they had tense encounters with hearing teams

19 building up coworkers' confidence in him/her in order to advocate change in school policies, for the eventual benefit of the deaf children

20 taking the lead in managing a troublesome situation among the deaf students at the school; acting as a model for the hearing teachers in doing so

21 helping a deaf friend figure out a phone bill; involved contacting the phone company

22 helping a deaf friend figure out the ins and outs of health insurance

23 being sure s/he would work with deaf people if s/he were magically to become hearing

24 teaching his/her husband (who was trained in oralism) to sign, and encouraging him/her to communicate with deaf people

25 hoping to see the school abolish the existing communication policy, and adopt a bilingual one, using ASL to convey ideas and ensure understanding, and learning to write English also

26 believing not only in rules and limits, but in the children knowing themselves and what they want

27 giving talks: "Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Deafness but were Afraid to Ask"

28 thinking about writing a book about his/her experiences

29 other students depending on him/her in school for vocabulary and spelling

30 acting as an advocate for the deaf children where s/he works when s/he feels staff is handling them inappropriately

31 knowing s/he would take whatever measures necessary to emphasize the teaching of communication if s/he were to have a deaf child

32 believing that mainstreaming deaf children is not a good policy for most deaf children; most schools don't have proper resources, and the child is more likely to be isolated

APPENDIX P

LETTER REQUESTING CO-RESEARCHER PERMISSION

TO USE EXCERPTS

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE



College of
Liberal Arts

Department of
Psychology

I am writing about the dissertation in which you played a part about a year and a half ago, by participating in an interview about what it's like for you to be deaf. Back then I told you that I might want to use small parts or excerpts of your interview in the written dissertation. I told you I would let you see the parts I wanted to use before I included them. That way, if you do not feel comfortable, you can contact me and ask me not to put them in. The parts of your interview that I would like to use are enclosed with this letter. Please read them and decide if it's alright for me to include them. If you do not want me to include them, please return the card that is enclosed, in the envelope that is also enclosed. If some of the excerpts are OK but others are not, please return the sheet of excerpts and make the changes you want. (For example, by changing a word, or crossing out the parts you don't want me to include.)

Let me remind you that your name will not be used. No one will know that you participated in the study, or that the excerpt is from your interview.

If I do not hear from you by December 8, 1987, I will assume it is OK for me to use the excerpts in the dissertation.

I am very grateful to you for participating. You are making a very special contribution to helping people understand deaf people's lives. Thank you again.

Sincerely,

Laurel Goodrich
530 Scenic Drive
Knoxville, Tennessee 37919

673-0365 voice or TDD

307 Austin Peay Building Knoxville, Tennessee 37996-0900 (615) 974-2531

VITA

Laurel Beth Goodrich was born on March 29, 1952 in St. Louis, Missouri. She attended elementary school there and in the cities of Lancaster, Mountain View and Palo Alto in California. She graduated from Palo Alto High School in June, 1970. She did undergraduate work at the University of California in Berkeley, Foothill College in Los Altos, California, Gallaudet College in Washington, D.C. and Oberlin College in Oberlin, Ohio. She received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Communication Studies from Oberlin in December, 1976.

After working for several years as a sign language interpreter and as a trainer of interpreters in Denver, Colorado, she entered the doctoral program in Psychology at the University of Tennessee in Knoxville in September, 1981. She was awarded the Doctor of Philosophy degree in March, 1988, after an internship at the Indiana University School of Medicine Psychology Training Consortium in Indianapolis.