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**Deaf-Latina/Latino Critical Theory in Education: The Lived Experiences and
Multiple Intersecting Identities of Deaf-Latina/o High School Students**

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**Deaf-Latina/Latino Critical Theory in Education: The Lived Experiences and
Multiple Intersecting Identities of Deaf-Latina/o High School Students**

by

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Dedication

To my parents, Charles and Alice Garcia, who believe in the importance of education. With education in mind, you sacrificed the house you built with your own hands on the land of your dreams. My lifetime personal and academic success is a testament to your self-sacrifice, patience, support, prayer and unconditional love. For that, I cannot thank you enough. To you, I dedicate this dissertation.

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Deaf-Latina/Latino Critical Theory in Education: The Lived Experiences and Multiple Intersecting Identities of Deaf-Latina/o High School Students

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Deaf-Latina/Latino Critical (Deaf-LatCrit) Theory in Education is a new theoretical proposition for this qualitative study. Deaf-LatCrit recognizes and validates Deaf-Lat epistemology and challenges the topic of racism and linguicism in educational research. This study explores the multiple identities and experiences of five Deaf-Latina/o (Deaf-Lat) high school students.

Deaf-Lat students reside at a residential school for the Deaf, “Rainy State School for the Deaf” (RSSD), during the week and go home for the weekend, traversing from the margin to the center of educational scholarship and discourses. The intention of this research is to explore the singular Deaf identity discourse and its inter-group diversity in the field of Deaf Studies, particularly in education.

This study examines the main question: What are the intersectional identities and experiences of high school Deaf-Lat students enrolled in a residential school for the Deaf? The methods include demographic questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, participant observations, and cultural documents/artifacts. Using Deaf-LatCrit ethnographic techniques, the researcher worked with Deaf-Lat students and their families for over one year at each Deaf-Lat student's home and RSSD.

This study emerges with two themes: cultural-emotional ties and microaggressions. First, it discusses how Deaf-Lat students' cultural-emotional ties in certain spaces make reference to their multiple intersecting identities. The second theme discusses how Deaf-Lat students experience multiple microaggressions and how their agentic behaviors help them cope.

The findings suggest the need to look beyond Deaf identity by embracing the multiple intersectional race, class, gender and sexual orientation identities of Deaf-Lat students, particularly in schools. Understanding the experiences and overlapping identities of Deaf-Lat students can promote that residential school administrators and classroom teachers explore into their privilege(s) and learn about the history of institutional and individual racism and linguicism. These findings can push for the creation of safe spaces for Deaf-Lat students in the field of education and other multiple disciplines.

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Chapter One: Introduction

This dissertation uses a new framework of multiple intersectionalities, called, Deaf-Latina/Latino Critical (Deaf-LatCrit)¹ theory, to study Deaf Latino/a (Deaf-Lat)² students living in a residential school for the Deaf³. The study focuses on one primary question: What are the intersectional identities and experiences of high school Deaf-Lat students enrolled in a residential school for the Deaf?

In the following section, I describe my personal and professional experiences of being a day student at a residential school for the Deaf, serving as a residential staff member, a case manager for a non-profit agency serving d/Deaf⁴, hard of hearing and d/Deafblind clients, and finally, a teacher and

¹ *Deaf-LatCrit*: This word contains shortened words together representing Deaf Latina/Latino Critical Theory.

² *Deaf-Lat*: This refers to a group of Deaf Latinas/Latinos with ancestries and nationalities derived from Spanish speaking countries: Cubans, Dominicans, Mexicans, Nicaraguan, Peruvians, Puerto Ricans, Salvadoran and other subgroups. This term rejects Deaf identity that is identified primarily and Latina/Latino as secondary or vice versa, which reinforces uneven balanced identities. The hyphen (-) intersects both “Deaf” and “Latinas/ Latinos” together. Deaf- Lat could be either United States born or immigrants. In any study, it is important to be precise with certain groups we are referring to as opposed to cobbling all Deaf-Lat groups together.

³ *Residential school for the Deaf*: It is a facility that includes academic and socialization for d/Deaf students. Students who live within commuting distance go home daily. Students who live far away from home stay at the dormitory or cottage and go home on weekends. Teachers and residential staff are expected to be fluent in American Sign Language (ASL) to be able to communicate with d/Deaf students effectively.

⁴ *Deaf*: With a capital “D” refers to individuals who consider themselves visual learners and who value sign language for communication. They have their consciousness raised about their Deaf identity and Deaf culture.

deaf: With a small “d,” *deaf* refers to individuals with significant audiological loss. They vary in cultural membership.

community activist. These experiences have had a profound impact on the transformation of my multiple identities and who I am today. I use my experiences as a framework to explain that Deaf-Lat students do not only have singular Deaf identity but multiple intersectional identities. It also stresses the importance of understanding and validating Deaf-Lat students lived experiences when incorporating them into education discourses.

(Un)safe Spaces- Nepantla⁵ -Multiple Intersectionality Clashes

In the cumulative span of my lifetime as a Deaf Latina female, I straddled multiple hearing and Deaf communities and the smaller communities within. I have encountered multiple borderlands of contradictions, where I experienced overlapping discrimination: audism⁶, linguicism, racism, and sexism.

In spite of my communication preference for visual language—American Sign Language⁷ (ASL), I was forced to use aural (through use of hearing aids) and oral (using my voice) methods as I signed each word in English order, known as “Simultaneous Communication” (Sim-Com) in the classrooms. I felt teachers cared less for signing as long as I used my incomprehensible voice in the

⁵ *Nepantla* is a Nahuatl word which means tierra entre medio (land in between). Anzaldúa (2002) use this term, nepantla when theorizing “liminality and to talk about those who facilitate passages between worlds, whom I’ve named nepantleras. I associate nepantla with states of mind that question old ideas and beliefs, acquire new perspectives, change worldviews, and shift from one world to another” (p.1).

⁶ *Audism*- Humphries (1977, p. 12) coined this term and he defines it as “a notion that one is superior based on one’s ability to hear or behave in the manner of one who hears”.

⁷ *American Sign Language* (ASL) - It is a visual sign language utilizing head, eyes, head, hands, arms, along with facial expression and body movement where sound is not used. Its grammar and syntax differ from oral English or any other language.

dominant language, English. All my life, I have seen this statement, *It is a hearing world*, which signifies the deep root of audism in our society. Unfortunately, audism is so universal and deep-seated, extending even into the homes of Deaf children with hearing parents who prefer visual language. When signing with my parents at home, they often remind me to use my voice in English based on the school's recommendation. In public places, I was told not to sign leaving me very confused, thinking that signing is a stigma in the eyes of non-Deaf people.

Linguicism, including racism, also irritated my Deaf-Lat identity. Hearing teachers told my parents not to speak Spanish because it would become confusing for me as I was forced to learn to read lips in English. In New Mexico public schools, legislation heavily enforces the use of English as a primary spoken language to develop literacy, as opposed to Spanish (Crawford, 1992). However, my parents did not stop using Spanish at home. As a result, not only was my desire to express myself emotionally suppressed but my gendered and racialized body was ascribed with stereotypes as I encountered and resisted sexual harassments in high school. In response to my resistance, the boys called me *bitch*, *slut*, and *whore*. I did not share these incidents with my parents for fear that they would not allow me to socialize with my friends after school in the dorm, or stay overnight on some weekdays or weekends during athletic games or special school events.

The friction of microaggressions continued to shake my multiple childhood identities into, and throughout my adulthood. A White hearing teacher claimed

that I would struggle and leave the four year university, despite the fact that she was born to Deaf parents. Some hearing adults encouraged me to consider enrolling in a community college closer to home. However, my heartfelt thanks go to some Deaf adults and a few hearing teachers whom I respect, and who challenged me to follow my dream. I recall being so ecstatic when entering the Deaf Mecca of Gallaudet University where I longed to learn more about ASL, Deaf culture, and Deaf history.

My Deaf identity solidified when I participated in one of Gallaudet's historical movements, Deaf President Now (discussed further in Chapter 2). Along with other students, we shut down campus to express our disagreement with the appointment of a hearing president of Gallaudet. The protest was sparked after Jane Spilman, chair of the Board of Trustees made this statement, "The Deaf are not yet ready to function in the hearing world." In solidarity, we signed, "Deaf Power" to redefine our Deaf identity. At Gallaudet, my Deaf identity was fully awakened. Gallaudet was a safe space where Deaf students shared tools and skills to resist audism. However, I experienced internal oppression in the Gallaudet community when it came to other parts of my intersectional identities. My racial and gendered identities remained silenced and fragmented. I could not find *safe* spaces to discuss other intersectional discrimination: linguicism, racism, and sexism.

White Deaf students criticized me for using a certain sign when referring to my home state, New Mexico's state vegetable, chiles. Sedano (2001) reminds,

“evidently ASL and Deaf culture is another Anglo-Protestant tradition, as is English” (p.127). The same thing happened when I used signs for tortilla, tamales, beans, sopapillas, Spanish, Mexico, Mexican, etc. Other racial-related situation happened when a Deaf male student questioned the color of my skin and where I was from, and to satisfy his curiosity, I replied I was from New Mexico. He said there was no such thing as New Mexico in the United States, unless I was referring to Old Mexico. I described where New Mexico is geographically, but he snapped and said “You are a wetback” and suggested that I return to Mexico. Other intersectional discrimination was added when I experienced sexism both at Gallaudet University, and in public places. I became angry toward men because it was so difficult for me to understand why we, women were perceived as objects.

Multiple microaggressions continued after Gallaudet. At my family church, some people pressured me to go up to the altar, while the audience gawked, to see if I could miraculously begin to hear through spiritual healing. I was told that I did not have enough faith, and that was the main reason why I remained deaf. With immense Deaf pride, I resisted. Having been born Deaf, it felt very normal. I did not feel the need to be fixed. I knew I was born deaf for a reason. I cringed at the concept of normalization that I witnessed, and deep in my heart, I knew there was nothing wrong with me. I kept reminding myself that it was their denial, not mine.

A similar situation occurred in one of my graduate courses. I participated in a large group discussion, with other teachers in training and I was asked to share how it felt to be a deaf person. I responded, that it was just like being born with brown eyes. A white hearing male student in the class claimed that I “denied a very important sense” and I was “dismissing its absence as a mere cosmetic fluke.” His comment concerned me since he wanted to become a teacher and he would work with students who have backgrounds and experiences different from his.

I was not taught or prepared to protect myself by recognizing different types of microaggressions, other than audism, by speaking up or taking action against injustice. The spaces are often unsafe. In an attempt to avoid further pain, I “dwell in nepantla so much of the time it’s become a sort of ‘home’” (Anzaldúa, 2002, p. 1).

Decolonizing Dysconscious Racism: Towards a New Consciousness

“The healing of our wounds results in transformation and transformation results in the healing of our wounds” (Anzaldúa, 2009, p. 311).

During my teaching career, I have been truly blessed to have unique relationships with Deaf-Lat students who reside in the dormitories/cottages of a couple of residential schools, where school culture differs from home. Listening to their eye opening silenced stories made me realize that they were experiencing similar microaggressions to those I personally experienced. Just

like me, they need ongoing support to defend themselves against racism and other types of discrimination that continue to hang thickly in the air.

I feel I have to speak up and take accountability for Deaf-Lat students and other Deaf students of color (DSC). This realization motivates me to conduct this study and to push for more dialogue about *the lived experiences and identities* of Deaf-Lat students as I also push for *consciousness raising* among Deaf-Lat students and other DSCs.

While studying at the University of Texas at Austin, I was assigned to read *Borderlands/La Frontera* by Anzaldúa (2007). In the middle of reading, my younger sister broke the news of her discovery that our great grandpa was from Chihuahua, Mexico. I was excited, since I am usually the one who explores our family tree. As I read the rest of the book, my emotions began to include shame, sadness, and anger. My shame is because we (my siblings and I) were told repeatedly that we are not Mexican, but Spanish. This brings sadness to me because the denial reveals that indigenous people are invalidated. I was angry because I felt like I was “spaniardized” by my family ancestors and “americanized” by white American society. I felt like I had been twice-dyed. My family and many others were victimized by the same falsified messages.

Through my coursework, I realized I lacked Mestiza consciousness, since I had been instilled with dysconscious racism (J. King, 1998). Anzaldúa validated me as a Deaf-Lat female, enduring the burden of oppressions created by those who dominate, and thereby control, knowledge and education. The raising of my

Latina consciousness has given me an opportunity to reclaim and redefine myself. Anzaldúa (2009) encourages the Coyolxauhqui imperative, which is “an ongoing process of making and unmaking. There is never any resolution, just the process of healing” (p. 312). Every day, I heal and experience increasing liberation as a Deaf Mestiza female. This has taught me that my Latina identity is equally important to my Deaf identity and other intersecting identities; therefore, I strongly recommend Deaf-Lat students learn about, and embrace, their multiple identities at an early age.

Problem Statement

In Deaf Education, scholars tended to focus on d/Deaf students and their academic achievements as one big homogenous group. Cohen (1997) states that Deaf students in residential schools are often taught the “familiar dichotomy between deaf and hearing staff, deaf and hearing parents and deaf students and hearing staff” (p. 81). Radical teachers often integrate content about Deaf Studies into the curriculum (Holcomb, 2010); however home culture, race, and ethnicity of DSC are not included.

Deaf Education fails to recognize the importance of including Deaf-Lat students’ home language because educators heavily stress ASL and English. Educators embrace an erroneous claim that learning more than two languages would confuse Deaf-Lat students. However, Gerner de Garcia (2000) believes that the opposition has less to do with pedagogy, but linguicism. Deaf-Lat students not exposed to ASL are also perceived as having “no language” (Gerner

de Garcia, 2000, p. 162) regardless of whether they use their host country sign language, homemade signs, or gestures. Deaf-Lat students have to deal with not one, but *multiple* oppressions by different communities.

In addition to dealing with internal oppression presented by the Deaf community itself, when Deaf-Lat students enter the hearing majority world where sign language is frowned upon and spoken language is preferred, since sign language is considered inferior to spoken language. Further, within the Latino community, some Deaf-Lat students are often questioned about why they do not read, write, and speak well in Spanish. The unspoken criticism screams reproach and disapproval. They experience many types of marginalization associated with their multiple identities: Deaf culture, ASL, home culture, home language, and country sign language. This issue is especially problematic for Deaf-Lat immigrants and their families.

Many Deaf-Lat immigrants arrive in the United States either with literacy in only Spanish or no formal schooling (Gerner de Garcia, 1995; Hernández, 1999). Deaf-Lat immigrants are left out of educational processes, and struggle, not just at school, but also as people in a new country. This problem heavily affects Deaf-Lat immigrant students who already have low social capital as they face the many stresses produced by the acculturation process (Hernández, 1999). Cohen and Grant (1978) state, "Deafness plus Americanization of the deaf minority group child can have the undesirable effect of compounding the alienation of the ethnic family from their deaf child" (p. 74). Foster and Kinuthia (2003) stress that

residential schools “must consider the unintended consequence of distancing deaf minority students from their parents’ cultures” (p. 289). These patterns of inequality in the schooling of Deaf-Lat students challenge the notion that they only struggle with audism. Failure to address multiple intersectionalities leaves Deaf-Lat students ill prepared to advocate for themselves against different types of discrimination or prejudices.

There is some literature about the multiple identities of Deaf People of Color (DPOC); however the participants were asked which identity they identified with *first*, for instance either Deaf or minority (Aramburo, 1989; Foster & Kinuthia, 2003). To my knowledge, there is only one education-related study based on the discussion of race and racism in Deaf Education (McCaskill, 2005). There are many “lived” stories and a few written articles and studies about Deaf-Lat students. I know of not a single study that explores the experiences and multiple identities of Deaf-Lat students in residential schools. Therefore, I believe my research is urgently needed.

Theoretical Framework

In her dissertation, Genie Gertz (2003) claims, “Critical Race Theory offers the Deaf community an excellent and transformative framework” (p. 419). She proposes an “application of Deaf ‘Critical Race Theory,’ where one examines the audistic subordination and marginalization of Deaf people that is perhaps best identified as Deaf Crit” (p. 421). The author attempts to develop themes that relate to “Deaf Critical Race Theory,” in which racism is replaced by audism as

the center of critical analysis. She briefly mentions that Deaf Crit concurs with Critical Race Theory (CRT) that Deaf people experience other types of subordination. However, she fails to mention the intersectional identities of Deaf people, particularly DPOC, who struggle with race and racism in both hearing and Deaf communities, contradicting the history and initial goal of CRT. The founding of CRT was to debunk “colorblindness” and make race and racism explicit. It also emphasizes the importance of intersectionality. Gertz’s proposition repeats the cycle of ongoing singular identity discourse. The term *Deaf* is defined eurocentrically, without acknowledging the importance of preserving multiple identities historically seen and sensed in the Deaf Community, especially in Deaf Education.

A groundbreaking study conducted by McCaskill (2005) identified, through in-depth historical study of three residential schools for the Deaf, findings that reveal that Black Deaf students experienced differential treatment, education inequity, racism and exploitation during segregation using CRT. In her limitations of the study section, she writes, “CRT is still relatively new and not well established in Deaf education” (p. 162). It is accurate that Deaf Education literature lacks CRT, the need is urgent. The rationale for this study is to push for more dialogue, to raise consciousness in the area of race and racism in Deaf Education, and, last but not least, fight for the equal right to education for all DPOC through social justice.

As I mentioned earlier, I aim to push for more dialogue around CRT in Deaf Education. Deaf-LatCrit explores educational discrimination by looking at race and other multiple intersections. Collins (2000) states that oppressed groups like Deaf-Lat students “cannot be fully empowered unless intersecting oppressions themselves are eliminated” (p. 22). A critical paradigm is appropriate for this study since I attempt to address social injustice found in the Deaf community, particularly in Deaf Education.

The purpose of this study is to examine the racial/ ethnic experiences of Deaf-Lat students who reside in residential schools for the Deaf utilizing a framework of multiple intersectionalities. The lived experiences of DPOC who live in two different cultural contexts (residential school and home) throughout the school year is rarely discussed. I intend to examine the experiences of Deaf-Lat students and their families who are currently overlooked in schools through the use of Deaf-Lat ethnographic study. This will include field notes, a demographic questionnaire, interviews, participant observation, and cultural documents and artifacts along with other unobtrusive sources.

I hope this study promotes scholars and researchers in the Deaf Community especially Deaf Education to think outside of the “Deaf Box” through dialogue about race and racism. This consciousness raising may assist Deaf Education trainers, educators, scholars, researchers and student teachers to pay attention to multiple identities and experiences of Deaf-Lat students and other DSC.

Research Questions

What are the intersectional identities and experiences of high school-aged Deaf Latina/o (Deaf-Lat) students enrolled in a residential school for the Deaf?

This question can be broken down into several components:

- How do the multiple identities of Deaf-Lat students differ in separate contexts (home versus school)?
- How do Deaf-Lat students recognize their multiple identities?
- How do Deaf-Lat students experience living in two different cultural contexts?
- How do the clashes associated with multiple identities affect the families of Deaf-Lat students?

Significance of this Study

Historically, scholars and educators have viewed Deaf students who preferred using visual language as opposed to spoken language as one of the special education groups labeled with a disability. However this label was, and today still is pushed back by Deaf scholars and hearing allies who argue that Deaf students are members of a linguistically and culturally minority group. They also promote the use of cultural responsive pedagogy to support the Deaf identity and experiences of d/Deaf students by embracing ASL and Deaf culture.

Unfortunately, those scholars, educators and allies failed to recognize the importance of ethnic cultural identity and home language of Deaf-Lat students.

This practice repeats a singular identity discourse (Natapoff, 1995), which means

that the scholars, researchers, and educators are neglecting other discriminatory issues that impacted other parts of their multiple identities of this unique group (Crenshaw, 1991).

To understand home and racial/ethnicity identity and culture of Deaf-Lat students, scholars, researchers and educators must understand the history of oppression and institutional racism that victimizes the hearing Latino communities which eventually impacted Deaf-Lat communities as well. The issues of class, race/ethnicity, language, and immigration all play big roles in the experiences and identities of Deaf-Lat students and their families. Through this study, I hope to promote Deaf Education teacher preparation programs to improve awareness among teachers, residential staff, school staff, and administrators to acknowledge the intersectional identities of Deaf-Lat students; and how they construct their personal way of knowing. As Parasnis (2012, p. 706) stressed,

Developing the knowledge constructs of Deaf identity and Deaf community is necessary to understand how diverse deaf people develop personal epistemologies. How these personal epistemologies influence deaf students' educational experiences need to be considered to develop epistemological frameworks to inform deaf educational policies and practices. Teacher-training programs should incorporate teaching about diversity and multiculturalism as well as epistemological diversity so that

teachers understand how sociocultural diversity influences the epistemologies of deaf people. (p. 76)

This study may benefit Deaf Education in the area of: 1) consciousness raising among educators, scholars, researchers and students; 2) addressing social justice using a critical race theory paradigm for future studies; 3) promoting culturally relevant pedagogy and funds of knowledge (Moll, Neff, Amanti, & Gonzales, 1992); and 4) empowering and liberating Deaf-Lat students by validating their lived experiences and knowledge.

Organization of the Study

This study is broken into five chapters. The current chapter discusses my rationale of doing this dissertation. It is a reflection of my lifetime journey as I learn to embrace my multiple intersectional identities, Deaf-Latina as opposed to a singular identity, Deaf. I aim to promote a healthy dialogue on the topic of “intersectionality” in the Deaf community, particularly in education. I conclude by discussing the importance of this research, particularly in the Deaf-Lat community.

Chapter Two discusses literature pertinent to this work with a brief historical background on the repression of Deaf people, particularly in education, leading to a Deaf vs. Hearing dichotomy discourse. The process of writing these brief historical recounts led to redefining Deaf identity and an expansion of studies on the topic of Deaf identity, including a couple of studies on the identity of DSC. The marginalization and poor academic performance of DPOC reveals

the historical internal oppression in the Deaf community leading to the budding of DPOC organizations. The evolution is reviewed relative to how it parallels the historical phenomenon of Critical Race Theory (CRT). Both CRT in education and Latino Critical Theory in education are also reviewed to make further sense of this new theoretical framework, Deaf-Latina/o Critical Theory in education, which has emerged from this study.

Chapter Three discusses the research questions, rationale for using a qualitative method, and critical inquiry. I also review the rationale for using a Deaf-Lat ethnographic study to gather my data, the procedures and methods used to conduct multiple data collection efforts, and my choice of a particular data analysis. In the last part of this chapter, I explore the topic of trustworthiness of Deaf-LatCrit study and my positionality as I conduct this study.

Chapter Four introduces five Deaf-Lat students who participated in this study. I briefly describe each student before I let them speak for themselves. Each Deaf-Lat student describes who they are, a little about their family, and their experience living in a residential school for the Deaf. They also introduce their cultural document artifact that reflects their multiple identities.

Chapter Five provides an analysis of the array data in this study. Two main themes emerge. The first one, cultural emotional ties, is when Deaf-Lat students discuss some things that draw them toward either home or “Rainy State School for the Deaf”. The second one, multiple microaggression, is identified through their interaction with other Deaf students and staff at RSSD.

Chapter Six reviews all research questions and the most important findings. Implications, recommendations and suggestions for future research are also presented. I wrap up this chapter with final thoughts.

Chapter Two: Review of Literature

In this chapter, I stress how important it is to understand the deep historical connection between Deaf Education and the Deaf community prior to exploring the intersectional identities, especially racial identity, and experiences of high school-aged Deaf-Lat students who lived in a residential school for the Deaf. Next, I describe the emergence of Deaf identity theory which promotes a narrow and singular identity discourse. I also describe how multiple identities of Deaf People of Color (DPOC) were neglected. I conclude this literature review with an introduction to a history of Critical Race Theory (CRT) and a new theory, Deaf-LatCrit.

History of Deaf Education

Deaf Education has a long history of controversial debates over pedagogical philosophy, primarily regarding whether deaf children should be taught through spoken language in English or through sign language (Lang, 2007). According to Crouch and Greenwald (2007), in the European debates, England and Germany prefer oralism (spoken language), however, Spain and France are in favor of manualism (sign language). In the United States, preferences for oralism versus manualism have shifted historically. During America's colonial period, not all deaf students received education. An example of this, according to Lang (2007), was that deaf students with "influential parents" were able to obtain formal private instruction using the oral method at the rural Cobbs school, established in 1815.

In the early 1800s, Doctor Mason Cogswell sought educational opportunities for his deaf daughter, Alice. Cogswell was aware of the Cobbs school, founded by John Braidwood, a grandson of the Braidwood Academy founder in Scotland, but he resisted sending his daughter to such a rural setting. He felt that a state-funded school in an urban area would bring together all deaf students, regardless of class (Van Cleve, 2007). The Cobbs private school struggled to survive with just seven students, and closed in the Fall of 1816.

Cogswell funded a minister, Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet, who had a special relationship with Alice, to travel to Europe and explore the best methods for instruction. While in England, Gallaudet visited the family-run business of the Braidwood's, who claimed they were able to educate deaf children successfully using the oral method. However, they refused to share their secrets (Van Cleve, 2007). They claimed they also made a profit, but Gallaudet found this incompatible with his philosophy. Gallaudet learned about an upcoming exhibition in London, where a head of the Royal Institution in Paris, Abbe Sicard, presented along with deaf alumni who demonstrated their abilities in reading, writing, and speaking. Gallaudet was impressed, so he travelled to Paris and visited the Royal Institution, where he studied and collaborated with an alumnus, Laurent Clerc, who himself became a teacher. Gallaudet convinced Clerc to move to America, where they, along with Cogswell, founded the first state-funded residential school, the American School for the Deaf (ASD), in 1817. They began with 31 students, including Alice, and the rest is history.

Residential Schools for the Deaf. There is at least one state funded residential school for the Deaf in almost every state, although both California and New York have more than one. Residential schools for the deaf admitted any Deaf and hard of hearing students from any racial and socio-economic background long before the impact of Jim Crow laws (McCaskill, 2005). When hearing or seeing this term, “residential” school, it is often assumed with misconceptions that the school is like Native American boarding school that separates children from their parents away from home. Preston (1994) describes residential schools for the Deaf as places that parents felt they had no choice but to send their deaf children during the 1800s due to lack of transportation that would have enabled them to attend day classes. Those children who resided in the dormitory socialized using their primary visual language and Deaf culture.

The residential schools for the Deaf are known as the spaces where Deaf children are exposed to the Deaf community, Deaf people, ASL and Deaf culture (Padden & Humphries, 1988). These spaces also allow Deaf students to develop friendships that often endure long after graduation. However the mistreatment of Deaf students, particularly Deaf students of color (DSC), is not sufficiently discussed. For instance, the residential schools for the Deaf that enrolled Native American Deaf children reinforced the practice of forced assimilation as seen in the hearing Native boarding schools.

The first Native American boarding school, in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, was founded in 1879, 62 years after the establishment of approximately 35 residential

schools for the deaf (Gannon, 1981). Six years after Carlisle, a “school for the education of the deaf and dumb” (now New Mexico School for the Deaf) (NMSD) was established in Santa Fe by a White deaf founder, Lars Larson and his deaf wife, Belle, with five students, of either White or Mexican descent. At that time, New Mexico was still a territory, not obtaining statehood until 1912. Believing deaf children were endowed with the same rights and privileges as hearing children, the Larsons used their own funds to open the school, in order to give deaf children equal access to education (Meyer, 1989). Larson travelled across New Mexico to find and gather deaf children. Larson included Indian lands in his stops, and as a result, several Navajo students were enrolled in NMSD (Meyer, 1989). Some Navajos were dropped off by parents who were interested in education for their children (Larson, 1899).

The Native boarding school movement is well known for forced assimilation through isolation where the home culture and spoken language were stripped away, while Natives were forced to undergo a complete transformation in their way of thinking and cultural practices. Similarly, at NMSD, Larson reported transformation through the assimilation of Native Deaf children when they arrived at school according to him: “ugly, dirty, offensive, fussy and ignorant, but they have been transformed into a pretty, clean, pleasant, happy and cognizant set” (Larson, 1899, p. 81).

Larson found Native Deaf to have learning capabilities and skills similar to those seen with other Native Deaf students in other residential schools for the

deaf (Larson, 1899). Larson found himself in a dilemma when he was not praised by the territory legislature for providing education to Native Deaf children using government money. The government claimed they should take over education for the Native Deaf children, but Larson protested, feeling that Native Deaf children should have the same right to an education as any other non-Native Deaf child. This marked the beginning of many years of conflict between Larson and the legislature, only ending when he was replaced with a hearing superintendent.

There are no written documents from Native Deaf students themselves of their schooling experiences during that period. However, during a public examination, one of the successful Native Deaf students, Jose B. Salazar, gave a presentation using sign language:

Six years ago I was sent by my dear mother to this school to receive an education. Before I came here I did not know how to write nor to read, did not even know my own name nor the name of anything and had no idea about language and about God and his wonderful works...you see that I am now able to read and cipher and understand language...I am thankful to the committee...and having been instructed by this teacher. He [Larson] has led me from ignorance to knowledge... Meyer (1989, p. 24)

It is not known if Jose's presentation was truly from his own heart or written by a staff member. There are a couple of studies where the lived experiences of DSC in residential schools for the Deaf were collected.

As mentioned earlier, McCaskill (2005) was able to collect Black Deaf students who experienced racial discrimination in residential schools for the Deaf during segregation however there is an assumption that we have moved to a post-Jim Crow society. There was an incident of racial violence at a residential school for the Deaf where a Black Deaf teen was pinned against his wish and “KKK” and swastikas were written on his body (CBSNEWS, October 4, 2007). Paris and Wood (2002) were able to collect different stories shared by the Native American, Alaska Native, and First Nations Deaf individuals who experienced racial discrimination at residential schools for the Deaf.

There is a growing number of studies that explore hearing DSC and issues they face in schools, however discourse about the experiences of Deaf students of color in residential schools for the Deaf in terms of their racial/ ethnicity, identity, and other intersectional identities is insufficient. Therefore, it is urgent to bring all groups of Deaf students of color from the margin to the center and create spaces for them to share their life experiences especially, their school experiences.

Deaf Leaders/ Role Models. A number of residential schools over the years were founded by successful Deaf leaders (Gannon, 1981). Some alumni of residential schools became vocational teachers, and prepared Deaf students for competitive employment during the industrial period. This opportunity was not given to d/Deaf students in public schools (Van Cleve, 2007), so d/Deaf people came to prefer residential schools. Most importantly, Deaf students at residential

schools for the Deaf developed their “Deaf way of knowing.” Residential schools continue to play important roles in the development of Deaf culture, Deaf identity, and the Deaf community, which are deeply interwoven and inseparable (Johnston, 1997).

Hearing vs. Deaf Dichotomy

The inventor of the telephone, Alexander Graham Bell cringed at the widespread use of sign language. He claimed, “The deaf-mutes think in the gesture language, and English is apt to remain a foreign tongue” (A. G. Bell, 1883, p. 218). Bell recognized that deaf people could communicate with hearing people through writing, but disliked their “broken” English. He compared deaf people to foreigners who spoke languages other than English (A. G. Bell, 1883). According to Crouch and Greenwald (2007), Bell and others supported the oralism movement, which stressed that deaf children be taught to use spoken English only.

In 1880, two major events occurred that stirred the Deaf community. The first conference of the National Association of the Deaf (NAD) in Cincinnati, Ohio brought Deaf people together from all over the country. NAD founders believed that deaf people needed to learn how to advocate for themselves; solving issues and handling discrimination in the hearing society. They were concerned about the quality of education where oralism might hinder the opportunity for deaf people to learn, and to receive employment training and opportunities in the competitive industrial society (Gannon, 1981).

The second event was the Second International Congress on Education of the Deaf in Milan, Italy, where 164 participants from different European countries (mainly Italy and France) and the United States came together. There was only one deaf participant from the US (Van Cleve & Crouch, 1989). The congress wrote a declaration proclaiming that oralism worked better than sign language for instruction. Six educators in the United States and Britain expressed their disagreement, but their voices were suppressed. Deaf teachers using sign language were discharged all over the world (Lane, Hoffmeister, & Bahan, 1996). Sign language was banned in classrooms. However, there were early proponents of Deaf Education, like Cogswell who noticed that Deaf people use sign language naturally (Crouch & Greenwald, 2007). Oralism does not stop Deaf students from using sign language continuously outside the classroom.

