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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

A CASE STUDY OF THE CULTURAL AND SOCIAL DYNAMICS OF AN INDIVIDUAL'S STATUS AS NATIVE INDIAN AND DEAF

by

MICHELLE ANGELA SASVARI

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF EDUCATION

in

SPECIAL EDUCATION -- DEAFNESS STUDIES

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL 1995

ISBN 0-612-06417-4

Canada

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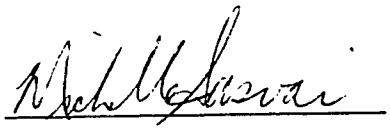

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled A CASE STUDY OF THE CULTURAL AND SOCIAL DYNAMICS OF AN INDIVIDUAL'S STATUS AS NATIVE INDIAN AND DEAF submitted by MICHELLE ANGELA SASVARI in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF EDUCATION in SPECIAL EDUCATION -- DEAFNESS STUDIES.

Dr. M. Rodda

Dr. L. Wilgosh

Dr. J. Young

Dr. C. Cumming

Date: 25th. August 1995

DEDICATION

This research is dedicated

to the Native Deaf

and to all

who

strive to

uphold their culture.

ABSTRACT

This research study explores the social and cultural elements of interactions of a person who is Native Indian and Deaf. It examines how her status as Native influences her perceptions and values as a Deaf person, and how being Deaf affects her Native perspective and way of life. A descriptive synthesis of analyzed interviews, observations, and artwork reveals the intricate nature of culture, self-concept, and identity. It is concluded that the social and cultural dynamics of the participant's status as Native Indian and Deaf influence her interactions. A new model of identity and suggestions for future research are presented as well as recommendations made by the participants of this research study.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to express thanks to:

My research participants -- This study is a shared accomplishment and I thank you for opening up your lives and sharing your stories with me.

The interpreter for excellent work and willingness to be involved in this research.

WCCSD (Western Canadian Centre for Studies in Deafness, University of Alberta) and the community agencies involved in this research project for providing an interpreter and administrative support.

My supervisor, Dr. M. Rodda -- Thank you for your encouragement, your suggestions, and your willingness to listen.

Committee members Dr. L. Wilgosh, Dr. J. Young, and Dr. C. Cumming -- Your challenging insights and recommendations are much appreciated.

Those I consulted as experts in their field of study. I am grateful that you shared your time and expertise.

My professors who have shaped my education in graduate studies.

Classmates -- Your support and encouragement are truly appreciated. Thank you!

Others in the academe for providing chit-chats, editorial suggestions, cachinnations and insights into life-stuff.

WCCSD people -- I appreciate your sense of humor above all else.

My roommate for being so easygoing and supportive when I was going bonkers.

My friends for your belief in me. Special thanks to those conveniently placed across the street in Neuroscience. I hold you in high regard for your willingness to take breaks and share your chocolate chip cookies. Merci à tous!

My family for, well, just about everything -- your enthusiasm, support, and way of life.

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CHAPTER I

The Deaf community is an ethnic community in that it has its own culture in which sign language is of utmost significance as are certain values, traditions, and beliefs (Padden & Humphries, 1988; Paul & Jackson, 1993). In the years since the Deaf have achieved recognition of being an ethnic minority, there has been literature indicating that greater cultural sensitivity is required toward deaf individuals who belong to an additional ethnic minority (Paul & Jackson). These individuals encounter social and political challenges or implications of being deaf and of belonging to an ethnic minority (Humphries, 1993). Oppression and discrimination are prevalent although the values of one culture are not more correct than those of any other culture (Hammond & Hagar-Meiners, 1993; Humphries).

A comparison of Native and Deaf culture indicates that similarities and differences exist between the cultures and it is possible to infer that there may be points of cultural conflict for a person who is Native Indian and Deaf (Eldredge, 1993; Hammond & Hagar-Meiners, 1993; Heavyrunner, 1992). For example, direct eye contact is important in Deaf culture whereas it may be seen as a sign of disrespect in Native culture.[1] Deaf people also use touch much more than Indian people. Even a firm handshake may be seen as disrespectful in Native Indian culture (Eldredge). Being able to incorporate Indian, Deaf, and North American culture and deal with each culture's conflicting value systems is an important survival strategy (Eldredge).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research is to describe and interpret social and cultural aspects of interactions of a Native Indian female, given the pseudonym *Julia*, who is culturally Deaf. It is a study of how Julia's status as Native Indian influences her perceptions and values as a Deaf person, and it is a study to learn about her cultures and how culture is a part of her life.

Rationale for the Study

Recent cultural insights have lead to new dimensions in many fields, including deafness studies. There are definite gaps in the literature due to pre-existing misconceptions regarding deafness and the value of cross-cultural studies. Evidently, there is a need for studies involving cultural awareness; this is in agreement with the current trend toward multicultural acceptance. This research study contributes to an area of deafness studies that

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[1] In Native culture, eye aversion depends on the context and nature of the relationship between people.

is evolving; it is a significant addition to the limited number of studies previously conducted in the area of ethnic minorities, specifically Native Indian and Deaf.

Definitions

The following terms are integral to this research study and are defined as follows for the purpose of the study.

Social dynamics: The interactions of people (which are influenced by attitudes of the individuals).

deaf (with lower case "d")/profound hearing loss: An audiological term applied to individuals who demonstrate a pure-tone average of 90 decibels or greater on an audiometric pure-tone test.

Deaf (with capital "D"): A sociological term applied to individuals who identify with and use the sign language of the Deaf community and partake in and uphold the values and traditions of the culture.

Native or Native Indian: Individuals born in North America and of Native Indian descent.

Multicultural: Belonging to more than one cultural group. Usually involves acceptance of and by the cultural groups.

Native Indian Status: Status of Native people who have Treaty Rights.

Non-status Indian: A Native Indian who does not have Treaty Rights.

Significance of the Study

Adequate studies involving deaf Native Indians are rare and only a few studies are available concerning any deaf ethnic minority group (Eldredge, 1993). Only eight non-medically based publications involving Natives with hearing loss are known to exist. The first was a 1971 demographic survey, the second was a 1975 exploratory study of vocational rehabilitation, and the last six have various focuses involving Native and Deaf culture and were published in the 1990s.

This research is the only known documented study of the dual cultural identity of a Native Deaf person in Canada. It is significant especially when considering the lack of related studies and the high incidence of hearing loss that exists in Native Indian populations (Johnson, 1991; O'Connell & Johnson, 1988).[2] Insights gained from this study will contribute not only to an area that is of growing interest in the field of deafness studies, that is the interplay of cross-cultural aspects and hearing loss, but will be a

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[2] Most of the literature involving hearing loss and indigenous populations refers to otitis media which is typically associated with mild to moderately severe hearing loss.

significant contribution to and recognition of cultural awareness of Native Indians and respect thereof.

Limitations

Three main limitations exist in this study.

1. Including only people who are of Native Indian status. The primary reason for choosing this status was to narrow the focus of the study. Studies involving Métis and non-status Indians with hearing loss would undoubtedly be enlightening, but were beyond the scope of this research.
2. Timing and distance influenced the number of participants willing to be interviewed to share their experiences, perceptions, and beliefs with the researcher.
3. Greater knowledge of pragmatic nuances and cultural dimensions of Natives and the Deaf would have provided more in-depth interpretations by the researcher.

Overview

The purpose of this chapter has been to provide an introduction to the research study. Chapter II presents a review of the literature relevant to the study and concludes with a statement of the research questions. Chapter III provides an overview of the methodology used in this study. In Chapter IV, the results of the data analysis are presented. Chapter V contains a discussion of the results and research questions; suggestions made by participants to several groups of people; and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

There is a lack of information concerning deafness and North American indigenous people. A synopsis of the available literature is presented, followed by an in-depth discussion of culture relative to Native Deaf people.

The first study was White and Nickoloff's 1971 survey to determine the incidence of hearing loss among Natives residing in the Bell Gardens-Cudahay area of Los Angeles (cited in Nickoloff, 1975). Only seven of 1000 Natives in the area were found to have a hearing loss; as a result, the researchers were unable to make meaningful projections (1975). It is not possible from the information available to decide why their incidence finding was so low. Later studies show much higher rates (Johnson, 1991; O'Connell & Johnson, 1988).

In 1975, Nickoloff examined educational, vocational, psychological, and medical variables among Natives with hearing loss who were clients of a vocational rehabilitation program (1975). From client records, Nickoloff determined that factors affecting successful rehabilitation were (a) rate of referral and evaluation, (b) etiology of hearing loss, (c) level of education, and (d) income.

An exploratory study using interviews, artwork, and accompanying narratives to determine acculturation patterns of a Deaf Navajo Indian was conducted by Geiser in 1991. The conclusion made from this study was that the participant had a stronger affiliation with Navajo culture than Deaf culture (Geiser, 1991).

Eldredge and Carrigan (1992) examined the transition from residential school to independent living of four deaf American Indians. The purpose of the study was to assess transition readiness and to examine the participants' view of self relative to society. Through participants' artwork and oral narratives, themes of power and strength, fear, need for protection, neglect, and hunger were found by the researchers. The artwork also revealed that Native identity was stronger than Deaf identity for these individuals.

A 1992 article by Eldredge and Hammond profiled the lives of two deaf Navajo Indians, one who lived on a reservation, the other in an urban centre. These two very different people shared an ability to take elements of Native and Deaf culture and blend them comfortably into their lives. Different circumstances and challenges were encountered, yet each individual had developed a strong Native identity and both were happy with their lives (Eldredge & Hammond, 1992).

Heavyrunner (1992) identified similarities of Deaf and Native cultures that should be considered when providing treatment for substance abuse to Natives who are Deaf. These similarities are: (a) language is a primary focus of both cultures and awareness of language barriers or other language issues should be addressed; (b) in each community, most people know one another and confidentiality may be an issue; (c) both cultures have a history of oppression; (d) both Native and Deaf cultures have a strong visual orientation; and (e) self determination, cultural pride, and strengthening culture are goals of both groups.

A 1993 paper by Eldredge presents cross-cultural differences of Natives, Deaf people, and the hearing Anglo-American society. The intention of the article is to provide a guide to help counsellors develop cultural sensitivity; it is not meant to generalize cultural attributes to all Indians. Areas of discussion are schooling, work, touching and eye contact, introductions, revealing personal information, and time. Three case summaries of deaf American Indians are also included as are recommendations for offering culturally affirmative counselling to Native Deaf clients. According to Eldredge, Native Deaf people's survival may require them to become multicultural to some extent (Eldredge, 1993).

Hammond and Hagar-Meiners' 1993 chapter, titled American Indian Deaf Children and Youth, discusses the following aspects relative to Natives and deafness: demographics, language, socioeconomics, health concerns, education, cultural traditions, North American and Native cultural value differences, assessment, and recommendations for professionals. Hammond and Hagar-Meiners conclude that increased cultural sensitivity is required by those who work with the Native Deaf (Hammond & Hagar-Meiners, 1993).

Culture

Culture is a way of living, a way of looking at the world (Ladd, 1989). It is the social and moral codes of the society one lives in that largely determine how one behaves and how a particular behavior is regarded (Ladd). A comprehensive view of culture is offered by Porter and Samovar (1976):

> ... culture refers to the cumulative deposit of knowledge, experience, meanings, beliefs, values, attitudes, religions, concepts of self, the universe, and self-universe relationships, hierarchies of status, role expectations, spatial relations, and time concepts acquired by a large group of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving. Culture manifests itself both in patterns of language and thought and in forms of activity and behavior. These patterns become models for common adaptive acts and styles of expressive behavior,

> which enable people to live within a given geographical environment at a given state of technical development (cited in Dillard, 1983, pp. 9-10).

Building on the above perspective of culture, it is possible to state that the knowledge and experience accumulated by individuals is influenced by where they live and by the era in which they live. Although many people reside in the same region as their ancestors, it is not unusual for people to move to different geographical areas. A change in geographical area often necessitates change in ways of doing things -- adapting culture. Time and change are also interdependent; philosophical, technological, and environmental changes (among others) occur as time progresses. Whether one moves or not, there is change. Hence, culture is dynamic and evolves as history transcends itself.

The process by which individuals internalize culture and learn how to become members of their society is called socialization (Meadow-Orlans, 1987; Meisegeier, 1975). Regardless of the particular culture or society, the process is essentially the same (Meisegeier). Through life-long incidental and formal learning, we discover the world and learn how to interpret our experiences (Becker, 1987; Meadow-Orlans). Although people belonging to the same cultural group may share common social elements, each person has a unique socialization. Socialization is an experience-based process (Humphries, 1993). In other words, people are products of their experiences; experiences determine one's social orientation and identity (Humphries). In the following sections, elements of Deaf and Native cultural communities are presented singly and then comparatively.

The Deaf Community and Culture

The Deaf community is comprised of individuals who are culturally Deaf. Culturally Deaf people share certain values and behaviors such as the use of ASL and the belief that deafness is not something to be fixed. In the following passage, Becker (1963) describes the origin of subcultures. The term "deviant" is interpreted as "different from the dominant society"; it does not have a negative connotation.

> From a sense of common fate, from having to face the same problems, grows a deviant subculture: a set of perspectives and understandings about what the world is like and how to deal with it, and a set of routine activities based on those perspectives. Membership in such a group solidifies a deviant identity (cited in Higgins, 1980, p. 37).