Discrimination against d/Deaf people continued throughout the early 1900s in concert with discrimination against other people who were considered undesirable. In 1908, Bell was not only concerned about growth in the number of sign language users, but also with the number of immigrants in the United States (Greenwald, 2007). Bell worked closely with Charles Davenport in proposing to Congress that there be eugenic control over the number of undesirable children (e.g., those who exhibited criminal behavior, disabilities, mental illness, or low intelligence); d/Deaf children were included as undesirables. Bell supported the concept of White national identity and the “lovely White” concept (Takaki, 2000). He proposed that Congress start conducting racial surveys in the United States

and use immigration laws to screen out undesirable individuals so as to maintain “the evolution of a higher and nobler type of man in America, and not deterioration of the nation” (Bell, 1908, 119 in Greenwald, 2007, p. 144). During the eugenics movement, many deaf immigrants were turned back upon their arrival to the United States (Baynton, 2006).

However, at the same time, the establishment of residential schools for the Deaf sprawled across the country, and sign language followed, spreading from the east coast to the west coast. Twenty-four residential schools for the Deaf were founded by the Deaf and 27 were founded by hearing individuals (Gannon, 1981). From the 1900s to the 1950s, Deaf people across the country continued with their daily lives, becoming artists, inventors, priests, teachers, pilots, shop owners. And, they continued to participate in NAD state chapters. Deaf people shared the same fears as hearing people during World War I and II and the Great Depression. In the 1960s, the oralism movement weakened, but it did not surrender.

Redefining Deaf Identity

There were highlights from the 1950s to the 1980s where the Deaf community became stronger. During the 1950s, William Stokoe, a professor at Gallaudet University, was fascinated with the history of sign language suppression. This motivated Stokoe to conduct a linguistic study with two deaf colleagues. They asserted that sign language is an authentic language that contains linguistic structure through hand shapes, locations of signs, and

movement. This led to sign language being recognized and named "American Sign Language" (ASL). Also, in 1965 during this period, the first ASL dictionary was written (Padden & Humphries, 2005). Out of fear, Deaf people initially resisted the recognition, since Stokoe was a hearing man; however, years later he won the hearts of many Deaf people, and became highly respected by the Deaf community.

In 1975, in an attempt to include Deaf children in public schools, the Education for All Handicapped Children Act (PL 94-141) was passed. This bill was later renamed and became known as the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) (Lane et al., 1996). The law ensured that states and school districts would provide a free and *appropriate education* to every "disabled" child. Inclusion was the primary goal of IDEA. All children with disabilities would be placed in the "least restrictive environment" (LRE). Scholars, educators and activists in Deaf Education pointed out that public schools are the *most* restrictive environment for d/Deaf students for a couple of reasons. First, public schools lack teachers who are fluent in ASL for instruction and conversation in the language, which is preferred by most Deaf students. Second, they also lack an understanding of Deaf culture, and would suffer from a lack of d/Deaf peers who could communicate and interact with each other in and outside of the classrooms (Lane et al., 1996).

In 1988, Gallaudet University was engulfed with the Deaf President Now movement, which pushed for the appointment of a Deaf university president. Two

out of three candidates for the job of University President were Deaf Gallaudet alumni. Nevertheless, a hearing woman, Elisabeth Zinser, who did not know any ASL, was selected. The angry Deaf student protesters felt their wishes were not important enough to be recognized and that ASL and Deaf culture were viewed as unimportant (Jankowski, 1997). Jane Bassett Spilman, chair of the Board of Trustees, provoked the protesters further by stating, “Deaf people are not ready to function in a hearing world.” The protesters successfully closed the campus for a week. Their demands were: 1) replacement of Zinser with a Deaf President, 2) immediate resignation of Jane Bassett Spilman, 3) the Board of Trustees should have a 51% majority of Deaf members, and 4) no reprisal for any students or staff who participated in the protests. Both d/Deaf and hearing supporters all over the world sent their support and wishes. The demands were met and I. King Jordan was appointed as the first deaf president. This successful campaign helped many deaf people to develop Deaf Pride and begin to identify themselves as Deaf (Jankowski, 1997).

Soon after, scholars and educators began an exploration into bilingual education. In 1989, the Indiana School for the Deaf, with support from the Deaf community, became the first residential school for the Deaf to utilize bilingual and bicultural (bi/bi) education, teaching English using the students’ primary language, ASL. Today, several residential schools for the Deaf and self-contained classrooms in public schools attempt to utilize the concept of bi/bi. More bilingual proponents are beginning to recognize ASL as a language;

proponents like bilingual education researcher Colin Baker, thoughtfully discusses the importance of deaf children learning ASL prior to English to acquire bilingualism. Today, the American School for the Deaf continues to stand, amid the footprints of alumni who return to celebrate during reunions and other school events. Recently, the closing of a few residential schools by the government, who claimed a lack of funding, brought alumni together to protest. Although some schools were closed, others were saved.

Another important aspect of current Deaf Education is recent advances in medical treatment for d/Deaf children, such as the cochlear implants. The United States Food and Drug Administration approved cochlear implants in 1972. During a surgical procedure, an electronic device is inserted beyond the inner ear structures to convert sound to electrical signals which stimulates the auditory nerve to facilitate hearing (Lane et al., 1996). Cochlear implant companies work closely with medical personnel to promote the use of cochlear implants, which “are no longer experimental, but are routinely offered to parents of deaf children” (Padden & Humphries, 2005). According to Humphries et al. (2012), the results from prior studies have indicated that both hearing and deaf children should acquire language earlier - before the age of five - to avoid language delay. Many medical professionals are opposed to the idea of having implanted children learn sign language and urge that they only be taught to listen and speak vocally. More deaf babies are being implanted at an early age and those who were not exposed to sign language during the critical years are at risk for language delay.

(Humphries et al., 2012). Children with implants who were unsuccessful at aural and oral language development may subsequently be exposed to sign language. But this comes after missing critical years of language development and may contribute to additional problems such as language delay, cognition disorders and psychosocial problems (Humphries et al., 2012). Hearing parents of implanted deaf children are often not exposed to Deaf culture and community, and are thus unaware of the possibility of living fulfilling lives for children. Medical professionals have often failed to protect the linguistic rights and cognitive health of implanted children. This has made the oralism versus manualism debate even more politically complex. Deaf people have long resisted this sort of suppression and rejected the claim that they need to be “fixed” (Lane, 2008). A long history of suppression motivates Deaf people to preserve their Deaf identity.

Deaf Identity

Culturally, Deaf people use visual orientation which is essential to grasping knowledge, understanding, and communicating (Jankowski, 1997). Eye contact is an important part of Deaf culture, and is often stressed in Deaf community etiquette. For instance, Deaf people often claim it is rude for hearing people not to make eye contact or to look away while a Deaf person is talking, since Deaf people use their eyes to listen. Many Deaf people embrace their Deaf identity, and reject the pathological view that labels them as “disabled,” since it is socially and politically constructed by hearing people (Padden & Humphries,

1988). The dichotomy of disabled versus abled is deeply ingrained, as are the dichotomies of hearing versus Deaf, spoken language versus signed language, and the pathological view of deaf people versus the cultural view of Deaf people.

Over the last few years, several studies have been conducted on the topic of Deaf identity formation, using different theories. I am particularly interested in studies that explore the experiences and multiple identities of students who attend residential schools for the Deaf.

Glickman (1993) found there was no identity model to measure cultural identity of Deaf people so he used the minority identity development model to explore different identity development theories to create the Deaf Identity Development Scale (DIDS). The DIDS defined four different Deaf cultural identities. It does not encompass all Deaf Identities, because each deaf person has their own experience being deaf. The first stage, *culturally Hearing*, is commonly found among late deafened people who understood their deafness as medical pathology and therefore sought guidance from medical professionals. They rely on medicine and technology for treatment, preferring to be hearing, since it is considered healthy, and attempting to avoid stereotypes that marked Deaf people. Therefore, they avoid Deaf people or the use of sign language, and attempt to pass as hearing persons without support or sign language.

Culturally marginal is the second stage where deaf individuals struggle to fit in to both Deaf and hearing worlds. There are known to be several stages within this identity stage, depending on age of onset of hearing loss, and the

environment the deaf person is raised in. So, from culturally hearing to culturally marginal, an individual could be stage 2 for deafened people or stage 1 for deaf children from Hearing parents and stage 2 for Deaf children from Deaf parents who were born with bicultural identity however with specific social and educational experiences, they avert from the Deaf world. Deaf individuals often become confused about where they belong.

The third stage, *immersion*, is when Deaf people immerse themselves in the Deaf world. Deaf people reject labels such as, “hearing-impaired” or “Hearing-minded.” Some express anger or bitterness toward hearing people and claim ASL is superior to English. They resist by not wearing hearing aids, and not using voice or signing in English order. The last stage is *bicultural* where deaf people are comfortable with both Deaf and hearing worlds. Deaf pride is exhibited and they embrace Deaf culture and the Deaf community, but also feel comfortable with hearing people.

Glickman used two groups of respondents. The first group was students from Gallaudet University (N=105). The second group was from the Boston’s Association of Late-Deafened Adults (ALDA) (N= 56). For each of the stages noted above, I discuss findings that are relevant to this study. *Culturally Hearing* - is conceptually opposite from immersion and bicultural identities. Stronger negative correlation is seen between hearing and bicultural as opposed to hearing and immersion. It was unexpected since immersion is known as a stage of militancy demonstrated by Deaf people who are strongly against pathological

model of deafness, where it was assumed that hearing identity individuals would oppose to the most, but it is not the case. *Marginal* – the prediction about the negative correlation between marginal identity and bicultural is accurate. The researcher was surprised to find no correlation between marginal and immersion. *Immersion* – the researcher admits puzzlement over the lack of positive correlations with both immersion and bicultural. Immersion and bicultural identities were assumed to be two different types of Deaf cultural identity, but the result shows that they overlap a little. *Bicultural* - the study showed common characteristics such as being prelinguistic deaf, born to Deaf parents, attending Deaf residential schools that used sign language, used ASL as a primary language, were exposed to sign at an early age, had parents who sign, and enrolled at Gallaudet. It also indicates that students who enroll in residential school regardless of oral or signing philosophy are strongly associated to cultural Deafness (immersion or bicultural stages). Glickman (1993) admits as a limitation that it is difficult to understand cultural identity development *without* other variables since identities overlap one another.

Stone and Stirling (1994) explored how aware individual children are about themselves as deaf persons, how confident and accepting they were toward their own identities and how they perceived and defined the terms “deaf,” “hard of hearing,” “hearing impaired,” and “hearing.” The authors conducted structured interviews with 43 students. Fourteen students were born to deaf parents (DOD- Deaf students of Deaf parents) and 29 students were born to

hearing parents (DOH- Deaf students of Hearing parents) who were enrolled at the Kendall Demonstration Elementary School in Washington, D.C. Those students ranged in age from 7 to 15 years old. They reported that 50% of DOD and 64% of DOH identify themselves as “deaf.” Forty three percent DOD and 28% DOH identify themselves as “hard of hearing” despite being in a culturally Deaf context. Interestingly, more DOH believe they will become “hard of hearing” or “hearing” which is common responses from deaf children who assume deaf adults did not exist. Eighty six percent of children born to DOD were satisfied with their identity and the authors claim it is possibly due to their parent’s hearing status and their influential attitude. Fifty six percent of DOH were also found to be satisfied with their identity. I think it is hard to compare DOD and DOH since their life experiences differ in several ways: home language, language development and access to communication. The racial background of students is not mentioned and it would be worth exploring to see if their experiences and definitions differ based on race.

Bat-Chava (2000) uses Social Identity Theory to explore the identity of Deaf adults. Culturally deaf is described as individuals who use ASL and participate in activities in the Deaf community. Culturally hearing refers to individuals who assimilate in the hearing world. With their residual hearing, they wear amplification or cochlear implants and do speechreading. Bicultural identities are the incorporation of both culturally deaf and culturally hearing. The author hypothesized that people with culturally deaf and bicultural identities

would have higher self-esteem as opposed to people with hearing identities. First, data were collected using the questionnaire. Six hundred forty six questionnaires were distributed and 267 (117 men, 150 women) were returned with an age range from 16-87. Of these, 237 respondents were from hearing parents, 28 from deaf parents and 2 had one deaf parent and one hearing parent.

In the first group, culturally hearing identity (N=58; 24%), the participants became deaf at a later age, developed language before they lost their hearing, and learned in an oral environment. They thought that signing fluently was not necessary, but believed that clear speech is necessary. They had no connection with the Deaf community and displayed negative attitudes toward deaf people.

Members of the second group, culturally deaf identity (N=81; 33%), felt connected within the Deaf community where signing is believed to be important as opposed to clear speech which is not necessary. Their attitude toward deaf people was not positive or negative. The third group is bicultural identity (N=82; 34%) where participants felt that both sign language and speech were equally important and so was their identification to other deaf people. This group had the most positive attitude toward deaf people. The last group, negative identities (N=22; 9%) do not care about sign language and speech. Their deaf-positive attitude and group identity were below the average level.

Bat-Chava attempts to determine if demographic, ecological, and outcome vary with respondents. The finding shows that participants exposed to higher

deafness orientation are found in both the culturally deaf and negative identities groups. The culturally deaf group is much older as opposed to the bicultural group. The culturally deaf group is also found to instill Deaf culture at home at a much higher rate than other groups. Higher self-esteem scores were seen in culturally deaf and bicultural groups.

Second, data interviews were conducted with 56 respondents. The respondents were asked about their family and school histories, membership with certain organizations, and attitude. Only three groups were interviewed since no one from the negative identities group volunteered to be interviewed; thus this group was excluded from the interview process. Culturally deaf and bicultural identities were revealed to have higher self-esteem, which validates the Bat-Chava's hypothesis. Most culturally deaf or hearing groups show no major identity shift from childhood to adulthood, which is opposed to the bicultural identities group. There are individuals in the bicultural identity group who shifted from childhood to adulthood. They grew up in hearing environments and perhaps later in life, found sign language or met deaf role models. They maintained their values from their childhood. It was also noted that the majority of them were women and it is hypothesized that this was perhaps women are typically more open to new experiences and identity changes.

Sheridan (2001) conducted one-to-one interview(s) with seven deaf children (three enrolled in residential schools and four in mainstream educational programs) with ages ranging from seven to ten years old by having them draw a

picture of a deaf boy or girl and then share a story about the picture, the people, and location they drew. Inquiries also produced answers about how children became deaf, their relationship with people and their goals and aspirations. Additionally, pictures cut from magazines for both the hearing and the deaf were shown to them, and the children were asked to share a story explaining what they thought was occurring in different pictures. Sheridan found that children described deaf, hard of hearing and hearing identity status by using visual indicators such as hearing aids, signing, flashing signalers, sign language interpreters, TTY (teletypewriter telecommunications device for the deaf), and hearing dogs. Sheridan got the impression through the stories told by the children that to them, “being deaf *is no big deal.*”

There were two DSC, Joe and Angie, out of seven. Sheridan reported that most children have displayed positive perceptions of themselves and that the “age-appropriate confusion” was seen in both Joe and Angie who are the only two students of color without really exploring into other parts of multiple intersectional identities. Joe, a ten year old African American student, admitted he struggled with his relationship with hearing peers in a predominately White public school where he has experienced bullying. Sheridan stated that racism might be an issue but said that Joe did not talk about it. Clark and Clark (1950) found that children from three through seven years old were aware of the concept of racial difference. Sheridan (2001) pointed out that it is possible that Joe was

not yet consciously aware of the racism that may affect many of his experiences. It is possible that Joe is not dealing with racial identity issues on the same conscious level with which he is dealing with deaf identity issues. (p. 117-118)

Sheridan asked Joe's mother whether racism was one of the reasons for the bullying Joe experienced and she stated that the teachers claimed they did not see it. However, many teachers lack skills or avoid dealing with controversial issues such as racism in schools (Gay, 2002).

Sheridan (2008) followed up with the interviewees seven years later and conducted another interview to explore whether the interviewee's perspectives toward life changed, and if so, how. The author asked the interviewees to make a movie or write a book to share with viewers or readers about what it is like to be a deaf teenager, and also asked further questions about their family, friends, communication, vacations and future career aspirations. Sheridan stated that Joe continued to have painful social experiences with hearing peers despite his coping skills and positive attitude, which helped him, overcome some issues. Similarly, Lareau's (2003) study observed 12 different families with children from kindergarten through fifth grade, from different social levels including middle class, working class, or poor, and all racial backgrounds. She discovered that social class played a big role in the life experiences of children and their families both at home and school, however, "race trumps social class" (p. 240).

I believe in empowerment where Deaf-Lat students get to share their stories as opposed to completely relying on adults to speak for them. Sheridan (2008) writes:

Traditionally, researchers have doubted the capacity of children and adolescents, whether hearing or deaf, to provide accurate information in self-reports (Stone & Lemanek, 1990). Taking what appeared to be an easier and more accessible route, researchers have typically over-relied on adults (i.e., parents and professionals) for information on various issues of interest pertaining to deaf youth (Sheridan, 1996, 2001). Only recently have researchers begun to obtain self-reports from children (Stone & Lemanek, 1990). (p. 28)

However Sheridan did not report whether she asked Joe directly if he thought he experienced racism.

Another student participant in Sheridan's study, Angie, is Asian American. There is insufficient information on whether her adoptive parents are Asian American or non-Asian American. It is crucial to know how Angie copes with her hearing status, gender and racial identity at home and school. Like much other deaf-related literature, the author reinforces "deaf, hard of hearing, or hearing" discourse. I cannot stress enough how important it is to expand beyond this singular identity into multiple intersectionalities: race, ethnicity, class, gender and so forth.

Additionally, future studies need to be more specific about whether students enrolled at residential schools for the Deaf are day students or remain in the dormitory/cottage during the week and go home on the weekends, since it is clear that those two groups have both similar and different experiences.

Maxwell-McCaw (2001) believed there was insufficient attention was given to the topic of acculturation. She explored the relationship between acculturation style and psychological well-being in deaf and hard of hearing individuals using a model that contained four acculturation styles: hearing acculturation, marginalism, deaf acculturation and biculturalism.

Participants (n= 3070) in this study varied in racial/ethnic and class backgrounds, educational backgrounds, degree of hearing loss, gender, age range (12-75), and communication preferences. Sociolinguistic demographic diversity analysis was also conducted in different areas such as parental hearing status, language used at home, current communication method, sign skills of parents, and at what age participants learned to sign.

The participants completed different types of questionnaires via online surveys such as revised version of the Deaf Acculturation Scale (DAS), Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale, Life Satisfaction Scale, Acculturation Attitude Scale and demographic background information. The result of this measurement revealed that a healthy sense of well being is found in both Deaf acculturation and Biculturalism and that individuals from both groups did not differ in the levels of self-esteem, satisfaction with life, and overall well-being which means that both

groups have almost same levels of psychological well-being. The Hearing Acculturated scored better than the Marginal group but not as good as both Deaf Acculturated and Bicultural groups. Individuals in Marginalism were found to have lower levels of self esteem, satisfaction with life, and overall well being as opposed to other groups.

Maxwell-McCaw was surprised with the findings that deaf and hard of hearing people classified as Biculturalism who could shift between both Deaf and Hearing worlds does not have greater psychological benefits than a singular culture, Deaf Acculturation. The result of both groups (Biculturalism and Deaf Acculturated) have equally good psychological results as opposed to those who are fully acculturated in hearing culture (Hearing Acculturated) or confused with their identity (Marginal) and that both groups have common strong acculturation to Deaf culture. Maxwell-McCaw reviewed each group with findings.

Hearing acculturation. The result shows that the participants became deaf after they turned 21 years old and they lived in hearing homes that use spoken language and they were enrolled in public schools. The result shows that these participants did not have high self-esteem, and the researcher proposes that the parents be exposed to sign language.

Marginal. The participants were born profoundly deaf or became deaf before they turned three and they were raised in hearing homes with spoken languages, enrolled in hearing elementary schools and residential high schools. This group ranks the lowest in all questionnaires, and Maxwell-McCaw suspects

that they struggled in elementary school, were considered “oral failures” and wound up in residential schools where they attempted to learn sign language therefore they became “semilinguists” because they struggled in both English and sign language.

Deaf acculturation. The participants tended to be early signers who grew up in signing environment homes, enrolled in residential schools for the deaf and might have been mainstreamed. Maxwell-McCaw reports that educators felt residential school would hinder students from good employment opportunities, but the outcome of the study shows that they have high self-esteem.

Bicultural. This group also has high self-esteem. They were identified with moderate hearing loss, exposed to signing environment homes, and went to mainstreamed or residential programs. This group scores the highest in the questionnaires, therefore Maxwell-McCaw suggests that parents expose deaf children to both Deaf and Hearing worlds.

The results were lengthy but worthwhile because Maxwell-McCaw took the time to find out more information about d/Deaf participants’ backgrounds as opposed to previous scholars who focused on deaf identity alone without looking at other factors. It is encouraging to see a study like this one that identifies the racial/ethnic background of respondents unlike prior studies. However, Maxwell-McCaw wants to focus on the topic of acculturation of d/Deaf participants and admits that identity is complex as opposed to two identities (Hearing v. Deaf) and was unable to go further into ethnic variations and propose that future research

explore into that topic. None of the above studies focus on d/Deaf students in a way that discusses other multiple intersecting identities (e.g., race, class, gender, sexuality).

Identity of Deaf Students of Color

There is a long standing historical assumption by educators, scholars and researchers that d/Deaf people regardless of race, class or gender are linked with a commonality because their experiences of being deaf must be similar (Stuart & Gilchrist, 1990). As described earlier, Deaf people who supported Gallaudet's historical Deaf President Now movement felt liberated and empowered with pride. However, not all DPOC feel the same since discrimination toward their racial/ ethnicity backgrounds persists. White people, regardless of whether they're hearing or Deaf, have White privilege (McIntosh, 1988). DPOC experience "the issue of being a 'minority within a minority' or possessing membership in two or more minority groups that have historically experienced cultural, social and linguistic domination and/or oppression within the larger American society" (Anderson & Grace, 1991, pp. 73-74).

Anderson and Bowe (1972) were probably the first to challenge scholars about insufficient literature concerning "the race problems, the socioeconomic and educational problems, and the needs of the black deaf community" and other DSC (p. 619). It has been almost 40 years, and there is still inadequate literature that explores or challenges these issues. In the following section, I discuss relevant studies that explore the identity of DPOC.

Aramburo (1989) conducted one-on-one interviews with 60 members of the Black Deaf community who are majority students at the Model Secondary School for the Deaf and Gallaudet University in the Washington, DC area. Aramburo was interested in exploring the identity of Black Deaf people and how they relate to the Black community, the Deaf community or the Black Deaf community. He found that 52 respondents (87%) identified themselves “Black first” since they felt that people look at Black first, before Deaf. One respondent replied, “You see I am Black first. My deafness is not noticed until I speak or use my hands to communicate” (p. 372). Eight respondents (13%) identified themselves as Deaf first before Black. They attended residential schools for the Deaf where they value Deaf identity and are very active in the Deaf community. Many had Deaf parents. The communication is noted to be a barrier between the Black Deaf community and Black and Deaf communities. Respondents felt that both the Black Deaf community and the Black community share the same Black culture, however each group lacks the skills to communicate with the other and that Deaf Blacks often feel left out from the Black community due to limited or no communication access.

In a similar vein, DSC were also asked which component of their identity they identify with first in the next study. Foster and Kinuthia (2003) conducted semi-structured interviews with 33 deaf minority college students at the National Technical Institute for the Deaf (NTID) to explore respondents’ own definitions of identity. The respondents also described how their deafness and race affected

their identity. Not all respondents felt the same since some identified themselves as deaf first; some claimed their identity changed depending on locations; one was an immigrant who attempted to assimilate as an American from another country; one felt uncertain about her identity; one identified with age; and another claimed gender played a big role in identity. The variation in responses reveals that the experiences among respondents are not homogenous.

In interviews conducted by Aramburo (1989) and Foster and Kinuthia (2003), interviewers used the word *first* in their questions when they asked respondents which identity they primarily identified with. This reinforced the idea that they were to choose a specific identity first over another. As Wu and Grant (2010) poignantly state:

They (Asian American deaf individuals) do not have to choose one part of their identity over another, to be deaf [or Asian, or American] first. To deny any part of their identity would be to deny a part of themselves. (p. 210)

As revealed in the Foster and Kinuthia (2003) study, the identities of DSC have their own space and play in certain time, activity and locations where each identity overlaps with another and where it is not possible to separate each identity from all others. In her ethnographic study with Native Deaf, Dively (2001) finds that no certain identity is chosen over another, but code switching identity occurs depending on different contexts. They discussed their experiences with discrimination in specific contexts. All Native Deaf were born to hearing parents,

and most enrolled in residential schools for the deaf at some time in their lives. Most of them were deaf at birth, or became deaf at an early age between 2 to 4 years old, and their families used home signs, gestures, ASL, and sign contact (signing and speaking). One out of five Native Deaf had some hearing abilities and seemed to have less trouble learning their native culture when home signs and gestures were incorporated, and they spoke using the Diné language. The findings concluded that Native Deaf people have limited opportunity to participate in events such as ceremonies, powwows and other events organized by the Native communities. Secondly, they struggled to maintain their Native identity in the White hegemonic Deaf community. The study reveals that Native Deaf embrace their multiple identities despite challenges or discrimination experiences.

Deaf People of Color in Deaf Education

The education of DSC continues to be of low priority regardless of several federal mandated reports such as: Babbidge (1964), Commission on Education of the Deaf (1988); and National Association of State Directors of Special Education (1991), which identified that DSC perform poorly academically as opposed to Deaf White students. The Conference of Education Administrators Serving the Deaf (June 19-21, 1981) passed a resolution with the following recommendations:

1. Recruiting and hiring more Hispanic trained professionals.
2. Programs to distribute information on post-secondary institutions to encourage Hispanics and other students of color to seek Deaf related careers.
3. Promote bicultural approaches to curriculum to develop understanding and appreciation of Hispanic contributions to America society.
4. Implement instructional materials to present authenticity of Hispanic culture influences.
5. Provide appropriate interpreter services for non-English speaking parents and family members to make communication more accessible between home and school.

There are no documents showing how CEASD followed up with its resolution to improve the quality of education for d/Deaf Latino students.

Some scholars and educators have argued the importance of Multicultural Education for d/Deaf students (Anderson, 1992; Christensen, 1993, 2000; Cohen, 1993; Cohen, Fischgrund, & Redding, 1990; Gerner de Garcia, 2000). However, Deaf Education activists, scholars and researchers and the Deaf community leaders seem to be slow in responding to recommendations. Gerner de Garcia (2000) hypothesizes that multiculturalism is not discussed in Deaf Education and the Deaf community due to a fear of distorting the dichotomy that has long stressed hearing versus deaf. Deaf history has been dominated by White Deaf historical figures and events, often covered in Deaf literature and

films and in Deaf Studies curriculum (Cohen, 1997; Leigh, 2009; McCaskill-Emerson, 1993). Deaf students need to discuss their Deaf identity and other *intersectional* identities. Anderson and Bowe (1972) state that DSC were not taught “about themselves, the problems of their people, or the contributions of their ancestors. They are exposed to texts oriented toward a belief in white supremacy” (p. 3).

When visiting one of the residential schools for the Deaf, a Deaf administrator signed to me, “It is in fact parents’ responsibility to teach students of color home culture and language, not school’s responsibility.” Of Deaf students, 90% have hearing parents and only 30% of those parents can communicate with their Deaf children using ASL. Thus, it is not surprising that many DSC struggle to learn about their home culture and their ancestors since there is limited communication access at home (Aramburo, 1989; Dively, 2001; Foster & Kinuthia, 2003; Johnson, 2002; Plue & Andrews, 2003). A Navajo Deaf woman, Karen Johnson, commented:

The Deaf should have a program to teach Navajo deaf, deaf-blind, and hard of hearing children about the Navajo traditions and customs as part of the curriculum, because they are not able to get this at home due to language barriers. (Johnson, 2002, p. 127)

Many teachers and administrators continue to struggle working with DSC due to ignorance, fear, and resistance, all of which contribute to the severe failure of schools to support students' home cultures and promote the concept of

colorblindness⁸ (Delpit, 1995; Gay, 2000; Howard, 1999; McIntosh, 1988; McIntyre, 1997).

A well-known bilingual proponent, Baker (1996, 2001) and other scholars fail to discuss how d/Deaf children *of color* (my emphasis) can preserve their home cultures, as opposed to English/ASL immersion only. The scholars promote assimilation for DSC as they learn America's hearing dominant language, English and America's Deaf dominant language, ASL, when instead DSC should be entitled and empowered to maintain their home languages (e.g., written spoken or signed languages brought from home countries or from tribal nations).

A Latina/o deaf high school girl, who is an emergent English learner, vented her frustration: "I would like to maintain my Spanish literacy but my teacher requires all my assignments be written in English or else I get an F." Another girl shared her confusion about whether it is useful to keep her home country sign language: "I am confused because a few teachers told me I should not be using Mexican Sign Language (LSM) because I am here in America now and that I should be using ASL only." Another Latina/o deaf girl shot back, "No, I think ASL is better than MSL." The ability of some Latina/o d/Deaf students to read or write in Spanish or sign in LSM should be maintained (Gerner de Garcia, 1995); however, America's language ideology is often focused on dominant

⁸ Mari Mastuda reminds the importance to "look to the bottom" and listen to the feelings and experiences of oppressed or marginalized groups other than ourselves. I participate with other colleagues as we promote awareness toward this specific terminology which is offensive to the Blind, DeafBlind, and Low-Vision individuals. We need to come up with a different term when discussing "colorblind" or "colorblindness".

language, English, and America's Deaf community's language-ASL only. This contributes to subtractive schooling (Valenzuela, 1999) where traditional schools prevent Deaf-Lat students from building social and cultural resources.

Leaving issues of racism, classism, sexism, and linguicism, including audism, unexplored may lead to poor academic achievement and low self-esteem for DSC. Scholars have shown that DSC struggle academically (Anderson & Bowe, 1972; Bowe, 1971; Christensen, 1993; Cohen et al., 1990; Cohen & Grant, 1978; Fischgrund & Akamatsu, 1994; Foster & Kinuthia, 2003; Gerner de Garcia, 2000), just as is seen with hearing students of color. DSC are exposed to low expectations on the part of their teachers (Redding, 2000) and are often tracked into non-college bound courses (Anderson & Bowe, 1972; Cohen et al., 1990; Hairston & Smith, 2001).

Schildroth and Hotto (1995) released a report showing that 55% of d/Deaf minority students (25% Hispanic, 24% Black) living in the South graduate with a certificate, and d/Deaf Hispanic is the largest group (20%) drop out of school. There is a long history of marginalization of DSC. White d/Deaf children have been able to have benefits unavailable to DSC such as having Deaf teachers who are qualified and fluent in ASL. There are plenty of White Deaf role models for White d/Deaf children as opposed to DSC. The avoidance of acknowledging DSC and their struggles academically is an act of white privilege and colorblindness (McIntosh, 1988).

K-12 schools are not the only places where d/Deaf students struggle with their multiple identities. According to Atchison in Luhrs (1996), who is a coordinator of student activities at Gallaudet, d/Deaf youth of color from residential schools “lose their Hispanic identity” (p. 6). Completely losing one’s racial/ ethnic identity is not possible, however it is possible that consciousness may be compromised.

Deaf People of Color in Deaf Community

Anderson and Bowe (1972) state that racism was visible in the Deaf community in the 1970s. White Deaf people claim that racism no longer exists today, but unfortunately, DPOC continue to feel the sting of covert racism. An Asian deaf male states, “Deafness does not erase racism... The issue of racism in the deaf community is no different from the issue of racism in the hearing community” (Stuart & Gilchrist, 1990, p. 4). Scholars claim that discrimination is not always intentional since the failure to educate d/Deaf children means they are often ignorant about America’s history of discrimination (Cohen, 1997; Stuart & Gilchrist, 1990). This ignorance extends to the Deaf community’s history, with the exclusion of DPOC evident in historical documents and recent studies.

A long-standing Deaf organization, the National Association of the Deaf (NAD), established in 1880, declined to allow membership of Black Deaf individuals until 1965. However the failure to meet the needs of Black Deaf people led to the establishment of the National Black Deaf Advocates (NBDA) in 1982 (Stuart & Gilchrist, 1990). The NBDA movement parallels the establishment

of Critical Race Theory since the NAD promoted singular discourse on Deaf rights and failed to acknowledge real talk about racism that profoundly impacted Black Deaf community. Other groups of DPOC and other oppressed groups were inspired, leading to the establishments of organizations like Deaf Women United (1985), Intertribal Council for the Deaf (1994), National Asian Deaf Council (1997), and National Council of Hispano Deaf and Hard of Hearing (2004). Conferences hosted by National DPOC began in 2007 and by Deaf Women of Color in 2005. Before the establishment of NBDA, the Rainbow Alliance of the Deaf (1977) was established, allowing Deaf Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer to meet, socialize, and discuss various issues.

DPOC share their stories through signed language storytelling and other forms of oral history. However, videos and publications are much needed to preserve the history of these communities (Corbett, 2010). According to an archivist, Donna Wells at Gallaudet (in Stuart & Gilchrist, 1990), finding historical documents on DPOC is a formidable challenge. Lately, scholars have begun to preserve Black Deaf history such as historical and current documents revealing that there were Black Deaf slaves, and residential schools for the Deaf for Black individuals only during segregation and desegregation (McCaskill, 2005). Recently videos have been an attempt to preserve Black Deaf ASL (Aramburo, 1989; McCaskill, Lucas, Bayley, & Hill, 2011). There are equally inadequate studies and historical documents in the area of Native-Deaf, Latino-Deaf and Asian-Deaf subgroups.

As seen in the literature review, there is no other study had been previously conducted using intersectionality framework to explore overlapping multiple identities and experiences of Deaf-Lat students in residential schools for the Deaf therefore I think this study is important. This study will contribute to the discourse on the topic of intersectionality by challenging the construction of historical discourses on the topic of the Deaf vs. Hearing promoted by the members of the Deaf community. The intersectionality framework enable Deaf-Latina/o scholars to explore issues beyond the Deaf and identify multiple issues that are long neglected or unexplored.

Relevant Theory to the Study: Critical Race Theory

Critical legal studies (CLS) scholars failed to eradicate race, racism, and the imbalance of power in the legal system, which led to the rise of critical race theory (CRT) in the 1970s. CRT scholars and writers like Derrick Bell, Alan Freeman and Richard Delgado highlight the importance of placing race and racism in the center of America's law academy discourse (Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas, 1995; Delgado, 1995). The CRT literature is also a process of studying and reconstructing issues in terms of race, racism, and the push for social movements to eliminate social injustices. The CRT scholars and writers challenge a White supremacy hegemonic system (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). CRT contains several principles: racism, interest-convergence, social construction, racialization, intersectionality and storytelling (Delgado, 1995).

Racism. CRT scholars recognize that the CLS scholars reinforce the concept of neutrality and colorblindness whereas it does not eliminate the issue of white privilege and white supremacy. The marginalization of people of color is perpetrated and racism is not treated as abnormal but ordinary (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) .

Interest-convergence. D. Bell (1980) defines this concept as the Whites readily agreeing or promoting racial progress for Black people *only* if it will advance the interests of the Whites too. He proposed that was the real reason *Brown v. Board of Education* was successful, but not because White people recognized the struggles of Black students in education. The artificial triumph intentionally masked the real picture and story portrayed in media of all the lynchings, executions, and corrupt sheriffs in White America as the world, specifically the Third World, watched (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).

Social construction. Historically, there was a notion that race is biologically fixed. Race is socially constructed and it's still seen today, an example of a political phenomenon (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Omi & Winant, 1994). CRT recognizes that minorities are marked permanent deceptive characteristics, to identify and cobble them into a certain group (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).

Racialization. CRT scholars recognize that minority groups are racialized historically especially within the labor markets. This is particularly seen with agricultural workers (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) and those involved in disaster clean-up, such as the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina where minority workers

worked in hazardous conditions without protection, without health insurance, and for low wages. The rights of undocumented workers are also violated since they are not entitled to protections in such working conditions, or they may get deported. After fulfilling the needs of profit in capitalism, the minority group is cast aside or no longer needed, having served the purposes of immoral exploitation.

Intersectionality. It is not possible for the intersection of all other types of subordination to be absent from the critical race analysis of race and racism (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991). Delgado and Stefancic (2001, p. 9) explain that intersectionality is always present along with other “potentially conflicting, overlapping identities, loyalties, and allegiances”. Exploitation could happen with race alone but often also occurs with multiple intersecting identities such as class, gender, nationality and sexual orientation.

Storytelling. Delgado (1988) argues that Whites, as a dominant group, employ “stock explanations” in their stories to maintain their power so that they have little opportunity to assess their position as oppressors. Often, stories from marginalized groups help them assess their position as oppressed individuals and groups. According to Delgado and Stefancic (2001), storytelling builds bridges of knowledge among multiple worlds and helps the unfamiliar and ignorant become familiar and empathetic toward racial issues in America. For instance, legal storytelling assists judges to understand the viewpoints shared by people of color.

Critical Race Theory and Marginalized Groups

Initially, CRT was introduced for African Americans people and their social and cultural movements. However, it explosively expanded as activists and scholars of both color and other marginalized groups implemented their own branches such as Asians (AsianCrits), Females of Color (FemCrits), Tribal (TribalCrits), Latina/Latino Critical Theory (LatCrits), and WhiteCrits. Figure 1 is a critical race theory family tree (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001; Yosso, Villalpando, Delgado Bernal, & Solórzano, 2001) showing how historical changes occurred from Critical Legal Studies to Critical Race Studies (CRS) as the branches expanded as scholars from different racial or minority groups picked up the work of CRT. Gays/Lesbians (QueerCrits) also created their own space along the genealogy.

FIGURE 1. A GENEALOGY OF CRITICAL RACE THEORY

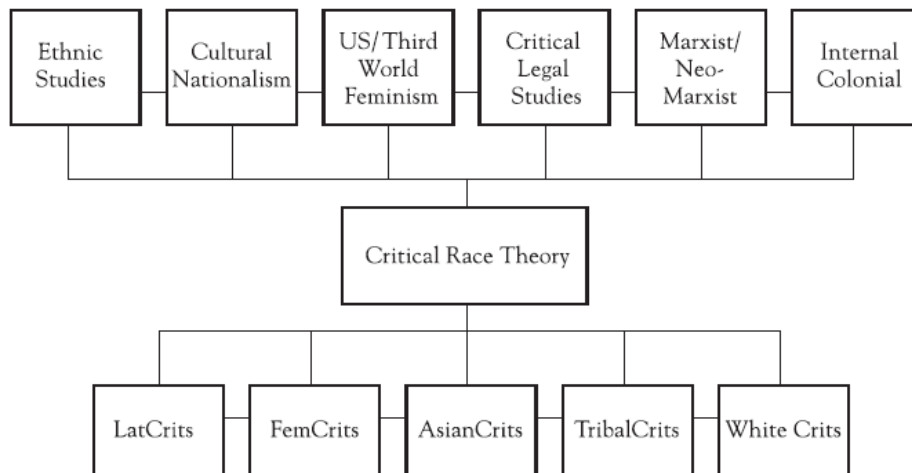


Figure 1. Critical Race Theory's Family Tree (Yosso et al., 2001)

Due its popularity, CRS did not stay within the academic school of law. CRS can be found in the departments of political science, history, anthropology, English, comparative literature, sociology, cultural studies and education (Harris, 2001).

Critical Race Theory in Education

Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) challenged society to explore school inequity using race as both a theory and as an investigation tool. They proposed, “Our discussion of social inequity in general, and school inequity in particular, is based on three central propositions:

1. Race continues to be a significant factor in determining inequity in the United States.
2. U.S. society is based on property rights.
3. The intersection of race and property creates an analytic tool through which we can understand social (and, consequently, school) inequity” (p. 48).

Racism. Ladson-Billings and Tate stress that class and gender are indeed important when studying academic experience and performance; however, they do not sufficiently explain the achievement gap between students of color and Whites, as evidenced in drop-out, suspension, and incarceration statistical reports. Solórzano and Yosso (2001) add that race and racism are interrelated, it is important therefore to “name, define, and focus on racism” (p. 472) since our racialized society does affect the educational system.

Despite African American middle class children living in predominantly White settings, in her extensive ethnographic study, Lareau (2003) finds that they still experience racial discrimination or exclusion in schools. African American parents, particularly mothers as opposed to White parents, worked harder to protect their children as they faced racial issues in education. This signifies that regardless of class, gender or other forms of subordination, race and racism remain a problem in education (Yosso et al., 2001).

Property Rights. Historically, society preferentially reinforces property rights as opposed to human rights; therefore, the authors stress the importance of exploring the intersection of race and property as a focus in understanding critical race theory in education. Property taxes are debated nationwide, where high-class families with higher property values are privileged to have better quality schools with more highly qualified and certified teachers, and better resources. They are reluctant to share resources with public schools that have a high percentage of students of color and economic disadvantage. They are also privileged with what is called “intellectual property” (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995) where affluent students have access to improved curricula that better prepare them for higher education and the competitive working world.

Intersection of Race and Property. The intersection of race and property ranges from objects of property (Blacks), to property settlement and seizure (Native Americans, Mexicans and, later, Japanese Americans). Most importantly, all cultural practices belong to Whites, therefore, “...the construction of

whiteness as the ultimate property” (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, p. 58) has been a role of victimization and destruction. This also impacts students of color in education in three areas of rights: 1) *rights of disposition*- Students of color are recognized and awarded for assimilating and conforming to “White norms” which shows that White property is transferable; 2) *rights to use and enjoyment*- White privilege allows White students to use and enjoy the accessible school property such as: spaces, curricula structure, clubs and athletic programs. Students of color do not have that privilege. However as mentioned earlier, if they do, they still have to face challenges as discussed in Lareau’s study; 3) *reputation and status property*- When a school or program is identified as a space for students of color, the reputation or status of the school or program is being lowered. Bilingual education programs could be perceived as for nonwhite students learning second language therefore their status are lowered (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). This concept is also applied to location of the schools (urban and suburban) which influences the status and reputation of students and; 4) *the absolute right to exclude*- some claim that schools include all students from all racial/ ethnic groups, however, in reality, students of color are often found in low track classes taking vocational and non-college preparation courses and many are denied access to gifted programs or advanced placement classes.

To challenge the issue of property and race in education, counter-storytelling is proposed to be one of a number of powerful tools as scholars investigate the academic experiences of marginalized students of color or other

oppressed groups of students (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001; Tate, 1994). Storytelling offers a space for authentic voice along rich experiential knowledge from students of color in academic discourse (Tate, 1994). Scholars argue that we as teachers, administrators, students, parents and community members could gain better understanding of the communities of students of color and other marginalized groups if we listened to their authentic voices (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995).

Yosso et al. (2001) suggest that CRT in education include “a theoretical, conceptual, methodological, and pedagogical strategy that accounts for the role of race and racism in U.S. education and works toward the elimination of racism as part of a larger goal of eliminating other forms of subordination such as gender, class, and sexual orientation” (p. 90).

Latina/Latino Critical Theory in Education

Latina/Latino Critical Theory (LatCrit) embraces the strengths of CRT, however, it also emphasizes the importance of intersecting the oppression and resistance experiences and the dialogue about race and racism that go beyond the Black/White binary (Yosso et al., 2001). LatCrit in education scholars recognize that Latino and Latina students face issues beyond race/ethnicity, class, gender and sexual orientation, such as immigration and its policies, language rights, national origin or accent discrimination, and issues associated with multi-identities (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Yosso et al., 2001). To understand the experiences of Latino/a education, Yosso et al. (2001) suggest

exploration into all overlapping intersections: epistemology, methodology, pedagogy, policy and curriculum, which I discuss next.

Epistemology. Eurocentric-based studies that incorporate social, historical and cultural experiences of Whites are challenged by critical education scholars. Scholars also stress that knowledge and ways of knowing held by students and faculty of color are validated (Delgado Bernal, 1998).

Methodology. Delgado Bernal (1998) cautions regardless of qualitative and quantitative methods, people of color have been historically exploited, objectified and dominated by both methods. Therefore, traditional methodologies are often challenged by LatCrit scholars where they identified multiple overlapping of oppression and discrimination along with different types of resistance (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). LatCrit scholars encourage sharing everyday experiences through the power of stories. Stories could be told through family histories, autobiography, biographies, written parables, scenarios, cuentos, narratives, chronicles, storytelling (Delgado, 1988; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

Pedagogy. LatCrit scholars attempt to present best teaching approaches that benefit students of color. This process contests traditional pedagogies that reinforce the marginalization of students of color due to race/ethnicity, class, gender, language, sexual orientation, accent, phenotype, or immigrant status (Yosso et al., 2001).

Curriculum. LatCrit scholars believe in incorporating students' home resources (Moll et al., 1992). Yosso et al. (2001) stress the importance of including community resources in the classroom as opposed to using traditional curriculum which exclude the knowledges and experiences of students of color.

Policy. Policy is known to regulate the practice in education. LatCrit do not concur with traditional policies and legislation that promote deficit or correct students of color (Yosso et al., 2001). Social institution need to recognize the experiences of students of color by learning about them and having them become policymakers through empowerment.

Generally, LatCrit scholars attempt to explore and assess documents and counter-storytelling on topics that include language rights and discrimination (accent or national origin); immigration theory and policy; bilingual education; the Hispanic category in the U.S. census; internal colonialism; safe haven for undocumented immigrants and refugees (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). For this study, all issues above are relevant to Deaf-Lat students except for bilingual education since it is mostly restrict to Spanish and English only, not ASL or LSM which I discuss in detail next.

Theoretical Framework: Deaf-Latina/Latino Critical Theory in Education

In this study, I submitted a new theoretical proposition: Deaf-Latina/Latino Critical Theory (Deaf-LatCrit) in educational research. Deaf-LatCrit theory embraces both the strengths of CRT and LatCrit however both group of scholars are not taught to recognize their hearing privilege. Tuccoli (2008, p. 23) coined

“hearing privilege” describing it as: “advantages or entitlements that are enjoyed by people who can hear which are denied to those who are Deaf”. This theory is also introduced to the Deaf community to stress the importance of applying the oppression and resistance experiences of Deaf-Lat students particularly in education. This process push for dialogue that go beyond the Deaf/Hearing binary about race and racism that remain in the shadow of Deaf Education. Deaf-LatCrit theory use the concept of both White privilege and Hearing privilege to assess how racism and linguicism impact the lives of Deaf-Lat students.

Two reasons for this proposition are discussed in this section: Deaf-Lat epistemology and racism/linguicism. In order to examine the experiences of Deaf-Lat students, I first discuss what has been written on critical race epistemologies and Deaf epistemologies before I introduce Deaf-Lat epistemology(ies). Epistemology can be defined as “a way of understanding and explaining how we know what we know” (Crotty, 1998, p. 3).

Critical Race Epistemology(ies). This unique epistemology is not just to add color to the traditional scholarship, according to Ladson-Billings (2000) where she further argues:

It is to challenge the hegemonic structures (and symbols) that keep injustice and inequity in place. The work also is not about dismissing the work of European and Euro-American scholars. Rather, it is about defining the limits of such scholarship. (p. 271)

Educational contexts have created a sense of “otherness” for students of color. Delgado Bernal (2002) emphasizes “although students of color are holders and creators of knowledge, they often feel as if their histories, experiences, cultures, and language are devalued, misinterpreted, or omitted within formal educational settings” (p. 106). Critical scholars challenge by inquiring “what is knowledge and whose ways of knowing are more privileged in schools?” (Yosso et al., 2001, p. 96). Thoughts and questions from students of color and scholars of color refer explicitly to the issue of colorblindness and White privilege in America’s schools, therefore the Euro-American epistemologies (Ladson-Billings, 2000) used in educational research could be viewed as epistemological racism (Scheurich & Young, 1997). Epistemological racism is linked to civilization racism, dominated by the Whites and White privilege to create “the world” or “the Real” based on their own experiences, not the oppressed groups. This parallels earlier comments by Stanfield, 1985 in Scheurich and Young (1997) in terms of hegemonic epistemologies, ontologies and axiologies that are viewed as standard practice for all human beings.

The process of creating critical race epistemology(ies) requires an examination of colonized epistemologies that reinforce marginality of students of color in K-12, and poor the quality of education that limits life mobility of students of color into higher education or the working world. Traditional epistemologies are replaced with critical race epistemology(ies) where the focus shifts to those whose experiences and realities informed their foundation of knowledge

(Delgado Bernal, 1998; Ladson-Billings, 2000). Students of color are positioned at the center of the educational study and their experiences and realities are often shared through storytelling and counterstorytelling, which are the key features of critical race epistemology(ies). Decolonizing epistemologies liberate students of color as their intersecting racial, gender, ethnic and class oppressions are examined to implement education policy and practice. According to Delgado Bernal (1998), colored and gendered epistemologies stress the importance of the methodology utilized and the validation of the experiences and realities of the study participants as the foundation of knowledge.

Deaf Epistemology(ies). Through the eyes of culturally Deaf people, Ladd (2003) defines Deaf epistemologies as “‘Deaf Way’, or ways, of thinking, of viewing the world” (p. 18). Holcomb (2012) adds this definition, “deaf epistemologies is...a ‘way of knowing’ that relies heavily on personal testimonies, personal experiences, and personal accounts from the Deaf community to document knowledge” (p. 125).

When Scheurich and Young (1997, p. 7) refer Stanfield’s (1985) quote “a privileged subset of the population” (p. 389) to White race, which could be said about dominant Hearing people. Scheurich and Young discuss:

When any group- within a large, complex civilization- significantly dominates other groups for hundreds of years, the ways of the dominant group (its epistemologies, its ontologies, its axiologies)

not only become the dominant ways of that civilization, but also these ways become so deeply embedded that they typically are seen as “natural” or appropriate norms rather than as historically evolved social constructions.

For centuries, hearing educators and scholars dominated Deaf Education and their studies have historically incorporated traditional audistic epistemological beliefs which were deeply instilled in the mind of d/Deaf children. Hearing scholars promote the practice of research “on” the Deaf community which led to serious cultural disconnect in education between schools for the deaf and teacher preparation programs (Simms & Thumann, 2007).

The majority of influential scholars and educators in Deaf Education have been White, hearing and female (Simms, Rusher, Andrews, & Coryell, 2008) with both White privilege (McIntosh, 1988) and hearing privilege (Tucoli, 2008). Only 22% are deaf teachers and 14.5% deaf administrators (Simms et al., 2008). The majority of researchers and educators employing epistemological audism in studies, reinforces deficits marked toward Deaf people and are invested on non-visual oriented pedagogy approaches. Regardless of this, Deaf epistemology is viewed as “insufficiently scientific” by standard epistemology proponents. Holcomb (2012) explains the consequence of not having Deaf epistemologies:

Without deaf epistemologies, the field of deaf education is at risk of continuing practices that ignore the identity, life and learning

experiences, and the language and cultural needs of the very community it wants to educate. (p.125)

The learning paradigm of culturally Deaf students has recently slowly shifted from epistemological audism to Deaf epistemological beliefs which reinforce the notion that culturally Deaf students belong to a “cultural and linguistic” minority group. During this transition, a majority of influential deaf teachers and administrators, along with hearing allies, actively incorporated Deaf epistemology(ies). Scholars have come to support the concept of bilingualism (ASL/English) instruction and implement Deaf studies wherein Deaf students study six areas: Deaf identity, American Deaf culture, ASL, communication, history, and social change (Miller-Nomeland, Gillespie, & Kendall Demonstration Elementary School, 1993).

When discussing Deaf-Lat epistemology(ies), Deaf-LatCrit methodology and Deaf-Lat experiences and realities are two important issues and they are inseparable. This contributes to the need for unique research questions designed for Deaf-Lat students. There is a notion that an analysis should start with the commonalities of Deaf experience and omit issues of race/ethnicity, gender, class or multiple languages (Humpries, 1993) which reinforce colorblindness. Multiple oppressions (class, ethnic, gender, immigration, language and so forth) contribute to the special position of Deaf-Lat students and other students of color; still, Deaf scholars and hearing allies lean toward Deaf epistemology(ies). This way of thinking increases the risk of overlooking how institutional and cultural structures restrain and treat different groups of Deaf students differently.

According to Parasnis (2012), multiple epistemologies are rarely discussed in Deaf Education, therefore Deaf-Lat scholars propose that the possibility of epistemological racism (Scheurich & Young, 1997) and other types of oppression be addressed in Deaf Education. Deaf-Lat scholars challenge the shortcomings of a White Deaf-centric historical and ideological representation of Deaf-Lat students.

1. Deaf-Lat scholars employing Deaf-Lat epistemology look beyond Euro-American Deaf culture, Deaf identity, and ASL. Deaf-Lat epistemology also stresses the importance of recognizing all intersecting identities of Deaf-Lat students such as race, ethnic, class, gender, sexual, nationality, phenotype, language, immigration status, and religion.
2. Deaf-Lat scholars compile scholarship about the richness of Deaf-Lat epistemology(ies) to counter traditional epistemological audism and racism, and Deaf-centric epistemological racism.
3. Deaf-Lat scholars assure Deaf-Lat students are in the center when they are involved in the process of research. In this process, Deaf-Lat students are empowered to share their experiences and knowledge.
4. Deaf-Lat epistemology is built on knowledge about Deaf-Lat students. It builds on questions about who interprets Deaf-Lat experiences, and how the knowledge gained is being legitimized or not.

5. In the process of collaboration, Deaf-Lat scholars further expand the definition of Deaf-Lat epistemology by conducting research on the experiences and lives of Deaf-Lat students.
6. Deaf-Lat scholars in education employing Deaf-Lat epistemology acknowledge their role in the area of advocacy where they fight to end academic social injustice.

Deaf-Lat scholars in education, employing Deaf-Lat epistemology(ies), attempt to move beyond both the traditional audistic epistemological belief, and Euro-American Deaf epistemological belief that continues to ignore the multiple identities of Deaf-Lat students: their lived experiences and multiple languages and cultures.

Racism/ Linguicism

Culture and language are inseparable (Nieto, 1992). Deaf-Lat students live in multiple cultures; therefore, they are exposed to multiple languages, which add further issues of language acquisition. Supporters of bi/bi education have fought for Deaf children to maintain the use of ASL as the primary language of instruction and instruction, with English as a second language. They often overlooked the complication of multilingual/multicultural experiences of Deaf-Lat students from Spanish speaking homes (Call, 2010; Gerner de Garcia, 1995, 2000; Parasnis, 2012) which is why Deaf-LatCrit is a unique perspective and experience.

Deaf-LatCrit supports multicultural education since it benefits all Deaf-Lat students, DSC and White Deaf students. It empowers them to acquire multiple languages and cultures. Deaf-Lat students experience multiple subtractive schooling (Valenzuela, 1999) in Deaf Education's bi/bi program which neglects home culture and language. Oralism proponents, Parsons and Jordan (1994) proposed that Deaf-Lat students should learn orally, and specifically in English. They neglected the importance of preserving multiple languages- sign language(s): LSM and ASL and Spanish and English literacy. Deaf-Lat students deal with another layer of linguisticism when they are discouraged from using visual language as opposed to spoken language in hearing Latina/Latino communities.

Deaf-LatCrit is not completely separate from CRT and LatCrit but the work is influential in a different way. Deaf-Lat epistemology and racism/linguicism play a big role in the development of this unique theory, Deaf-LatCrit in education. Deaf-LatCrit involves researchers, educators and activists from all Latina/o pan-ethnicity groups and challenges issues of race and racism in education as a primary goal. Deaf-LatCrit also addresses other types of intersectionalities. In this process, Deaf-LatCrit scholars must not only accept the sameness but also respect the differences within the Deaf-Lat groups working together toward a goal of transformation and social justice in education.

Deaf-LatCrit Theory in Education Principles

Four basic principles of Deaf-LatCrit theory in education are: intersectionality, ideologies, consciousness raising, and storytelling. These principles play roles in perspectives, research methods, and pedagogy.

Intersectionality

For years, both Deaf Education and Special Education has utilized the traditional epistemological belief that reinforces the stigma and stereotypes placed on Deaf students, seeing them as individuals with a physical disability. However it is being replaced with the untraditional epistemological belief in which the sociocultural model is the central focus (Parasnis, 2012). The lived experiences of Deaf students allow them to claim themselves as a cultural and linguistic minority group (Lane et al., 1996; Padden & Humphries, 1988). However, Humphries (1993) states that the education-related inquiries fail to pay enough attention to the issues of race/ethnicity and other identity categories of Deaf students. The singular focus on Deaf identity becomes rigid and stable which contributes to an absence of diverse epistemologies and consciousness among Deaf students from diverse backgrounds (Parasnis, 2012). In this case, neither the traditional nor the untraditional epistemological beliefs completely serve Deaf-Lat students since they neglect Deaf-Lat lived experiences and multiple identities, and promote colorblindness and other types of discrimination.

According to Delgado and Stefancic (2001), intersectionality is defined as “the examination of race, sex, class, national origin, and sexual orientation, and

how their combination plays out in various settings” (p. 51). Deaf-LatCrit theory reinforces the concept of intersectionality to challenge educational studies which treat Deaf identity as a “single-axis framework” (Crenshaw, 1991) ignoring other overlapping identities: race, gender, class and many others which overlook the experiences of Deaf-Lat students. It is unrealistic for Deaf identity to stand alone (Natapoff, 1995; Parasnis, 2012), nor should other identities like gender, race, and class (Crenshaw, 1989). Using intersectional analysis can be challenging however, the process will help researchers and scholars better understand the experiences of Deaf students, particularly Deaf students of color in education. Other advantage of using intersectional analysis, it challenges traditional Eurocentric methodological approaches by conducting studies, not on, but with Deaf-Lat students and other DSC.

Figure 2 illustrates a framework for addressing and understanding the construction of multiple intersectionalities. Each line represents a certain identity such as race, class, gender, sexual, religion, language, etc. Race/racism and Deaf/linguicism are the main focus of analysis in this study which explores the multiple identities and experiences of Deaf-Lat students. It does not mean that other identities are less important. As indicated earlier, many critical scholars stressed that each line is inseparable from all other lines therefore; the dot keeps overlapping intersectionalities. Intersectionality could be the most important theoretical contribution in Deaf Education if recognized by the educators, scholars and activists.

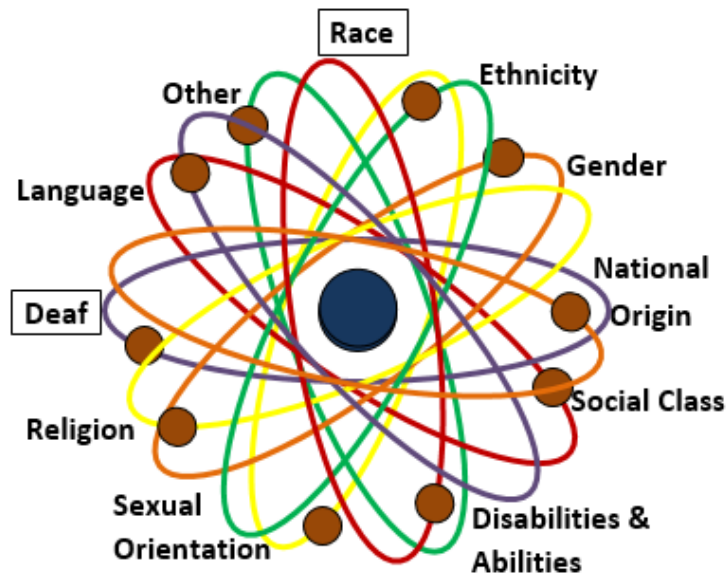


Figure 2. Deaf-LatCrit Theory- Multiple Intersectionalities

Deaf-LatCrit challenges educational researchers, administrators and educators to assess and understand their own multiple intersecting identities prior to exploring the multiple overlapping identities of Deaf-Lat students.

As a workshop trainer, I include an activity where I have all the teachers write what describes their identity. As I walk around the room, I notice a paper with only one word, “Deaf” written by a White Deaf female teacher. I took this opportunity to inquire about her White or female epistemological beliefs. She claimed she identifies herself as Deaf only which reflects her restricted epistemological belief.

Howard (1999) writes that teacher preparation programs or teacher in-service programs need to encourage student teachers and teachers to assess

themselves to the point where they understand their experiences, background, knowledge, biases, and values for the betterment of their relationships with their students. Similarly, Cochran-Smith (1995) states that,

this kind of examination inevitably begins with our own histories as human beings and as educators; our own experiences as members of particular races, classes, and genders; and as children, parents, and teachers in the world. (p. 500)

Deaf-Lat scholars strongly recommend that Deaf Chicana/o Studies be established where both Deaf and Chicana/o or Latina/o Studies merge, creating a unique topic. To support the concept of Deaf Multicultural education, Deaf Chicana/o and Latina/o Studies could assist teachers in a teacher preparation program to become familiar with different issues Deaf-Lat students face in their lives. This will give opportunities for all teacher educators or student teachers to explore social injustice that victimizes Deaf-Lat students and other marginalized groups. This process will help teachers to identify misconceptions, stigmas, and stereotypes. Social justice and equity can be accomplished if teacher educators and student teachers learn those skills as they work with Deaf-Lat students and other oppressed groups.

Deaf-LatCrit recommends that student teachers and teacher educators understand how important it is to incorporate intersecting cultures of Deaf-Lat students in their pedagogy. This process will empower Deaf-Lat students to understand themselves, their history and their culture. Deaf-LatCrit supports the

idea that Deaf-Lat students should be taught important cultural and historical knowledge including information about our ancestors. This would help to understand racial/ ethnic, cultural, citizenship and linguistic rights since this opportunity empowers Deaf-Lat persons to define for who they are. Anzaldúa (1987) cautions, “It is dangerous not to know about your own cultural heritage at all, because then you don’t have the chance to choose and select” (p. 234). As we are empowered to learn about our cultural heritage, our consciousness and self-empowerment are lifted.

The Challenge to Dominant Ideologies

Racism Deaf-LatCrit concurs that race and racism are prevalent and fixed (Delgado, 1995). It also recognizes the Solórzano (1997) proposal that racism has four components: 1) it has micro and macro components; 2) it takes on institutional and individual forms; 3) it has conscious and unconscious elements; and 4) it has a cumulative impact on both the individual and group.

Deaf-LatCrit recognizes that Deaf-Lat students are victimized by racism just like hearing Latino students, however, it contests the notion that Deaf-Lat students do not experience internalized racism in the Deaf community and in education (Anderson & Bowe, 1972; Gerner de Garcia, 2000; Stuart & Gilchrist, 1990). Many Deaf-Lat students are tracked into a low ability group where they are exposed to non-college, vocational courses (Cohen, 1990; Cohen et al., 1990). As stated earlier, Schildroth and Hotto (1995) report that deaf minority students (55%) left high school without diplomas, but with certificates as

compared to deaf White students (45%). Deaf Hispanics (25%) receive certificates and drop out at a higher rate than African American Deaf students. Race and racism is the main focus in the analysis, however, it also shows how these intersect with other relevant forms of subordination (Crenshaw, 1989).

Linguicism This is a discussion of three ways in which Deaf-Lat students and their families experienced multiple linguicism in our society, especially in schools. Deaf-LatCrit scholars reject Spoken English Only, English Only and ASL Only movements.

Oral. As mentioned earlier, some Deaf-Lat students were urged by schools to use spoken English only instead of spoken Spanish (Bennett, 1987). There are Deaf-Lat students who were transferred to residential schools for the Deaf from public schools or oral programs with or without cochlear implants who never learned sign language. The opportunity to learn sign language was denied to them, which contributed to language delay and impaired cognitive skills, as discussed earlier with cochlear implants (Humphries et al., 2012). According to certified mental health therapists, Hidalgo and William (2010), some Deaf individuals using spoken Spanish could benefit more if instruction was conducted in signed language.

Simultaneous Communication. Many Deaf-Lat students, myself included, were told not to use verbal Spanish but English, and to sign in English order. There are some students who learned ASL but maintained mouthing in Spanish.

Sign Language(s). Deaf-Lat students born in the United States were immediately exposed to ASL since it is the predominant signed language taught in United States schools. Deaf-LatCrit scholars contest the notion that ASL is America's only signed language. There are Deaf Mexicans in Texas (Quinto-Pozos, 2008) , New Mexico, Arizona and California (Adams, 2004) using LSM, and Deaf Cubans in Miami, Florida using Cuban Sign Language (Hidalgo & William, 2010). Keresan Pueblo in central New Mexico using Keresan Pueblo Indian Sign Language (Kelley & McGregor, 2001) was recently proclaimed as an dying language.

Non-ASL signed language. Some Deaf-Lat student immigrants who know host country sign language prior to arriving United States face an "ASL only" attitude expressed by some Deaf Americans, a similar attitude to America's "English Only" proponents. Deaf-Lat immigrant students were often told to learn ASL with remarks by hearing and Deaf teachers such as, "This is America." I personally know of several Deaf Mexican students who arrived in the U.S. with LSM. Their instruction was in LSM and Spanish for a few months, until they learned sufficient ASL to learn English then, LSM was dropped.