Becker's explanation of the development of subcultures can be applied to the Deaf community. Deaf people: (a) are often subject to oppression, discrimination, and alienation (Cohen, 1993); (b) share common problems, experiences, and understandings of how the

world works (Fischgrund & Akamatsu, 1993; Higgins, 1987); (c) do not see themselves as having a disability or as being deficient, but rather receive information about the world in different ways (Humphries, 1993; Padden & Humphries, 1988); (d) learn how to deal with and function in a hearing world from one another (Humphries; Preston, 1994); and (e) develop a Deaf identity from membership in this shared community (Higgins, 1980).

The development of the Deaf community is, in part, the result of unsatisfactory experiences in a hearing world (Higgins, 1980). Many Deaf people feel that their lives are enhanced by a Deaf community in which they can have a thriving social and cultural life (Humphries, 1993). It is not unusual to hear about stories of isolation in the hearing world and a need to seek out other deaf people (Humphries; Padden & Humphries, 1988). In fact, deaf people often feel more comfortable with other deaf people; they experience a sense of belonging and ease of communication (Higgins). Deaf peer groups offer the social and emotional support that is needed as life is experienced and it is not unusual for friendships among the deaf to span the life cycle (Becker, 1980; Higgins).

From deaf people's common bond and their shared community, social rituals have developed (Becker, 1980). Deaf people create Deaf sports clubs, Deaf theater, and Deaf religious organizations to satisfy political, economical, social, and emotional needs (Andersson, 1975). Language and culture are passed on from one generation to the next through such institutions (Andersson; Humphries, 1993; Padden & Humphries, 1988). The transmission of culture is different from other ethnic communities in that most deaf people are socialized into the Deaf community as adults (Higgins, 1980). Individuals who are likely to be socialized into the Deaf community from infancy are deaf children born to Deaf parents; however, this is not a typical experience because approximately 90 percent of deaf people have hearing parents (Moores, 1987; Padden & Humphries; Preston, 1994).

Most Deaf people vary greatly from one another in terms of personal experiences, for example, etiology of deafness, schooling, and homelife. Identifying oneself as Deaf is often the one common element among Deaf people (Fischgrund & Akamatsu, 1993). This identity is part of what makes them members of the Deaf community (Becker, 1980; Preston, 1994). Other factors associated with membership in the Deaf community are shared experience, attitudes toward deafness, socializing with other Deaf people, participation in Deaf functions, and the acceptance of Deaf sign language although some culturally Deaf people are not fluent signers (Higgins, 1987; Padden & Humphries, 1988; Paul & Jackson, 1993; Preston).

There tends to be a bond among Deaf people; however, differences are not totally overlooked in the Deaf community (Erting, 1989). The Deaf community, not unlike other

ethnic communities, establishes cultural and social boundaries in which acceptable and unacceptable behavior is implicit (Christiansen, 1991). Those who either demonstrate deviant behavior or do not uphold or meet the standard of Deaf culture are rejected from the community (Christiansen; Cumming & Rodda, 1988; Doe, 1989). Deaf people who have identifying characteristics other than deafness are often placed in a multiple minority category (Doe). This may include disability, race, and sexual orientation (Cohen, 1993; Doe). "Deaf culture" and the "Deaf community" are terms that are commonly used, but what is usually referred to is actually white Deaf culture and white able-bodied heterosexuals (Doe; Fischgrund & Akamatsu, 1993).

Native Culture

There is great diversity in beliefs, traditions, and language among the Native population, yet similarities exist (Bert & Bert, 1992; Dillard, 1983; Hammond & Hagar-Meiners, 1993). Natives firstly identify with their clan, then with their tribe, and then as Indian people (Bert & Bert). For most Native people, cultural activities are extremely important because they are a means of expression of traditional values that embody the mind, body, and spirit (Premier's Council, 1993). Native people transmit many of their beliefs, traditions, and norms of social behavior through dance, storytelling, visual symbols, poems, and chants (Eldredge & Carrigan, 1992). Tribes share certain rites such as going to sweatlodges, smoking the pipe, singing, and dancing; they also have some common religious symbols such as earth, water, fire, stone, and sky (Bert & Bert). From an Indian perspective, culture, religion, and person are the same entity and cannot be separated into individual components (Bert & Bert).

Some shared beliefs among Natives are as follows.

1. Indian people believe in a Supreme Creator, a universe that is harmonious (balanced), and that a sacred life is present in everything (Bert & Bert, 1992; Clay, 1992).
2. Animal, plants, and humans are integral to the spirit world; the physical world and the spirit world exist together (Clay).
3. Mankind is part of nature and not superior to it (Bert & Bert).
4. The spirit exists before being within a physical body and it will exist after death (Clay).
5. Humans are of mind, body, and spirit; wellness is harmony of these elements and unwellness is disharmony of them (Clay).
6. Illness not only affects the body, but also the spirit and mind (Clay).

7. Violation of sacred taboos cause natural unwellness; witchcraft is the cause of unnatural unwellness (Clay).[3]
8. Each human being is responsible for his/her wellness (Clay).

Having a mental or physical disability does not mean that a person is unwell or in disharmony (Clay, 1992). Harmony is "an attitude toward life and relationships with others"; it is one's response to events that creates harmony or disharmony (Clay, p. 42). Being able to relate to oneself and the environment necessitates being in a state of wellness or harmony (Clay).

Native Perspective on Disability

Many Native Indian tribes do not view physical conditions, such as hearing loss, as a disability if the person can fulfill a role in the community. In fact, deaf people are revered if their other senses are enhanced in traditional Indian communities (Eldredge & Carrigan, 1992; Heavyrunner, 1992). Deaf Native Indians, however, are sometimes ostracized from their communities and may not be permitted to fully participate in community activities if the hearing loss is perceived as a disability (Eldredge, 1993; Eldredge & Hammond, 1992).

Native Deaf: Special Issues

The proceeding issues are relative to education, family, and life after school for Natives who are deaf.

Education

It is not unusual for Native deaf children to be isolated from their families, the Native community, and their culture (Eldredge & Carrigan, 1992). Deaf Native children are typically removed from their homes to attend special programs where they are unlikely to have exposure to Native culture and language (Doe, 1989). Many Native deaf people have been schooled in residential, segregated, or mainstreamed programs, but most Native deaf children are sent to residential schools for the deaf (Eldredge & Carrigan; Hammond & Hagar-Meiners, 1993). There they may learn about and associate with Deaf culture and have the opportunity to socialize with other deaf people (Eldredge, 1993).

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[3] Sacred taboos are conventions based on the belief that people and the environment exist in an ordered, but fluid relationship. To maintain balance (wellness), regard and respect for this compassionate connection is necessary. The following are examples of violations of sacred taboos: attempting to pay a medicine man and demanding that something be done; failure to thank a wheat shaft before disrooting and chewing on it; and telling a dirty joke to your mother-in-law (C. Urion, personal communication, July 17, 1995).

Family

Many Native families of deaf children neither attend classes or workshops related to deafness nor do they learn sign language (Eldredge & Carrigan, 1992). Although some families use Indian sign language or a home sign language, communication and opportunities for developing communicative competence in a shared language may be limited for the Native deaf and their families (Eldredge, 1993; Eldredge & Carrigan). As a result, the traditions and history of their people may not be known to Native deaf people (Eldredge & Carrigan). Also, accessibility to cultural activities and services within Native communities are often limited for those with disabilities (Premier's Council, 1993). Nonetheless, deaf Native people do participate in cultural events (Eldredge; Eldredge & Hammond, 1992).

Adulthood

The transition period that occurs when one leaves school is wrought with difficult choices (Eldredge & Hammond, 1992). It is a time when Native Deaf youth decide where they want to live and with whom they will primarily associate (Eldredge & Hammond; Hammond & Hagar-Meiners, 1993). The choice is not only of people and ease of communication, but also of rural and urban lifestyles (Eldredge & Hammond).

Cultural Comparison: Native, Deaf, and Dominant Society

In the following paragraphs, cultural aspects of the Deaf, the dominant North American society, and the Native Indian are presented comparatively so as to identify differences and potential conflicts between them.

Segregation

It is not uncommon for both deaf and Native children to receive schooling in a segregated environment (Eldredge, 1993; Hammand & Hagar-Meiners, 1993). Often the school may not be located in the same city or town as the child's family and thus, ethnic identity may become obscured (Doe, 1989; Eldredge). Deaf children attending a residential school for the deaf will, however, have an opportunity to learn about and participate in Deaf culture (Eldredge; Hammand & Hagar-Meiners).

Time

Both Indian and Deaf cultures tend to emphasize the present over the future whereas dominant North American society is time conscious and future oriented (Bert & Bert, 1992;

Dillard, 1983; Eldredge, 1993; Hammand & Hagar-Meiners, 1993). In Native culture, one uses time and is not controlled by it (Eldredge). In the Deaf community, functions are typified by people arriving on time, but socializing for a while before actually starting the function. This is likely due to infrequent opportunities to converse freely and easily with others (Eldredge).

Group Identity

Indian and Deaf communities are more group oriented than is the dominant hearing North American community (Eldredge, 1993; Hammand & Hagar-Meiners, 1993). Extended family, kinship or adopted kinship, is a valued social organization in Native culture and decisions of importance are typically discussed with extended family members (Dillard, 1983; Hammond & Hagar-Meiners). Emphasis is placed on cooperation in Native communities, and the sharing of duties as well as possessions is encouraged within and among families (Dillard). Deaf people possess great loyalty towards the Deaf community and readily help other members whenever possible (Eldredge; Preston, 1994). The Deaf have much pride in individual achievement and there is a sense of pride within the group when individuals have personal success (Eldredge).

Introductions

Hearing North Americans may seem rude and distant to Deaf and Native people because of their manner and the limited information they offer when meeting new people (Eldredge, 1993). Deaf people usually state their full name, where they are from, and where they went to school. Native Indians identify themselves by presenting their family roots (Eldredge).

Personal Information

Deaf people are very direct in their discussions and will discuss almost anything openly in public, for example, weight gain, salaries, and marital problems (Eldredge, 1993). In contrast, Indian culture may view the disclosure of personal information, especially to outsiders, as a violation of tribal customs (Eldredge).

Touching and Eye Contact

In the Deaf community, using touch to get someone's attention is common as are hugs among friends (Eldredge, 1993). In Native culture, the use of touch is not as common (Eldredge). Eye contact is important for Deaf people and avoidance of eye contact may be

considered rude; for Native people, the avoidance of eye contact may be seen as a sign of respect (Bert & Bert, 1992; Eldredge).

Work

Work is a means of meeting the goals of the group in Indian culture (Eldredge, 1993). If one's role changes within the group, it is possible that the individual will not show up at work without notifying anyone of the new situation (Eldredge). Work may be less satisfying for deaf people than hearing people because of interactions with hearing workmates that are often characterized by labored communication and misunderstanding (Eldredge).

Schooling

Dominant society typically views success in terms of education; schooling is a way in which social norms and history are presented (Eldredge, 1993). Both Deaf and Indian cultures value learning informally through stories and legends that are passed from one generation to another (Eldredge; Eldredge & Carrigan, 1992; Padden & Humphries, 1988).

Multiculturalism and Cultural Disparity

Deaf people spend much of their lives interacting with people who belong to the majority culture and are usually bicultural to some degree; those who are Deaf and belong to an additional ethnic minority are often multicultural (Humphries, 1993). Growing up in a majority culture results in having many of the same perceptions, beliefs, and ways of doing things as that culture (Humphries). Dominant culture is reflected in Deaf cultural communities around the world. For example, Deaf Quebecois people often greet one another with a kiss on both cheeks; in Japan, the signed greeting represents two people bowing (K. Iimura, personal communication, November 1993).

The ability to incorporate Indian, Deaf, and North American culture may be an important survival strategy for the Native Deaf (Eldredge, 1993). There is a risk of deaf Native Indians not attaining membership in any culture and thereby being subject to the condition of marginality (Cumming & Rodda, 1988; Doe, 1989; Eldredge & Carrigan, 1992; Eldredge & Hammond, 1992; Glickman, 1986). Marginality develops when an individual does not adjust satisfactorily in any social group and "bounces" around from one group to another or isolates him/herself (Cumming & Rodda; Glickman).

Summary

Inferences that may be drawn from the existing literature are: (1) Deaf Native Indians' life experiences involve a perspective that is likely multicultural. That is, each culture - Native, Deaf, societal majority - influences an individual's perceptions and values as a Deaf person, as a Native person, and as a member of society. (2) Deaf Natives may experience cultural stress, social dissonance, and isolation due to nonacceptance by others or an inability to deal with conflicting cultural value systems. There is a risk of marginality.

Research Questions Derived from the Literature

Research questions form "the agenda" for the research and circumscribe the methodology. They represent aspects to be explored and provide direction for the study; they are not to be regarded as restrictive (Fraenkel & Wallen, 1993; Huberman & Miles, 1994). The nature of qualitative research is such that hypotheses emerge with the progression of the study and that few, if any, are stated at the commencement (Fraenkel & Wallen). These questions were not used for interviewing, rather they served as a guide for developing interview questions. The research questions considered in this study are:

1. To what extent do cultural and social dynamics of Julia's status as Deaf influence her interactions?
2. To what degree do cultural and social dynamics associated with Native Indian status influence Julia's interactions?
3. Does cultural overlap exist in Julia's interactions in society?
4. Has Julia experienced marginality? If so, what are/were the implications?
5. Is Julia's typical behavior and manner of interacting with others seen as maladjustment by members of the dominant society?
6. Is Julia easily manipulated or exploited by people in society due to her status as Deaf or Native Indian?
7. How and to what extent does each culture exist in Julia's life?
8. Does Julia have a stronger Deaf or Native identity?
9. What coping mechanisms does Julia use when confronting cultural conflict?
10. To what extent do cultural and social dynamics of Julia's status as Deaf influence her perceptions and values as a Native Indian?
11. To what degree do cultural and social dynamics associated with Native Indian status influence Julia's perceptions and values as a Deaf person?

CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGY

Research Design

The goal of qualitative research is to provide knowledge through descriptive accounts of human behavior and experiences (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). A qualitative case study was used for this research. This allowed the researcher to conduct an in-depth exploration of selected issues and provide detailed information about the case (Patton, 1990). Such an approach enhances understanding of the case and issues pertinent to it, but reduces generalizability (Patton).

Participants

All names in this study have been changed to protect the identities of the participants. The study focuses on the primary participant, Julia, who is in her early 20's. She is of Native Indian status (Plains Indian) and is Deaf. Julia presently resides in a large municipality in Western Canada.

The other participant in this study is Julia's foster mother, Anne. Julia feels that Anne is a significant person in her life whose participation in this study gives further understanding of Julia's cultural identity.

The primary participant of this study was located through community agencies who were fully informed as to the nature and purpose of the research and who had agreed to participate in this way. These community agencies are bound by their own ethical guidelines and would not, of course, violate them by breaking confidentiality or in any other way.

Although Julia is the only Native Deaf person who was interviewed, there were originally five potential participants in this study. Communication with potential participants was made either in person, by TTY, or through individuals associated with the community agencies. Not all potential participants had telephones or TTYs and thus, contacting people was sometimes challenging.

Five individuals were contacted and meetings were set up with four of them to explain the research study in detail. The individual with whom no meeting was scheduled did express interest in the study, but was unable to be located after that initial contact. Three of the potential participants did not show up for their meetings which were to coincide with other business they had in the city. It is important to note that in Native culture any present event takes precedence over a scheduled future event and that broken appointments are not

a sign of disrespect or inappreciation (Hammond & Hagar-Meiners, 1993). Attempts to contact one of the individuals was unsuccessful; time and distance were factors hindering the rescheduling of meetings with the other two individuals. The primary participant of this study was contacted by TTY and an informal meeting occurred at a Deaf social event. Further TTY communications were made and an interview was set up.

Having only one case (i.e., one Native Deaf person) has confined or limited the research, but has also allowed for a more in-depth study. This case is not representative of all Native Deaf people although there may be commonalties. The purpose of this study is to provide a description of socio-cultural aspects of one individual, nonetheless, Julia's experiences and those of her family do have some generality of concepts and principles to the Native Deaf population.

Data Collection

Data collection in qualitative research is an ongoing process in which observation, interviews, and document examination are commonly used (Adler & Adler, 1994; Fontana & Frey, 1994; Fraenkel & Wallen, 1993; Huberman & Miles, 1994). Procedures of data collection for this study consisted of (a) observation, (b) audio taped interviews, and (c) documents -- artwork.

Interviews are a rich source of information and perhaps the most important technique of data collection in qualitative research (Fontana & Frey, 1994; Fraenkel & Wallen, 1993; Yin, 1984). Impressions acquired through observation can be verified through interviews. Also, it is possible to find out what people think and feel when engaged in the interview process (Fontana & Frey; Fraenkel & Wallen). For this research study, audio taping was used with the consent of the interviewees. Interviews were conducted over a period of four months; a combination of informal (the interview dialogue determines the questions and flow of information) and semi-structured (questions are designed to obtain certain information) interview methods were used (see Appendices A, B for sample questions).

Three two-hour audio taped interviews were conducted with Julia. Anne, the foster mother, was present for the second and third interview. It is possible that Anne's presence affected the nature of the answers given by Julia in the latter interviews, but in the opinion of the author, this was not a significant factor. All interviews were held at the foster mother's home although Julia no longer resides there. This was a suitable location that was comfortable for all; location was important because social interactions are influenced by the context in which they occur (Fontana & Frey, 1994).

The first interview yielded information about Julia's life history and present situation. The second interview involved an in-depth discussion of Julia's life experiences and her feelings about them; this interview focused on Julia although Anne was welcome to and did provide information or comments. Some examples of Anne's comments are as follows: Julia was discussing frustrating communication experiences when Anne shared her comments about lipreading (see chapter IV, subtheme *Ease of Communication*); when Julia was talking about Deaf schools, Anne commented that Julia repeatedly told her that the bus was filled with Deaf people and that Julia was just amazed to see so many Deaf people in one spot; and sometimes Anne asked Julia questions such as, "Do you remember so-and-so? Did he/she live with a foster family?" The third interview was primarily for verifying information and provided both Julia and Anne with an opportunity to respond to initial interpretations of the data and anticipated themes. These interviews were facilitated through the use of a certified sign language interpreter; the same interpreter was used for all interviews. Certified interpreters follow a code of ethics which precludes discussion of information regarding clients. The selection of an interpreter was a joint decision made by Julia and the researcher.

There were two occasions that meetings occurred without a certified interpreter, the first one being at Julia's family home on the reservation. During this visit, Julia presented some of her artwork and a second tentative interview was established. Julia's sister acted as an interpreter when necessary. The second time without an interpreter was when I shared information from Anne's interview with Julia after the second interview.[4] Information was presented in sign language, however, it was undoubtedly not as in-depth as it would have been if an interpreter had been present. Communication was fairly clear nonetheless as this information was not foreign to Julia. In retrospect, this one-on-one communication was beneficial in strengthening rapport with Julia; it was a more personal level of communication than going through an interpreter.

Two one-hour interviews were requested with Anne, the foster mother. Amenable to both parties, the first interview progressed into a two-hour interview and was conducted in English; a second interview was incorporated into the second and third interviews with Julia, the primary participant.

The nature and purpose of the research, as well as the right to withdraw from the study at any time, were explained to participants in writing and in American Sign Language (ASL) with Julia, spoken English with Anne (see Appendices C, D). *During the third interview, limitations as to what information could not be used was discussed and*

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[4] Anne thought that it was important for Julia to be aware of the content of her interview.

respected by the researcher.[5] The following sentence was added to the written consent form before the second interview and a second signature was obtained: Permission granted to use information for any resulting publications (see Appendix E). The addition was made because it was agreed by all parties that information and greater awareness of multicultural issues is needed and that any publication relative to this study could be a significant contribution in this regard. Written permission was also obtained from Julia to interview her foster mother (see Appendix F).

Data Analysis

Inductive analysis of the data involved synthesizing obtained information and presenting it as clearly and thoroughly as possible as is the nature of data analysis in qualitative research (Fraenkel & Wallen, 1993). In qualitative research, analysis is an ongoing process (Patton, 1990). Analyses conducted throughout the research were recorded as field notes which were further analyzed once all data had been collected. This procedure is included in the following description of the analysis process.

Interviews were transcribed and broken down into meaningful units which were then analyzed for possible themes. This process involved coding each meaningful unit of the transcripts, for example, classmates in elementary school, Native home, and bicycling.[6] Most meaningful units were also given a code that reflected whether the researcher perceived the unit to be either a positive or negative experience for Julia. Field notes of observations, interactions, artwork, and reflections were also coded and cross-referenced with the interview data to check for consistencies and discrepancies. All data was then analyzed to determine any existing patterns or themes. The themes that emerged were written on colored paper -- one theme per paper and each paper was a different color. Each meaningful unit was then given one or more color codes that reflected the emergent themes. The dominant theme for a meaningful unit was selected and marked by an "x" on the color code. Themes were then analyzed for subthemes which were coded by different shapes, for example, a triangle, circle, or square. Different ways of analyzing the data were contemplated and an additional qualitative analysis of seeking out themes was conducted. It was found that other themes were prevalent across the data. A synthesis of the analyzed interviews, observations, and field notes is presented in the following chapter.

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5 More information regarding delimitations are not provided to protect Julia's anonymity and confidentiality.

6 Coding is the labelling of a meaningful unit; a meaningful unit is the smallest amount of material that can be given a label.

Validity and Reliability

Qualitative research is subject to many limitations (Fraenkel & Wallen, 1993). The following procedures for improving validity and reliability in qualitative research were used during the study (Bogdan & Bilken, 1992; Fraenkel & Wallen; Patton, 1990).

1. **Triangulation**, the use of a variety of data sources and collection methods, was used in this study (Fraenkel & Wallen, 1993; Patton, 1990). This included having a primary participant and a "supplemental" participant as well as using interviews, observation, and artwork.

   Interviewees were welcome to preview any data relative to themselves prior to their use. Information from Anne's interviews was reviewed with Julia. Anne reviewed the entire research report and provided suggestions for clarifying the results; these suggestions were incorporated into this document.

   Observations provided greater insights into socio-cultural aspects of Julia's interactions and also provided a verification of information provided in interviews. Analysis of artwork also confirmed interview information and allowed the researcher to obtain greater understanding of Julia's life.
2. **Expert opinion**. Counsel was obtained from three individuals who were knowledgeable of one or more of the following: the deaf community and Deaf culture, Native culture, implications of hearing loss, and multicultural issues.
3. **Developing an awareness and understanding of the language** was used in the study. Due to the researcher's lack of sophistication in communicating in ASL, a certified interpreter was used during the interview process. Awareness of language also included becoming familiar with culturally appropriate terminology such as traditional people, sweats, and smudging. This was done through discussion with participants as well as by consulting experts and the literature.
4. **Field notes** were kept that contained (a) detailed descriptions of all interactions and observations, (b) personal thoughts, opinions, and inferences made as the study progressed, (c) procedures resulting from the study, and (d) written questions and answers of non-recorded communications with participants and of consultations with experts.
5. **Audio recording** was used when appropriate and possible. Interviews were recorded, but there were interactions such as telephone calls and casual conversations that were not audio recorded, rather they were recorded as field notes.
6. **Acting upon conclusions**. This procedure was used during interviews and in follow-up telephone calls or in-person conversations. The researcher asked the

participants questions based on inferences; this resulted in either confirmation or rejection of the inferences.

7. **Multiple interviews.** Participants were interviewed more than once; Julia was interviewed three times and Anne was interviewed twice.
8. **Observation.** The researcher had the opportunity to observe the participants over a period of six months in different situations. These observations included a multicultural Deaf party, Anne and Julia together in Anne's home, and Julia with her nieces, nephews, and sister in the family home on the reserve.
9. **Bracketing** is an attempt to express predispositions in order to provide a frame of reference of the researcher's inclinations (Patton, 1990). This was done before the study commenced as well as throughout the study. The initial bracketing is provided in the following paragraphs; other bracketing was incorporated into the researcher's field notes.

These views are from the perspective of an individual who balances two, and occasionally three, cultures -- English-Canadian, French-Canadian, and Hungarian. Having a multicultural perspective is a valuable resource, but it can also be very difficult when cultural conflict occurs. Not all people who are members of more than one culture are able to successfully integrate the cultures and deal with cultural conflicts. Levels of success vary greatly due to individual differences and capabilities. All people who are susceptible to marginalism can also be multicultural; the inverse is true as well.

It is this researcher's impression that individuals who are Native Indian and Deaf have a multicultural view of the world. Multicultural issues encountered by an individual are compounded when deafness is involved. This is due to the greater amount of social isolation deaf people may encounter as a result of having fewer people with whom they are able to freely and easily communicate.

CHAPTER IV
RESULTS OF DATA ANALYSIS

In this chapter, a synthesis of the analyzed audio taped interviews, observations, and artwork is presented in two main sections titled "Participant background information" and "Thematic analysis results." The chapter concludes with a transthematic presentation of the data analysis. The narrative style of presentation used in this chapter is not only consistent with the research format, but also reflects the nature of Deaf and Native cultures (Eldredge, 1993; Fraenkel & Wallen, 1993; Stake, 1994). Sources have been amalgamated and there is no deliberate attempt to identify sources, since themes emerge from the total case study.

A. Participant Background Information

Julia, a Plains Indian, lived on a reserve in Western Canada until the age of five when life in the city, white people, and the Deaf community became part of her life. Deaf since infancy, Julia required specialized programming that was not available on the reserve. Julia wore hearing aids when she was young, but her hearing has deteriorated and she feels comfortable not using hearing aids. Julia stayed with a foster family while attending both segregated and mainstreamed classes in public school and graduated from Grade 12 in her late teens. Her teachers used signed English while speaking which was a real contrast to the language used with either her biological or foster family. Julia's biological family will be referred to as her family; the foster family will be referred to as either her foster family or her Deaf family.

Julia's family communicates with her through varying degrees of proficiency in sign language -- invented home signs, Indian sign language, and ASL. The family has learned more sign language in recent years and one of her siblings has become fairly proficient in ASL. With her foster family, Julia uses ASL to communicate. In both families, Julia has a few siblings who are similar in age.[7] Anne, Julia's foster mother, had lived with Indian people for a while and was somewhat familiar with Native culture. She is a hearing white person of Deaf parents whose first language is ASL. Anne, as well as her parents, is culturally Deaf and is involved in the deaf community. Julia has bonded with her foster family as another child and as a sister. Julia's mother and Anne co-parent and have

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[7] For reasons of maintaining anonymity and confidentiality, the specific number of siblings is not provided.

developed a good relationship.[8]

Anne's children really noticed the gaps in their shared family life with Julia. She was gone for all the big events like Christmas and Easter because she went home to the reserve for all the holidays, including summer vacation. Initially, Julia would go home every weekend, but the transition from white Deaf city life to Native life on the reserve was difficult for all. Julia's family missed her terribly and sometimes Julia did not return to the city until Tuesday or Wednesday. The inconsistency of culture, lifestyle, and parenting made adjustment difficult for Julia and so it was decided that she would go to the reserve once a month instead of every weekend. At the age of 12, Julia was able to take the bus home and went almost every weekend. Anne would drop her off and then call Julia's mother who would be waiting for her daughter to arrive. Julia loves her family very much and really enjoys being with them, but feels that her mother has been overprotective and has worried unnecessarily about her. With greater proficiency in communication, Julia's family is learning that she is a capable and intelligent individual.

Julia associates with different groups of people -- sometimes Indian, sometimes Indian Deaf, and some who are just Deaf. She feels that she has connected with a lot of different groups, not just one. Social outings with friends include playing sports, going to the bar, visiting at someone's house, or just driving around. Activities that Julia does on her own and enjoys are biking, drawing, and going for walks.

Julia is not sure what life will be like in the future, but wants to go to university and knows that ease of communication is important. Her ideal spouse would be a Native Deaf person, but she would feel comfortable with a hearing person who could sign.

Throughout her life, Julia has participated in both Native and Deaf cultural activities. She is a bilingual and multicultural person who uses both ASL and English to communicate and balances Native, Deaf, and Canadian culture.

B. Thematic Analysis Results

Themes emerged primarily from issues and ideas that are of importance to Julia. The level of importance was determined by how often the theme occurred and by Julia's indicating its importance either independently or as an elicited response (i.e., the researcher would say something like, "You've talked about such and such and it seems that it is important for you. That is my impression; I don't know how you feel about it" or would ask directly the relevance of something in the participant's life).

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[8] Having Anne as another parent is not a problem because in Native communities all children are parented by all adults.

Three main themes were derived from the data: (1) communication, (2) culture, and (3) identity. Subthemes were also elicited and are listed at the commencement of each thematic section. Items within each subtheme are labelled for clarity of presentation.

Communication

Julia has a strong desire to communicate and socialize with people. Fluidity of conversation with others varies and depends on the situation as well as the culture and individual characteristics of the people. To Julia, communication challenges are acceptable, but communication obstacles are not. For deaf people, gaining accessibility is typically associated with interpreters and is a very important communication issue. The principal subthemes is this section are (a) shared communication, and (b) ease of communication.

Shared Communication

This section on communication is presented as (1) learning language, (2) developing empathy, and (3) Indian sign language users.

Learning Language

This narrative describes the first common communication developed between Julia, aged 5, and her foster mother. As far as Anne could tell, Julia had no language of any type and did not use gestures or body language, but somehow one of Anne's children, Kelly, was able to understand Julia. One suppertime, Kelly announced, "Mom, she doesn't like it." So Anne gave her something else and Kelly would either say that Julia did or did not like it. Anne asked, "How do you know that?", but Kelly was unable to explain. A truly perplexing question because Julia did not nod her head, make a face, or push her food away. Anne tried desperately to figure out how Julia was communicating and watched her intently as she gave Julia "liked" or "not-liked" food. A few days later, Anne gave Julia some ice cream and Julia really blinked her eyes. Anne then realized that blinking meant Julia liked something and that a straight stare meant dislike. Soon, Anne was able to get Julia to nod her head "yes" while blinking and that was the beginning of a shared communication between Anne and Julia.

Developing Empathy

Another shared understanding that required some effort was listening to and respecting what another person had to say. It took a while for Julia to understand that shutting her eyes when she didn't want to listen could be painful to others. To help Julia

understand, Anne would sometimes close her eyes when Julia really wanted to tell her something. Frustrated, Julia would shake her and Anne would say, "Don't touch me" and so Julia had to wait. After a few tearful occasions, Julia learned to keep her eyes open even if she didn't like what was said, for example, if she was being told that she had hurt someone by knocking him/her down.

Indian Sign Language Users

Julia would like to learn Indian sign language so that she could have a shared communication system with other Native people.[9] She has tried communicating with a couple of older deaf Natives who use Indian sign language, but they were not able to understand one another very well. Here is Julia's story.

> They are so immersed in the Indian culture and they haven't had exposure to other deaf people. They're very isolated and they rarely socialize within the Indian community. The first time I met them, we tried to work out our own communication, but they didn't understand me very well, but we could talk a little bit. They do like me and we were teasing each other. I sense that they're lonely; they are always happy to see me.... What I'd like to learn is the Native sign language, the natural sign language of the Indian people because they tend to use that and I really don't understand it.

Ease of Communication

Relative to the subtheme *Ease of Communication* are (1) communication preferences, (2) Deaf communication, (3) sports, (4) lipreading, and (5) interpreters.

Communication Preferences

Julia prefers to use ASL, although she uses written English with some of her friends and in social interactions as the need arises. Julia thinks it would be wonderful if she could get information and services on videotape in ASL. The Government of British Columbia has plans to put their drivers' tests on video in ASL and other ethnic languages. Julia thinks this is terrific and wishes all provinces would do this because she knows from personal experience how frustrating written tests can be when English is a second language. She has found it difficult to get her drivers' license because of nuances in the

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9 At one time, inter-tribal meetings were conducted in Indian sign language, but now English is used. Indian people who are fluent in Indian sign language tend to be between the ages of 70 and 90; very few young people know the language (C. Urion, personal communication, July 17, 1995).

English language. For a person with English as a second language, a drivers' examination in written English sometimes tests one's ability to understand English more than one's knowledge of driving.

Deaf Communication

Julia really enjoys Deaf get-togethers, especially when there is a multicultural group. Deaf functions do not typically start on time although people often arrive early to take advantage of the opportunity to communicate freely and easily with others. It is very important for Deaf people to be able to greet one another and socialize before starting a meeting or other activity and it is through such socializing that Deaf people acquire much of their knowledge about the world.

> Most of the things I know I've learned through storytelling. At school, we learned about who started Canada and that kind of stuff, but we learned a lot from each other as friends just associating and mingling with each other. [Deaf people] are very open-minded. We talk about everything. It gets quite crazy sometimes. I know a lot of stuff.
>
> [At meetings or other Deaf community functions, it is] important to get our hello's in and then have the meeting or whatever and then we visit afterwards.

Sports

Julia was very active in sports throughout school and was often the only deaf person on her team. This was sometimes a real challenge for her because she did not always know what was going on. If there was a player switch or a change in strategy, it sometimes took a while to figure it out. Years of frustrating and challenging participation in sports now benefit Julia. She is a very skilled athlete who has an excellent grasp of rules and regulations of the sports she plays. Julia plays in both Deaf and Native sport leagues and is an asset to her teams, but prefers playing on Deaf teams because communication is clear and she feels more involved in the strategies.

Lipreading

Some people think that if they talk slowly, Julia should be able to understand them by lipreading.[10] Anne has suggested to Julia that she should just start signing to them

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[10] Skill level among lipreaders varies and not all deaf people lipread. Lipreading is difficult; only 30% (approximately) of speech is visible on the lips.

slowly and then, by these people's reasoning, they should be able to understand. People who do not realize that lipreading is difficult should try to imagine learning Chinese through a glass window; lipreading is just not as easy as people seem to think.

Interpreters

Julia finds interpreter issues frustrating. She wishes that services such as the police and medical clinics would have their own interpreting service and she thinks that whoever is in a position of authority should support interpreters for the deaf whether it be tribal bands, mayors, premiers, or Indian Affairs. Julia went to school on the reserve for half a semester, but then went back to the city because the band would not provide an interpreter. Julia also had problems obtaining an interpreter for a government course that was designed for people with disabilities.[11] Although she was able to obtain an interpreter for the classroom component, the director felt that an interpreter was not necessary for the practical experience part of the course. Without an interpreter, Julia chose not to do the practical component, but received a certificate nonetheless. According to the government, organizers did a good job as far as delivery of the service because people in the course got their certificate. Anne does not understand why things like that happen to deaf people. Julia could get a job in the area, thinking that she is qualified because she got her certificate, and then be unable to do the job. It would be devastating for Julia and the people who hired her would probably think that deaf people are not capable individuals. Anne says that Julia does not always have enough confidence to advocate for herself, to write a letter of complaint to the educational institution or government to inform them that she was not treated fairly in the course.

Gaining access to services can be a real problem for deaf people. The most frustrating situations Julia has experienced have been with health care. The use of interpreters may be mandated into the provincial health care system, but not all health care professionals acknowledge the importance of interpreters. Sometimes people unrealistically expect Julia's family to interpret for her. Maybe a simple statement such as, "I like your earrings" is reasonable, but to expect someone with no advanced education or interpreter training to be able to understand and explain medical terms and processes is inappropriate and unacceptable; this is especially so when considering issues of confidentiality.

Interpreters are not just for deaf people. Unless proficient in sign language, hearing people need interpreters to make themselves understood. By today's standards, health care

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[11] Although Julia took a special course and does take advantage of discounts she can get as disabled, she does not consider herself to be handicapped and she thinks it is really silly when people try to pity her.

professionals who do not or are unable to express themselves to their clients, who are intellectually capable of understanding, are not doing their job.

Culture

Julia has learned about the world through Deaf culture as well as Native culture. She embraces Native culture as her natural heritage and Deaf culture as her acquired one. Cultural subthemes discussed in this section are (a) Native community life, (b) the Deaf community, (c) cultural differences, and (d) cultural exchange.

Native Community Life

Julia shared information about her family and the reserve, but much of it will not be used in order to protect her identity. Information in this section is presented under the headings: (1) Native family, and (2) Native tradition.

Native Family

Julia is proud to have an Indian family name handed down from her ancestors. She does not know much about her family or tribal history, but is knowledgeable about the general history of Native people.[12] Julia wishes that she knew more about her people, but has found it difficult to learn because people on the reserve do not know her very well and communication is sometimes difficult.

Julia is the only member of her family not living on the reserve. She sees her family often and they have a very close relationship. Keeping their extended family together is very important and Julia has always spent a lot of time with her cousins, nieces, and nephews.

> I really enjoy riding. I often go with my cousins and we just go through the trees and go down the ravine, all over the countryside. [As a child], I loved to play. I used to go down to the river and go horseback riding and I often used to run after the cows. There's animals out there like sheep and pigs. I often used to play with the animals out there.... I'd play with my cousins and everyone used to get after us because we'd play down at the river and get filthy dirty. I really enjoyed my childhood; it was a lot of fun. Can't do that anymore.

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12 Whether a Native person knows much about Native culture and heritage largely depends on whether the family has maintained tradition. Grandparents are the most authoritative "teachers" of the Native way, but many "lost" Indian people are trying to find their roots through a largely circumscribed academia (C. Urion, personal communication, July 17, 1995).

Julia really enjoys being with her family and is truly amazed by her nieces and nephews who are able to figure things out in sign language and make up their own signs. One of her very young nieces, Joy, seems to know how to communicate with Julia and calls Julia "Mommy". Julia speaks with great pride about how Joy sits and really listens to her grandmother's stories about the past. Joy's mother has suggested that Julia could adopt her niece; in Indian families, when a sister does not have a child by a certain age, a family member offers a child to that woman so that she has a child to look after. Sisters also look after a sibling's children if the mother is unable to do so, for example, if she is drinking too much; the children stay within the extended family and do not go to a foster home.

Native Tradition

Elders, medicine men and women, honoring ancestors, and powwows are some of the important traditional elements of Julia's Native community. Sometimes special powwows are held, for example, if there is a death or to recognize people who succeed in something such as sports.[13] Events such as powwows and sport tournaments are very important to Julia and take priority over work.

Julia would like to better understand what is going on during Native ceremonies, but is apprehensive about interpreters going to the reserve. Ceremonies are often conducted in a Native language and thus, two interpreters would be needed -- one Native language/English interpreter and an English/ASL interpreter. This would single Julia out and that is something that she does not want. On the reserve she can and prefers to blend in most of the time whereas in the city her Nativeness is often singled out. It seems that for Julia, being unique is okay, but being different can be a strain.

The Deaf Community

Involvement, lack of activities, and acceptance in the Deaf community are discussed in this section.

Involvement

Julia feels that she grew up in the Deaf community. Both her foster mother and foster grandmother are culturally Deaf and are involved in the Deaf community. Anne took Julia to different places so she was very aware that there were deaf people of all different ages. Julia is still involved in the Deaf community and goes to different events and activities such as meetings, parties, and workshops. Workshops cover a variety of topics, for

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[13] Powwows are synonymous with kinesthetic prayer (C. Urion, personal communication, July 17, 1995).

example, how to use an interpreter, Deaf culture, audiology, retirement, and post-secondary institutions like Gallaudet University and NTID.[14]

Lack of Activities for Children

Anne is extremely frustrated by the lack of organized activities for deaf children. She was able to set up some activities when Julia was growing up, but most of the time there was nothing for deaf kids at school or in the Deaf community. Anne believes this situation needs to improve because it is important for people to have a group of peers with whom they can identify and communicate; deaf kids need to be able to play together.

Acceptance

Julia really enjoys meeting deaf people from other countries and feels very comfortable with them. Being among multicultural people makes her feel good as does being in a large Deaf group. Julia feels comfortable and is accepted by some Deaf people, but is excluded by others. Julia says that older Deaf people are friendly towards her and she feels really connected to her own age group, but the age group just above is negative towards her.

Sometimes Deaf people support Julia and other times they are rude. Julia wishes that Deaf community members were more friendly and mannerly.

> It doesn't matter if they're all white and they're all good friends. They can be talking and then as soon as a person leaves they'll insult that person.... I just don't understand how some things go on.