Gerner de Garcia (2000) proposes:

The opposition to bilingual education and trilingual education for deaf children may be more political than pedagogical. It may be the result of linguisticism, as well as, in the case of Hispanic/Latino deaf

students, the low status of the Spanish language and Spanish speakers. (p. 162)

According to Sass-Lehrer, Gerner de Garcia, and Rovins (1995, p. 1), Deaf-Lat students and other DSC “face the challenge of coping with at least three different cultures- their own ethnic or racial groups, the Deaf community, and the mainstream- still predominately [W]hite, middle-class, and hearing.” Deaf-Lat students may also interact with their own Deaf racial or ethnic group within the Deaf community which is also predominately White. Deaf-Lat students often experience multiple cultural conflicts, stereotypes and discrimination that blurs between linguicism and racism. So, often perceptions led to situations where it was “sometimes difficult to determine if the problems were due to their race or their deafness” (Anderson & Miller, 2004, p. 31). However Collins (2000) reminds us that one type of oppression cannot work alone and that multiple oppressions work together in multiplying injustice (p. 18).

Deaf-Lat Consciousness Raising

Deaf-Lat consciousness raising occurs when Deaf-Lat people become more aware of personal, social, or political issues that impact them as an individual and their Deaf-Lat community. This could lead to participating in a political movement where Deaf-Lat individuals seek to unite Deaf-Lat people in affirming their common experiences as Deaf-Lat and resisting oppression by White hearing society and White Deaf community.

Deaf-Lat consciousness raising give Deaf-Lat students opportunities to recognize discrimination where they learn how to straddle multiple cultures, languages and behaviors in the White hearing community, and hearing people of color communities, the White Deaf community, and DPOC communities. This involves continually negotiating physically, mentally, emotionally and spiritually in multiple sites as a part of everyday life. Anzaldúa (1987) cautions that multiple sites including our casitas (homes) are often filled with contradictions, so it is often uncomfortable.

Deaf-Lat consciousness assists Deaf-Lat students to further resist, negotiate, and redefine who they are. As indicated earlier, the process of resisting dominant ideologies does not only happen in the hearing community but also within the White Deaf community and Deaf-Lat circles. A Deaf Mexican colleague describes his insecure feeling in a Eurocentric residential school for the Deaf:

If I spoke up about Latino related issues, how many teachers are Latinos? None. I feel it will be just me against an army. I will lose easily. There is no point in fighting. If I fought for the Deaf rights, it is more acceptable to the school. However, with new Deaf Hispanic organizations and ongoing conferences, I might have better support system (personal communication, April 2012).

If Deaf-Lat students feel unsafe about speaking up, Pérez (1998) states “we commit social and political suicide. Without our identities, we become homogenized and censored” (p. 89).

Deaf-LatCrit scholars emphasize the necessity of safe spaces where differences are expressed in Deaf-Lat circles, such as: phenotype, class, gender, sexual, religion, language and nationality. We also must protect ourselves and remain authentic within ourselves. No matter how we define ourselves, individually or collectively, the whole process empowers us to be treated as human subjects as opposed to objects (Collins, 2000, p. 114). Deaf-Lat Crits encourage Deaf-Lat consciousness acknowledges multiple oppressions and leads us to develop strength, wisdom and self-love.

Deaf-Lat consciousness could be solidified through multiple means including educational seminars, workshops, literatures, performances, films, general courses, and Deaf-Lat Studies. Deaf-Lat curricula and resources could be used to teach Deaf-Lat students about our ancestors and help us understand our racial/ ethnic, cultural, citizenship and linguistic rights. Deaf-Lat scholars stress the importance for Deaf-Lat students to define identities through critical consciousness and understand histories of struggles and resistance while aiming to become agents of transformation for our Deaf-Lat communities.

Deaf-Lat Knowledge through Storytelling

Deaf-LatCrit recognizes that the dominant groups, White hearing and Deaf people tell stories or even make claims about Deaf-Lat students that are based

on their own reality which are often distorted and untrue. Deaf-Lat researchers, scholars and educators encourage Deaf-Lat students to share their version, which often contradicts with a White version. This enables Deaf-Lat students to reveal their own specific reality. This understanding can assist in understanding their own reality and power and gain motivations to educate others through storytelling. The process of storytelling empowers Deaf-Lat students to become teachers as they share their way of knowing.

Delgado (1988) states that cure occurs through storytelling as we sign our stories to destroy stereotypes and discrimination, including stock stories. Deaf-LatCrit believes that the process of storytelling is a necessary tool for our survival where it plays a big role in the consciousness-raising and healing process.

Deaf-Lat students could share stories in multiple sign languages, which have the equivalent value of spoken and written languages. The uniqueness of visual storytelling as far as of now includes different methods such as visual performance and art, jokes, alphabet and number signing stories, songs and poems, signed stories and biographies. Unfortunately, there are insufficient numbers of stories of, for, and by Deaf-Lat individuals.

Anderson and Miller (2004) documented stories from 13 different storytellers of color, four of whom are Deaf-Lat. Adams (2004) shares her experiences growing up in Mexico and moving to the United States. Lang, Cohen, and Fischgrund (2007) write a biography about a Deaf Mexican, Robert

Davila who is considered a leader in the Deaf community. For years, Deaf-LatCrit stories were told, however they were not preserved.

Deaf-LatCrit encourages signed stories to be preserved through the collection of videos and films. This would give a young generation of Deaf-Lat students a wide range of access to written and signed stories both academically, and for personal readings and viewings. This could lead younger Deaf-Lat readers and viewers to realize we are not alone (Delgado, 1988). It could also help them to recognize certain phenomena that they might overlook, and raise their consciousness encouraging them to add their own stories, creating multiple layers of Deaf-Lat storytelling and a diverse way of knowing and interpreting. Lastly, Deaf-LatCrit recognizes that the lived experiences and knowledge shared by Deaf-Lat students are legitimate and relevant.

Deaf-LatCrit in education incorporates four basic principles (intersectionality, ideologies, consciousness, and storytelling). Deaf-LatCrit scholars endorse the importance of intersectionality to validate the entire overlapping identities of Deaf-Lat students. This process debunks multiple ideologies, which marginalize Deaf-Lat students in academic settings and promotes raised consciousness through shared storytelling to maintain Deaf-Lat identity. Deaf-LatCrit should not be restricted to these four basic principles alone. Deaf-LatCrit could be expanded with more principles if appropriate. Deaf-LatCrit belongs to all Deaf-Lat scholars, educators, activists, Deaf-Lat students and their families.

Deaf-LatCrit theory is an appropriate framework for this study since it validates the unique way of knowing and perspectives of Deaf-Lat students and their Deaf-Lat communities. This framework also rejects traditional Eurocentric and audistic scholarship and invest into social justice related scholarship where it embrace Deaf-Lat epistemology, methodology, pedagogy and curriculum and policy.

Chapter Three: Methodology

In this chapter, I discuss my research questions, how research paradigms inform this study, which paradigm I am most drawn to, and how it shapes my research question and methodological choices. Next, I discuss participant selection, methods and analysis. I conclude with trustworthiness, the study limitations, and the privacy of human participants.

My attempt to understand the multiple identities and experiences of high school Deaf-Lat students led to the following research question: What are the intersectional identities and experiences of high school Deaf-Lat students enrolled in a residential school for the Deaf? This question can be broken down into the following components:

1. How are the multiple identities of Deaf-Lat students defined in different contexts (home versus school)?
2. How do Deaf-Lat students recognize their multiple identities?
3. How do Deaf-Lat students experience living in two different cultural contexts?
4. How do the clashes associated with multiple identities affect the families of Deaf-Lat students?

The questions above recognize the importance of understanding the *lived experiences* of Deaf-Lat students and their families, whose stories are often left untold.

Research Methodology

In an attempt to understand the multiple identities and experiences of high school Deaf-Lat students, a qualitative methodological approach allowed me to explore socio-cultural and linguistic phenomena from the beginning to the end of the study, presenting rich detailed data (Merriam, 2009).

There are several compatible characteristics of qualitative methodology that support my study: 1) *natural settings*- this process allowed me to conduct a study in natural settings as opposed to sterile laboratory environments (Merriam, 2009); 2) *participant perspectives*- my questions gave the Deaf-Lat students an opportunity to describe their multiple identities and experiences using words that painted a picture of their own very personal meanings and interpretations (Gray, 2003); 3) *researcher-as-instrument*- I had direct contact with all data including interview transcriptions; field notes with my reflections, thoughts, and participant observation; artifacts from multiple sites; and letter, email and video mail correspondences (Merriam, 2009); 4) *meaningful engagement*- I was able to spend significant time with Deaf-Lat students and their families where I became acquainted with their perspectives and experiences (Merriam, 2009); and 5) *reflexivity*- monitoring my own emotional reactions helped me keep track of my position and biases and allowed me to stay close to issues I was attempting to understand (Glesne, 2006; Merriam, 2009).

Theoretical Paradigm: Critical Inquiry

Critical inquiry is a contrast of interpretivism. Crotty (1998) elaborates:

It is a contrast between a research that seeks merely to understand and a research that challenges...between a research that reads the situation in terms of interaction and community and a research that reads it in terms of conflict and oppression...between a research that accepts the *status quo* and a research that seeks to bring about change. (p. 113)

My epistemology and values lean toward the critical inquiry paradigm since it challenges social oppression and injustice (Crotty, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000) and is also considered a “transformative paradigm” (Mertens, 2009). As a Deaf Mestiza, I concur with many Deaf related educational issues that have been identified and researched by many hard working scholars and intellectuals. Nonetheless, race/ethnicity and racism are often absent from or marginalized by these discourses. Deaf-Lat students and other DSCs are not members of one culture, but find themselves straddling multiple cultures – 1) the predominately White hearing community, 2) the predominately Deaf community, 3) their own hearing ethnic community, and 4) at least one deaf racial/ethnic community. In multiple communities, Deaf-Lat students and DSCs often experience multiple cultural conflicts, stereotypes and discrimination. They often suspect they experienced audism, however they were not taught about the possibility of being doubly or triply discriminated against for multiple reasons such as racism, classism, sexism or other types of “isms”.

Deaf-LatCrit Ethnographic Design

I conducted a year and half-long ethnographical study using Deaf-LatCrit theory to explore and understand how Deaf-Lat students interact with other people and their relationships in multiple cultures (Merriam, 2009; Van Maanen, 1988). I understand that ethnography is historically known for objectification (Rosaldo, 1989) where “researchers have rarely asked what the researched think about how their lives are being interpreted and described in text” (Villenas, 1996, p. 713). Now, more critical ethnographers push for new ways of studying, understanding, and reporting. They do not adhere to a traditional set of methods where few characteristics are portrayed: (1) their values are clear; they see their study as a *political act* as they identify value systems, and contest issues of injustice; (2) they go deeper than traditional ethnographers by *challenging* assumptions or stereotypes through dialogue and critical reflection; and (3) they also *empower* their participants to become researchers themselves seeking the truth based on their own “investigation, education, and action” which “becomes a process of collective action aimed at social change” (Glesne, 2006, p. 16).

I have attempted to put a mirror in front of Deaf-Lat students and have them question who they see, how they define themselves, how people with power define them, and how they redefine themselves, as part of a political act. This type of study is a also personal experience, therefore, I must constantly monitor my power and position in context as a researcher, as Madison (2012) reminds us:

...we take ethical responsibility for our own subjectivity and political perspective, resisting the trap of gratuitous self-centeredness or of presenting an interpretation as though it has no “self,” as through it is not accountable for its consequences and effect. (p. 8)

In an attempt to add more specificity to Critical Race studies, I incorporated Deaf-Latina/o Critical Theory (Deaf-LatCrit) as I designed the ethnographical study I discuss next.

Procedures and Methods

Procedures

Settings. According to Hatch (2002), selecting contexts and selecting participants are almost inseparable. Since I wanted to understand the lived experiences of Deaf-Lat students existing in two different cultural and social sites: a state residential school for the Deaf and the homes of students and their families, careful consideration of the contexts in which my research questions could be best answered was crucial.

Rainy State School for the Deaf (RSSD). RSSD (pseudonym) is one of two sites chosen for this study for several of reasons: 1) RSSD is in a city named, Morelia (pseudonym) located in the state with the largest percentage of Deaf-Lat students, according to Gallaudet Research Institute (April 2011) statistics; 2) Deaf-Lat students are the second largest ethnic group (35%) after White (46%) at RSSD; 3) approximately 30 Deaf-Lat high school students currently reside in the dormitory/cottage; and 4) RSSD approved my study. To

protect school staff since Deaf community is a very small community, I use “he/she” in my writing, instead of specifying gender for anonymity purposes.

I communicated with a gatekeeper at RSSD who coordinates with outside individuals wanting to do research. Per her/his request, I completed the RSSD research permission form. The form asked for researcher information, about the project, its sponsorship institution I am representing, and a general description of the project. I was also asked to abide by an agreement that according to the Internal Review Board (IRB) approval of the study, I would adhere to the pre-specified procedures of the approved project.

As requested, I provided a copy of the questionnaire, the interview protocol, the interview questions, IRB approval and vitae. I also included IRB-approved consent forms I used in my study. I was asked to submit progress reports, keep the school advised of any published reports, and grant permission for RSSD to cite this project. The gatekeeper met with a team representing different departments, to review the research application and documents I provided prior to approval. The gatekeeper appointed a liaison to arrange an appointment for me to visit the school and to meet the dormitory/cottage staff to discuss any questions or concerns they might have about my study. I was given a list of certain staff with whom I could communicate with during 2012-2014 school years.

Students' Home. Homes were the secondary site of the study. Since the residential school serves all d/Deaf students in the state, not all the participants

and their families lived in same town or city. Once particular participants had been selected, I needed to become familiar with their home neighborhoods, towns or cities. This also included researching the social, cultural and political aspects of the Deaf communities that were available. I was also prepared to enter social spaces other than homes if requested by students.

Selection of participants. The selection of participants was based on the framework of multiple intersectionalities that would produce the multiple overlapping identities and experiences of a particular group. This group is Deaf-Lat high school students born to working class hearing parents, who live in two different social and cultural contexts. This required what Merriam (2009) calls, purposeful sampling. Merriam elaborates that “purposeful sampling is based on the assumption that the investigator wants to discover, understand, and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned” (p. 77). Criteria for inclusion in my study included the following:

- 1) Student would be a junior or senior beginning in the Fall of 2012.
- 2) Student lived at the residential school during the week during Fall 2012 and Spring 2013.
- 3) Student stayed with family over the weekends during Fall 2012 and Spring 2013.
- 4) Student stayed with family during Summer 2013.
- 5) Student had a Mexican family background.
- 6) Student had hearing parents.

7) Student was from a working class family.

I discuss how the above criteria is developed and how important it is for this study. There are plenty of studies where Deaf students in residential schools for the Deaf are compared with other Deaf students in public schools. Scholars failed to explore or discuss the different educational experiences between both groups of Deaf students who reside in the dormitory or cottage and those Deaf students who are known as “day students” at a residential school.

Day students have more privilege since they are able to go home and be with their family every day. Most hearing parents of day students are able to commute and take ASL class at the school, be exposed to Deaf role models and participate in the Deaf community events. This is not the case for dormitory/cottage students whose families live an hour or more away from the residential school for the Deaf and who only get to see their parents on the weekends.

Overall, the population of Deaf children born to hearing parents is larger than that of Deaf children born to Deaf parents. Deaf children born to Deaf parents are privileged to become fluent in any visual language, regardless which sign language. This is not the case for many Deaf children with hearing parents who do not benefit from “additional language instruction” and often arrive to school disadvantaged because of the resulting language delay (Marschark, 1997).

While public schools are typically comprised of students from a single socio-economic strata, d/Deaf students from different socio-economic backgrounds are found enrolled in residential schools for the Deaf. It is not possible to identify which students are from certain social classes. For this study, I was particularly interested in working with Deaf-Lat students from working class families since I wanted to explore the specific issues Deaf-Lat students experience in two different social contexts. I believe this is a very important topic to explore in order to improve the level of support provided to Deaf-Lat students and their families.

Later in the study, I learned that one of the parents is a school teacher so with that situation, I have a majority of Deaf-Lat students from working class families, and a Deaf-Lat student from the middle class. I also anticipated working with Deaf students of Mexican origin, however; during the interview with a couple of students, I discovered that one student is half Nicaraguan and half Mexican and another mentioned having a Mexican father but a mother from Iranian descent. This reminds me of Chang-Ross (2010) who attempts to push for more discourse around issues of Multi-raciality since there are fast growing numbers of students with multiracial-multiethnic identities in the United States. This also adds to a bigger picture of multiple intersectionality discourse.

The following text was translated from a video journal where I discussed my first visit at RSSD to recruit Deaf-Lat participants.

Carla's journal- Recruit #1 (October, 2012)

Today was interesting! At first, I was nervous and excited as I start collecting data. Prior to my arrival, one of two dormitory/ cottage supervisor #1 emailed and indicated that 17 high school boys and 12 high school girls are expected to show up. It took me a while to find school and the place of the meeting. When I met with #2 dormitory/cottage supervisor, we went to one of the classrooms where I am to use for my presentation using PowerPoint. Before s\he left the room, I was asked if I need anything. At the time of the meeting, two students showed up and I decided to wait a little longer since as a former residential staff, I know how much it takes to get all students together from different directions and leave the dormitory/cottage to events or presentations such as this one. More students showed up and the room filled with 14 students (7 boys and 7 girls) along with a dormitory/cottage staff.

I discussed the purpose of the study using PowerPoint slides with English text and ASL. I discussed 1) my background (family, education, employment, my multiple identities); 2) research interest, study procedure (demographic questionnaire, interview, participant observation and cultural document or artifacts), expectations of the study, and study timeline (school year August 2012-June 2013); 3) further action (raising awareness, resisting labels or stereotypes and action and; 4) participant criteria.

I found it very interesting... when I showed a certain slide with a photo of my family. I discussed my lived experience and the students were very attentive. When I proceed to discuss my study, half of students began to chat or fool around. I actually forgot what it is like to be in classroom again. I wondered why students showed up or whether they were forced to show up. Were they interested to find out about my work or did they just want to get out of the dormitory/cottage?

As I wrapped up my presentation leaving few minutes left for questions and answers, no students asked me about my study but personal questions about myself and my family. Are you a Mexican? Did you graduate from New Mexico School for the Deaf?

I was not too surprised since it is part of Deaf culture when it comes to seeing other Deaf-Lat individual like myself. This process is also to satisfy Deaf-Lat students' curiosity and to build trust.

At the end of the presentation, most Deaf-Lat students left the room and some remained chatting with their friends. Four Deaf-Lat students came up to me and expressed their interest. They asked me more questions and filled out criteria checklist. I was able to discuss and review checklist with each student before I handed them consent forms to bring home along with self-addressed envelope. I caught myself being very cautious when discussing working class. I did not want bullying issues to be raised in terms of classism since other students were in the room. I encouraged them to discuss this issue with their parents.

After all students left the classroom, the supervisor returned back and came up to me saying, "I want you to know many of the students who showed up today are ones with low language level and they are not smart. I think you should open the study to freshmen and sophomores." I was appalled with her/his first comment. I could feel my blood boil but I remained calm. S/he indicates there are more who are freshman. Now I wonder if I should expand to freshman and sophomore or mingle more in the cottage but I am concern about students losing their privacy. I found it very interesting when a supervisor states: Many Deaf-Lat students read 1st or 2nd grade level and it is parents' fault. S/he questioned why many parents deprive their Deaf child until it is too late when they enter RSSD during high school year and they finally learn; and that they were either mainstreamed in public school or stayed home. At the end of our conversation, my blood no longer boiled since I am witnessing ignorance. S/he admits that during hiring procedure for dormitory/ cottage, the applicants tend to be Whites so there are often no Deaf-Lat role models for the kids. I was able to get some sense of some issues at RSSD. After I left RSSD, I thought about how the presentation went and about some issues and they are:

- 1. I have 4 Deaf-Lat students who are interested and I wondered if it is still too early to say whether senior and juniors limit my chance to have a larger number of interested participants.*
- 2. I am trying to think whether I should go ahead and include sophomores and freshmen. Or mingle more with students*

and perhaps I'll have better luck to find more participants. I am mainly concern with how much I expose myself to students in public places at RSSD since confidentiality is one of priorities especially in Deaf community.

- 3. When the supervisors of both girls and boys dormitory/cottage mention they would keep an eye for which students who might be interested. I caught myself putting up my guard real quick to snowballing since I want to make sure all Mexican Deaf students are informed about my study and they are empowered to decide for themselves if they are interested in joining my study or not. I did not want supervisors to introduce me to their "favorite" Deaf-Lat students.*

I must admit I was a little discouraged that there were only three interested students. I was much looking forward to starting the study since it was put off for 6 months due to several factors which were beyond my control such as school procedures for approval and changes in Internal Review Board paperwork. I will be contacting two dormitory/cottage supervisors to see if I can mingle with students sometime this week and see if I have better luck recruiting. I know I tried my best and I was a little disappointed since I printed 15 sets of consent forms and I only gave away 4 forms. I feel guilty for wasting paper and trees. I guess that is part of research process. I will see how thing go.

I decided to go ahead and try to meet with students at the dormitory/cottage especially those who missed my presentation the day before but this time at the dormitory/cottage. With dormitory/cottage supervisor approval, I corresponded with one of dormitory/cottage staff and we were able to arrange a time for me to meet with students.

Carla's journal- Recruit #2 (October 2012)

Upon my arrival to girl's dormitory/cottage, I found about 16-18 girls including boys who were visiting their girlfriends or friends. They were sitting on circular sofas in the living room wrapping up their homework along with two staff supervising. There was a White boy sitting in the circle who waved to get my attention, "I want to join and watch because I might

marry a Mexican girl so I want to know her culture.” I smiled and told him that he can join then he can decide from there. However later, I realized it might be problematic with confidentiality since he might see who express interest in participating in my study.

I quickly introduced myself and showed a photo of my family via laptop before I discussed my study. All students were very attentive and asked many good questions for clarification. Five students expressed interest and they filled out the forms. Some chatted, used their cellphones or laptops. One girl came up to me saying that she feels excluded since she has deaf parents however they both are divorced. Her mother does not live in the state and her father lives south near the Mexico border so she is currently living with her sibling. I asked her to go ahead and fill out the form and that I will have to think about it.

I feel good about today because it was informal and casual as opposed to the first presentation. I used to be a dorm counselor. We tend to host workshops or gatherings at the dormitory/cottage since it's a comfortable environment. How can I forget?! I also got to talk with each student so it is real nice knowing each of them. It found it very interesting since when I entered dormitory/cottage, I realized I missed its informal environment where I socialized with deaf students. After I collected the forms from interested students, I caught myself chatting with students where the conversation topic went off to different subjects. I miss having that relationship with students. It is a real nice break for me away from my home office. So we will see what happens. Four applicants this time so I have a total of eight now.

Eight applicants was reduced to six since two students were born to deaf parents, which did not meet my criteria. Since nationwide 90 percent of deaf children are born to hearing parents. Given to the fact only, 30% of those hearing parents learned to sign (Gallaudet Research Institute, April 2011). I want explore into the identities and experiences of Deaf-Lat students from hearing parents since they are less privileged as opposed to middle class parents who could afford to take sign classes.

Initially, I had hoped to study only seniors and juniors, but I realized there were a small number of interested Deaf-Lat students. As a result, I decided to adjust criteria #1 where I also included Deaf-Lat freshmen and sophomores. It took a few weeks to revise the criteria, get it approved by my advisor, the IRB, and the RSSD gatekeeper. But, I finally returned to RSSD to talk with Deaf-Lat freshmen and sophomore students, following the same recruiting procedure I did during the 2nd visit since it felt more authentic. Seven students showed up, and five interested students asked for the forms to give to their parents. We also had the opportunity to chat for a while.

From three school visits, those eleven interested Deaf-Lat students (7 boys and 4 girls) who confirmed that they met the criteria were asked to take home the given English and Spanish consent forms. The first document, *Participation in Research Consent* (Appendix A) contained a brief letter describing the purpose of the study along with a space where the student and their parents signed if they were interested. The second consent, *Photographic/Video Consent and Release Form* (Appendix B) contained choices for the student and their parents to mark noting whether they allowed me to take photographs or use videotape; to use student's schoolwork for this study; or indicated that students would participate in the study but photographs or videos of the student would not be used. If parents agreed that their child could participate in the study, they were to send the consent form back with their

signatures, within two weeks. Signed consent forms granted me permission to do both home and school visits.

I received six consent forms (5 boys and 1 girl) with parents' signatures. Right before data collection, a male student changed his mind and decided to withdraw from this study leaving five students (4 boys and 1 girl). I followed up with the remaining five students (2 boys and 3 girls) via email and they said their parents still have the forms. One female student felt overwhelmed with school work and did not want to participate. I was hoping for more than five applications especially girls, in case some of the Deaf-Lat students decided to withdraw. As a month deadline passed, I never heard back from the remaining students. It is possible that their parents did not want their child to participate in the study, Deaf-Lat students change their mind, or they forgot about it. I decide to start this study with 5 students (4 boys and 1 girl) with parental permission and based on their willingness and motivation to participate. The parents were also invited to participate in the study as well.

As I received confirmation from each student to participate in the study, I created an electronic folder for each one and their parents. The folders contained all scanned consent forms, interview transcripts and videos, observation notes and transcripts, and CDA transcripts along with photos and/or videos. I also created hard copy folders where I stored hard copy consent forms, observation notes, CDA notes, and home and school demographic questionnaires. While the

data analysis process was intense, and my organization made it easier and ongoing (Merriam, 2009).

Each student participant's parents were contacted to arrange for my first home visit. A list of Deaf-Lat student participants was submitted to the residential supervisor so s/he could notify the other residential staff to support students as they participated in my study. A copy of the consent forms was also provided to the RSSD liaison per her/his request.

Multiple Data Collection Methods

Umbrella of Data Sources

The main sources of data for my study included the demographic questionnaire, transcripts of formal videotaped interviews, field notes from participant observation, and field notes, transcripts and photos of cultural documents/ artifacts. Those data include but are not limited to many other accessible data such as my personal fieldwork notes, which contain casual conversations, electronic mail, school and home documents, memos, and literature. I employed multiple data sources to conduct my study. I discuss each source in the section below.

Fieldwork Notes

Notes taken as part of the conducted qualitative research are known as the "primary recording tool" (Glesne, 2006). According to Merriam (2009), it was recommended that I keep a record of descriptions including any type of emotion I felt, or thoughts about anything related to the study. In the field, I found myself

scribbling my personal insights as they occurred, since it was impossible to completely remember how I interpreted everything I saw, felt and smelled, at a later point in time (Gray, 2003). I also video recorded myself as I discussed my thoughts.

Demographic Questionnaires

Completion of the structured demographic questionnaire was conducted at one time during the first home and school visits. Spanish and English versions were available to accommodate the language preference of Deaf-Lat students and their parents. Deaf-Lat students were told they could ask for translation from English to ASL if needed. Fontana and Frey (2005) point out that the questionnaire is like a structured interview since it asks, “preestablished questions” (p. 702) where there is little flexibility in responses. However, the questions themselves stimulated responses from students, parents and myself (Merriam, 2009) which is positive. In this way, the transitions began from structured to unstructured interviewing (dialogue) as we reviewed each question during the initial interview. This process assisted me in finding out participants’ thoughts about the questions and word choice for future interviews and writing.

Home. Each student and their parent filled out a 15-minute long questionnaire separately (see Appendices C and D). The questionnaire asked participants to answer questions that described them such as: gender, hometown, birthplace, age, deaf status, race/ethnicity, and generational status,

preferred home language, education history, number of siblings, and whether they are hearing or d/Deaf.

School. When I met with students individually at school, they also filled out a 10-minute long questionnaire (see Appendix E). The form asked participants to describe their previous educational background, class status, and preferred school language.

Interviews

Interviews were conducted because “behavior, feelings, or how people interpret the world around them” cannot be observed (Merriam, 2009, p. 88). The interview is very common in many studies however; more researchers in cultural studies are turning to a dialogical approach. One of positive thing about this approach is that it creates a safe space for participants to explore their feelings and experiences (Gray, 2003, p. 96). It was particularly important for this study since interviews allowed me to explore, in depth, the experiences and multiple identities of Deaf-Lat students.

Deaf-Lat students and their parents varied in exposure to education and signed, written, and spoken (if applicable) language acquisition. According to Merriam (2009), semi-structured interviews allowed me to compile questions that were flexibly worded or signed as opposed to the structured type. Being able to accommodate each participant’s language preference and ability was always one of my goals.

The interviews were a mixture of semi-structured and unstructured approaches. A semi-structured interview is used where the wording of questions is predetermined in order to elicit specific data from all respondents to answer my research questions (Merriam, 2009). In other instances, I want to be able to obtain certain information to follow up demographic questionnaires given during the first home and school visits. The second reason emerged right after second home interviews with parents using trilingual interpreters. During the first interview with first student's parent, I signed, "deaf" however this certain trilingual interpreter used this term, "sordomudos" (deaf-mute) which is very offensive term to culturally Deaf people in the United States. In fact, the interpreters were trained to add nothing in interpreting setting (Mindess, 2006); however, in this interpreter's defense, "sordomudos" is still used in Latin-America.

This is when I decided to turn in a list of questions for all trilingual interpreters so s/he could read through the questions and interpret them using certain words I prefer as opposed to their words of choice, in order to be as conceptually accurate as possible. Overall, all interpreters found this very helpful since the list helped them be more prepared and stay close to my research questions and interpret both questions and answers accurately. Most of the interview questions were prewritten, but I added some last minute questions when needed. I asked between eight and 15 questions per session per student and per parents. Between 45 minutes to an hour and half formal interview was conducted with students at both home and school. All parent interviews lasted for

about 60 minutes and included trilingual interpreters. More information on trilingual interpreters is discussed below.

Trilingual Interpreters. In the US, 30.4% of the Deaf students are identified Deaf-Lat students and 21.9% of those students come from Spanish-speaking homes (Gallaudet Research Institute, April 2011). Given these figures, achieving the best possible communication with the parents of Deaf-Lat students was my primary goal. I wanted to employ certified trilingual interpreters who were fluent in multiple languages (ASL, English, and Spanish). I met with four trilingual interpreters who lived in or close to a certain city where Deaf-Lat students lived, either in person or by videophone, to assess their receptive and expressive signing skills and their educational background to determine their qualifications before I invited them to participate in the home site interviews. After making a contract with each interpreter to meet at a home site or via videophone, I discussed the procedures to prepare them prior to the interviews.

These certified trilingual interpreters were over 18 years of age, high school graduates, free from any criminal conviction, which would have resulted in their certification being denied, suspended, revoked or disciplined. All of them possessed valid interpreter certification from the National Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf (RID); or the National Association of the Deaf- Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf (NAD-RID). Four out of five possessed trilingual certification at the level of Advanced or Master, awarded by the Board for Evaluation of Interpreters (BEI) also indicating they had passed the required

exams, such as the test of Spanish Proficiency (TSP) and the trilingual performance test. They also knew to observe the code of ethics, including confidentiality.

Video Recording. Scholars, especially hearing ones, often argue that there are important ethical issues in the use of visual recording. It is important to understand that sign language is not a written but a visual language (Moore & Levitan, 2003). The emotion and meanings are directly written on a student's face and it is important to grasp everything that is signed, as well as facial expressions and emotions. There are multiple types of information coming at the same time from ASL, and facial, eye, head and body movements. They play an important role in providing information on how ASL grammar is structured (Lane et al., 1996). Not everything expressed in ASL can be translated into English accurately. Moore and Levitan (2003, p. 76) caution that when translating ASL into English, "Grammatically correct ASL can be rendered in grammatically correct English, but it loses something in translation- which is, of course, a universal problem."

Videotaping helped me stay close to the lived experiences of Deaf-Lat students in their visual language. In preliminary interviews, when I would parrot back while taking notes and watching someone sign, I found myself not really engaged in the listening process and I was aware that I was losing valuable information. In an attempt to avoid misunderstandings or losing important information, videotaping was helpful. I found myself really listening because I had

my eyes on the participants and my hands free most of the time, and allowed me to participate in meaningful conversations as cameras recorded these conversations.

A digital video camera was placed facing both the student participant and me as I conducted the interview. When I conducted interviews with parents and a trilingual interpreter, I had one digital video camera placed facing them, and a second one facing me. Both cameras recorded synchronously. After each home visit, I planned to merge the two videos into one since this would make it easier to watch and observe participants and myself taking turns talking during the process of transcribing. However, after several attempts to merge two videos, my laptop crashed. Trying to combine the AVCHD video files on the HD camcorder into a single recording on my laptop placed too great a burden on the laptop's CPU and graphics card, due to the size of the video file. To solve this problem, I decided not to merge the files, but kept both videos separate. There were a few occasions when the parents and I met with interpreters via videophone with recording capability, which was helpful.