Cultural Differences

Julia's and Anne's thoughts about differences among Deaf, Native, and white hearing people are presented in this section as (1) a new cultural perspective, (2) lifestyles, (3) interaction within a community, (4) introductions, (5) value conflicts, and (6) cultural behavior and misunderstanding.

A New Cultural Perspective

There are two significant cultural "arrival" points in Julia's life: (a) when she acquired a white foster family, and (b) when she returned to the Indian reserve for half a

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[14] Gaullaudet University, established in 1864 and located in Washington (D.C.), is the only university for the deaf in the world. NTID (National Technical Institute for the Deaf) is a college of Rochester Institute of Technology which is located in Rochester, New York. It has existed since 1965.

semester of school.

This story of Julia's arrival at Anne's home is told by Julia and is followed by Anne's account of the event.

> The first time I went into the house I was with my mom, a social worker, and another woman -- I think it may have been my Aunt. I felt so strange; it was so different. The house was so big and I thought it looked strange. I saw some children and a man, Anne's husband, and it just didn't look like what I was used to at home. I kept looking at things and then I kept looking at Anne's signing and thought, "Gee..."; I realized that she was doing something with her hands and then the kids took me to play with their toys. I liked playing with the toys and I was having fun.
>
> Julia was very quiet and just absolutely cute. She had beautiful Indian braids, very well kept by her mom....[15] She was very quiet and wanted to stand in the corner and she just wanted to look at everybody and she didn't want anybody to be close to her. You could tell she was very scared, very big-eyed. She wasn't sure of all this... Julia had no communication; therefore, her mom had to leave without Julia knowing why. It was a traumatic time for Julia. She didn't want to stay. Previously, she had been left in a foster home with Deaf white parents for a day, but wouldn't stay there. She had not liked it there and was probably thinking "this is going to happen all over again." After a couple days, even the first day, she was fine; she was calm. One of my kids played with her a lot and I think that really helped.

In the above story, Julia had been used to Native life and encountered "white" culture for the first time; in the following story, Julia learns about the Native way of schooling after having been accustomed to "white" school. For Julia, it was a real challenge going from a "white" city school to an Indian school on the reserve, especially without an interpreter.

> I was so used to going to school where it was all white and I was the only Indian, but on the reserve I was with all Indian people and I felt successful there and successful playing in Indian leagues. It was really hard at the beginning, but after a while I got used to everything. It was a real different experience just going there.... The reserve workers are not aware of Deaf culture and they have no idea

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[15] Anne would sometimes cut Julia's bangs, but always asked the consent of Julia's mother first because Anne knew that hair is an important spiritual element of Native culture.

how to give a deaf student support in a school. I told them about interpreters and they just didn't think it was that important. So I didn't last very long there.

Lifestyle

The city way of life and lifestyle are quite different from those of reservations.[16] Some of these differences are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Julia's Comparison of City and Reserve Life: Housing and Activities

City life with foster family	Reserve life with family
The house is much bigger, lots more room and what I find really different is how unique all the houses are, all the different roof lines. There are more things here like phones all over the place and TVs upstairs and downstairs; lots of dishes, good dishes and everyday dishes. That was different.	There's only a main unit with the living room, kitchen, bathroom, and bedrooms. There's no upstairs or downstairs. The kitchen is arranged in one way and stays that way. All the houses in the community are identical. Out there, there's only one TV and phone... and one in my parents' bedroom. That's all.
There were lots of discussions and we'd go do different things like skiing, tobogganing, and picnics. We'd go to the Deaf community, go to all the parties there and we went to the World Games for the Deaf. We'd ride our bikes different places and we'd go camping.	Sometimes we'd go to an Indian teepee; we'd go to powwows and sometimes down to the river to swim. As teenagers, we'd often just kind of wander around outside in a group. Sometimes we'd just get a game of hockey going on the road, just shooting the puck or ball back and forth. Also, we'd ride bikes together in a group. We went horseback riding as well and we'd play with the cows. We'd kind of ride them and fall off, kind of a rodeo thing. We played baseball outside and volleyball. We did that kind of stuff.

Interaction within a Community

Julia has noticed a difference among the cultural groups she associates with in terms of how they interact and behave among one another.

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16 The typical Canadian perception of land is that it belongs to someone. The Native perspective is that land is shared by all and owned by none. Reservations are an artificial condition and are referred to as "fake land" by Native peoples. The fake land is shared not only by people, but also by animals that roam freely on the common land whereas most Canadians have their animals secured in enclosed areas (C. Urion, personal communication, July 17, 1995).

When I'm with the hearing white, I feel that there isn't that much interaction and they don't seem to know that much about each other. It's something I've noticed whereas in the Native or Deaf community, people know more about each other. It's hard to believe [how fast] and to how many people news gets out [in the Deaf community]. In the Indian community, not everybody knows [personal] things, just relatives.

Introductions

Julia introduces herself differently to people depending on the culture they belong to. Differences in introductions with the Deaf, Native people, and hearing Canadians are presented in Table 2.

Table 2

Julia's Cultural Comparison of Introductions: Deaf, Native, and Hearing Canadian

Deaf	Native	Hearing Canadians
[When I meet people who are Deaf] I ask them their name, where they're from, and maybe find out why they moved here and then I would maybe say some of the people I know in the place they moved from to see if we knew any of the same people, that kind of thing.	With Native people, I ask them where they're from. I wouldn't ask their name, just where they're from and then when I know where they're from, let's say they're from the Stoney. I'd say, "Do you know so and so?" and that person will say yes or no and then ask me and I'll tell them I'm from [Plains tribe]. Then they'll ask me if I know so and so and I'll say, "Oh ya, that's my cousin" and then at the end I would say, "Well, my name is..." and then they'd give me their name sort of at the end.	When I introduce myself to hearing people, [we exchange names] and they often say that they'd like to learn sign language and I tell them I'll show them some. I ask them what they like to do. Sometimes they say they like to dance, some like their job and then they ALWAYS ask me how I became deaf and I have to say the same story over again. They ask if I have any brothers and sisters, do I have parents and then they'll ask me how long I've lived in [the city]. That kind of thing.

Julia is sometimes frustrated by hearing people's inquisition about her deafness and wishes they would approach her as a regular person and not as a person who cannot hear.

We should just talk about normal things. I don't like people asking me why I'm deaf or if I can read and write. I just want to talk about normal, every day things. I don't want to talk about my deafness.

Value Conflicts

Julia sometimes feels that it is difficult to balance two cultures. She and some of her Native Deaf friends sometimes talk about being "half-half". These stories of Julia's tell of incidents during which she struggles with her two cultures' differing values.

> We [Deaf people] are very open-minded. We talk about everything. It gets quite crazy sometimes. I know a lot of stuff. [Native people] just give a few words and then keep quiet, they just give the necessary information.... Sometimes I get confused and kind of shake my head. I get feeling that sometimes. Many times my Native friends will tell me something and say, "Don't tell anybody." And then I won't say anything. Sometimes there are things that I want to share that Indian people have told me, but I have a sense that I'm not supposed to share it with my Deaf community. So in discussions I feel that I have something to share, but I know that because it was somebody on the reserve or a Native person who told me, I feel like I have to hold back, so I have to keep it inside.

> Eye contact and touch is important [for communication for Deaf people]. You know, I'm really rough touching other Deaf people, [but] I feel like I've avoided touching Indian people. I tend to just look in front of them until they look at me and sometimes I have to ask another person who someone is before I go talk to [him/her]. Sometimes my [siblings] would have to point out things that I should or shouldn't do. They'd tell me, "Quit looking, quit staring" and I wouldn't know what they were talking about... and I can't use my fingers to point and so my hearing [siblings] were telling me what to do. So I got a sense... I feel like I'm half you know.

Although Julia does use touch for communication, she does not use touch as much as many Deaf people in that she greets friends with a smile and not with a hug. The following account is told by Anne.

> From when Julia was very little she didn't want touching and I respected that. In Deaf culture, we tend to hug when we greet friends. Julia doesn't like hugging. I don't know if its part of her Indian culture or what.... Julia liked [me to sit] beside her and read a book or talk about things. As far as her coming here, it's a big broad smile and a hello, but never a hug which is normally part of Deaf culture.

Cultural Behavior and Misunderstanding

These stories exemplify how a culturally appropriate behavior may be misunderstood by someone of a different culture. Anne tells of a misunderstanding she had of one of Julia's behaviors.

> Julia sometimes has kind of a straight grin when she's embarrassed or a little uncomfortable. One time when Julia was about 8 years old, I was cross with her and she just had this sort of grin. I didn't think she was being rude, but I didn't know what this grin was all about. I went to see a Native counsellor and found out that it was Julia's way of expressing shame; it's part of her culture. Shame, as I knew it, was expressed by a lowering of the head and eyes, so once somebody had explained it to me, it was a whole lot easier.

At school, teachers sometimes expressed frustration when Julia would not comply with requests to quickly finish projects. Julia prefers quality work and says that she and another Native student both took more care in doing projects and usually took longer as a result. Their work was often displayed and given recognition. Julia and Anne feel that Native people tend to value good work, not fast work and that it should be interpreted as precision, not slowness.

Cultural Exchange

Living in two cultures, Julia is often a cultural ambassador. Anne's family has visited Julia on the reserve and Julia has brought her family to Anne's house. She has been able to show her families that Native and white people are not so different. She has told her mother, "Look, Anne's just like you; she cooks potatoes, she looks after kids, and she says the same kinds of things." Anne says there has been a mixing of the cultures because of Julia's deafness; her family has learned about Native people and Julia's family probably knows a lot more about white people than their neighbors because they have had a reason to be in white people's houses. The following sections of *Cultural Exchange* involve Julia as (1) a Deaf ambassador, (2) a Native ambassador, and (3) a Native Deaf ambassador.

Deaf Ambassador

People on the reserve are curious about sign language and often ask Julia how to sign their names. She has given a few presentations to elementary school children on the reserve. Julia says she feels a real sense of pride not only in herself, but in the children as well. For one of the presentations, a community agency for deaf people paid the interpreter. For the others, one of Julia's siblings acted as an interpreter.

Native Ambassador

Julia has something to contribute. If she goes to a party, people will often ask her something about being Indian. Julia sometimes has to defend Native people and fight against stereotypes by providing people with information about Indian people.

Julia enjoys drawing and is an excellent artist. There is a strong sense of Native culture in Julia's artwork and through her art, Julia is able to show and teach others about her Native culture.

Native Deaf Ambassador

The proceeding information was Julia's response to the question "What do you want people to know about you so they will understand you better?"

> I'd like to let people know that deaf people are very smart, they're not ignorant. Deaf people are just individuals and there are deaf people who are Indian and they, deaf Indian people, have a strong culture as Indians. I'd like to say that deaf Indians can do the Indian dance and they can understand the music, not hear the music, but understand it. Also, there is a Native sign language that is different from other sign languages.

Identity

Experiences in Julia's life affect how she views herself. Some experiences have a positive influence on her self-concept and others have a deleterious effect. Identity themes that emerged include (a) role models, (b) attitudes of others, and (c) self-concept.

Role Models

Deaf adult role models are not necessarily people that children would personally consider a role model, but who have played a significant role in their lives nonetheless. Deaf children's first encounter with a deaf adult tends to be a momentous occasion although the encounter may be very brief. This section on role models contains three accounts. Two tell of Julia's meetings with a deaf adult and another Native deaf person; and the other is a story about role models as recounted by Anne.

Deaf

Julia tells of the first time she met a deaf adult.

> Grandma, Anne's mother, is the first deaf adult I ever met. I was impressed. I thought, "Gee, look at this woman, she looks like my grandma, but she's deaf. She's like me" and I was just shocked to find out that there were grandmothers who were deaf.

The first time Julia met other Native Deaf people was at a Christmas party at Anne's house when she was about 9 years old.

> I was so impressed because they were the first Indian deaf people I met and I just fell in love with them and I thought, "Wow, fantastic, they're Indian and they're deaf...." They acted different and I loved their sense of humor and they were really neat. They have sort of the same sense of humor that I have and they called me sister and so I just felt a part of them. Even when we're introduced to other people they always say, "She's a part of my family, she's my sister...." We really have a lot of fun.

Anne shared the following story about the importance of adult deaf role models. A deaf child and his family were eating in a restaurant in the States when they saw a deaf couple signing to each other. The deaf boy was extremely excited and kept telling his parents, "Look! Look! Deaf people, same as me." The boy talked about these deaf people a lot that day and when his parents asked him why he kept talking about these people he replied, "I'm not going to die. I'm going to grow old; I'll be a man." It was then that his parents realized they had never exposed their child to deaf adults; they were shocked and amazed at how important adult deaf people were to their son's life.

Attitudes of Others

Attitudes of Others is an important identity subtheme.Some of Julia's experiences involving acceptance and prejudice are provided in this section.

Acceptance

The following accounts are of two significant events in Julia's life. In the first account, Julia is accepted; in the second, Julia desires acceptance.

A significant event in Julia's life was a large international Deaf event. At this event Julia felt a real sense of freedom because communication was not a problem, she was fully accepted as Deaf, and supported as Indian. It was the first time she had deaf people just walk past her, the first time she met Black Deaf people, and it was the largest group of Deaf people she had ever seen. There were so many Deaf people that Julia did not have time to talk to everybody.

> The next morning I saw some more Deaf people coming and going and it just didn't feel right. It was such a different experience. You know, here I never see deaf people just as part of the population, but there they were just all over the

> place.... I just couldn't get over all the deaf people wandering around. And that was the first time I ever met Black Deaf people and I just fell in love with them. Just the way one woman came right up to me and started talking with me... and she said how the black people in the States really support the Indians.... Sometimes I met Black people who would just say, "We [Black people] really support Indians" or "We support you because you're Indian...." I was really happy and I just loved talking with them.... There was always people to talk to... and that was the first time I felt truly independent.... There was a group of us talking and one person was explaining to me, he told me, "We support you because you're Indian and so many white people oppress Black people and they oppress Indians as well." That was the first time I met another group of people that was oppressed like the way we say we were oppressed by the white people. I just kept saying, "Really!?" I just couldn't believe the discussion that was going on about this oppression thing and how it happened to the Black people as well. [The Black Deaf people] always included me and invited me along. They were so funny, their body language, and they'd tell jokes and horse around and stuff. They were just so much like me. I really liked them.

Julia was about 15 years old when she really became aware of what Deaf schools were all about. In learning about Deaf school, Julia learned more about herself and about being Deaf.

> I wish I had gone to a deaf school....[17] There's more of a deaf population and more of a mix -- Indian, Black, Asian. There are more activities like deaf clubs and teams. There's deaf principals, deaf teachers and they use sign language.... There's deaf leadership. Deaf people become presidents of committees... and I just feel I would have had more fun there.

Anne says that Julia had a lot of problems at school partly due to her teachers' limited signing skills and partly because she was different, she was Indian. In a deaf school, it is likely that more people would have been able to communicate with Julia, including her teachers. If Julia had gone to a deaf school, would she have encountered fewer problems at school because of greater cultural diversity in the school? Would she have been singled out less?

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[17] Julia did not go to a Deaf school because she would have been separated from her family more often because of geographical distance.

Prejudice

Julia feels that hearing people are sometimes frightened when they meet a person who is deaf. "I see their faces and I can tell they're afraid of me and I just don't know what to do. I feel kind of awkward. It's all over the place, everywhere I go." Julia and Anne are not sure why people are frightened. Discussion led to one possible explanation that perhaps when hearing people realize a person is deaf, they assume that communication will be difficult or maybe even impossible and they just do not know how to react.

As a Native person, Julia has encountered ignorance and prejudice. The first account is by Anne, the second by Julia.

> I'll never forget. Julia was just a teenager and was really sensitive about her whole life.... She's always very much been a part of my family so when we went somewhere, everyone did the same thing. There wasn't any "you're the foster child, you're not doing this with us." We did things together and she was a part of the family.... We were going to the [swimming] pool and wanted to buy a family pass. So I asked for the pass and the [ticket] person looked around and said, "Not for her, she's not a part of your family. She gets a separate ticket." We were so insulted; she was so rude. I insisted, I told her I had documentation that Julia lived with us.... Finally, we got the pass. Julia was so embarrassed; she realized that the confrontation was to defend her.... This was the first time and the only time someone suggested she wasn't part of our family. No one felt like swimming anymore. It was just awful. I went and talked to the manager and he gave us a bunch of free passes, talked to the ticket person who then apologized and that was that.... It ruined our day. So it just goes on and on. Just because of the color of your skin [people] make so many assumptions. And I know for a fact that how [people] treat Julia's mom at the school or at the medical clinic is way different from how they treat me and Julia sees that. Just because I'm white and it doesn't feel good.

> I was really angry one time in high school. A deaf young person came up to me and called me a drunk Indian from Oka.... I said to him, "I'm not that kind of an Indian. My land is here. Why would you call me that?"... He said, "Why do you Indians drink so much? You're like bums walking around the city." And I told him, "We're not, not all Indians are drunk. I don't drink and I'm not a bum and I'm going to high school...." I felt really angry when I was called a drunk Indian and was compared to the people in Oka. I tried to explain to him.... What really

hurt, he was my friend and I thought that because we were both deaf that he would never say anything like that. It really hurt me because he was deaf too. I kept trying to explain to him, make him aware... there are white bums downtown and white people that are drunks. It's not just Indians. Later on we were able to talk and he knows better now.

Self-concept

This section provides Anne's reflections about Julia's identity and self-concept, as well as Julia's perspective on her identity.

Reflections by Anne

The following narratives are told by Anne. She tells of many challenges that Julia has encountered that have probably affected how Julia feels about herself.

> Julia sometimes struggled with identity. She lived with a white family and growing up she didn't feel connected to the Indian community because she was different and the people on the reserve do not know her the same way they know her [siblings].
>
> These last few years, Julia has wanted to go to college, travel, and perfect skills in sports like basketball.... Sports have been good for Julia because they taught her to understand consequences of breaking rules. It has also been her ticket into both [Deaf and Native] communities. [Julia has a sense of what] she'd like to do and is very competitive and yet seems quite lost at times. She's found a group of deaf Native people who are at the bars quite a bit.... I know all of those people individually and they're all wonderful people, but they do need a leader in their group to get them doing other things. There is quite a bit of apathy and it can be quite depressing at times.... Julia has seen alcoholism in her family and knows how it can pull people down. So she's got a lot of issues to deal with as a young adult.... Julia would benefit from counselling and a group to belong to who could reinforce a non-drinking lifestyle.
>
> Social workers have been telling Julia to go on [XYZ] which is for people who can't work. They make the assumption that because she's deaf she can't work which is contradicting what I taught Julia to believe. Deaf people are able to work. Deaf people are capable.

> I think Julia is experiencing a lot of love and acceptance from her nieces and nephews that she might not have experienced earlier. There's nothing on the reserve for Deaf people, but she gets a lot of love and affection and attention. She wouldn't get that kind of acceptance if she stayed only with the Deaf community in the city.

> Julia is proud and that took a lot of work, her self-esteem. Deaf pride and being proud to be Indian... proud to be a woman. To have your rights... it took a lot of work.... Her self-esteem comes and goes depending on who she's with. Sometimes it's really good... when with a multicultural deaf group, with family, but when she's by herself I think she worries. She doesn't like to be alone.

Identity: Julia's Perspective

Julia does not feel that she is more Native or more Deaf and she is equally comfortable in the city and on the reserve.

> I feel that I'm the same person going back and forth between the two cultures.... I like being in both places. You know, what happens is I move to the reserve and I get bored and I get lonely for being in the city, then I move back to the city and I miss the reserve so I move back to the reserve. I feel like I want to be in both places.

Transthematic Presentation

It would have been possible to place many elements of subthemes into different thematic sections, for example, sports could have been placed in *Culture* instead of *Communication,* or Julia's relationship with nieces and nephews could have been under *Shared Communication* rather than *Native Community Life.*

Themes other than those used in this chapter exist throughout the data. These themes are awareness, acceptance, language, and internal conflict. Table 3 shows how the themes are inter-related. When the themes *awareness, acceptance, language, and internal conflict* intersect the themes *communication, culture, and identity,* there is a symbol to indicate whether the experience is seen as being positive (+) or negative (-) for Julia. If there is no symbol, the themes represented by that section do not intersect one another. In Table 3, there are both positive and negative experiences associated with the intersection of the theme *Acceptance* and the subtheme *Ease of Communication.* For example, Julia feels accepted when she uses ASL in the Deaf community; this reflects positive experiences for

Julia. An example of the intersection of *Internal Conflict* and *Native Community Life* is when Julia wishes to have an interpreter present at Native ceremonies, but does not want to be singled out; this is perceived as a negative experience for Julia.

Table 3

Thematic Relationships

Themes	Subthemes	Other prevalent themes across the data			
		Acceptance	Awareness	Language	Internal Conflict
Communication	Shared Communication	+	+	+ -	-
	Ease of Communication	+ -	+ -	+	
Culture	Native Community Life	+	+ -	-	-
	The Deaf Community	+ -	+ -	+	
	Cultural Differences	+ -	+ -	-	-
	Cultural Exchange	+ -	+ -	+ -	
Identity	Role Models	+	+	+	
	Attitudes of Others	+ -	+ -	+ -	-
	Self-concept	+ -	+ -	+ -	+ -

+ = positive experience(s) exist in the theme

- = negative experience(s) exist in the theme

Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to present results of data analysis. Participant background information was provided as were themes and subthemes. Nine subthemes emerged from the primary themes of communication, culture, and identity. The chapter concluded with a transthematic presentation of the data.

CHAPTER V
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, a discussion of the results and the research questions are presented. Recommendations for various groups of people and ideas for future research are also provided.

Discussion of Results

The transthematic analysis (Table 3) presented in chapter IV allows for more insightful interpretations of the data. It shows that acceptance, awareness or lack thereof, and language are important issues for Julia. It also shows that she has had positive and negative experiences across the themes. This analysis is incorporated into the following discussion of the primary themes.

Communication

The facility of communication experienced within the Deaf community is rarely encountered elsewhere by Julia. Difficulties that she faces in communication can either be challenges or barriers depending on the circumstances. An example of a communication barrier is when the Native band council did not provide an interpreter for Julia. Such barriers are referred to as accessibility issues.

For Julia, accessibility is the most prevalent communication issue. Associated with accessibility issues is hearing people's lack of awareness and acceptance of deaf people. Julia has experienced much frustration because interpreter services have not always been provided when they ought to have been. Julia thinks that the provision of interpreters is the most important element to deaf people's acquiring equal access and equal opportunities.

Disabled groups use the terms "equal access" and "accessibility rights" to obtain the things they need and ought to have, such as ramps for wheelchair users. Even though many deaf people do not consider themselves to be disabled or handicapped, the use of accessibility terminology seems to be a viable means of getting hearing people to understand deaf people's rights (Padden & Humphries, 1988).

Culture

In this study, acceptance and lack of awareness about deafness and Native people are the most significant themes of culture. Julia enjoys her Native and Deaf cultural communities. Her experiences in both communities have most often been positive and Julia

has usually felt accepted although she has been subject to prejudice. Julia sometimes experiences external conflict because of cultural value differences. An example presented in Chapter IV was of Julia's teacher expressing frustration when Julia refused to comply with the request to work quickly. Julia also experiences internal conflict because of cultural value "clashes", for example, when she would like to share information that would give a new perspective to a discussion with Deaf friends, but feels she cannot because it is something a Native person told her.

Native and Deaf communities both place great emphasis on sports. As an athlete, Julia has found acceptance and has been able to successfully contribute to her communities and receive recognition for excellence in sports. She has been able to show Native people that Deaf people are competent and vice versa in the Deaf community.

Identity

Acceptance and exclusion are the two factors most relevant to identity for Julia. Julia's experiences with others affect how she feels about herself. When she is accepted by others, her identity is reinforced; conversely, experiences of exclusion or prejudice can be damaging to her identity. Julia's identity is strengthened by participation in cultural activities; her identity as a Native person is strengthened when she goes to a powwow and when Julia attends Deaf parties her identity as a Deaf person is reinforced. In multicultural Deaf environments, both Native and Deaf identities are validated because she is accepted as both Native and Deaf.

Julia identifies herself as being Native Deaf and she does not feel that she has a dominant identity; she neither feels less Indian than Deaf nor more Indian than Deaf. Julia identifies strongly with other Native Deaf people and feels that there is a Native Deaf community, albeit a small one.

Some researchers have concluded that Deaf people who belong to an additional ethnic group have a stronger ethnic identity than Deaf identity, while others claim the inverse (Becker, 1980; Eldredge, 1993; Eldredge & Carrigan, 1992). Cohen states that, "... an African American Deaf person is neither an African American person who is deaf nor a Deaf person who is African American, but rather someone with his or her own persona: an African American Deaf person" (1993, p. 60). This idea is consistent with Julia's interpretation of her own identity; she is equally Deaf and Native.

It is postulated that Julia's life experiences define her identity and affect her self-concept. Each life experience either reinforces her identity and self-concept or has a deleterious effect. In being Native Deaf, Julia has cultural elements of Canadian society, the

Deaf community, and the Native community that are integral to her identity. Her life experiences may reflect a stronger identity in one of the communities depending on the circumstances. For example, going to a healing ceremony in the Native community reinforces Julia's Native identity. This is not to say that her identity has changed to only Native identity, but at that moment the Native element of her identity is stronger than the Deaf element. A model of identity based on these ideas was developed by the researcher and is provided in Appendix G.

Discussion of the Research Questions

The following interpretations are made in response to the research questions posed at the commencement of this study.

Question 1

To what extent do cultural and social dynamics of Julia's status as Deaf influence her interactions?

In Julia's case, being culturally Deaf has been a positive aspect of her life. Through the use of ASL, a language she has learned by interacting with Deaf people, Julia has been able to acquire much knowledge about the world both formally and informally. Being Deaf, many of Julia's interactions have been within the Deaf community. She has experienced success and a strong sense of belonging on Deaf sports teams. Julia attends many social functions and knows a lot of people who have similar experiences of being deaf in a hearing world. Julia has gone to international Deaf events that have provided her with opportunities to meet people from different countries which has been a very positive experience for her. If Julia had not been a member of the Deaf community, it is unlikely that she would have known about these events or may have been too inhibited to attend if she were aware of them.

On the reserve, Julia has been able to give presentations about deafness. If Julia had not been exposed to Deaf culture and the Deaf community, it is possible that she would not have had the confidence or experience to do so.

Question 2

To what degree do cultural and social dynamics associated with Native Indian status influence Julia's interactions?

Julia has interacted with many Native people not only from her reserve, but also from other Native communities. In the city, she has met hearing and Deaf Indians with

whom she has become friends. Julia has also found a group of Native Deaf people with whom she identifies and feels a strong connection. Also, she has had the experience of Black Deaf people enthusiastically supporting her because she is Indian.