Formal interviews. I conducted three home interviews directly with students, first individually and then with their parents and other interested family members. These interviews took place in the Fall of 2012, Spring, 2013, and Summer, 2013.

Home. The first home interview was unique since I utilized student and parents questionnaires to begin digging deeper, or asking for clarification, which

led to unstructured questioning. The first interview was crucial for me since I believed in starting off with establishing trusting relationships with students and their parents. I concur with Merriam (2009) when she stresses how important it is to remain non-threatening, respectful, nonjudgmental right at the very beginning.

I wanted to grasp a clear understanding of each Deaf-Lat student's home cultural background prior to conducting interviews in school. The first interview at home helped me make sense of Deaf-Lat student's "funds of knowledge" (Moll et al., 1992). A fund of knowledge is conceptually referred to as "these historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills essential for household or individual functioning and well-being" (p. 133). Drawing on the knowledge and skills found in Deaf-Lat student's households was one of the "'strategic connections' that took the form of joint household research between" students, parents and me (p. 132). During the second and third interviews, I stuck closer to the research questions (See Appendix F), however, I also found myself asking more follow-up questions.

School. Students participated in two school interviews in the Fall of 2012 and the Spring of 2013. The first school interview questions were followed up after the initial school questionnaire. The first interview gave me a better sense of how students saw themselves in a school context, and how its culture differed from home. Questions asked were about school life; how students defined themselves as Deaf-Lat in a school that promotes singular identity discourse-Deaf identity and Deaf culture.

Informal interview. Interviews were not limited to formal arrangements only, where I sat down with students and their parents. Deaf-Lat students and I took the opportunity to talk before, during, and after the formal interview, during participant observation and cultural artifact discussions. Informal interviews brought me closer to Deaf-Lat students where I could better interpret their answers and behaviors (Glesne, 2006).

Participant observation. Participant observation is also known as ethnographical study; however, in this section, I discuss the act of participating on some level in the study using a specific strategies to collect materials (Hatch, 2002). There were several advantages to conducting observations. It allowed:

- 1) clearer understanding of the settings where phenomena occurred
- 2) us to use firsthand experiences, how participants interpret their settings;
- 3) us to witness things participants in natural environments;
- 4) us to learn new information that were not shared during the interview or other type of data collection, and
- 5) a closer look into an activity including the experiences of the researcher to analyse the phenomena (Patton, 1990 in Hatch, 2002, p. 72).

There is a participant observation continuum ranging from observation most of the time to mostly participation (Glesne, 2006). Respecting an individual's space was my primary goal. I did not intend to barge in, but to remain in the margin of the participants' space. After developing a meaningful relationship with the participants, I found myself carefully following my intuition

about when to and when not to get into their space. Hatch (2002) states that it is sometimes good to shift “(f)inding a balancing place on the continuum is important, but changing the balance as studies progress is sometimes a good strategy” (p. 74). For example, I noticed some Deaf-Lat students became nervous when I conducted observations in public places such, as practices or the snack bar. I respected them by giving them space, and ensuring their confidentiality.

I observed Deaf-Lat students in home three times and school settings two times for 45 to 60 minutes at a time. The purpose of the observations was to gather stories, behaviors, conversations and activities that reflected t the identities and experiences of Deaf-Lat students. During observations, my notes included a description of the social setting, people, activities, conversation topics and events (See Appendix G). Hatch (2002) warns it is not possible to record everything since it could become very overwhelming, and that was confirmed during my observations. I only put down enough information to make sense of an activity that was relevant to my research questions. After conducting an observation, I was able to follow up with some questions or discussion about what I saw with participants. Following these observations and the informal interviews, I quickly wrote down notes.

Cultural Document Artifacts (CDA)

Deaf-Lat students were asked to present their CDAs, representing their multiple identities, and these documents and artifacts became the third data set

for this study. According to Merriam (2009), the CDAs include all artifacts that have special meaning for the individual. Examples of ready-made source of data are:

1. Public records- official records; birth, marriage, and death certificates; U.S. census information; police records; court transcripts; agency records; association manuals; program documents; mass media; corporate records; government documents; newspapers; or historical accounts.
2. Personal documents- (document) diaries; letters; home videos; graffiti, children's growth records; scrapbook; photo albums; calendars; written or signed songs or poems; autobiographies; travel logs; (visual) photographs; films, videos, books, drawings, paintings, and personal videos.
3. Physical material- household resources, tools, implements, utensils, instruments, glassware, or fabric.

I told Deaf-Lat students that they could also come up with their own CDAs ranging from written, visual, digital, or physical material as long their CDAs were relevant to the research questions and represented the overlapping multiple identities of Deaf-Lat student, through their identity and personal experiences (Merriam, 2009). I encouraged Deaf-Lat students to use their preferred language as they created their CDAs, as opposed to forcing them to use the dominant language (Mertens, Holmes, & Harris, 2009).

Throughout the study, I encouraged students to create their CDAs at the beginning of the study to see the growth of their reflection process (Glesne, 2006). When Deaf-Lat students and I met during the second home visit, I inquired about what they wanted to do for their CDA, and to my surprise, they were still unsure about how to make a connection between CDAs and their multiple identities. I decided to come up with a PowerPoint with several examples of CDAs which Deaf-Lat students found helpful. When Deaf-Lat students asked for more time to think about it, I realized they were still going through some kind of Deaf-Lat consciousness raising about their multiple identities. I decided not to ask to see the developing or final product until close to the end of the study.

Over the course of the entire school year, I typically set aside 30 minutes during each meeting with Deaf Lat Students to talk about how CDAs portray their multiple identities. During that process, Deaf-Lat students and I discussed what CDAs are found in their homes and at RSSD. We also discussed how CDAs relate to research questions which enhanced the richness of the verbal data (Merriam, 2009). I took field notes (See Appendix H) to keep track of our conversations and had videos of our conversations transcribed. At the end of the school year, Deaf-Lat students had created CDAs or gathered artifacts together that represented their multiple identities. I understood that the request to take photo or video records of documents and/or artifacts posed ethical issues (Glesne, 2006). Regardless, Deaf-Lat students and their parents gave their permission by signing the photographic/ video consent and release form

(Appendix F) given to them earlier in the study, their discussion about their CDAs brought richer information to how they perceive themselves and their multiple identities. The CDA corroborated my observations and interviews through triangulation, which strengthened the trustworthiness of my findings.

Data Analysis

Data collection and analysis began synchronously. Each process was a simultaneous activity (Hatch, 2002; Merriam, 2009). According to Hatch (2002), data analysis is a process of searching systematically for meaning. He continues, “(A)nalysis means organizing and interrogating data in ways that allow researchers to see patterns, identify themes, discover relationships, develop explanations, make interpretations, mount critiques, or generate theories” (p. 148). The data analysis was completed when the research questions were answered and presented in a compiled final report (Hatch, 2002).

Deaf-Latina/o Critical Theory in Education is a framework based on Deaf-Lat epistemology, which is deeply rooted in the lived experiences of Deaf-Lat students. I recognize the importance of incorporating the concept of cultural intuition (Delgado Bernal, 1998) in the process of data analysis. Cultural intuition contains four sources: personal experience, existing literature, professional experience, and analytical research process (Delgado Bernal, 1998). Personal experience is influenced by past life experiences that contribute to individual knowledge. The ability to understand and relate to the topics in this study was influenced by collective experience and community memory. Existing literature

was another way to strengthen cultural intuition by enhancing knowledge and sensitivity, enabling improved exploration into specific topics. Literature consisted of a combination of research studies, other scholarly writings, and artifacts or documents. Professional experiences solidified cultural intuition through practice.

The analytical research process added to cultural intuition through detailed examination of data sources, by exploring, comparing, sorting, brainstorming, breaking down, coding, compiling, reviewing, and observing. I used Microsoft Visio diagramming at the beginning, but realized it was too complicated, so I decided to keep it simple by using Microsoft Word Review. I mainly focused on highlighting and making comments to assist with monitoring all themes as they were coded, re-coded, sorted, re-sorted, categorized, and re-defined throughout the second, third, fourth, and fifth rounds of data collection. I sometimes felt overwhelmed with pages of transcripts so I decided to use index cards where I put down all main themes and sub-themes. I posted the index cards on large pieces of paper hanging on the wall so I could visualize them and move them around. I reviewed data to assure that all themes and findings were saturated, and I no longer saw new information.

Trustworthiness of Deaf-LatCrit Ethnographical Study

Conducting a qualitative research study in an ethical manner is to confirm its trustworthiness (Merriam, 2009). Since the conception of my plan for this study, trustworthiness was my priority. I needed to acknowledge the importance of trustworthiness by performing appropriate procedures throughout the study, with confidence. Below, I review some statements I wrote earlier about issues of trustworthiness and added further insights.

Data

I attempted to limit the access of all collected data such as videotapes, transcripts, field notes, and analysis as much as possible. I shared videos of parent interviews with one contracted trilingual transcriber for transliteration and transcription from Spanish to English in text and audio. I shared videos of student interviews with two contracted transcribers for transcription from ASL to English. Nobody else had access to that information. All data were stored in a locked laptop that requires a password and is located at my home office. The laptop was always in my possession when not in use. This was to protect the Deaf-Lat student participants and maintain confidentiality.

Participants

To protect the privacy of Deaf-Lat students, I allowed each of them to create a pseudonym for themselves. Also, during my home visits, pseudonyms were created for every hometown to further protect their identities. I have created a pseudonym for the students' school, Rainy State School for the Deaf (RSSD), to protect the identity of the school.

Trilingual Interpreters

I encountered parents who spoke Spanish only. For this situation, I employed certified trilingual interpreters for the parents' interviews. Although Fontana and Frey (2005) caution that using interpreters could risk "added layers of meanings, biases, and interpretations, and this may lead to disastrous misunderstandings" (p. 707). Historically, Spanish-speaking families with Deaf children have been and are still ignored or silenced. If I'd concurred with Fontana and Frey's earlier statement, I would have repeated the cycle of suppression of the parents who unquestionably play a big role in the lives of Deaf-Lat students. It was my job to evaluate the expressive and receptive skills of the interpreter(s) in ASL. I was able to discuss my expectation with all interpreters and gave them a list of interview questions. I also encouraged the interpreters to ask me any questions for clarification to reduce chances of misunderstandings. I discussed a couple of issues with the trilingual interpreters, however, the issues did not severely affect the data.

Transcription

I was told that transcribing was time consuming especially when viewing videotape in ASL and translating information from Spanish to English. In fact, it took approximately 768.50 hours to translate 25.50 hours of all student interviews and transcribe from ASL to English. It took an additional 176 hours to transcribe 15 parent interviews from Spanish to English. During the process of transcribing, I was able to (re)view and observe videos; this process was helpful in focusing

on certain issue (Glesne, 2006) and watching themes and subthemes develop and connect with others. I learned that it requires a lot of patience when it comes to transcription.

Member Checks

According to Glesne (2006), member checking is one way to improve research validity to assure information is accurate. I followed-up with the interpreters to make sure they followed and translated correctly. At every visit, I turned in the transcription from the prior visit to each student and his or her parents, to assure I followed their stories accurately. ASL to English transcription were shared with students along with videos for review. Some students preferred reviewing the documents with videos. Some students preferred watching certain part of the video to answer my questions as I made correction if needed on the transcriptions. One student read the whole transcriptions and made corrections. The transcriptions, written in both Spanish and English, were given to parents for their review. Three parents out of five returned the transcripts and indicated information was correct. One parent read the transcript and indicated they would get back to me, but has not done that. One parent did not respond to my inquiry regarding transcription. I wrote down notes of any corrections or clarifications. Member checks were conducted informally prior to conducting interviews, participant observation or reviewing cultural documents and artifacts by following up with questions, repeating their comments to make sure I grasped their meaning accurately.

Self-Presentation

School. When Deaf people meet, they tend to introduce themselves by sharing their backgrounds to explain how they relate to the Deaf community (Lane et al., 1996). This facilitates developing connections and possibly trust. However, there is also a limitation since the Deaf community is very small. Information about my study and about me will inevitably travel through the networks especially in residential schools, which means participants and I may lose our privacy. I have been explicit with students about issues of confidentiality. There were Deaf administrators, residential staff and teachers at the school, which meant I needed to be cautious when answering their questions. The Deaf community is small and of course, not everyone gets along. If the students learned the opinions of other Deaf adults or students in this study, it could have affected students' willingness to remain in the study.

Home. Parents agreed to sign the forms to give their children permission to participate in my study, it revealed that parents were willing to open their home. Glesne (2006) warns that many researchers struggle with the feeling of exploitation (p. 133). This was a privilege for me therefore, so in return, I shared Deaf or Mexican related resources if parents inquired about them. This brought up ethical issues such as whether I was intervening, advocating, or doing this as a friend. Where should I put my boundary line? I kept all this in mind, and followed my intuition during this process.

My Positionality

This "native" ethnographer is potentially both the colonizer, in her university cloak, and the colonized, as a member of the very community that is made "other" in her research (Villenas, 1996, p. 712) .

Earlier I mentioned I am a victim and survivor of multiple oppressions (audism, linguicism, racism and sexism). I was only encouraged to embrace my Deaf identity by Deaf adults who gave me tools to defend myself from audism, but left other parts of my multiple identities unawakened and unprotected leading to a mixture of feelings: confusion, anger, and a feeling of being lost. I therefore stress understanding and recognize that embracing my intersectional identities and experiences is extremely important to me as a human being and as an educator, which is why I was passionate about this study.

I found myself facing the colonizer/colonized dilemma (Villenas, 1996). I am a Deaf Latina graduate student in a majority hearing, male, and White institution. I accept the fact that I have power as a researcher; however, as Villenas (1996) advises, I can resist the practice of "othering" and marginalization by using my "multiplicity of identities in order to tolerate and welcome the contradictions and ambiguities" (p. 728). I acknowledge it was my responsibility as a researcher to monitor and record my reactions, feelings, and thoughts during the research process. This provided me with opportunities to reflect upon my positionality.

I found there are many differences and similarities between Deaf-Lat students and myself. Deaf-Lat students stayed in the dormitory/ cottage every

day except for the weekends as opposed to my personal experience. I went home every day and I stayed in the dormitory only for special events or athletic games, which meant I had more privilege. Deaf-Lat students have parents who know little signing or do not sign at all as opposed to my mother who is an intermediate signer and my father who is a beginner. Three out of five are undocumented and I am not. We differ in language acquisition, education background, and types of courses taken in high school.

I remained an active listener as Deaf-Lat students shared their stories, since this promoted our “self-awareness for personal transformation and critical subjectivity” (Mertens, 2009, p. 40). The story reflects the experiences of Deaf-Lat students and their families. I became familiar with the communities of Deaf-Lat students whether I was a member or not (Lincoln, 1995 in Mertens, 2005, p. 259).

Chapter Four: The Lived Experiences of Deaf-Lat Students

You Have to be Deaf to Understand the Deaf

*What is it like to "hear" a hand?
You have to be deaf to understand.*

*What is it like to be a small child,
In a school, in a room void of sound --
With a teacher who talks and talks and talks;
And then when she does come around to you,
She expects you to know what she's said?
You have to be deaf to understand.*

*Or the teacher thinks that to make you smart,
You must first learn how to talk with your voice;
So mumbo-jumbo with hands on your face
For hours and hours without patience or end,
Until out comes a faint resembling sound?
You have to be deaf to understand.*

*What is it like to be curious,
To thirst for knowledge you can call your own,
With an inner desire that's set on fire --
And you ask a brother, sister, or friend
Who looks in answer and says, "Never Mind"?
You have to be deaf to understand.*

*What it is like in a corner to stand,
Though there's nothing you've done really wrong,
Other than try to make use of your hands
To a silent peer to communicate
A thought that comes to your mind all at once?
You have to be deaf to understand.*

*What is it like to be shouted at
When one thinks that will help you to hear;
Or misunderstand the words of a friend
Who is trying to make a joke clear,
And you don't get the point because he's failed?
You have to be deaf to understand.*

What is it like to be laughed in the face

*When you try to repeat what is said;
Just to make sure that you've understood,
And you find that the words were misread --
And you want to cry out, "Please help me, friend"?
You have to be deaf to understand.*

*What is it like to have to depend
Upon one who can hear to phone a friend;
Or place a call to a business firm
And be forced to share what's personal, and,
Then find that your message wasn't made clear?
You have to be deaf to understand.*

*What is it like to be deaf and alone
In the company of those who can hear --
And you only guess as you go along,
For no one's there with a helping hand,
As you try to keep up with words and song?
You have to be deaf to understand.*

*What is it like on the road of life
To meet with a stranger who opens his mouth --
And speaks out a line at a rapid pace;
And you can't understand the look in his face
Because it is new and you're lost in the race?
You have to be deaf to understand.*

*What is it like to comprehend
Some nimble fingers that paint the scene,
And make you smile and feel serene,
With the "spoken word" of the moving hand
That makes you part of the word at large?
You have to be deaf to understand.*

*What is it like to "hear" a hand?
Yes, you have to be deaf to understand.*

(Gannon, 1981, p. 380)

The above poem, written by Willard J. Madsen, has been circulated all over the world, and translated to many different languages since its first publication in 1971. I recall being drawn to this poem when I first read it in my

20s. However, after identifying and embracing multiple intersecting identities over the years, my consciousness has been awakened, and I realized that this poem does not fully define me since this represents a singular Deaf identity, Deaf way of being, and Deaf way of knowing.

“Most of us dwell in nepantla so much of the time it’s become a sort of ‘home.’”

(Anzaldúa, 2002, p. 1)

Utilizing Deaf-LatCrit theory and Deaf-Lat epistemology in this study is intended to challenge the deeply ingrained, singular Deaf identity discourse in the Deaf community. Deaf people often confidently point to their own Deaf experience and struggle with hearing supremacy where “audism” or “audist” is spelled out, creating the Deaf v. hearing dichotomy. However, White Deaf people, as the bearers of white privilege, fail to look at themselves as oppressors who suppress Deaf People of Color (DPOC) or other marginalized individuals. Deaf people can be oppressed and be oppressors at the same time. This is particularly problematic in the field of Deaf Education.

Major of teachers and scholars in Deaf Education both unintentionally and intentionally promote cultural discontinuity of Deaf-Lat students and other DSC by excluding their home culture and language. For too long, Deaf Education has failed to address the importance of recognizing other parts of intersecting identities and realities, especially in the areas of policy and practice. Deaf-LatCrit challenges Deaf Education to weave multiple overlapping identities of Deaf-Lat students, DSC, and other marginalized Deaf people at the bottom.

Safe space, above all else, is important in this study. Safe space is known as an emotional and visible presence Deaf-Lat individuals feel with the others who are supposedly their allies regardless of differences or beliefs. During the first home and school interviews with each Deaf-Lat student, I noticed that when they answered, they often waited for signs of my approval. This brought back flashbacks of my years as a student, waiting for words of approval from my teachers, who promoted teacher-centered instruction. I was often hand-tied because I feared being criticized, making a fool out of myself, or losing face.

As a doctoral student, almost all of my professors created safe space in their classrooms. We were able to share our stories and shed tears so our long-held wounds could begin to heal. We were able to share our passion and dream for social justice. During that process, I realized I am one of those victims who did not feel safe to speak up for myself in my earlier schooling years. It was a painful process to decolonize my way of thinking and behaving, which was and still is liberating. I want the same thing for Deaf-Lat student participants.

I believe it is important for Deaf-Lat student participants to know me not just as a researcher, but also as a Deaf-Lat individual. During the data collection process, I was able to relate to some of the Deaf-Lat student participants' experiences. I nodded as I listened empathetically and often with a lump in my throat. I also shared my lived experiences with them because I wanted them to know they are not alone. There were moments when we laughed together.

In the last few interviews, I was able to see that Deaf-Lat students were able to think and speak up for themselves. I also challenged Deaf-Lat student participants to elaborate their answers further to raise Deaf-Lat consciousness and critical thinking among ourselves. I reflect on my own Deaf-Lat identity as I watch Deaf-Lat students discuss their multiple identities through the changing seasons. I stressed to Deaf-Lat students that their multiple identities do not remain static, but are always in flux in the ever-changing seasons, both when they are by themselves and when they are with other individuals at home, RSSD, the Deaf community, and in public places.

In this chapter, I introduce five Deaf-Lat students who are interested in participating in this study. They straddle between the hearing community and the Deaf community. When entering hearing or Deaf communities, Deaf-Lat students continuously straddle different communities within communities because of their multiple identities. The bridges never look the same each time Deaf-Lat students cross them. Old bridges become history and other bridges cannot be foreseen. Crossing over main bridges, small bridges, and even smaller ones takes ongoing consciousness. As Anzaldúa (2002, p. 1) describes, “Transformations occur in this in-between space, an unstable, unpredictable, precarious, always in transition space lacking clear boundaries.” Deaf-Lat students attempt to figure out who they are through negotiation when they are in specific locations with specific individuals and specific languages, along with other modes of communication.

I briefly introduce each of the five Deaf-Lat students, their home communities, and their Deaf communities within their hometowns and our first encounters. I encouraged Deaf-Lat students to introduce themselves and describe their experiences straddling between home and RSSD. Deaf-Lat students discussed their lived experiences: family backgrounds, language use at home and school, educational backgrounds, arrival at RSSD, classes, and weekend activities. They mainly discussed their experiences at RSSD, home, and in between. This is not to say Deaf-Lat students cannot speak for themselves, but their families play big roles in their lives. Information provided by parents and other family members is also added when relevant. In this study, Deaf-Lat student participants created pseudonyms for themselves, their siblings, and their hometowns to protect their identities.

Using the Latino Critical Race Theory and Deaf-LatCrit lenses that promote intersectionality discourse, Deaf-Lat student participants discussed their complicated overlapping multiple identities. Deaf-Lat students claim themselves as Deaf only at RSSD, and attempt to leave their racial identity home. I found Deaf-Lat students easily leaning toward discussion about Deaf related issues at RSSD and home. It took a while for them to put their multiple identities together and comfortably discuss them. The complexity of intersectionality and contradictions shared by Deaf-Lat students should be anticipated. It is time to carve a safe space for all Deaf-Lat students.

I would like to discuss my relationship with each Deaf-Lat student before we get into their narratives.

Barney is a shy, humble and warm-hearted individual. He is also a true thinker who brought many different perspectives into our dialogue, which taught me many things. I admire his self-determination, especially when it comes to what he believes in. I look forward to seeing what life has in store for him.

Carlos is an easy-going person and very sincere. He is capable of disrupting my train of thought with his humor, which often reminds me to appreciate life instead of focusing on the amount of stress burdening me. He has a love for learning and I am eager to see what will become of him.

Tina is a compassionate and generous individual. I admire her ability to think deeply which often pulled me outside of my thinking box, particularly about how struggles could bring positive rewards. With Tina's determination, she will never stop questioning life.

Rock is courageous and straightforward, not afraid to stand up for what he believes in. I admire his ability to think for himself, his refusal to become a *person for the others*, and his determination to remain true to himself. He knows success starts right in one's heart and is immeasurable.

Donny is a strong-willed and sociable individual. He has the capability to be true to himself which reflects his belief and strength not to be a follower. I believe his determination will bring him many good things as he reaches for his goals in life.

It is a special privilege to develop unique relationships with each Deaf-Lat student and their family. In the next section, I briefly discussed the first encounter with each Deaf-Lat student and how I allowed each Deaf-Lat student to introduce themselves through their narrative. There are hundreds of transcripts, and it is not possible to include all of them here. This condensed narrative is derived from multiple sources, including questionnaires, interviews, participant observations, cultural document artifacts to informal conversation that reflect their multiple identities and experiences.

Barney

“Lexus” (pseudonym) is the name Barney has given to his hometown. It is very large, so it attracts visitors. On my way to Barney’s house, I found myself in the Mexican neighborhood, or “el barrio.” There are many local business signs stretching on both sides of the road. I drove slowly and braked frequently as I glanced at many different local and family businesses decorated with colorful flag string banners, papel picado banners, and vendor tents.

There is a large number of d/Deaf and hard of hearing people living in Lexus, where there are plenty of Deaf-related events, such as ASL social night, open caption movies, and deaf socials at churches. Support services, such as interpreter and employment services, are available for the Deaf and hard of hearing. In Lexus’s Deaf community, Deaf-Lat gather for a variety of different events or just to eat and socialize at restaurants.

When I arrived at his door, Barney shyly greeted me with a nervous smile, along with his mother, who stood behind him. As I entered the house, I found myself in the dining room. I waved to his mother and she waved back and gestured for me to take a seat. Barney has a brown, short, lined-up, tapered hairstyle, brown eyes, and a very tan complexion. He wore a t-shirt, shorts, and tennis shoes. To break the ice, I asked him if he wanted to help set up tripods. With a strong interest in film and media, he quickly nodded and pulled out three legs of the tripod and locked the tension of each leg. I asked him to decide where to set up the tripods and camcorders for our interview. He decided that the dining room would be best and we used that room every time I paid a visit throughout the year. Other than our interview, Barney eagerly watched as I conducted his parents' interview. He was able to add some information through voicing and signing at the same time.

I was born in México and stayed there for five years. My father worked in the United States, while my mother, older sister Isabel, and I lived in México. From an illness, I became deaf when I was one and a half years old. Father sent money so my mother could buy a pair of hearing aids for me. I learned to pronounce some Spanish words by watching and copying my family as they spoke. When I was five years old, my father brought us to the United States. We briefly lived in another state for a month before we moved here to Lexus.

I was mainstreamed in public school, but the school principal recommended that I move to a different public school with a deaf program. We

decided to move and I enrolled in that deaf program, but after a while, my mom decided to move me to a different school up north since the deaf program did not have oral training. In the new school, I only used my voice, not signing. There were five of us who got oral training and the other five students were signing. I interacted with the signers because I prefer signing, but that teacher was so strict. She said, "You are not allowed to sign. If you sign, you will get yourself into trouble." She would move my name to red mark. I was like hmm. I had to talk orally- that was from second grade until fourth grade. That was ridiculous. It was boring because I wanted to sign.

Then I moved again to another school for fifth and sixth graders. They allowed me to sign or speak orally, whichever I preferred. I signed a lot throughout elementary, middle school, and high school. During the first semester of high school, my parents reminded me I needed to use my voice since I stopped using my hearing aids. When I don't use my hearing aids, it is quiet and I hear no noises since I was signing.

One summer, my family went to a family retreat at RSSD. My parents asked me if I wanted to go school at RSSD and I said "no" and that I preferred stay in public school. They disagreed: "No, we think RSSD would be good for you. RSSD could help you with good education." I was fine with public school and I liked it there. I felt very awkward at RSSD, but the more I thought about it, I decided to go and try. I arrived to RSSD as a freshman and now it is my fourth year and I am currently a senior at RSSD.

I know my family is strongly connected to the Mexican community, Mexican culture, and Catholicism. Family is almost like blood that links all people together. At my house, my parents, cousins, aunts, and uncles are considered as a group. My family usually gets together for all the birthday parties or for the holidays like September 16th, the Three Wise Men Day, Posada, and Christmas. Christmas is my favorite, with a lot of food. The gatherings tend to be big and we eat and eat a lot of good food. We Mexicans do love spicy food.

As a younger kid, I tended to have coins in my pockets. When my family moved to the United States, I brought them and still have them (showing coins) with me at home. This picture (showing a picture) was taken when I was four years old. I was fully dressed up in black Mariachi clothes. My sister, Isabel, taught me a little about Mexican culture. I still would like to learn more about my Mexican culture, how to cook Mexican food, and speaking and literacy in Spanish and Mexican Sign Language (LSM).

I do like to be with my family, but there is a challenge with communication. I often hung out with Isabel and her friends, but I still feel left out. At RSSD, there are many Deaf people I can socialize with and it is so much fun. I can be involved with different things and I always learn something new. I was not able to have that at home. My family does tell me about different things, but very briefly. However, at RSSD, I am able to learn so much because of full communication access.

I am happy here at RSSD, but sometimes, I wish I could move back to public school so I won't get myself into trouble. Some Deaf students talked back, got into trouble, or fooled around too much. I am sick of being placed in school suspension or restriction here at RSSD. In public school with few deaf students, I will be able to focus on my schoolwork. Hearing students will leave me alone and I will be more mature and mellow. I believe I would be different, but I know communication is hard in public school. It is much easier at RSSD because everyone signs and I can socialize with my friends. I get invigorated when I socialize with my friends. It is a lot of fun. It is different when I get home, I am often quiet at home since no one knows ASL. Isabel knows a little but we use our home signs. At home, I was able to rest, sleep for hours, and veg out on the sofa watching TV. Mom often cooks my favorite food on Saturdays. It is better than cafeteria food, but I do not mind eating pizza and chicken.

I have no problem with Mexican students and girls; however, I was bullied by White seniors. I think it is because they are jealous, perhaps because of girls. I was called a "wetback." I see my Mexican friends saying "Mexican pride" more since I am with them a lot. At school, White day students signed, "Oh nah, you are nothing!" I have seen many students being bullied with slurs like "wetback," "nigger," "pussy," "fag," "gay." There are too many problems with bad attitude and bullying. Students also can be very noisy, wild, and they continue to slam the doors. I become sick of it and I often get headaches. That is why I do not use my hearing aids at RSSD. I use them at home only. Like for example, right now I can

hear feet stomping in the hallway. I think it is becoming worse in the dormitory/cottage. I have not seen any improvement. Students need to improve by being mature and show some respect. Staff even called me “smart mouth.” Recently, many boys were busted for drugs and they got into trouble. All of them are Mexicans so the other students criticized them for bringing drugs. In the past, a few Whites were also caught for bringing drugs to RSSD.

I feel English and reading are the most challenging subjects. I struggle with reading, especially with vocabulary. I have to memorize big words and I have trouble remembering definitions of each word. I become overwhelmed since I am not advanced in English. I am lower than advanced, so I need more practice. I enjoy math and I do well in math class. I never took Deaf Studies class, but I know at RSSD, there is a homecoming game where Deaf people gather for socialization, deaf related activities, booths selling deaf related products, and a museum is open to the public. It is part of the Deaf community. There are many good White Deaf role models, but I have not met any Mexican Deaf role models. I admire a Mexican Deaf person at RSSD. He is fluent in LSM and he shared many fascinating stories about when he lived in Mexico.

One or two years ago, RSSD finally started providing Spanish class. Students get to learn written Spanish, and learn about Mexico and Mexican culture. I was excited about it. I took Spanish class and noticed most students were Mexican and there were few Whites. Last year, the same thing happened. However, I must admit I was surprised since this year, there are many more

White students who are day students taking Spanish. I asked them why they are taking it and they said it is part of a graduation requirement. I joined Hispanic Club and I noticed that the sponsor was grouchy and I was like “whoa!” I only stayed there for one day and then I quit. I do not like the sponsor’s personality and s/he is so strict and very demanding. The Hispanic Club provided different activities and food for students. They made a piñata stuffed with candies, I got to help a little, and it was fun.

As an undocumented student, I feel safer at RSSD. This is because, for example, if I get myself in trouble with the law, my name will be on the record at RSSD. Seven years after I graduate, the record will be thrown away. This will not happen if I am caught at home. RSSD is like a chicken hen house, where students like eggs are gathered. Students are immediately gathered in a safe space if they are caught for any troubles. Police officers cannot take students away, but instead, RSSD makes sure students are placed in restriction or suspension and can be taught legal issues. I once got myself into trouble and a detective came to RSSD. He met with me, questioned me, and I only got a warning. I was relieved and got back to the dormitory/cottage.

I think White students are good signers since they are good and successful. The good group tends to be half Americans and Mexicans and I am one of them. The bad group is mostly Mexicans and they are low functioning. I think they do not care and do not apply for work or do their job. I think it is because the Mexican group has hearing parents and they did not teach them

skills. Mexican students are left with no knowledge and they make many mistakes. The White group of students has Deaf parents, who share their experiences and give advice to their children. Some Mexican parents, like mine, help me apply for college, and my sister, Isabel, warned me that life would not be easy after graduation.

After most of my friends graduated last year, I did not know who I should hang around with, but I joined a “bad” group and they talked negatively. They also planned revenges and I joined along as several things happened. I did not understand, but I hung out with the wrong group and I did not feel right about it. I felt I should not be part of that group. I removed myself and joined a different group. I patiently talked with my new group of friends and they talked about being smart and their future. I learned and enjoyed their company. I recall when I first moved to RSSD from public school, I did not know who to hang out with since I was new. Some students warned me not to interact with specific groups who are not smart and very low. As I look back, I wish I could go back to freshman year and stay with the “good” group. This group of students aimed to do well and be successful. It is one of the things I regret. I had many good friends but they graduated and we remain in touch. I do not have close friends. Lately, I hang out with a girl who is a senior.