Being Native, Julia has been able to meet and interact with older deaf Indians who use Indian sign language. She has participated in Native traditions with other Indians and she has been able to share her culture with her friends and foster family. As a Native child, Julia experienced much freedom playing on the reserve with her cousins and going horseback riding. Her Native culture makes it possible for her to adopt a sibling's child and have a mother-child relationship, should she wish to.

Julia has been subject to prejudice and racism because she is Indian. As a Native person, Julia has been an ambassador for her people. Sometimes she is promoting Indians and other times she is defending them. It is possible to state that Julia's status as Native Indian has both positive and negative ramifications in terms of interactions with others.

Question 3

Does cultural overlap exist in Julia's interactions in society?

Cultural overlap does exist in Julia's interactions; these interactions are sometimes positive and sometimes negative. Native and Deaf people are very aware of the importance of culture. Both cultures are group-oriented and both cultures value the sharing of stories. Similarities such as these have resulted in Julia having experienced some cohesiveness across cultures.

Both Native and Deaf cultures have a history of being repressed and both strive for self determination. Julia, as a member of both cultures, has had to struggle for her rights and to be accepted and recognized as an individual of worth in a societal majority of hearing Caucasians.

Sometimes cultural overlap is neither negative nor positive. Sometimes it results in confusion, for example, when Julia wants to share information with Deaf people, but feels she cannot because it is something a Native person has told her.

Question 4

Has Julia experienced marginality? If so, what are/were the implications?

Marginality is associated with not belonging to any group and it is possible that Julia has experienced marginality in her struggle for identity. It is possible for one to belong to a group, but not feel comfortable or accepted by that group. Julia tends to travel from group to group and has always been different even though she may be accepted by the

groups. The group with whom Julia identifies the most is the Native Deaf, but she experiences conflicts of interest because she is really active and would prefer playing sports with these people to sitting in the bar. Whether or not Julia relates to the experience of marginality is not known.

Question 5

Is Julia's typical behavior and manner of interacting with others seen as maladjustment by members of the dominant society?

Julia's typical behavior and manner of interacting with others may result in misunderstandings by members of the dominant society; whether this is seen as maladjustment depends on individual interpretation.

An example of misunderstandings that was presented in Chapter IV involved Julia's atypical manner of communicating preference (i.e., blinking) and shame or discomfort (a type of grin). Behaviors that might be interpreted as maladjustment include Julia not following her teachers' instructions to finish a project quickly; and when Julia would close her eyes when she did not want to listen. It is possible that some very misinformed people would interpret using sign language as maladjustment, and it is also possible that idiosyncrasies in her sign language would be misinterpreted by those fluent in sign.

Question 6

Is Julia easily manipulated or exploited by people in society due to their status as Deaf or Native Indian?

Julia does not always have the confidence to advocate for herself; as a result, she seems to be manipulated and exploited by others like when she received a certificate for a course she did not complete. Other incidents frequently involve an unwillingness to provide interpreters.

Julia is not easily manipulated when she understands what is going on, but she will go along with what people say if she does not fully comprehend the circumstances. This seems to occur in formal settings more frequently than informal ones.

Question 7

How and to what extent does each culture exist in Julia's life?

This is a difficult question to answer. Both cultures are significant in Julia's life. Perhaps one could say that when on the reserve or among Native people, Native culture is more overt than Deaf culture and vice versa when Julia is among Deaf people.

Both of Julia's families have had a significant role in terms of culture. Julia's biological family has been a strong element in her Native upbringing; if Julia's family did not partake in the Native way of life, it would be unlikely that Julia would have a strong Native culture. If Julia had been placed in a different foster family, her experiences and attitudes toward deafness may have been different depending on the cultural background and personal characteristics of the family.

Question 8

Does Julia have a stronger Deaf or Native identity?

Julia says that she does not identify more with either culture; rather she identifies with both. She may, however, feel a stronger affinity for a culture in certain situations, for example, at a powwow Julia will likely feel closer to her Indian culture.

Question 9

What coping mechanisms does Julia use when confronting cultural conflict?

Julia does not seem to be aware of how she copes with cultural conflicts other than shaking her head to herself and talking about being half-half with Native Deaf friends. It seems that she is accepting of conflict and does not focus on it. This may be a personal characteristic or a reflection of her Native culture.

Question 10

To what extent do cultural and social dynamics of Julia's status as Deaf influence her perceptions and values as a Native Indian?

When cultural conflict occurs, Julia may not understand or appreciate the Native value. For example, pointing and direct eye contact, regardless of the relationship between Deaf people, are natural and important elements of communication, but on the reserve her siblings have often told her where to look and not to point. For something so vital to Julia, it would likely be difficult for her to understand the Native perspective.

Question 11

To what degree do cultural and social dynamics associated with Native Indian status influence Julia's perceptions and values as a Deaf person?

It is possible that Julia's Native culture influences Julia's perceptions or values of greetings in Deaf culture, how she treats people, and in her acceptance of life events, either consciously or unconsciously. Julia does not like hugging which is how Deaf friends and

family typically greet one another. Also, it seems that she has a greater level of respect for others and accepts situations more readily (i.e., she does not tend to dwell on them).

Conclusion

The social and cultural dynamics of Julia's status as Native Indian and Deaf influence her interactions. It is likely that other Native Deaf people encounter situations similar to those of Julia. Although experiences will not be identical, it is highly probable that commonalties exist since (a) Native communities share common beliefs and traditions, (b) culturally Deaf people have common values and behaviors, and (c) social and cultural dynamics are inherent to any interaction. Elements of Native and Deaf culture are reflected in Native Deaf persons' interactions in the world and since there are commonalties among Deaf people and among Native people, some experiences of the Native Deaf will be similar.

Recommendations

This list of recommendations is put forth by Julia and Anne.

Suggestions for the Deaf Community

- Remember that interpreters are for hearing people too.
- Be more open-minded and do not judge people.
- Be more friendly and mannerly.
- Respect one another.
- Try more outreach -- the Deaf community can become stronger. There are many people who are culturally Deaf to some degree, but who are not accepted by the Deaf community.
- Be more welcoming and accepting of those who are different.

> The Deaf community needs to be a little bit more cosmopolitan. They're quite racist. They're just as racist as the hearing are to the Indian people. You'd think that an oppressed group shouldn't be oppressive to someone who is deaf, but they are.

Suggestions for the Native Community

- Learn more about deafness.
- People from the reserve can learn about deafness and share their knowledge with the community either formally or informally.
- Have presentations by Deaf people or other experts in the field of deafness.

- Talk to deaf people -- use an interpreter, write, or try to work out your own way of communicating together.
- Recognize that qualified interpreters are a necessary component of Deaf people's education.
- Try not to let bureaucracy interfere with a person's education.
- Realize that Native Deaf people represent your community.
- Realize that Native Deaf people are able to understand the ways of Native people and participate in Native traditions.

Suggestions for Native Deaf People

- Be proud.
- Stand up for yourselves; remember that you have rights.
- Learn from your Native culture's history and try to avoid alcohol.
- Get active. Do something like organize a sports team and compete against the local Deaf.

Suggestions for Hearing People

- Don't be frightened by deaf people. They are less different from you than you realize.
- Realize that deaf people are intelligent and capable.
- Realize that deaf people are contributing members of society.
- Recognize and accept that interpreters are for hearing people too.
- Support accessibility issues for deaf people.
- Realize that money spent on providing interpreters will be gained in reputation. Remember that the quality of a service is also important for reputation.
- Learn about deaf people by interacting with them.

Suggestions for Educators of the Deaf

- Don't lower expectations for deaf people.
- Learn about the culture of your students.
- Provide enough programming so that students benefit from a full school day.

  There needs to be more programming in education, especially for deaf children. Julia would often be home from school at 2:30 p.m. whereas my hearing kids wouldn't be home until almost 4 o'clock. The deaf should have been there until five or gone to school on Saturday... if anything, there' an educational lag.

Suggestions for Professionals Working with Native Deaf People

The following thoughts are additions made by the researcher.

- Do not make assumptions. It will make your job more difficult.
- Be aware of Deaf and Native culture or consult with others who are knowledgeable.
- Realize that cultural attitudes may be different from your own and are equally valid.
- Be aware of your own values, attitudes, and culture.

Future Research

Based on existing literature and knowledge gained from this study, research in the following areas is recommended:

- More socio-cultural studies of Native Deaf people -- Differences among individuals who are Native Deaf exist and it is probable that themes derived from this study will not correlate perfectly with other research studies although commonalties may exist.
- Studies of Deaf Métis and non-status Indians would also be significant contributions to the research literature.
- Sociologically based studies of Métis and Natives who are not culturally Deaf, but have a hearing loss are needed.
- Research involving Native children who are hard of hearing would be invaluable, especially considering the high incidence of otitis media and hearing loss. Are hard of hearing Natives schooled on or off the reserve? Do they have frequency modulation (FM) systems or other assistive devices? Are their needs relative to hearing loss being met?

At the present time, no sociologically based research has been conducted with the groups mentioned in the last three recommendations.

A Final Thought

Ivan Sidney's words provide guidance, but also raise new issues (cited in Eldredge & Carrigan, 1992).

> *Whenever you are confused and are faced with a situation in which you don't know what to do, look to your traditions, to your history. And then you will know how to act.*

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APPENDIX A
SAMPLE QUESTIONS FOR JULIA (PRIMARY PARTICIPANT)

1. What kind of school did you go to? (school for the deaf, mainstream, etc.)
2. At school, were you involved in any extracurricular activities such as sports, computers, photography?
3. Were you involved in any activities that were specifically for deaf people?
4. Are you involved in the Deaf community?
5. Do you ever attend functions or seminars offered by organizations for the deaf?
6. When you were a child at home on the reserve, what kinds of things did you like to do? How about now?
7. What kind of traditions do you participate in?
8. Do you enjoy being on the reserve?
9. How did you feel when you [illegible] high school? What did you do?
10. What have your work exp[illegible]like? How did you communicate with your boss and work mates?
11. How do you most ofte[illegible] with hearing people?
12. What is your preferred langu[illegible]nd mode of communication? (ASL/English; interpreter, writing, speech, lipreading)
13. What kinds of things do you like to do for fun? (being with friends, sports, reading)
14. Were you born deaf?
15. Do you have any brothers or sisters?
16. Do you remember learning sign language?
17. What is really important to you?
18. What is one of your m[illegible]t frustrating experiences? (joyful, sad, angry)
19. What do you think your life will be like 10 years from now?
20. When do you feel successful?
21. How would you describe your Native family? (Deaf family, yourself)
22. How do you introduce yourself to other Deaf people? (Native, hearing white)
23. What do you think is important for people to know about the Native Deaf?
24. Do you remember the first deaf adult you met?
25. Do you ever feel that it's a problem balancing two different cultures?
26. Not being seen as disabled is an issue in the deaf community -- what is your opinion?

APPENDIX B
SAMPLE QUESTIONS FOR ANNE (OTHER PARTICIPANT)

1. How did you become a foster mother?
2. Why did you become a foster parent?
3. Do your children sign?
4. Are both of your parents Deaf?
5. What kind of experiences did you have growing up with Deaf parents?
6. What kinds of activities do you do together? (Julia, family)
7. What would you like to tell me about Julia in the context of the Native/Deaf community?
8. How would you describe Julia when she arrived? (growing up, now)
9. How do you greet one another?
10. What are some of the joys and frustrations of being a foster parent?
11. How would you describe Julia's family?
12. Does Julia's family attend Deaf functions?
13. Have you and your family been to the reserve?
14. Do you feel comfortable when you go?
15. Have you and your family attended Native cultural activities?
16. What positive things do you think have resulted from Julia's being Native and Deaf?
17. Do you think Julia has experienced prejudice because she is Native?
18. Did Julia learn language quickly?
19. What do you think is important for people to know about the Native Deaf?
20. Do you have any other thoughts that you'd like to share?

APPENDIX C
LETTER TO PRIMARY PARTICIPANT

Department of Educational Psychology
6-102 Education North
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
T6G 2G5

Dear participant,

My name is Michelle Sasvari; I am a graduate student in the Deafness Studies Education Program at the University of Alberta. As part of my studies I am doing a research project. This letter is to tell you about my research -- A Case Study of the Social Dynamics of an Individual's Status as Native Indian and Deaf -- and to find out if you are interested in participating in this project.

The purpose of this research study is to learn about people who are Native Indian and Deaf. To learn about their cultures and how their culture is a part of their life. It is an opportunity to share the happiness and the frustrations of participating in one or more cultures.

If you agree to participate, I would like to interview you 3 times for 2 hours. I would like to ask you questions about what you are doing now, your life when growing up, your interests and future plans. I am interested in learning more about your experiences as a person who is Native Indian and Deaf. I would also like to interview other people who are important in your life, such as your family or friends, and who you would like to share information about you and your culture or about being deaf. If these people decide not to participate in the study, that is okay.

A certified sign language interpreter will be used during the interviews. I would like to tape record the interviews. Audio tape recording is helpful for interviews because it shortens the time needed. Interviews will be at a time that is good for both of us.

There may be some questions that you may not wish to answer. You can stop the interview at any time you choose and do not have to give me reasons.

I will use information from the interviews, but will not use your name. I will not write anything that identifies you or any other participant. Your participation in the study is voluntary. At any time, you can stop being in the study without any consequences for yourself.

If you agree to participate in the study, please fill out the consent form on the next page and return it to me. You can call me collect at work (403) 492-5213 or at home (403) 431-0106 if you want more information.