RSSD does offer good education where technology is included a lot. There are also many fun activities and sports. I enjoyed the career preparation program since that teacher is very good. And video technology since it is related

to my interests. I hate woodshop since the teacher is hearing; s/he signs slowly and is often unclear. I have a hard time understanding her/him. S/he told us to memorize everything from paper and I have a hard time remembering because I do not understand written information. It is slow and I do not like it. I think the class will be better if the teacher signs fluently. I think the dormitory/cottage did a good job in teaching me about responsibility, such as cooking, arriving on time, saving water by showering for 20 minutes, and cleaning. I think the dormitory/cottage staff needs to be stricter with students who arrived to dormitory/cottage from school, and they played play station too long. The school needs to respect students' culture. There are too many problems with bad attitude and bullying.

I think RSSD needs to teach Deaf Mexicans who are still low in English grammar. Many of them are in high school and they do not write well. They will graduate soon and how can they communicate with hearing people in the working world? I think it is important to teach English and they should be blended with White students. White students sign really smoothly in ASL. Mexicans talk a bit off point and often their talk does not make sense. I once observed from outside how they communicate. Why do both groups interact with each other, not set up in two different groups where they remain all the time? For example, I am a Mexican and there is a White person over there. White's way of acting is big headed; they act as if they are rich and smart. Mexicans are not like that. We

want to be equal like them (White people). I do not want White people to oppress Mexicans or pity them. I want both Mexicans and Whites to be equally the same.

I want to go back and work on my speech so I can pronounce words right so I can have an easier time communicating with hearing people when I leave RSSD. I cannot talk like for a minute or for an hour, just to say a few words. I just want to be able to use my voice and tell them what I need. My parents worry a lot about how I interact with hearing people, but I am not scared to be around them at stores. For me, I worry more about being undocumented. I feel very conflicted because it is a hard process. I will be happy if I get my U.S. citizenship.

Barney's Cultural Document/Artifact

Barney chose to bring multiple artifacts together since he believes each item represents different parts of his multiple identities and how he made sense of them. There is a brown wooden oval table in the middle of the living room. Barney arranged his cultural document artifacts on the table.



Figure 3. Barney's Cultural Document/Artifact

1. An illustration of bright red chili pod with a sombrero on it. The chili wore a pair of sunglasses.
2. Mexican coins
3. Red, White and Green beaded bracelet
4. Clay sculpture of a man in rodeo outfit
5. Sketch paper with a drawing, "Oral Oppression"
6. Mexico flag toothpick
7. A 5X7 wooden frame with a picture of a young boy in black Mariachi clothes
8. Opened silver tin box
9. Mini barrel
10. Mini male ceramic statute

(Picking up #1) This one is a drawing of a chili. Mexicans love spicy food. Hmm, I tend to eat them too. (nodding, smiling)

Hmm, (picking up #2) As a younger kid, I tend to have coins in my pockets. When my family moved to the United States, I still have them with me here at home.

For this one, (picking up #3) I went to a Deaf camp and I made this bracelet.

When I was in 8th grade, I made this #4 out of clay. I decided on a rodeo theme and I tried to make this into a cowboy. It took me long time to finish it, about a month. I was planning to add rope to this but I decide to finish like this. (pointing on cowboy right hand)

(Pointing at #5) I just did this drawing two months ago at RSSD. In a class, we did “Deaf View” drawing. I came up with an idea with this drawing where contains my experience as a deaf person in public school. I experienced in an environment where information was discussed in spoken language but I could not hear. Hearing people think I am ignoring them but actually I can’t hear them. I talk using American Sign Language (ASL). That drawing discusses on oral oppression.

(#6) That is Mexico flag. You can find them in Mexican restaurants. Or at the trailers parked outside. They tend to make like for example, hamburgers and Mexican flag toothpicks are put on the hamburgers before they serve us food.

(#7) That was when I was about 4 years old and I was dressed up like that for a picture.

(#8) My family made this showing that we are from Mexico.

(#9) That is for beer. (smiling)

(#10) It is businessman. (smiling)

(Going back to #6) Mexico flag represents me as an undocumented student since I was born in Mexico, not in the United States. When I get my U.S. citizen, I will be very happy. (smiling) Then perhaps I will add America flag here. (smiling).

Carlos

It was a nice sunny morning for a drive from a busy highway into a quiet suburban community in the northern part of Carlos’s hometown, Meme (pseudonym). Mexicans are the largest racial group (60%) in the city. There are countless d/Deaf and hard of hearing people in Meme, who often gather and socialize at Starbucks, open-caption movies, or restaurants. Sign language classes and interpreter training programs can be found in community colleges. Services are available for any d/Deaf and hard of hearing individuals who need support from advocates in the area of language accessibility.

Carlos's father answered my knocks at the door by peeking out. Finger spelling "C-a-r-l-o-s ?," the father smiled, opened the door widely, and gestured for me to come in. I was unsure if the parents knew sign language, but I went ahead and introduced myself, "Hi, I am Carla," and their heads nodded. Behind them, tall Carlos walked into the living room and waved. I waved back. He had short, thick, black, spunky hair in the back, which straightened downward to his face. He was wearing a turquoise t-shirt with a black and white graphic print on the front, black athletic shorts, black vans socks, and black slides. I asked him where we should conduct our interview. He quickly pointed left to the dining room, where there was a small round table along with four chairs. The red light of the camcorder was turned on.

At age one, I became deaf from a fever. I enrolled in school with hearing children and everything was taught in Spanish orally. I understood nothing. I do not remember everything, but I do remember playing outside with other kids and eating lunch. I actually learned nothing. I was five years old when my father left for the United States to find a steady job to build a new life in the city of Celtics (pseudonym), USA. Nine months later, my mother, younger sister, grandmother, and I got on the bus and traveled across to the United States. Not long ago, I was shocked to learn that my parents decided to do it for me so I can get a better education. Since I was born in México, I consider myself a Mexican.

As a fourth grader, I enrolled in RSSD five hours away from home, thinking I would continue to have fun like I did during the summer program, but I

was wrong. At first, I did not really think about my parents until weeks passed. I realized I missed them; I cried. As I became older, I became used to it. My parents and I stayed in touch via videophone to communicate with each other using gestures. Actually, it is easier for RSSD staff help me with homework since my parents use Spanish only and with their limited signing ability, it was hard. My bus ride home on Fridays and back on Sundays continued for eight or nine years. As I turned fourteen, my family decided to move to Meme, which is one hour closer to RSSD.

Generally, I am OK with school, but not with the dormitory/cottage since it has a long list of rules. During my freshman year, there were many problems, and I became frustrated. I felt it never stopped, and I was so happy when school closed for the summer. When I returned as a sophomore, I found that I was stuck with a label as problematic. In my second semester, I decided to quit and moved to public school at my hometown, Meme. It was very nice to go home every day. That is when I realized there is a difference between two groups. The public school in Meme is a big school, 5A with 2,500 kids. The boys have more athletic skills than I do. This means it would be harder for me to get on athletic teams. Moreover, to my surprise, deaf students are high functioning level compared to students in the first public school in Celtics, who were low functioning level. I think RSSD offers me better opportunities with education and sports, except for the dormitory/cottage. Therefore, I decided to return to RSSD. Upon my arrival back to RSSD, I realized it is a good school since communication access is

available for all Deaf and hard of hearing students. It also provides many opportunities with sports and after school activities.

When I arrive home after not seeing my parents for four days, we often catch up with news on Fridays. On some Saturdays, Dad had to go to work, so we get to talk for a short time, unless I join him and help fix things around the apartment complex. Mom also works on some Saturdays as an apartment manager, but when she does not work, she tends to be on her own. Sometimes I join my family hanging around at the mall, but most times, I find myself staying at home. I often watch NBA on TV, rent movies, or play games. We do not really go out and do things. Sunday, I leave back for RSSD after washing clothes and getting something to eat.

At home, I get to eat Mexican spicy food, such as beans, tamales, and tacos, since it is part of my culture. My bed is comfortable compared to the hard bed at RSSD. I also have more stuff in my bedroom, where I do not have to worry about it lying around, but at RSSD, I have to lock everything all the time. I often watch wrestling on TV with my dad. I even used lucha libre masks during wrestling practice (smiling).

I like the other half of myself when I am at RSSD. I am able to be wild, silly, and talkative. I also get to play competitively and it is fun. If I have communication access at home, maybe I will show the real me. Or, maybe I do not want my parents to disapprove of my behavior. I do not know.

Mom adds: Mmm, I don't think he's that different.

Dad adds: No, because he's always laid-back.

Mom adds: Well, really with the school, his classmates are there...his friends, and it's a different thing than here, well, with us. Um, sometimes he does get rebellious (laughs). But yes, the way he acts is a little different. His behavior.

Overall, I tend to be quiet at home because communication access is difficult. I only communicate with my parents through gestures or by writing back and forth in English. I do not know Spanish, only if it is spoken in one word. Actually, it is all about communication access. To make new friends with hearing people here (home), it takes work to talk with them. I do not want that. I spend five days at RSSD and two days at home. I prefer my RSSD friends who also live in Meme. However, they live very far from where I live. Using texting, it is time consuming to plan our visit where they live. I do not have a car, so that does not help. It is often boring at home since there is nothing to do at home. That is why I prefer RSSD, because I get to play and do things. This also happens when we gather with our relatives for the holidays. I try to communicate with my relatives using the same home signs I use with my family. They are like “ugh.” That is when I ask my mom to come and help interpret. I have to do that over and over. I do not want to do that since it gets tiresome.

Regardless of communication difficulties, my parents often stress “responsibility” repeatedly, such as the importance of being on time for work, not to be lazy but to be persistent and go work. They want to teach and prepare me for my future job. I could be fired if I do not arrive at work on time. I know I need to be more careful when I go out into the world and not get myself into trouble or

get myself deported. Right now, I am not too worried about it until I graduate from RSSD. I am more concerned about communication access.

I also tried asking my parents to explain about my home culture. For example, I asked my father why we do not eat meat for a week before Easter. He explained to me that Jesus died for us so it is the week we need to pay respect. I learned something new when he told me that. It is better than being clueless and I could be doing wrong things, such as eating meat. What my father told me was probably 60-70% clear. For full clear communication, it is probably best to use video relay service and the interpreter can translate what we want to say.

Watching movies is one other way I try to understand Mexican history. I still feel there is a communication barrier at home to being able to understand my history. If my parents knew sign language, I would be able to ask them about their lives in México or ask them questions to kill my curiosity. They would be able to sign back. Like now, we communicate through texting and if I ask questions, they respond back. If I do not understand the exact word, then I become lost. If they sign, it becomes easier. I know family is important. For me, family means connection through the same blood and we take care of each other. Family should be close and not treat each other as strangers. I really want to know more about my parents from the day they were born up to their 20s. They are my parents. I just feel the connection between my parents and me is missing. They helped me a lot and I should know them well in exchange.

I knew my friends from Celtics public school who also moved to RSSD. Sometimes, we have so much fun and we become too wild. They are also athletes and we communicate with one another easily, since we know each other really well. I do have many friends who are day students, but we are not that close compared to ones in the dormitory/cottage. I feel there are diverse functioning levels in students at RSSD.

I get to know students with different levels and I am able to communicate with them all. I feel this experience prepares me to be able to interact with individuals with different levels. If I stayed at public school with students who are low level functioning, I would probably develop a habit of communicating as if I am low functioning level. I cannot imagine how I would be able to communicate with those who are high functioning level. At RSSD, I saw that staff and students were very knowledgeable and they can talk for hours. Communication access was wide open compared to public school, where access is very limited.

I enjoy socialization and after school activities. I love to play different sports, especially football, and I love socializing with my Deaf friends. I personally still do not like living in the dormitory/cottage, but I have to endure and move on until I graduate. I think staff members watch over us too much. I cannot use a skateboard or bike. Actually, some students were supposed to stay in one area, but they went into different areas on campus. They broke school rules, which hurt other students like me, who followed campus rules.

Here is another example, we are also required to do study hour for one hour. If I finish my homework 30 minutes early, I still have to remain in the study hall. I prefer that I leave, but I have to wait for another 30 minutes. Actually, I tend to finish my homework in like 10-15 minutes or less. I do have challenging classes, but they do not give me homework, except for Algebra. I do not know why. There were no books or anything in the living room for me to read. I began to bully others until the end of study hour, and then finally we left. Anyway, that was last year but this year, it is much better since I moved to a different group with different staff. They allow me to use my phone to keep myself busy, as long as I finish my homework.

Last year, my friends and I talked about “wetback” and we were often joking. I was once called a “wetback,” but I did not feel offended because I did not run across the border as others did, so it does not apply to me. I know they were just teasing. I also did not experience racism at home, maybe because everyone at the apartment complex is Mexican too. Moreover, I cannot hear what is being said.

At RSSD, I learned that it is important to listen. That is it. I feel I learn nothing from the dormitory/cottage, as you know I dislike it there. I am just there for socialization. If I was an administrator, I would change it to eight blocks schedule daily, instead of four, where there is A and B block. Everyone must wear uniforms (laughing). If students get into trouble, no matter which racial background, they all should get equal disciplinary consequences. The athletic

program arranges specific sports to have year-round practice, not just limited to a specific season only. All students take ASL class and read. I think it is also important for Deaf-Lat students to be taught how to read and to keep reading. Teachers should not have their expectations low, but should keep giving homework. RSSD should have Mexican students read and learn about their Mexican culture since they have hearing parents. It is hard if there is no signing at home for communication access, just like with my situation.

Carlos' Cultural Document/Artifact

For his cultural document artifact, Carlos wanted to show his PowerPoint with pictures he took and he also inserted some photos he got online. I attempted to have him elaborate more in his interpretation how it represents his experience and multiple identities.



Figure 4. Carlos' Cultural Document/Artifact

He describes:

1. green ceramic mask
2. Mexican pottery redware clay skillet pan with lid
3. black and white illustration of 2 wrestlers wrestling
4. photo of football field
5. photo of videophone
6. photo of torta de camaron (shrimp omelet) plate with chips
7. Three colorful lucha libre masks

(Pointing at #1) This Mexican mask is one of the masks hung in the hallway. (laughing) Okay. I see the masks in the hallway every day. This one is the best one out of all others.

(pointing at #2/#6) We use this to make rice or mole with chicken. Those are Mexican food I eat every day. My parents tend to cook Mexican food and not so much of American food. It is mostly Mexican food.

(pointing at #3 and #4) Those are sports I participate in and those are for men. I am a wrestler for two years now. It is fun and physical. I am not too interested in other sports. Football and wrestling are men sports.

(pointing at #5) This is videophone since I am Deaf and I use my hands to communicate using signing. I get to contact or chat with my friends all night. I do not videophone (VP) with my parents that much. (pointing smartphone lying on the table) I use that most of the time to communicate with my parents. VP, nothing so far and..oh I forgot, to add that I usually use VP to order food too.

(pointing at #7) Those masks are from México. I use those masks (smiling) during wrestling practice (smiling). I often watch wrestling on TV with my dad. And I used them during wrestling practice. (smiling). This one is real and those masks are for me to use but I could not use the real green one. (smiling)

Tina

Tina was born profoundly deaf and she has two other family members who are also deaf. Tina's parents divorced when Tina was in sixth grade. With her mother and stepfather, Tina lives in a small town, Oviedo (pseudonym) which is approximately two and half hours away from RSSD. The town contains a population of approximately 16,000 people and operates with a strong farming industry. Tina and her mother estimated that there are only three deaf people, including Tina, in the whole town. There is no interpreter service and not even a class where hearing folks learn sign language. Tina has to travel an hour or more if she wants to see open caption movies or hang out with her friends.

I parked on the left side of the street next to Tina's small two-story house with three large trees in the front yard and one on the right side of the house. I knocked and Tina's mother greeted me as she opened the door widely. She signed, "Come in. Let me get Tina. Make yourself comfortable." I found myself already in the living room as I put down my backpack, camcorder, and tripod

bags. Tina smiled as she walked up and waved to me. Tina has mid-length, brown, wavy hair, with a wide strand of hair on the top of the head combed back and held in place with a barrette. Her brown eyes stand out with her round, light-skinned face. I asked her where she wanted to do the interview; she pointed at the black sofas. Her personal appearance and clothing was very casual and laid back. She wore a pink starburst, multi-colored, tie-dye, short-sleeved t-shirt and blue jeans when we first met in the fall, and athletic shorts for the rest of the interviews.

I was constantly exposed to sign language and spoken and literate English right after I was identified as deaf. My mom has signed since I was a little girl. She is an interpreter and Deaf Education teacher. My stepsister also signs. My father used to sign well, but now he signs very rustically because I used to see him every two weeks, but now I see him like every two months or three months. It is becoming harder and harder for both of us since I am always busy at school and my dad travels a lot with road construction. Sometimes, he works close to Morelia (pseudonym) and he would stop by and take me out to eat. Whenever he comes to Oviedo to visit his family, he also takes time to meet with me. I actually get to see my dad more over the summer in Madrid (pseudonym). I stay with him for two weeks, but I definitely try to find a way to see my dad. We have our conversation using a mixture of gestures, home signs, signing, and talking orally.

My stepfather learned finger spelling at first and then he learned some signs. He tries everything in his power to make sure I am not being left out. If we have a communication barrier, he takes time to make sure we understand each other. He talks verbally and I can read his lips pretty well. I point to certain things or places and teach him signs and he copies in sign. Sometimes, when he asks me to do a favor for him, he talks and signs at the same time. He is a good stepdad.

I was mainstreamed in a public school at age of three. There were also five other deaf students there who were a few grades older than I, but we all were in the same classroom. I started in the deaf department, and then when I became four, I received a cochlear implant, but it did not work for some reason. I stayed in the deaf department for half the day and half the day with hearing students. During that time, there was no certified educational sign language interpreter in Oviedo, so my mom became my sign language interpreter. When I turned five, I received another cochlear implant on the left side, and it was successful. I went to speech therapy and was fully mainstreamed with hearing students all the way up to seventh grade.

I had access to instruction by using (sign language) interpreters. Sometimes the interpreter was absent from interpreting and there were insufficient interpreters, so I went over to the deaf department right there a few class doors away. Yes, I did socialize with deaf people. I had a deaf teacher, hearing teachers for deaf, and a deaf aide. I enjoyed going over during recess.

When I was in third grade, I socialized with hearing peers, but I often found myself preferring to go to that classroom since there were more deaf people there. I went over there after I ate my lunch too.

I started to notice mistakes sign language interpreters made in public school. They were also not professional and some were over professional. I was also not satisfied with socializing since I was the only deaf student. Deaf students moved to RSSD and there were older deaf students who spoke orally: “think hearing in head.” I found myself often left out in the cafeteria, I had to ask what my friends said repeatedly, and they left, leaving me alone eating. I hated it. I did not want to experience that, so that led to my decision to go to RSSD when I was in seventh grade. RSSD is a nice school specifically for Deaf people. It is a place where they can all come together and feel normal. Not like a loner at a public school. From the first day I arrived to RSSD up to now, I feel it is a very right decision. I am very happy. There is no frustration at school. I have deaf access to signing and to all communication.

When I get home from school on Fridays, I would meet with my grandmother or my family to have Mexican dinner. Sometimes, my parents go out and I get to be alone at home and eat how I like it front of the TV with my feet up, crossed. When I am at home, I feel very at home with my family. I do not feel out of place. I feel good seeing the same skin color. It makes me feel good since we are common. I feel so in place in my home. I feel very comfortable and I feel the same at Grandma’s house.

On Saturdays, I go to the festivals in Madrid, visit my grandmother or my uncle out of town, get together with my family, or we do errands. On Sundays, I always stay at home and wash my clothes and pack. My mom cooks lunch hurriedly. I want to grab that opportunity to eat home food. Sometimes I bring tamales to school. I take them with me and I eat them when I arrive to school. Other people asked, "What's that?" "Tamales!" I answered. They looked, "Oh, how do you eat it?" I would have them watch me as I open tamales as if they are presents.

My family tends to do things routinely, such as getting together with family every so often and making a lot of Mexican food, even though it is not necessary. We always have leftovers. In addition, I end up eating the same food, such as tamales, frequently, especially during the winter. Like for birthdays, Grandma always makes good enchiladas for the gatherings. Another example of our tradition is getting prepared for Christmas Eve a few days ahead. I remember I joined the women as we all prepared tamales when I was little girl. I helped spread masa on cornhusks while everyone chitchatted. On Christmas Eve, we just eat, eat, and eat Christmas food, such as turkey, but we include tamales. I remember smelling food cooking all day and I was excited to eat all the good food. Family gatherings are very important. Yeah. I recall a house full of people, but over the years, the number becomes smaller. Holidays used to be a big thing, but now I do not feel it is as big a deal. It is with less people and different people now. I know about my Mexican heritage, but I just do not know as much due to

communication access. I feel very proud of my Hispanic identity at home, but it lowers when I am at RSSD.

When I first joined RSSD, I felt very Mexican and I think they saw me as a Mexican girl and that I am LOW, low, low. I took advanced classes- English class. One student was surprised to see me in the same English class; s/he thought I would be in the other English class. I was asked what I was doing in the classroom. "You are in the wrong class, eh?" I looked at them and said, "No, This is MY class, classroom." Students were surprised and they would turn away and start talking about me. One time, a girl asked another student, "What page?" I told her the page number. Then she said, "I am not talking to you, I am talking with the girl behind you." I just nodded, looked away, and sulked.

In my English class, I finished all my assignments. I got all As. I was good and I refused to say, "I do not understand" or ask for any help or else students would think, "Oh that make sense, Tina needs help." I refused to ask for help. I wanted them to know I am fine and I can make it. I wanted to prove it to them so they could see for themselves. They were speechless and started to look at me differently. It was interesting. One teacher was also surprised to see me in her/his class and asked to see my schedule. When s/he saw I was in the class, s/he asked me to sit down, but I know that they were wondering about me being there. I get those reactions maybe because I started school later. I was almost in high school when I came in.

I am doing well in my classes. Right now, I have straight As. Sometimes I might have one B, but right now I have all As. In English, my teacher is Deaf, but umm (twitching mouth). S/he is weird. Nobody likes her/him. S/he is awful. It is her/his teaching style and her/his sign skill. S/he is Deaf but, in looking at her/him, I always thought s/he was mainstreamed growing up and I was right. It is because of her/his signing skills. You can tell the people who went to a residential school. They sign so smooth and fluently. The signing of the people who were mainstreamed is a little bit off or people from a hearing family. I can identify the difference and I am usually right. I do not know.

I have some challenges in Spanish, sometimes. But now, I have finally accepted how it is going. I am finally getting along. S/he is a little bit, but now... we pretend as if nothing is wrong. Push it by the wayside. I like that class. I do not feel right because, umm because, I am sorry but s/he is black. I do not feel like I can learn Spanish from her/him. I used to have a Hispanic teacher and I was pumped! It felt like it was really my class taught by someone I could relate to, which was exciting. Having this teacher threw everything off. I am sorry, but it does. I have seen how it has been in the past.

The Spanish teacher at my sister's school is Hispanic so has a Mexican background. My teacher is not completely aware. I would prefer to be taught by someone who knows everything: Mexican traditions, culture, and background. Our teacher learns new things from us. S/he says s/he knows, but not completely. I want someone who can explain things based on their knowledge

and relate things back to what they know so that we can learn the vocabulary more easily. I think it is easier, more interesting, and more motivating to learn vocabulary if it is tied to a culture. We just show up and learn the language. That is it. We go there, learn the language, then leave. I also do not participate in the Hispanic Club because the same Spanish teacher is the sponsor. So, no. If they really had experience and knew what they were talking about so that I could have discussions with them, I would go. However, if the sponsor was clueless, I would not go.

I do not feel it is important to use Spanish at RSSD. Unless you are walking past your Spanish teacher and you want to use what you have learned in class to say, in LSM, (signs in LSM) which means “Hello Professor. Good Morning.” Or, it is pretty cool to use Spanish with other students who have been in your class as a way of using what you remember. So, for that kind of reason, or if you have a friend from another country, like Cuba, whose parents are Spanish and they are still learning. Use Spanish. But, other than that (shrug), not really.

I try to stay out of the dormitory/cottage as much as I can so I do not feel uncomfortable. It is not my home. I keep myself busy as much as possible with cheerleading, in the cafeteria, getting involved in competitions and different activities so I can forget the fact that I am not at home. I keep myself busy so I do not feel homesick. Or I go to deaf center to socialize. I get myself out of the

dormitory/cottage. I am mostly hanging out with the day students, which is perfect.

During the spring of my freshman year, I was not doing anything, but I could not stay at the dormitory/cottage! It was SO boring! All the students in the dormitory/cottage would do was having boring conversations. It was hard to stay engaged. I acted as if I was interested, but inside I was not. It was boring. We would watch TV. There was Facebook. One girl showed me her status, but I could not understand her grammar. She had to explain to me what she was trying to say in her status. They would just make small talk. That spring was so boring. Luckily, I had a cool staff member I could talk to and friends I could do things with off campus. Dinner could not happen soon enough! It was another reason to get out of the dormitory/cottage. Then I could not wait for the activities we did at 8pm. I was SO bored and time moved SO slowly. I could not do it anymore. After that, I refused to spend a lot of time in the dormitory/cottage. I needed to get out and involved in as many things as I could.

I would say that I am involved in many activities. I am a little bit, not superior, but more involved than others because I have bigger positions, whereas other people are more laid back. I am the class president. People come to me and look to me. Plus, I am in cheerleading. I am also very active because I would like to earn a reward at the end of the school year. There is a point system where you get points for specific activities you join. I got on the top (laughing). I

was able to join a group of students with the highest points to go to a special place, like for instance, a nice resort for the weekend or ranch.

When I am at RSSD, I feel I am just a deaf girl with a little bit of Hispanic background, but not much. I just feel like an American girl with several different parts of my background. I would say I am not completely... umm. Some people see me as an American. Because I see people in different groups and I am in a regular group as Americans. I do not know... I do not know. I may be the same as the kids in the Mexican group and they may ask me about my background, but that is all. People from the Mexican group might talk about their culture. That does not really matter to me, we are American. They realize I am a little different from them. That is all.

I do not really emphasize my heritage. The kids in the Mexican group feel like they have to bring things, Mexican food and different things from home. I just... (nods) Americanized, a little. Plus, my friends said that I do not look Mexican. I look either white or maybe Middle Eastern. They say that maybe I look a little bit Mexican, but not really. I told them that I was definitely a Mexican. They think that I do not look or act like a real Mexican because I have internalized white culture and I dress like a normal American. I wear clothes like these and Vans. Umm... I do not know.

Mexican students usually wear jeans all the time. Nothing else, just jeans. Umm, and t-shirts. Nothing dressy. Dressing up for them means they wear those shoes with the strap between their toe and a strap across the top... I am not sure

what they are called. That is the kind of clothes they wear. The other group wears different types of clothes. I would say that they are more modern. A little bit. I do not know. Because they are all the same and I want to be different. I do not know. Or they just cannot... I do not know. Mexican students just do not care. I don't know. Because they do not care if they wear jeans all the time. I think jeans are boring so I want to wear different kinds of pants. These pants feel more as if they match everyone else.

That is what I would say. It is just that I have more knowledge of English and ASL. They (Mexicans) have more emotion and gestural skills. It is different. That is why people consider me a "wigga." One of my friends said, "I know you are a Mexican, but I consider you White anyway. You act like White people." I acted like a White person, not a Mexican. I found it very interesting that students called me "wigga." I just played along with them, but in the back of my head, I thought it was interesting how people think of me.

I am not sure if I consider myself as an American or Mexican. People could not quite figure out my background. Again, I have a little bit of Iranian in my background. That is why I do not look like I am fully Mexican. If I cover up parts of my face, people would probably guess I am Iranian. That is why people have a hard time figuring out my background. I do not usually bring up that I am part Iranian. I usually just say that I am Mexican instead. Because being Mexican is the norm. I have not ever met an Iranian person here. Well, my uncle and a few other family members, but no one else. I do not practice any Iranian culture. I do

not know much about it, except for the experience my grandma had living there for one or two years in the late 1960s.

My teachers do not help me maintain my Mexican identity. Except for last year when I was in Spanish and part of the Hispanic Club. I did not really get support in my Spanish class, but I did get support from the teacher in Hispanic Club. We were able to talk about experiences and we would get together for food Fridays. Now, I do not have anything. Plus, I hate missing school. The Hispanic Club has meetings during class so I won't go. It is stupid! It is during class time. I won't miss my class. I am an academic student. I hate missing school. I have always hated missing school. Even if I was being given a special honor, I would always put school first. Forget about the other stuff. I was selected to go to the National Council for the Deaf and Hard of Hearing conference. Actually, the teachers voted on who they would recommend to attend the conference based on specific criteria. When I was told I should go, I was happy to. I wanted to learn more about Mexican culture, but when I got there, we learned things like Deaf rights. I already know about Deaf rights, they are constantly drilling that into us. Boring topics like, "Your Deaf rights under ADA." Two days' worth!

Yes, I have to admit when I am at school, sometimes I want to be White (nodding). I act like it. However, at home I have Mexican pride. At school (shaking head), I do not feel that... sometimes, I wonder if teachers look at me as Mexican or White because of how I socialize with people in high school. Sometimes, I act White so they do not look down at me. I signed and signed,

then I realized we are the same. I felt relieved. One boy asked me, "What is your name?" I would say "Tina," but Mexicans tend to say, "My first name is..., my last name is...." I just say my first name and show my name sign. I signed and DP students were impressed. "How did you sign so well?" I told them my mother is an interpreter. "Oh, an interpreter? So you knew sign language when growing up," asked students. I said, "Yes, yes." I am the only student with hearing parents along with those students with Deaf parents. I was afraid they would find faults about me and say, "Oh that makes sense. I just know something is a little off about her." They were unable to find faults in me. Students with Deaf families still look at me the same. Whew! Finally!

Sometimes, I stay over with my friend who is a day student for the weekend in Morelia. I meet and see her Deaf mother a lot, but she never asks questions. One day that mother asked me, "Are you from a Deaf family?" I answered, "No." She was surprised, "Oh really! I always thought you are one of them." I often see that hesitant facial expression when I am asked this question from those from Deaf families "Can your parents sign?" I nodded, "Mom signs and she is an interpreter, but she is currently one of the Deaf Education teachers." They would react, "Whoa, wow! You are very lucky. Many parents do not sign. Wow!" This is when they begin to applaud and look at me differently. They consider me as one of the fortunate ones whose parents can sign.

I do not want to be part of that favoritism group because people would think I am a mean girl. I want them to look at me as a sweet and nice girl. I am

part of the DP group, but in some ways, I am not. In some ways I am. It is complicated to explain. However, I do talk with the Mexican group to make them feel good. I talk with them and they get excited. I joined them and they would laugh more. I joined them often in the dormitory/cottage, but sometimes, I do not feel like talking, blah, the window is closed. I just want to be able to sign naturally. Some days, I am okay and I talk with them. I have the best of both worlds.

Tina's Cultural Document/Artifact

I think Tina really invest in her CDA which reflects her experience shifting different figured worlds. I decide to include full transcript since it is important work of hers. Tina indicates "I am not sure if I am really satisfied with that as a final document. I don't know. I think I am finished. I don't know." In fact, identity is way of becoming where it has no ending.

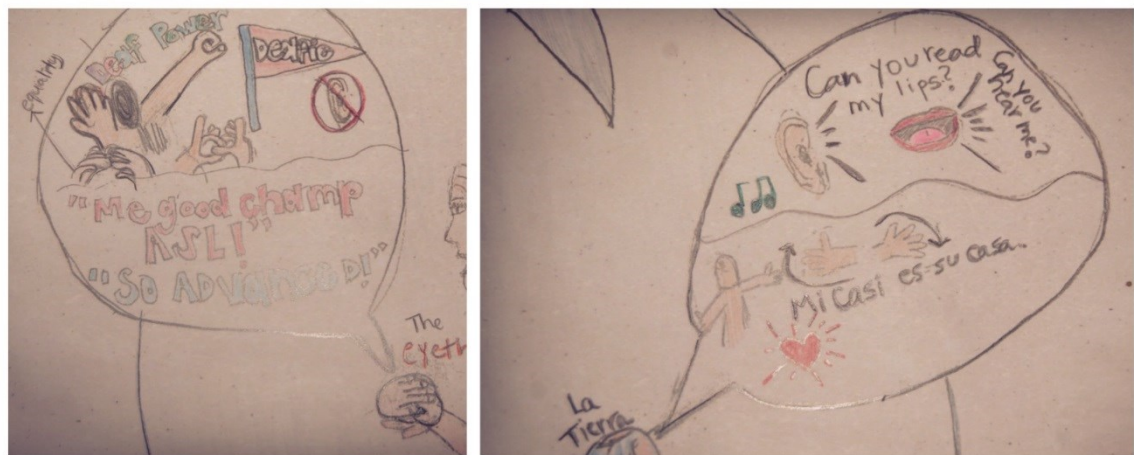


Figure 5. Tina's Cultural Document/Artifact

So how should I start? (smiling) Ok fine. That is me in a bubble. (Smiling) because, because in my emotion (smiling) I forgot, I don't know. I live in a bubble like I explained earlier with my emotion. Everyone live in their own bubble. Their own world. But for this one, it is my bubble and you will need to explore closer to know me. It pops and it would start all over again when I find new identity. You will see that I am holding two worlds.

First one is deaf earth but it is called "eyeth" like what many of us deaf people often say they do not mind use e-y-e-t-h instead of e-a-r (hear) earth.

Deaf earth. The second one is “tierra” which means earth in Spanish. At the same time, tierra contains hearing people. You will see hands (pointing middle but little left) It is hard to draw “earth” so I chose to draw both hands together (CL: hands forming like a ball) as an earth representing how big our hands mean to us.

Without hands, we cannot really live our lives normally. With robotic hands, will still not be the same. Now when you see the hand formed earth, now you use magnet to make it bigger showing two different worlds. One world on the top (pointing) is Deaf Power, can’t hear, pride, unity, (looking down) oh, I did not realize I thought I drew two hands together “equal” but I erased it out.

Equal means everyone should be equal and everyone is the same. If you are smart, it does not matter. All equal. I want to add that here. Deaf Power. Hearing people are not superior over Deaf people. No, we are both equal.

Now the bottom world, students who are delayed in language. They tend to say, I am very good in ASL. They also said, “Wow you are so advanced, I cannot do that. You are so smart”. So that really represents how language delay occurs when hearing parents who are not exposed about Deaf culture. There are two ways it happened. One is parents who chose to ignore Deaf child’s need and not being supportive of their child. Or the second one is that the parents are not educated. This group of students tries to fit in and they said I am good in ASL where they do a lot of vlogs. You are so advanced, I cannot do that. It is very typical response I notice students would say that.

Pointing at tierra- What is very common with hearing people, for me when I am in that environment. It is what I always see most of the time in public. They say, “Can you hear me? Can you read my lips” I see moving mouths and it does not make sense. I am left clueless and @#%^^*()_ *& . They talked too fast. Hearing people heavily rely on sound like music. I see people listening to good music. I would agree and say it is a good beating. (looking down at her artwork)

That represents Hispanic culture. They are very accepting with a lot of love. You will see heart, showing a lot of love here. You will see hands opened- that means welcome with big arms. Accepting and welcoming. Hispanic use gestures a lot and they could relate to Deaf since they could not speak English so they used gesturing just like Deaf. My step grandpa also uses gesturing just like me. “Mi Casa es tu casa”. It is to show how welcome you really are. eating. (looking down at her artwork)

Counting faces) One, two- you see opened mouths on left- it is because it is what happens when I use facial expression while talking. It is hard to draw something that shows facial expression. Other faces on right are with mouth closed is when I try to be less expressive as I sign. In the middle, I just look

around but at the same time, I seem unsure since I am always in the middle. It seems like a normal individual who happens to juggle several different worlds, four different worlds back and forth, depending where I am. So you see one, two, three, four and five. And me. (nodding)

(pointing) That is my own world. (drawing finger) Two faces for eyeth and two faces for tierra. My head continues to spin around continuously.

Life is a game. It is like hmm, I forgot what I say. Life is just like game (thinking). It is like masks. I use a lot different masks just like game. You have different characters in game. All different characters. I am just like you, yes, you pick which environment you want to be. For example, Mario wants to go driving by the beach, or road racing track. I picked this one, not really but you see controller where I do it or the unknown presence control it. It feels like someone controls me, I was picked as a deaf person. So that is me here.

PS2, PS3. Yeah a lot before. 4th grade, I used it a lot but in 5th grade, someone broke in my house and robbed all good games. I stopped playing. It is same concept. You can't, character in that game, you cannot change it. You have to accept it as well. And go along with it.

Tierra is earth in Spanish. smiling) Home is where the Hispanic culture is found. And because my family is hearing. Most hearing people I interact with are my family. I do not interact with friends. Most hearing friends are Hispanic. And I do not really have White friends hmm.. It is very uncommon for me to have White friend here, I mean here at home. Over there at RSSD, yeah. So I emphasize I am an American. If I say I am a Hispanic, they will say, Oh you are not US citizen. I say no. I am....Actually many people discuss not having US citizen, having it or a card. I tell them I am US citizen. They said oh and left me alone and continued with the discussion. I am full American. (smiling) I do not question my US citizen. Am I US citizen yet? Do I have a green card? Ask myself different questions and worry. Will I be able to work? Or whatever. Yeah, all that.

When I first saw the sketch, I immediately thought of “figured world” (Holland, Lachicotte Jr., Skinner, & Cain, 1998). Tina’s definition hit home in the area of figured worlds where head shifts toward certain world which depends on which individuals she interact with and with labels she was positioned by others. She played game by acting White at RSSD where she also accepts how others perceive her as “so advanced” but at home, she values her “Hispanic” identity.

Rock

Three hours away from RSSD, Acuña (pseudonym) is a suburb between two cities highly populated with Latinos. It offers convenient access to main street businesses and draws many for entertainment, shopping, and dining. As I exited from a freeway, I found myself on a main street with a long strip of businesses on my left side and a railroad track on my right side. I saw varying types of businesses, including shopping centers, a motorcycle store, an eyeglasses store, auto shops, local restaurants, local car dealers, a workforce office, and motels. Acuña is next to a city that has a large deaf population. There is a deaf center that provides advocacy and interpreting services. There are plenty of theatres that provide open captioning, but only on certain nights. There are many churches with interpreters provided.

As seen during school visits, Rock was playing with an Xbox in the living room when I arrived at his doorstep. As his mother answered the door, Rock turned his head left to see who was there. When he saw me, he smiled and waved to me, but quickly looked back to the TV screen. There was a midsize Christmas tree with lights at the corner at the end of the living room. There was a strong smell of floor cleaner liquid coming from the kitchen, as Rock's sister-in-law was mopping the floor. As I communicated with Rock's mother using both signing and gesturing and set up camcorders and tripods, Rock continued to play. His mother suggested that the interview be conducted in the living room.

Looking tired, Rock had just arrived from RSSD an hour prior to my arrival on a Friday night.

I am the third and last child of my family. I was born deaf and raised in México. For a half day, my cousin and I went to a regular school together and it was all spoken. I was four years old during that time and I learned nothing. It was as if my brain remained empty; I did not learn anything. My cousin wrote down words and I just copied from him. *Mother adds: Rock went to a school for the deaf in the afternoon with many other deaf kids. That school is not like United States formal education for young children where they learn to read and write; deaf children there in México only gather to socialize using signing to develop language. Their program only offers that service for children up to 7 years old. That is why we moved to the United States.* My sister was with me and we communicated with other students too, but the teacher taught orally. It is like no signing and words equal to no brain.

I moved to the United States when I was seven years old. I realized how much I missed Mexican land and family over there, but education here is what I like. México is my birthplace and everything is there. You will see stuff here in the house is American; nothing is Mexican. You will see there are no pictures we brought from México since we lost them, except that quinceañera picture, which was taken here. My family culture is all about food. We eat so often during the day. I just learned that we do not eat meat on Fridays. I do not know why but I think it is related to Catholicism. My family and relatives get together for

Thanksgiving, Christmas, or family gatherings. I am not familiar with Mexican-related gatherings.

We have been here in the United States for ten years now. Anyway, I hate the school in México since it was not a good experience. I only used gestures and LSM with my parents before moving to the United States. Now, I use ASL for communication and written English only, and I do not use my voice at all. My parents speak Spanish only and we communicate using ASL and homemade signs. I have a deaf sister whom I communicate with in ASL. Actually what strengthens my Deaf identity is that I have a sister who I can communicate with, which kept me busy at home. Before my Deaf identity was low, where there is no communication and I only used pager or videophone to communicate.

We lived in Nava (pseudonym) and I was mainstreamed in public school with hearing children. I had an interpreter who told me what I needed to do in class. We did not know about the availability of deaf services in other public schools. We moved to a smaller town and I went to school with a few deaf kids and I will never forget my first sign I learned in ASL was “car.” We moved again, to Acuña, and we found that there is a school where deaf students are mainstreamed. I enrolled as a third grader until fifth grade. I noticed many friends moved to RSSD and I refused to move there because I heard there were many gay and lesbian students. A year later, my good friend convinced me to move to RSSD when I was in middle school at age of 12, at second semester. I really like it there and now it is my sixth year there.

When I arrive home from school, I get to hug my nephew and niece and talk with my family. Then I eat dinner, but sometimes, I cook if there is nothing to eat. I often play Xbox, use the computer, or talk with my family. Sometimes I get bored from staying home a lot. My parents are always busy working and do not have much time for me. That is one thing I do not like, but I need to think positive and keep myself busy. I understand my parents need money and all that. I respect them for that. I have to admit I do miss my cool friends at RSSD. That is something I look forward to when returning to RSSD. I have very few friends at home, but they live 30 minutes away and I do not want to go that far. They are not actually homie brothers like the ones at Morelia.

At RSSD, I enjoy the dormitory/cottage, since I get to socialize a lot with my friends. It is fun. I do love home. I am hardly in my bedroom. I only use it when I need to sleep. The living room is my favorite place in the dormitory/cottage, but it can be really boring if everyone is gone for sports. The dormitory/cottage becomes lively when students return from their practices. Socializing keeps me busy, not bored. It is good. I learn more because staff can sign. We can communicate with one another. Sometimes, actually I do not like homework but sometimes, I need help and they are able to help me with my homework. It is good. Sometimes, I play Xbox and I have peers talk with me instead of being too quiet. I play less Xbox at the dormitory/cottage, like for 30 minutes, as opposed to home, where I tend to play for about two hours due to no communication and I am alone a lot. In fact, I often prefer to join my friends and

do whatever we want to do. I also ask staff different questions and they give me answers. I like that. However, I hate dormitory/cottage rules. I listen to my mother really fast. She asks me to clean my room and I will do it after I do my thing. I was asked by a staff member at RSSD to do something and I put it off, then forgot about it. If I was told to do my duty at home, I would do it in detail. At RSSD, I do my duties, but good enough. It is not my property. I am sick of it here at school because of rules. If I live in my room in the dorm, I should be allowed to do whatever I want.

Most of my friends live here in the dormitory/cottage. I have a few friends who are day students. I used to hop between both groups, but most of the time, I join the dormitory/cottage group. When I compare them, I think the day students' group is weird. They are also cool and we can chat. The dormitory/cottage students are funny and I love how they behave. I like interacting with dormitory/cottage students better. This is because low functioning students are often funny through their behavior. I enjoy their humor. Day students talk seriously and I have to try to understand what is funny. The other group is so funny with their facial expressions and I get to laugh a lot. Yeah, I feel connected with dormitory/cottage students. Most day students are Whites and there are very few Blacks, maybe two students, and few Mexicans.

My favorite room in school is the behavioral management room, where all students who got themselves into trouble meet for support. My contract expired when I was a sophomore, but I wanted to continue going there if I ever got upset

or anything like that. I still go there every morning. I hate school since it is very boring. It is more fun to socialize with my friends than to do homework. I know education is important and I have to take classes, but I still hate it. I am often not serious in school. I do not care. I never really do my homework. Many people say homework is important, but it is not for me, but ironically, I have good grades. I tend to do everything last minute, like finishing my homework. They are too easy for me (twiddling hands).

Father adds: Education is very important. It is a foundation for all. I see Rock develop so much because of education. In México, they taught Rock to talk but not math, history, etc. Nothing. Only how to talk, interact, and sign. That is all. Here in America, Rock learned same as hearing people. I see him improve so I really think education is really important.

Out of all classes, English class is my favorite since I feel the teacher challenges me by making sure I do my homework and read a lot. She punishes me if I do not finish my homework. She makes me take my class seriously. I like that about her since she encourages me to move up my reading level. I also enjoy woodshop. I like to discuss, but that teacher is tough on me and said, “No discussion period,” and punished me. I feel stuck, but I still like him. He wants to make sure I do not do my woodwork sloppily, but carefully. If I mess up my woodwork, he will not provide me new wood, so that forces me to be careful with my work. I like that challenge. I dislike Government class since the teacher talks forever and there are no hands-on activities. I joined the Hispanic Club, but I feel

they are not really teaching us. I showed up to the meeting and they served pizza. That is not Mexican. I do not have an interest in joining and I became busy too, so I decided to quit. Now the Hispanic Club is weak and it just collapsed.

As an undocumented person, at home or in public places, if the police approached me, I would straighten up really fast, so I am often careful. At RSSD, I think differently. I do not give a damn about breaking rules. No matter how many times I did, nobody off campus came to arrest me when I got myself into trouble. School staff just put down my name on the record. That is for school only. School will always protect me from going to jail and I only end up in school suspension. I asked staff why they do that and they said RSSD is under special education. Hearing people often think deaf people are dumb and do not know anything. I like the idea that RSSD protects me, so I take advantage of it. I know I am really a non-US citizen, but for that situation at RSSD, I feel like I am a US citizen. Based on my experience as a bad boy for getting into so much trouble, RSSD will always protect me. I know I am still a Mexican, but living at RSSD, I feel like I am an American. I do not feel that way at home.

I was never bullied at RSSD, but I bullied a lot. Since middle school, I never wear my backpack. It is heavy and I tend to ask someone else to carry it for me. If that person denies or refuses to carry it for me, I would threaten to beat up that person. But he always said, fine. Another example is if someone told me that another person was backstabbing me, no matter if he makes it up, I would still beat up that backstabber. I would push hard. I also would take boys' things

and get them pissed off. I would hold their things for a while. There are many things I did and I realize I was wrong for doing them, so I stopped. I feel students respect me as a Mexican. If they fuck with me then I will fuck with them. If things go cool between me and other students, they must respect me. People think I am mean but I am not. It is because of my tone. If they respect me, I will respect them back.

Mother adds: Yes, Rock was discriminated against at RSSD. At first, he was a good boy and staff spoke highly of him. He played football and that bolillo (mother asks for forgiveness for using the word "bolillo," not meaning to insult white people, laughing). Anyway, one White boy bullied Rock and he remained tough. Even that White coach picked on Rock. The school believed the coach, not Rock. That is when Rock started to have problems. We feel it is due to discrimination. After, the school told us that Rock was great, but Rock became worse. His problems continued and continued. One time I called for a meeting with teachers and the school counselor. I explained the situation and I pointed out, "You said Rock was behaving badly and he would not change. However, remember when he first arrived to school, you people said, 'Wow, Rock is a wonderful student.'" It is all written on documents. So obviously, there is something wrong at school. School treated Rock differently and changed him. I was fed up. The school accused Rock. The school hurt my son. It is as if they ruined my son. The school wants Rock to take Ritalin since the school staff think it is Rock's behavior. For two months, Rock arrived home and looked zombied

out. I did not like what I saw. I decided to stop the medication. School said, "Well, Rock needs it so he can control himself." That is when I decided to show up to school meetings. I believe Rock can control his behavior, but the school attacked him so he had to defend himself. After I spoke up, school staff adjusted their approaches and strategies. When Rock stopped taking his medication, he finally changed and got better.

Of course, I love my mom. I know my sister is not my real mother, but I call her "mama" since she tends to preach. She knows I have many problems at RSSD. She stresses for me to think twice by staying calm and listening before I jump to conclusions or get pissed off. It took a while for me to practice and I was surprised how easy it was just to listen. My sister encourages me to focus on school. I know my mom told her to tell me all those things. My sister also taught me a lot about life, that it would not be easy entering the working world.

My mom encourages me to go to college after high school. I already applied for a social security number and got my state ID card. I am getting all the paperwork moving. I am almost at peace at both places, RSSD and at home, especially since I am graduating soon. Before I applied for US citizenship, I did not care. I saw police and I did not care. I just go with the flow. Oh, I did not mean I did not care. Yeah. I mean I feel there was no future opportunity for me in the working world since I have no US citizenship. I feel I am wasting my time working too hard. Now with the paperwork in process, I am more considerate and serious about completing my work and thinking about my future more and more.

RSSD is a big school and it is good. It has good education. You will learn everything it has to offer here. But I would also tell you that I hate rules. Some of their rules are stupid. There are many good friends so I can socialize and play. It is much different when interacting with hearing people. It is very limited. At RSSD, it is wide open for socialization and everything. Signing for communication is everything here. There is so much Deaf pride here and of course, I am proud to be a Mexican. I feel just right, but my Mexican identity is fuller at home with food and everything involved. I did not like food at RSSD. I used to think about returning back to RSSD, but now nothing. I am going to stay here from now and on. I feel like I am finally free. I can do whatever I want, eat anytime, and go around at any time all night long.

Rock's Cultural Document/Artifact

Rock was not sure what to do for his cultural artifact and he decided to take photos of things he feel related to his multiple identities at RSSD and at home. He also retrieved some photos from online.



Figure 6. Rock's Cultural Document/Artifact

1. Blue and white male symbol
2. Half top of US flag and half bottom of Mexican flag placed together
3. Photo of a plastic bag filled of "Chile para frutas"
4. Photo of chicken and green chili tamales
5. Photo of hand alphabet next to letters
6. Photo of smartphone
7. Photo of liquors on shelf of his parent's house
8. Photo of Rock's bed at RSSD

(Sitting back with laptop on his right where he shows his cultural document artifact.) (Eyebrows raised) What? (smiling nervously and leaning forward) Oh.

(looking at #1) Hmm, I consider myself a man. When you see a male, I feel that male are strong and I am not trying to say that males are dominant over women

but males tend to be boss. And hmm, males are more likely are protectors where women feel protected. Males are supposed to protect women and babies.

(Pointing at #2) That is America and México. I don't know where I was born. I prefer America for good education and good life if I compare to México. Of course, I was born in México and I love México. I feel my heart is still in México. It is better to live in America but my heart still remains in México. Living here in the United States is good. But in my mind, México is like my baby. (connection, roots)

(Pointing at #3) This is used for fruit. It tastes not spicy but it goes with fruit like strawberries or mango. It is from México. But most of the time, I use it with lemon but now I have to be careful with heartburn and sore throat. (Pointing at #4) This one is tamales. We tend to eat those for special events like going to the lake or family parties. Sometimes, we just make them for no reason. If I see them, my eyes become big. (smiling)

Okay, the next picture shows that I am deaf. Yeah (pointing at #5) We use them along with signing. I am proud to be Deaf. I feel it is no problem. I am not embarrassed to be deaf.

(looking at # 6) How do I communicate? I use smartphone to communicate via text. As a Deaf person, I must have communication access. We also can use it for video phoning. We use our hands a lot for signing and texting.

The next one (looking at #7) You see liquor or beer in Mexican culture. We Mexicans drink them for special events or when staying home to rest.

Okay, the next one (pointing at #8) this is my bedroom from RSSD. I share this room with my roommate but it is uncomfortable. The bed is uncomfortable but I put a lot of blankets on top to make it comfortable.

I guess that is all. (nodding, smiling big)

Donny

Driving through majestic pines and lakes is stunningly beautiful.

Greentown (pseudonym) is populated with about 15,000 people. The town is known for retirement, nature, and outdoor lovers. There are a few d/Deaf people who live in Greentown, and there are about 15 d/Deaf people living in Troup, (pseudonym) 30 miles away. In Greentown, there is no interpreter service or even ASL class. Donny has to travel to Troup if he wants to get deaf services.

Pulling over by Donny's house, there are many trees all over the neighborhood. His mother answered the door when I arrived at the doorstep. As I entered the house, I found myself in the kitchen. The father was sitting on a rocking chair. I introduced myself to them and Donny showed up smiling, but he looked nervous. Donny has short, thick, brown, wavy hair and a light-skinned complexion. He was wearing a brown v-neck shirt, tan shorts, and black socks in a pair of brown boat shoes. A young woman came up to me and signed as she introduced herself as Donny's older sister, Jacqueline. We did our interviews throughout the year in the living room. He sat on an office chair and I sat on a

tan-colored futon with small black dots and a main black and white pattern in the middle. There was a television and videophone on a small computer desk between us.

I believe that family starts from a mother that links to a parent and they link to grandparents, and it continues spreading out like a root of a family tree. A tree contains a group of families in each branch. Like my father has his own and my brother has his own. I know our family value is to get together not just during good times, but also during difficult times to support each other.

I was born in the United States and I consider myself a Latino. I feel more connected to Nicaragua since my mom is more involved with her Nicaraguan roots. I used to go to Nicaragua as a little kid and I would love to return. *Mother adds: And um, in Nicaragua, everyone has been there, but Donny doesn't remember because he was four years old, or three, when I took him. He doesn't remember now. And well, now we'll make the trip, God willing, during the school vacations, I was going to go. And, and we're in (inaudible) because he wanted to go and wanted to go. And I think yes, I'll send him, so that he can go and see it again.* My mother knows Spanish only and she is learning some sign online. She knows a little signing, but it is in English order, not in ASL. She needs to work on her facial expressions more and sign faster.

My father is a Mexican, but is not really into his culture. My father knows both Spanish and English. We communicate with each other rarely, but he knows very basic sign. I have visited the US-México border many times since my

grandparents live there, but they are divorced. Grandfather lives on the México side and Grandmother lives on the US side.

I use ASL, written English, and home sign at home. I have four siblings- two sisters and one brother who are hearing and one sister who is hard of hearing- and I am the last child of the family. My hearing sisters know some sign, but they fingerspell a lot. My hard of hearing sister signs, but she is often away and she cannot interpret for me if I need to communicate with my family.

We have a mixture of American, Mexican, and Nicaraguan food. We eat tamales and gallopinto, which is a mixture of rice and beans. I also like pizza. We do not celebrate being Mexican or Nicaraguan. We often focus on American celebrations such as Thanksgiving and Christmas. *Mother adds: We, we are like, like Americans. Celebrating American style. So we celebrate the American traditions... But with food, yes, we are, we are a little... different. Yes, there is some Nicaraguan food.*

Our family culture includes Spanish as a spoken language. *Dad adds: Yes, we're really interested one hundred percent, for Donny to learn the Spanish language. Because it would be for us, that way, it would be a little more easy to communicate with him, because we, the English language, well like that, we only use- we, we, know it- (mom says something)- we know the basics, the essential things for living in the United States. But, it is necessary, it is important for him to know those two, those three languages.* I feel I do not know enough about my

family culture. I want to learn more about Nicaraguan history, food, and culture, and Mexican food, clothes, and written Spanish.

There is often communication conflict at home. There is difficulty when I try to adapt from signing, finger spelling, writing, gesturing, and talking through an interpreter- all that just to get my point across. It is hard to communicate with my mom. I tell Mom something, but she does not understand repeatedly. So I shift from signing to finger spelling. She continues to struggle to understand me, so I shift to writing. I once tried to get my mother's attention so I told her, "Okay, I will call you using videophone via video relay service." Mom said, "No." I just went ahead and dialed my mom's number and she answered the phone. Yeah, I tried and tried to get my mother's attention, so I just gave up and called my mom through video relay service. I was able to express myself using ASL. She was like listening to me on the phone and we have this long discussion. We were able to communicate. We finally had a good conversation (smiling).

Sometimes, I am lucky to have Jacqueline interpret. I tend to socialize with my family since we tend to be together. We go over to our aunt's sometimes and when my relatives try to tell me something, I ask Jacqueline to interpret and that is how I interact with my relatives. We tend to go to church on Monday, Wednesday, Friday nights, and Sunday mornings. The service is spoken in Spanish. I read my bible and whenever I do not understand, I ask for clarification if I do not understand the meaning. I am the only deaf person at the church. Jacqueline sits with me and interprets during the service.

Mom often tells me to turn off my laptop or get off the videophone, since I was using them until it was becoming so late, like 11:00 or midnight. She would tell me that repeatedly. I often want to understand why I am told not to do things around the house, such as using my laptop. I need to know why and my parents say no. I ask them why and they do not communicate further with me. That is when I blow up because I need to understand why I am not allowed to do things. Communication is important to me.

I was born deaf and used hearing aids before, but not anymore. I was mainstreamed in a public school in Troup, which is 45 minutes away from my hometown, Greentown. At public school, I struggled with my homework. I also had a hard time focusing with my schoolwork. I could not sit still. That was before I was diagnosed with ADHD. As I did my homework, I asked my mom to help me with my homework, but she could not since she did not know what to do. My mom noticed that my sister Jacqueline often did my homework repeatedly. Then, finally, the school suggested that we check out RSSD. *Mother adds: Donny went to first grade, second grade, third grade, and when he entered fourth grade, ah, it became hard for me with respect to helping him with his homework and I did not know almost any sign language. And so I was like "oh my god," all feeling doubtful... How am I going to do it? I can't help him. And so I... someone told me about that school, again. Or I mean, I knew about it, but I didn't want to let him go. Because it seemed so far to me, and so much time over there, and well I never wanted to be separated from him.*

My parents visited RSSD at Morelia and that is when they decided to send me there. I transferred to RSSD and it is seven hours drive away from home.

Mother adds: But like there in that one, the deaf school, the teacher, she talked to him in signs. So everyone is focused on the teacher, the main one, the one in front. So it's better for him. And so that was how- well, now I feel content after more time has passed, sending him there, because it's helping him a lot. And also for him, because... um, here we know almost no sign language. Except now we're learning a little more. So he didn't have anyone to talk to. He didn't have anyone to be with. And when he started to go to the school there, he looked happy, happy! Friday and Saturday, he was already packing his bag because he was ready to go on Sunday. Because there he wanted to see his friends, and go here and there, whoa. I understand, he felt more, um... with family, or more... communicative with people, because they understood his language, they use his language. And yes, there was a change... a good change. Yes, we miss him here at home, but we know that he's far away for his benefit.

I feel Deaf, Latino, and male are equally the same at home. However, I relate more to my Deaf identity at RSSD because everyone signs and I see other students who are deaf just like me. I feel my signing is different between home and RSSD. At RSSD, I can communicate using ASL naturally with confidence with my friends. I do face challenges at RSSD. I feel I am not being respected because I was labeled as a girl. Some students continue to disrespect me and

they panicked and started a rumor. I told them that I am a heterosexual. I just told them, "whatever," and that God is watching them.

When I was first diagnosed with ADHD when I was in fifth grade, I felt horrible since it made me feel like I am a low functioning student and I keep looking around. I feel lucky because I feel I function better with medication. I understand without medication, I will be fun and playful. I will be more talkative and have more friends. I do not get to talk much so I have fewer friends. I hate lunch hour because I tend to be quiet. I just watch as everyone else is chatting. I want to hurry to return to class. I watch the big hand of the clock ticking and finally, I walk excitedly back to my class. I hate lunch every day, I wish there was a 10 minute lunch so I can return to class right away. It is 30 minutes long. At home, I tend to skip lunch since I am busy using my laptop. Then when I am done with using my laptop, that is when I realize I am hungry and I just go and grab something to eat. At RSSD, I must go to the cafeteria for breakfast, lunch, and dinner.

I am currently a middle functioning student, but I want to take advanced classes and become a high functioning student. They told me to wait. I told them I passed classes since they are too easy and I finish my homework too easily. I want hard assignments since I do not like easy assignments. I think Mom and Dad do not really understand my education. My parents, along with the transition program at RSSD, decided to place me in the C track, and the classes are too easy. I was surprised because I want to take challenging academic courses.

Becoming a veterinarian is my interest. C track is way too low compared to B track. I want to move up since lately, it has been too easy. I do not want to wait and do it late. I want to hurry up and take those classes. I am okay with B track and if I read every day. My reading level is sixth or seventh, and I need to move up to tenth or eleventh. That is my goal. My parents do not know anything about different tracks since they are not Americans. They thought it is okay to apply the lowest track.

I tried asking Jacqueline to help with communication, but she was tired. I wanted to communicate with my mom about it through video relay service, but she said she wanted to watch movies and it was very late. I will have to wait until she is free. We do not usually sit together and talk. We tend to talk very briefly.

RSSD is a huge residential school that provides good education. I can be taught about different news, have good discussion, good classes where you can learn many new things. My favorite classes are Reading, Math, and Science. I think Geography class is tough. Auditorium is my favorite place to go since I love performance. I was able to perform last year, but this year, I did not make it, but I am taking performance class so it is fine. There is also a career program with awesome technology. Career exploration helps match your interests to certain colleges or work.

I feel my experience at RSSD is both positive and negative. I enjoy socialization, but not the entirely negative talk and rumors. It tends to happen at RSSD. I feel the Deaf community at RSSD does not respect me as a person with

ADHD and for not being masculine. My mom taught me to stick with my goal with school. She wants me to pass school. I feel more connected to Deaf identity more than my Latino identity because of communication. When I am at RSSD, I do miss Mom and Dad. I want to talk more with them. They are fun to be with and I want to do more. I like going places with mom. I also miss my dog.

Donny's Cultural Document/Artifact

Donny wanted to show two items: PowerPoint with pictures and a drawing he did on a sketch paper.

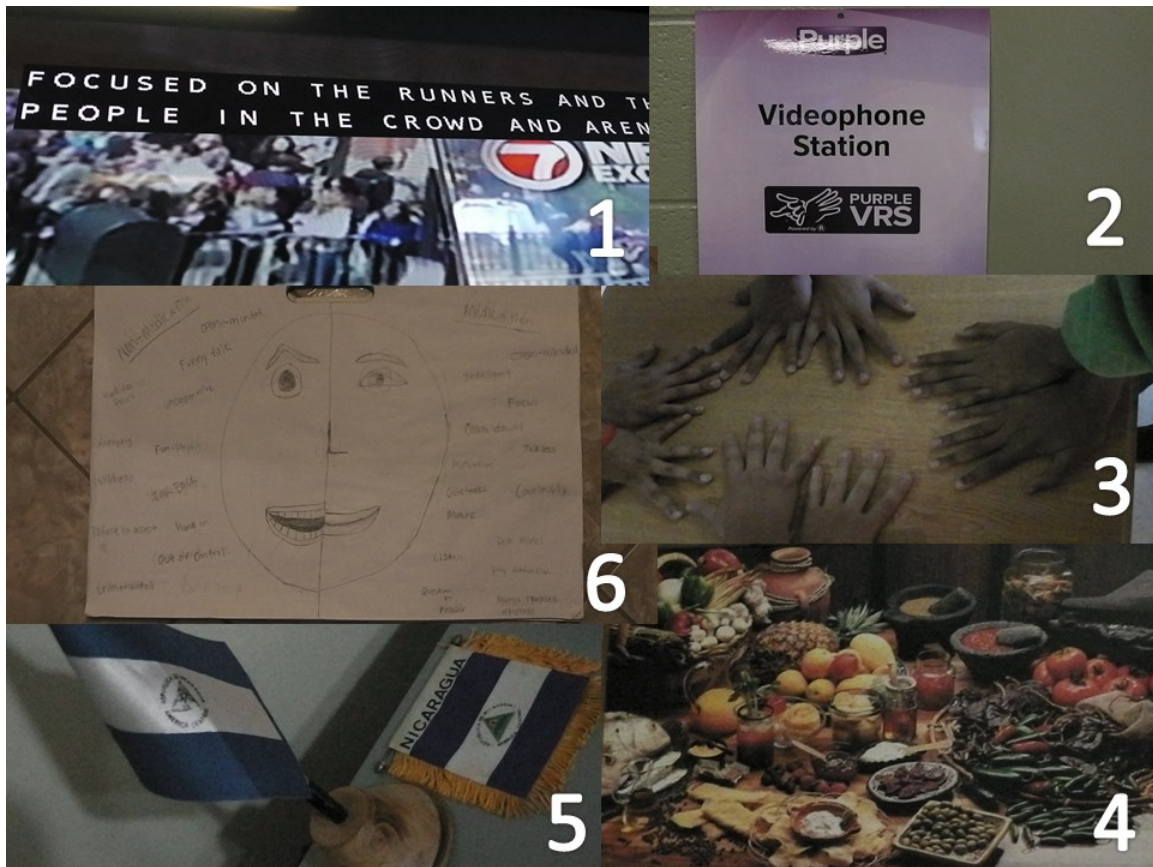


Figure 7. Donny's Cultural Document/Artifact

PowerPoint

1. Picture of TV with a close up of closed captioning as it discussed Boston marathon bombing (picture taken at RSSD).
2. Picture of a poster of "Purple" VRS (Video Relay Service)
3. Picture of hands
4. Picture of Mexican food
5. Picture of Nicaraguan flags
6. Picture of Donny's sketch of a face with a vertical line from the forehead, nose and it ends at the chin. Half of the face is drawn opposite from other half of the face. There are multiple words on the both sides next to the face.