Sincerely,

Michelle Sasvari

APPENDIX D
LETTER TO OTHER PARTICIPANT

Department of Educational Psychology
6-102 Education North
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
T6G 2G5

Dear participant,

My name is Michelle Sasvari; I am a graduate student in the Deafness Studies Education Program at the University of Alberta. As part of my studies I am doing a research project. My research is a study of how an individual's status as Native Indian influences their perceptions and values as a Deaf person, and it is a study to learn about their cultures and how their culture is a part of their life. I hope you will be interested in participating in this project.

_____ is participating in this study, titled "A Case Study of the Social Dynamics of an Individual's Status as Native Indian and Deaf", and has agreed to my interviewing you, however, you do not have to participate in this study. I am interested in learning more about _____. As you are probably aware, they are Native Indian and Deaf, and I would like to know more about their experiences. If you agree to participate, I would like to ask you questions about Native and/or deaf culture and about _____ I would like to interview you 2 times for 1 hour. A certified sign language interpreter will be used during the interviews, if required. I would like to tape record the interviews. Audio tape recording is helpful for interviews because it shortens the time needed. Interviews will be at a time that is good for both of us.

There may be some questions that you may not wish to answer. You can stop the interview at any time you choose and do not have to give me reasons.

I will use information from the interviews, but will not use your name. I will not write anything that identifies you or any other participant. Your participation in the study is voluntary. At any time, you can stop being in the study without any consequences for yourself.

If you agree to participate in the study, please fill out the consent form on the next page and return it to me. You can call me collect at work (403) 492-5213 or at home (403) 431-0106 if you want more information.

Sincerely,

Michelle Sasvari

APPENDIX E
WRITTEN CONSENT FORM

I, _____, have read the attached letter and agree to participate in the audio taped research study -- A Case Study of the Social Dynamics of an Individual's Status as Native Indian and Deaf. I understand that I can stop participating in the study at any time without any consequences to myself. In signing this form, I assure the researcher, Michelle Sasvari, that no financial claims will be made for the use of materials associated with the study. I understand that these recordings will only be used for the purposes of this study and will only be reviewed by the researcher, Michelle Sasvari, and her supervisor, Michael Rodda.

Permission granted to use information for any resulting publications. (2nd signature)

Name: _____
(signature)

Date: _____

Address: _____
_____
_____

Please return this form to:

Michelle Sasvari
Department of Educational Psychology
6-102 Education North
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
T6G 2G5

APPENDIX F
RELEASE FORM

I, _____, agree to Michelle Sasvari interviewing _____ for the research study -- A Case Study of the Social Dynamics of an Individual's Status as Native Indian and Deaf. I understand that these recordings will only be used for the purposes of this study and will only be reviewed by the researcher, Michelle Sasvari, and her supervisor, Michael Rodda.

Name: _____
(signature)

Date: _____

Address: _____
_____
_____

Please return this form to:

Michelle Sasvari
Department of Educational Psychology
6-102 Education North
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
T6G 2G5

APPENDIX G
IDENTITY MODEL

This model contains three main components that will be introduced and described separately.

The first component is represented by a circle. The ring of the circle is identity and contains four elements. For the purpose of this model, the four elements within the identity circle will each have a focal point. In reality, the four elements are fluid.[18] The four identity elements are: Native, Canadian, Deaf, and Native Deaf. In the circle, the elements follow the direction of the sun and each direction represents a period of life.[19] The placement of elements and directional representation are as follows: Native assumes the Eastern position for Native Deaf people are born into a Native culture; the South represents youth and contains the Canadian element of identity because Native Deaf people usually attend Canadian schools as children; Deaf is positioned in the West, adulthood, since most Native Deaf people enter the Deaf community as adults; and the North represents the time of elders and is granted to Native Deaf for old age contains all life experiences and embodies all cultures.

The center of the circle is filled with life experience. Imagine that each life experience is like a grain of sand or an iron filing. Depending on the context and circumstances of the experience, it will be attracted to one of the four focal points or will assume a neutral position as unclassified. Imagine that a magnet is the context and circumstances of any experience. The magnet (context and circumstances) pulls the iron filing (new life experience) toward one of the four directions. Iron filings accumulate and the magnet has the power to attract many filings, but does not always and is not strong enough to pull all the filings to one side. The result can look something like a sand-swept road. That is to say that when a person has a new experience, it alters his/her identity -- either slightly or more dramatically, but it does not totally change who he/she is. He/she is still Native Deaf and still part of Canadian society. For example, suppose a Native Deaf person is talking with other Native Deaf people about a powwow as they walk down a city street. The context is *with Native Deaf* and *in Canadian society*, circumstances are *communicating through ASL* and *talking about a powwow*. The magnet (context and

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18 Fluid means that the elements can change their relative position without separation from the other elements.

19 The four directions, East, South, West, and North, were chosen because of their importance in Native culture.

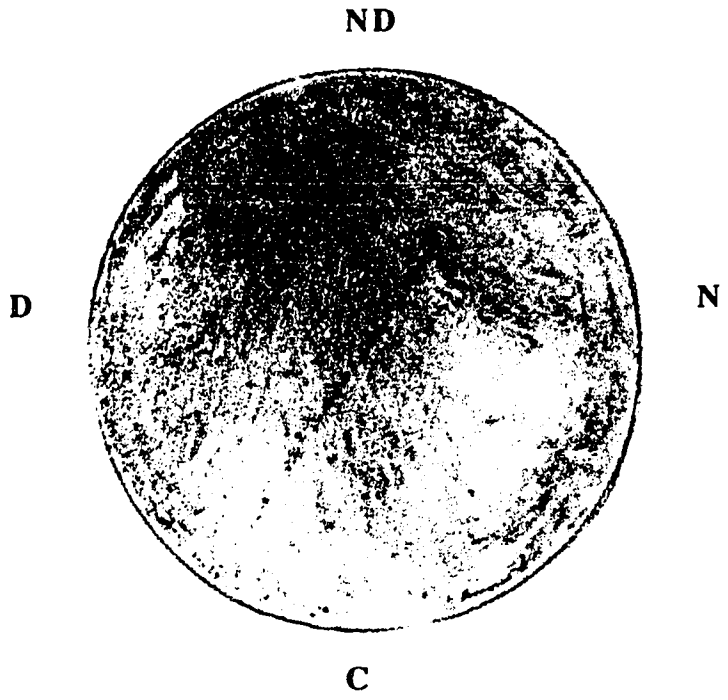
circumstances) contains all four elements of identity, but will be strongest at the North point, Native Deaf. Elements from Native, Deaf, and Canadian will be drawn toward Native Deaf (see Figure 1). Julia's experience at an international Deaf function will be used as a second example. The context is *a Deaf function* and circumstances are *support for Indians, communication through ASL, and acceptance as Native Deaf.* The strongest magnetic pull is toward Deaf identity and elements of Native and Native Deaf are drawn there as well. In the model, there would be a heavy concentration of iron filings in the West (Deaf), light spread from East (Native) to West, and a light spread in the Northwest (Native Deaf/Deaf) (see Figure 2).

The second component, attitude, is a thickened circle split in two (like Oreo cookies if you pull them apart). One Oreo wafer is the private self and the other wafer is the public self. The circle shape still contains the identity element described in the previous section. The difference is that there are two circles; one representing the private self and the other, the public self. Often people have experiences in which they succumb to peer pressure and thus, their public self would represent this in a way consistent to the peer pressure, but the private self would be different. For example, Julia wishes she could understand what is being said at Native ceremonies, but does not wish to be singled out by having an interpreter present. Public self is represented by a strong Native element (East) with no or very little attraction of other elements (see Figure 3). The private self has a strong Native element and draws Deaf (West) and Native Deaf (North) elements as well. There would be a heavy concentration in the East and a fairly filled Northern hemisphere (see Figure 4).

The third component of this model is a cone. The length of the cone is self-concept and the base is the circle of identity (see Figure 5). A small circle reflects a weak self-concept whereas a strong self-concept is represented by a large circle. Identity increases (circle becomes larger) as self-concept increases. Experiences, whether positive or negative, affect the self-concept and identity. The three components of this model are intricately related. Self-concept, attitude, and identity are products and processes of life experience.

Figure 1

Identity Model: Example 1



Elements of Identity

N = Native

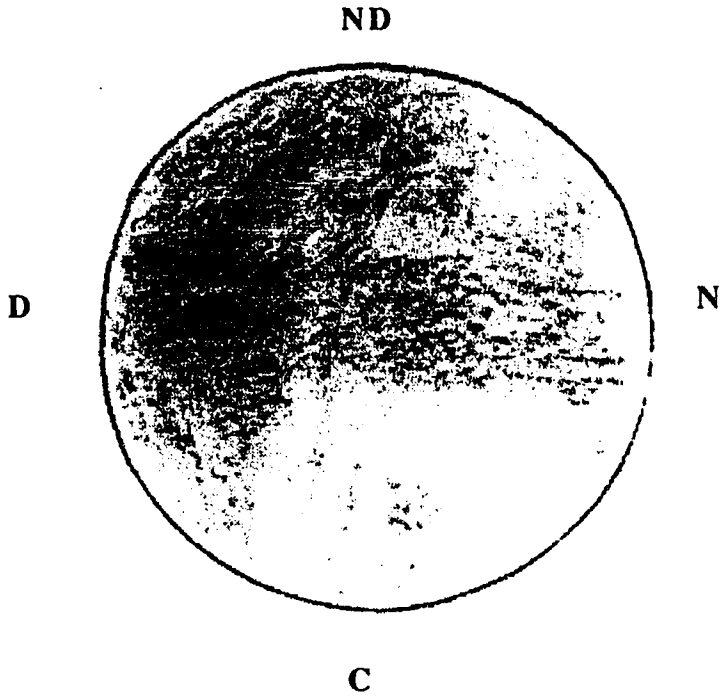
C = Canadian

D = Deaf

ND = Native Deaf

Figure 2

Identity Model: Example 2



Elements of Identity

N = Native

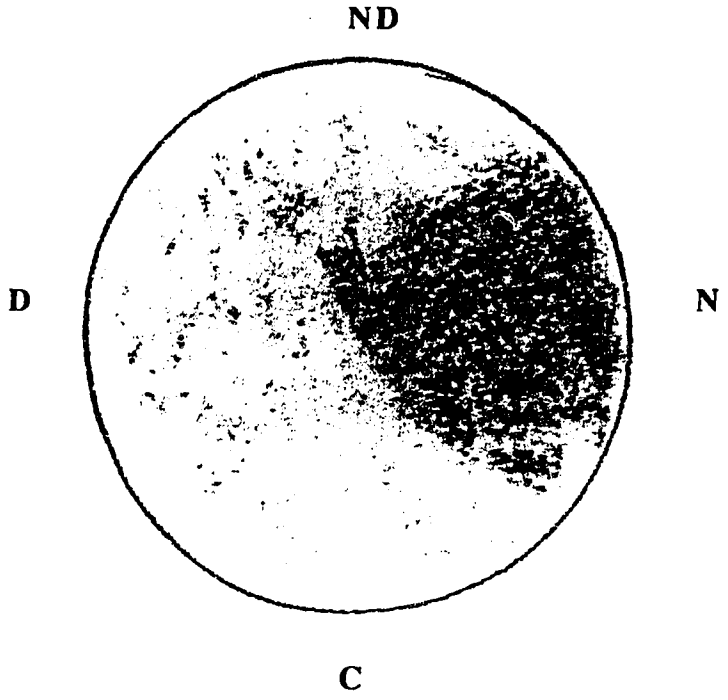
C = Canadian

D = Deaf

ND = Native Deaf

Figure 3

Identity Model: Example 3



Elements of Identity

N = Native

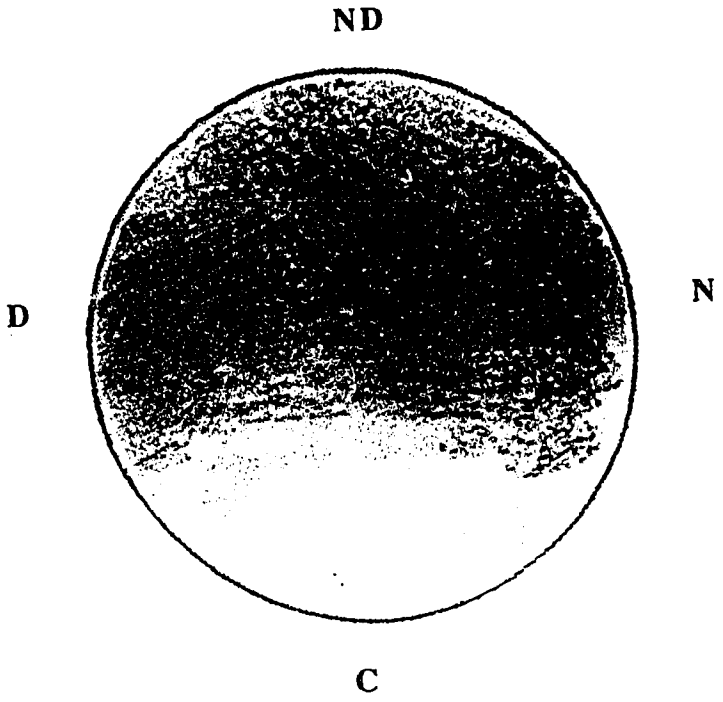
C = Canadian

D = Deaf

ND = Native Deaf

Figure 4

Identity Model: Example 4



Elements of Identity

N = Native

C = Canadian

D = Deaf

ND = Native Deaf

Figure 5

Identity Model: Cone Component