(Pointing at #1) This is a picture of a TV and you will see that deaf people tend to use closed captioning. We value closed captioning so it is a must for us. Without closed captioning, we will not be able to understand what is being said. We need captioning and that is something we value as Deaf people. (Pointing at

#2) This one is "Purple" P3. It is video relay service Deaf people value. It is for us to contact video relay interpreters or call friends directly. We like that. We also contact in case of emergency and we even could contact our family which is real nice.

(Pointing at #3) We value hands. I was with males where I use my hands to communicate in the dormitory/cottage.

(Pointing at #4) This is a picture of Mexican food. That is Latino too.

Plus you will see (pointing at #5) Nicaraguan flags so both food and flags are Latino related.

(pointing at #6) This is the last one. This is a drawing of ADHD with a vertical line from the forehead, nose, to the chin.

Now I will show that sketch in details starting with without medication and all the labels. Ok. Okay, (pointing on right side of the drawing) This one is without ADHD medication. I am more open minded, hard to focus, funny talking, not cooperate, disturbing, funny playing around, wild, always talk back, refuse to accept, touching physical, out of control, not motivated.

(Pointing on left side of the drawing) must take pills, close minded, quiet, working to be smart, taking medication helps me to be smart, pay attention, very calm, less talking, motivation, quiet, curious, asking questions, mature, listening, pay attention, always ask or answer to questions, always pass classes, role model,

(Looking at his picture) There are two different facial expressions. You see on my right side of my face. There is facial expression with no medication where I am often silly. On the left of my face- there is calm facial expression controlled by medication.

I still feel both side of control. I can't control myself. My mom tells me to be a good behavior. I said I am fine. I have ADHD but haven't taken medication. It is hard to be stay under control.

Conclusion

Each Deaf-Lat student is a gift to me and I can only say I am blessed to have known these particular Deaf-Lat students and their families. The parents sacrificed for their Deaf-Lat children to enroll in RSSD, which is from one to six hours away from home. It was difficult knowing that I took away a couple of hours of the students' time with their families when I conducted home visits on weekends. I thank the parents from the bottom of my heart for their willingness to be part of this study. Their greetings and farewell hugs showed how much love they have at home. I am humbly honored with the fact that Deaf-Lat students and their families feel comfortable enough to text, email, or even call me via videophone, even after data collection. I continued to be part of their lives when I was informed about the death of a family dog, and when I was invited to a baptism.

The lived experiences of Deaf-Lat students reveal that they do not have Deaf identity only, but multiple identities. They share commonalities, but they also differ in many ways. They show how they have emotional ties with their family and RSSD and how they use language, resistance, or space to cope with microaggressions such as bullying, degradation, and humiliation. Deaf-Lat students also reveal that the power within institutions ranges between doubt, mistrust, avoidance, denial, and ignorance. It is very easy to dismiss the lived

experiences of Deaf-Lat students that have been shared in this study. I admire Deaf-Lat students who courageously share their experiences. There were lumps in their throats as they attempted to swallow. There was sadness and denial in their eyes, some watery. I caught myself checking on them to ensure they were emotionally okay. Those feelings are real and I could feel them too. I intend to keep their stories close to my heart. They must continue to have safe space as they explore their identities. Freire (1974, p. 78) reminds us that Deaf-Lat students are “owners of their own truth and knowledge.” We must acknowledge and validate the experiences of Deaf-Lat students, not just with audism, but all other types of discrimination, especially in institutions and in the Deaf community.

In the following chapter, I will discuss general findings of this study. I will draw out some emerging issues from this chapter from each student to elaborate upon further. It is important to understand the journey of all five Deaf-Lat students as they crossed multiple bridges between RSSD, home, and within both communities. Before we cross the bridge to Chapter 5, once again it is crucial to reflect on and monitor our personal biases and privileges as we explore the findings. During this process of continuous self-examination, we need to challenge ourselves to debunk traditional Deaf Eurocentric ways of thinking. It is not possible for us to understand the lived experiences of Deaf-Lat students if we do not open our hearts, eyes, and minds.

Chapter Five: Multiple Identities of Deaf-Lat Students

Following the intersectional identities and experiences of Deaf-Lat students in Chapter 4, this chapter explores themes of multiple identities in two different contexts: home and RSSD. Historically, both Deaf people and Latinas/os who struggle with multiple types of oppression in the area of race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, phenotype, legal status, language, disability, religion, etc., are often defined as inferior, unworthy, or unfit. Yet oppression does not stop there, but continues in the smaller Deaf-Lat community. Deaf-Lat students and their families within the greater society continue to endure and survive through a long history of deficient thinking and multiple stigmata imposed on them (Lane, 1992) and Latinas/os (Menchaca, 1997). Deaf-Lat students in this study relate their agency of performing and negotiating to meet their emotional needs and resist as they circumvent cultural clashes and microaggressions at home, RSSD, and other spaces.

This chapter is broken into three sections. The first section discusses the experiences of Deaf-Lat students, who explored four main emotional needs in response to their multiple identities in different spaces. Deaf-Lat students do not develop their understanding of their multiple identities simply by reaching across the boundaries of their multiple cultures (Latino, White, Deaf, hearing, American, and home country). Instead, their overlapping multiple identities continuously form within a certain space as they proceed with their daily activities. Deaf-Lat students participate in “collectively formed activities” in socially and culturally

constructed contexts, which Holland et al. (1998, pp. 40-41) call “figured worlds.” As Deaf-Lat students grow up, they learn to straddle multiple figured worlds. In different figured worlds, Deaf-Lat students are positioned by others within an identification of who they are, and by themselves as they claim to be someone, and act like this individual. Identities are formed when Deaf-Lat students reach an understanding of who they are through strong emotional connections (Holland et al., 1998, p. 3). The second section looks at different types of microaggressions Deaf-Lat students experience at RSSD and their strategic coping mechanisms. In the conclusion, I discuss final thoughts about each Deaf-Lat student and their Deaf-Lat consciousness journeys.

Theme One

Deaf-Lat Cultural Emotional Ties #1: Communication

There is no frustration at school. I have “deaf” access to signing and to all communication.-Tina

All Deaf-Lat students rely on visual language to access world knowledge. They use different ways to communicate with their family and relatives by using different communication modes: homemade signs, basic signs, PSE (Pidgin Sign English, which is the use of American Sign Language in the word order of English), writing or texting in English, using Spanish video relay service, reading lips, pronouncing words, or gesturing. Due to limited visual language access at home, Deaf-Lat students feel their personalities differ at home, where they are *quiet* (Carlos & Donny) or *mellow* (Barney) or *get to relax* (Rock & Tina). At RSSD, they are *hyperactive* (Carlos), *reckless* (Barney & Carlos), *happy*

(Barney), silly (Barney & Carlos), wild (Carlos), talkative (Carlos & Donny), busy (all) and laugh often (Tina & Rock) due to visual language access. All of them enjoy RSSD since they are able to use their visual language, ASL, and socialize with their peers.

Barney's family discussed how they notice Barney behaves differently between RSSD and home.

Dad: And he, what I don't understand why, with the comments that his friends make in, in his school, it looks like he's a totally different person, than he is with people who hear. And so I don't understand why he changes his personality. (pause) Because, I know that his behavior in school isn't the same as he has outside of school, when he's with us.

Dad: Well, from what, what we see sometimes on his Facebook page, it seems like he's very sociable, and, and well-liked by his friends.

Mom: He's very fun when he's with his friends...

Dad: Yes. Because his friends post comments like he "makes us laugh," or "you're a funny person." And then when he's with us, in familiarity, it's hard to get a comment out of him, as if he were a more serious person, boring- And I- that's what I don't understand.

Sister: No, he passes the time watching TV, he just isolates himself in his room, he- he just watches movies, when he's here at the house, that's all he does. Watch TV, watch movies. He talks through the videophone to his friends. But no, I mean no... No, he's like in his own world.

When Barney's parents found out how his friends describe their son they were baffled by the different behavior they saw when Barney is at home.

Generally, Deaf students are able to express themselves more if they have full access to communication. Barney admitted that he dislikes the idea that his family looks up his Facebook page, but he understood that his family cares about him and wants him to be himself at home too.

While at home for the weekends or for holidays, all Deaf-Lat students arrive at a time when they want to return to RSSD so they can use ASL and be with their friends. Deaf-Lat students communicate with their families, but only for short periods. Carlos describes his weekend:

When I arrive home after not seeing my parents for four days, we often catch up with news on Fridays. Then Saturday we talk less and Sunday, we talk even less... Conversation on Friday tends to be juicy, and then Saturday and Sunday, it dries out.

Carlos likes the idea that his family talks with him about their week when he arrives home from school. He acknowledges that his parents had to work sometimes on Saturdays. When everyone is home, the family members communicate orally without signing in the presence of Carlos. That can leave Carlos feeling left out, so he often keeps himself busy.

Most of the time, Deaf-Lat students in this study keep themselves busy by watching TV or movies, using a computer, and chatting with friends via Facebook, videophone, or mobile devices. Some exercise, play pool, or games. All of their friends from RSSD live far apart, so they do not get to see them much while home. With parents' permission, Deaf-Lat students often stay over with their friends for the weekends.

With a mother who can sign for herself using PSE, Tina feels she can communicate directly with her. Tina also feels she has to keep her messages on point since her mother taught her that this is part of "hearing culture." Tina admits she loves to talk, so she is often careful about how much she talks. When Tina stays home, she watches TV to keep herself busy. Donny and Rock have family

members who are deaf or hard of hearing, with whom they feel closer since they are capable of having normal conversation. However, they are not always home. Donny feels communication at home is important. He makes an effort to get his message to his mother:

It is hard to communicate with my mom. I try to tell her something and she does not understand over and over and over. She still does not get it so I switch to fingerspelling. She still does not get it so I switch to writing. Sometimes I am lucky if my hard of hearing sister is home to interpret for us. It is much better when we have videophone installed here at home. I often try to get my mother's attention, so I tell her, "Okay, I will call you using videophone via video relay service." Mom will say, "No," (putting hand up). I just go ahead, dial my mom's number, and she answers the phone. Yeah, I try and try to get my mother's attention so I just give up and call my mom through video relay service. I am able to express myself using ASL. We are able to communicate. We finally have a good conversation (smiling). Yeah, she was like listening to me on the phone and we have this long discussion. Now Mom is learning some basic signs.

Evidently, Donny is able to be creative to communicate successfully with his mother and that makes him feel better. A similar circumstance is seen with Rock, who admires his older Deaf sister since she taught him a lot about life. He believes having direct communication using ASL contributes to his Deaf identity at home:

I also like that my parents and I can communicate with one other. However, I get bored from staying home a lot since my parents are always busy working and do not have much time for me. That is one thing I don't like, but I need to think positive and keep myself busy. I understand my parents need money and all that. I respect that. Before, my Deaf identity was low, where there was no communication and I only used a smartphone or videophone to communicate with my sister. Now, I see her often, and it strengthens my Deaf identity since I have someone to use ASL with.

Just like Rock, Carlos, and many Deaf children are born to working class hearing parents who had to work for many hours to support their families. The parents were often unable to spend time with their children, especially with their Deaf children, which posed a huge challenge since it lowered the chance for parents to learn signing, unless there is more than one Deaf member in the family, as seen with Rock's sister. Rock's Deaf identity strengthens when there is other Deaf individual in the house since he is able to communicate using his primary language.

All Deaf-Lat students do recognize family gatherings as deeply part of Latino culture, especially during holidays and other special occasions, Although they often feel left out during these gatherings. If the event happens at home, they interact briefly and then keep themselves occupied by watching television or a movie, playing games, and using a smartphone or computer. Barney was able convince his parents to drop him off at home when he felt excluded at a gathering he attended with them:

My family went to visit with a group of Mexican friends. I was sitting there with all the action going on and I felt left out and frustrated. I wanted to go home, so I told my parents I wanted to go home. They drove me home and dropped me off. I stayed home and they returned to the gathering.

Barney's parents were able to share their perspective on this incident.

Dad: And, and so then, he comes home, and takes his break, and he goes with us to places, but...[the mom says something but is too soft to hear] But... just accompanying us, like just walking along. (pause) And what we've tried to tell him is to socialize with, with the friends that we have, when we go out to a, a party, that he socialize with people, but no, no- he's very reserved and doesn't try to communicate in any way.

Mom: And he doesn't use his hearing aids (inaudible) talking.

Sister: [speaking to her dad] Tell her that he doesn't use his hearing aids.

Dad: And we have told him to put on his hearing aids, so that he can listen to the conversation, and, and know what we're talking about, so that, at least he knows what we are talking about, and he's not totally isolated... I mean, we, we get mad because we can't make him socialize, and we've seen people who, who know that he can't hear, try to communicate with him, in one way or another, but he cuts things off with an "ok," "oh no," and that's it.

Sister: Sometimes we get invited to, to, a get-together, whatever, something like that, and no. He stays here. He doesn't want to go.

Mom: Or he goes, but then he looks all obstinate.

Sister: Or he goes, and he's just there like... like by force. And then we have to bring him home.

The fact that Barney's parents were willing to drop off Barney at home shows they care about how Barney feels. However, it is still important to go back to how Barney feels about being isolated, or left out. It is a common issue, seen with all other Deaf-Lat students in this study, and with many other Deaf students as well.

As mentioned earlier, other Deaf-Lat students also feel isolated at gatherings, so they often prefer to stay home. Rock and Donny both prefer to be at events along with their deaf or hard of hearing siblings for easier communication, but they are not always able to be there with them. Rock discusses his feelings when attending parties at his relatives' home:

Now I attend gatherings just for food, because my family speaks orally a lot. I am often left out. My cousin and I used to chat, but he is away to college, so now I am left alone. Forget it! It is as if they do not need me there. So forget it, I decided to stay home from now on. I notice that every time my family arrives to our relatives' house, I get many hugs from my

relatives. Then after that, they are done with me and everything becomes quiet. I think to myself, "That is all?" I cannot really touch things around the house, so it is not fun. If families come over to our house to chat, it is fine because I can touch my stuff or play games. It is much more comfortable here at home. I do not want to go over there anymore. If my cousin wants to see me, I will tell him to come over and visit me. It is better that way.

In the Latino community, food plays a big role in the culture, as does the relationship with family members. Rock struggles with his feelings, especially isolation. He took care of himself emotionally by telling his family to go ahead to the gatherings without him. But, this does not solve the problem completely. Rock's family was disappointed Rock did not participate in the gatherings. A similar issue is seen with Tina as she discusses her reason for declining to participate in some family events:

I only know information based on what I see with my own eyes...They assume I can hear what people say. No. Mom claims I tend to watch TV. It is really because I do not want to bother them eating. I do not want to bother them while they talk. I tell them to eat. Mom tells me that there is TV and for me to go ahead and watch. I agree and watch TV. It happens during family gatherings, I find myself watching TV. I would go any distance to get my glasses, and once I put them on, I watch TV. I watch and eat at the same time while other family members chat. Not me, I watch TV... I do not want to disappoint my mom. I worry and I would go any distance to stay positive and smile continuously. Because if I get down, my family gets down too, so instead I watch TV. I do not want to see mom sigh, "My daughter is not happy." Sigh. (Waving to get my attention) "What? What do you want?" I do not want Mom to become worried. So I often use a fake smile. What is the point if I do not go to have fun, what is the point if I go and I just sit awkwardly (grabbing her smartphone and pretending to text while eyeing her family members)... Last Saturday, no, Sunday, there was a graduation party and I declined to attend and stayed home. I told them to go and have fun. I want to let them have fun rather than having them worry about me... It is best if I stay home where I am treated like a normal individual.

Tina dislikes feeling isolated so she found different ways to keep herself busy by using her smartphone or watching TV. Later in the year, Tina discussed in detail why she feels she is a burden to her mom.

My uncle just moved from Pos Deuces (pseudonym) to Morelia. I love him because he always makes sure I am being included in conversation and know everything what is happening. If all adults sit around the table, my uncle would say to me, "Come on over, sit with me". I was watching TV and I glanced around and saw my Uncle asking for me. I thought it was real nice of him and he would ask my mom to tell me what he wants to say. I thought to myself, "Yay! Thank you!" but my mom sighed. I feel very conflicted. I want to thank my uncle for making an effort to include me in the conversation.

I am very attached to my Mexican culture where I feel included. But my mom would look at me and I would tell her that I won't take much of her time. I have to be careful. Mom always sighed or shout for my sister to come over. Then my sister sighed. I saw that and I do feel bad. My sister would sulk and interpret. I feel bad. That is why I tend to sneak out and watch TV a lot during family gatherings. BBQ gatherings. All day. Hmm, I also try give mom and my sister have good time too. I do not want to see them sigh and interpret (shaking hand) I just quickly sit, watch T-V, and find something fun to do, or do homework.

Tina became emotional when she discussed her feelings. Just like Tina, Deaf people often appreciate hearing people who take time to initiate conversation or include them in public places, particularly at home. If it is not the case at home, Deaf children will attempt to avoid the emotional pain or frustration by using their agentic tools. Agentic strategies or tools could be what Holland et al. (1998) call, an improvisation to avoid conflict or to get something you desire in a certain setting. There are many Deaf children from hearing parents who lack tools, develop resentment, anger and frustration.

The availability of cultural resources (activities and landscapes) contributes to Deaf-Lat students' identity-figuring processes (Holland et al., 1998). Having access to visual language is often taken for granted by individuals who rely on sound. All Deaf-Lat students rely on visual language to be engaged in conversation. They often find themselves being left out of family conversation at home or at family gatherings, so they use one of their agentic strategies to keep themselves busy to cope with their emotions.

Deaf-Lat students who do or do not have full access to language in a certain space define themselves differently. Recall that Deaf-Lat students find their personality to be different at RSSD, as opposed to home, since they have full access to communication. Growing up in a spoken home environment, Deaf-Lat students used different strategies such as: watching TV, talking with Deaf friends via VP or Facebook, or playing PS3 games where they get language stimulation. Instead of going out with their family, Deaf-Lat students prefer staying home, which requires less effort. When Deaf-Lat students go out in public with their family, not all Deaf-Lat students are comfortable with signing.

Any visual language—whether it is ASL, LSM, or another signed language—is still not readily accepted in our society, as spoken language continues to be stressed as superior. There are hearing people who continue to reinforce the practice of audism by frowning, gawking, or mocking. Unfortunately, the stigma toward Deaf people who use visual language is so powerful that it contributes to some Deaf-Lat students' decision not to sign in public places in

their home communities. For instance, Barney feels ASL is reserved for Deaf people only, and he does not like that his parents attempt to communicate with him in public. Barney's mother shares her concern and Barney follows up:

Mom: Well, if we're with other people, my daughter, or my husband, or me, we sign to him, he ignores us, and he says to stop, to not say anything to him. It makes him embarrassed.

Barney: Well, at home with hearing people, I am not accustomed to being the only person to sign with all hearing people. If I am with my Deaf friend in a public place where we sign, that is fine. But I get embarrassed from being the only Deaf person who signs. People will think I am strange. I do not want to try to gesture. Nah.

During the year, as I attempted to understand Barney's reason for not signing in public, I found that he wanted to pass as a hearing person by not talking or signing at all. I saw this with Tina as well.

In her case, people often tell Tina that she is the first deaf person they have met in Oviedo. She attempts to blend in with hearing people by not signing:

If cities are well known for a large Deaf community, I am fine with that. People who are not familiar with Deaf people, they find something wrong with us, then they stereotype with wrong labels. I don't want that. I do not want to be the one to cause that. My deaf identity is smaller at home because of the way people act around me. People stare at me as if I am an alien. That is why I do not sign much. I decided not to do it. I cover up myself by blending in with hearing people. I am who I am supposed to be here. So that is why, not in public places, but at my hometown, Oviedo, I cannot be myself. I can be myself anywhere in Morelia. Not in Oviedo, it is like being a fish in a bowl.

As seen in above excerpt, Tina and Barney choose not to disclose their Deaf status in public places due to the stigma directed at Deaf people in society in general. They attempt to pass as hearing individuals, which could be viewed as a form of agency. However, if Barney and Tina cannot avoid being talked to

by hearing people, then, of course, they do let them know they are deaf. They want people to treat them normally, like when they are at RSSD. It could be said, however, that Barney and Tina internalize audism which weakens their Deaf identity. This behavior is known as dysconscious audism (Genie Gertz, 2008).

All Deaf-Lat students mention they wish they were able to have full communication access at home or at family gatherings and they look forward to being at RSSD again, where they can use their visual language and be with their Deaf peers. Different figured worlds (e.g., RSSD, home, public places) create the dynamic personalities of Deaf-Lat students through language use, behavior, and emotions expressed, which “are treated as indicators of claims to and identification with social categories and positions of privilege relative to those with whom we [they] are interacting” (Holland et al., 1998, p. 127). Deaf-Lat students cannot give up their home culture emotional ties completely, since they are an integral part of them.

The dilemma with isolation and feeling left out is not new. It has often been the topic of discussion among culturally Deaf individuals born to hearing families who do not sign, particularly in the field of mental health, where professionals deal with Deaf children who attempt to cope with emotional issues. The Deaf community needs to do a better job educating hearing parents who have no idea about this issue.

Deaf-Lat Cultural Emotional Ties #2: Natural Growth

“At the end of the week, I want to hurry up and get back home because I often get tired from being too busy. I do like to be with my family, but since

communication is challenging, it can be very boring and I often want to hurry up and get back to RSSD.” --Barney

Most Deaf-Lat students adapt to juggling their busy schedules at RSSD and are able to make time for themselves. Home is where they can rest, relax, and be alone. Unorganized activities vary among Deaf-Lat students at home. During participant observations at Deaf-Lat students’ scheduled sports team practices and other organized activities, I was able to have side conversations with deaf staff members. One staff member, who works for the athletic program, expressed his concern that many students spread themselves too thin by participating in too many activities. Some Deaf-Lat students would like to participate in the Hispanic Club, but there are many schedule conflicts with other organized activities. Deaf-Lat students admit they do not like the club sponsors since they are not knowledgeable enough about Latino culture to help them to learn and understand their home culture. Generally speaking, the pace of life at RSSD is hectic and stressful. Tina shares her perspective:

I don’t know why I participate a lot. So I can have a lot of fun. Make memories. But at the same time, sometimes I wish I did not participate so much so I could hang around with friends too. But hmm, it is a mix of both.

To understand Tina better, I asked Tina’s mother about her social status. She admits she does not know the difference between working and middle class. It is probably the reason she signed the consent form for this study, not fully appreciating the classification of “working class,” as one of the criteria. However I found Tina’s and her family’s participation valuable, since it brought a different perspective.

At RSSD, there is a reward system established by a coordinator and supported by administrators, teachers, dormitory/cottage staff, sponsors, and coaches. It is meant to motivate high school students by awarding points for participating in different organized activities, such as sports, clubs, organizations, honor roll, and other similar undertakings. The aim of this program is to help students learn about themselves while giving back to RSSD. A very small number of participants with the most points are selected as winners and recognized with rewarding activities. The points are posted in every high school dormitory/cottage to keep students in the loop. Tina considers herself an academic and she takes her education seriously. She likes to have a schedule filled with classes and after school activities. Tina is the only Deaf-Lat student who is heavily involved with RSSD's reward system. She wants to be on top so she can participate in a special weekend activity. She earned the most points last year and wants to do it again this year. Throughout the year, she finds herself swamped with different kinds of stress: *"Excited stress with the good type of nervousness and worrying motivates me to do better."* Bad stress, on the other hand, is when she attempts to figure out how to resolve an issue. When asked how she feels about being home again for the summer, she replies:

Actually, the last time I saw my friend... was, hmm, I would say the last week of school. But now, the more I stay here, it is fine, the more I like it, I like being home. I get to relax. I get to stay away from stress, away from hmm, maybe not really, I do not really see drama, just being clueless. I get to focus on me and I do not have to worry about other people who complain (sign unclear). I am here in the hearing environment and if something happen to them, I do not know anything about it... It is more relaxing here. I am glad. I do miss being busy. I love to stay busy so I do

not have time to think. Hmm, hmm. I also miss my friends, Deaf friends, and having fun. Over at RSSD, I get to laugh every five minutes every day. Here at home, it might be until like 6pm when I realize I finally laughed. Oh! I might get to laugh at some point or nothing... I participate a lot at RSSD. I cheer and attend tournaments. I also participated in a cheerleader camp on a weekend. I stay at RSSD a lot for football games. I play or participate in different events like Hispanic Club, but not anymore. I participate a lot and I get to stay at school on the weekends and go to school camps.

As seen in Chapter four, Tina admits she is more involved than others because she has a bigger role and positions and she knows people look up to her. Her statement seems to equate her activities as White behavior. She is internalizing the concept that students who do not participate are probably not norm as seen in today's schools as she does anything to prove her White peers she is like them. More on this topic will be discussed in next section: microaggressions.

Donny has someone he admires too, since that student is the only freshman to earn the most points, among other winners who are juniors and seniors. Donny admits he wants to be like him. RSSD students who participate in different organized activities are looked up to with respect.

Most Deaf-Lat students have participated in more than two organized activities during their high school years and the stress level is higher when schoolwork is incorporated. Barney, Carlos, and Donny often look forward to going home at the end of the week, so they can catch up on rest after being “*too busy, crazy, and stressed*” at RSSD. Barney, who is involved with wrestling, describes being happy at both places:

At home, I am mellow, laidback, mature. However, when I am here at RSSD, I laugh and become hyper, reckless, and it is fun. When I am home again, I become mellow. I am happy at home. I feel that way but here at RSSD, I get to be active and I become tired. Then I want to hurry back home where I can just mellow. Then I want to go back to RSSD. It goes back and forth.

Barney developed unique balance skills as he shifts between multiple bridges that connect multiple cultures that are very different in languages, social class and culture. Barney often found himself “in-betweenness” or “nepantla” which is a Nahuatl word (Anzaldúa, 1987). It does not imply that the transition is smooth but unstable, unpredictable and often uncomfortable.

Carlos is other nepantlera who is not too crazy about school, but he knows it he must do well academically to be eligible to be on the football and wrestling teams:

Yeah, I like to stay RSSD during the week for sports which really help kill time. I also like to socialize with my friends. I know I need education but hmm, it is so-so. Hmm... I do like it when I am at home from school. I often look forward to being home when the weekend is near, so I can just rest. At home, I get to relax since there is so much craziness and stress at school.

Carlos prefers after school life with his friends and sports where he is able to make his own decision about what to do, as opposed to being told to do required tasks in the classrooms.

Another example of “natural growth” activities is seen when Donny is home:

I just rest and use my laptop, play games, get on Facebook, use videophone to chat with my friends, watch TV, chat with my sisters and mom. I also take care of my dog and hamster.

In Donny's excerpt, he indicates that he is able to unwind at home and do whatever he pleases. Donny's mother shared her concern about Donny bringing his laptop home from school, which he then uses for hours.

Mom: ...it just so happened last night, I was telling him and... he plays dumb, because last night I was telling him "Why? I want you to turn it off." And so I- when he comes here on weekends, ok, I let him be- let him get up late, because well, because I think he's tired and.. ok. But when he gets up, he wants to start already with the computer. Or if not, just watch TV. Ultimately, it's the only thing he does. But before, when he didn't have the laptop, because he got it since he's in high school now. So, he did go out a little more, I would have him clean up after the dogs' mess, because we have two dogs, or do something outside, but now he doesn't want to do anything...But, the problem, that we have now, and now that he's in school, I have to call the school, because he only wants to be on the computer. And, and I was explaining to him last night, "This isn't good, for your health, for your brain, being all day on the computer. No, you have to do something, to be moving." And he says, "why?" "Because it's not good for you! I'm telling you." And last night it so happened that I was telling him, "ok, I'll allow it until 11:00," and so I look, and he turns it off. And he, sometimes he acts like he turns it off, and he goes in his room, and closes the door. And I get up, and he's there again on the computer, talking to his friends. And so then, sometimes I put it aside, I close it, but I don't want to get too... how do you say... violent. So the solution is going to be, I'm going to call the school, and you're not going to bring it here. And I told him, several times. You're not going to bring it here on the weekends. Until he learns. But before, yes, we tried to... we would go play outside, because he likes baseball, we would go play baseball. Or if not, we would play... softball. And... tennis. Also sometimes they go because my daughter also plays tennis and he does too. And he likes it.

Based on Donny's mother's excerpt, technology could distract children from quality time with family. His mother points out Donny still has house responsibilities, but Donny prefers to use his laptop most of his time at home over the weekends. This is a common issue seen in our society where the younger generation is glued to technology, putting them at odds with their

mothers who support the idea of going out and appreciating family time.

Technology could intervene with working class values in natural growth.

As a former football player and a wrestler, Rock chooses to keep his schedule free so he can socialize with his friends in the dormitory/cottage. He admits he does not care about school and just loves being with his friends and playing basketball. All Deaf-Lat students acknowledge home is the place to rest and recover from schoolwork and multiple organized activities. They also have other emotional ties to home, such as craving authentic home cooking, as opposed to processed food in the cafeteria and dormitory/cottage kitchens.

Deaf-Lat Cultural Emotional Ties #3: Food

“I get to eat Mexican spicy food, such as beans, tamales, and tacos, since it is part of my culture.” --Carlos

Food is a significant part of how Deaf-Lat students describe their Latino culture and how they see themselves as Deaf-Lat individuals. Just like Carlos, Rock describes how food is related to his racial identity:

I can sense my Mexican identity here at RSSD, but my Mexican identity is stronger at home with food and everything involved. I do not like the food here. My Mexican identity is lower here compared to home.

Deaf-Lat students like some foods in the cafeteria at RSSD, but not as much as their parents' food. All Deaf-Lat students have specific home foods they crave and are able to eat their favorite foods on weekends. Tina describes how sometimes, she craves something at RSSD, and is questioned by non-Latino students:

When I am at school, I will say, "Oh I am up for some horchata." Someone says, "What is that?" I sigh, "Never mind." Students are grossed out when they learn that I eat menudo. I am like oh fine! Whatever! Students cannot relate to my experience. I have to explain to them. I do not have to deal with that at home. It is different between home and school.

For Tina, she found it is difficult for White students to understand that home food is big part of her Latino culture. She realized she does not have to put extra effort to talk about food at home since everyone is familiar with menudo, horchata and other types of food. Deaf-Lat students living away from home also develop an appreciation for their home cultural food. Tina describes:

When I get home from school, Mexican food is the first thing I smell. I always look forward to eating that for dinner on Fridays, since I eat American food during the week. Yuck. No spicy food.

Tina and Rock brought some homemade tamales to eat at RSSD and they shared with other students who seemed interested to try them. Barney likes the idea that he is able to regularly eat his favorite food—poblano rellenos—on Saturdays. Donny eats American food most of the time. However, his mother states that she does make Donny's favorite Nicaraguan dish, gallopinto, and he likes eating tamales. All of the Deaf-Lat students mentioned that special foods are also deeply tied to holidays and family traditions.

When RSSD announces they are serving Latino-related food, Tina attempts to point out the difference between American-style Mexican food and Mexican food:

At RSSD, people will announce that they are serving Mexican food over at the snack bar. I have to tell people that Mexicans do not use ground beef in their tacos, they use carne asada. People are shocked when I tell them that the Mexican food they are eating has been Americanized. So, I am

the one who is teaching people, here and there, about Mexican culture. You do not find commonality at RSSD like I do at home.

According to Tina's excerpt, Tina stresses how much she knows about Mexican food and is proud that she was able to teach other students and staff at RSSD.

Carlos states that the RSSD cafeteria serves Mexican food once in a while, but it is not great since it contains too many tomatoes or very little cheese. All Deaf-Lat students are willing to eat food served in the cafeteria, such as pizzas, chicken, or hotdogs. All Deaf-Lat students expressed that they wanted to learn how to cook a specific Mexican or Nicaraguan dish. Deaf-Lat students know food plays an important role in their home culture. Food reflects their connectedness to their Deaf-Lat home cultural identity, providing them comfort. Comfort is an important emotion Deaf-Lat students associate with home, as opposed to RSSD.

Deaf-Lat Cultural Emotional Ties #4: Comfort

"I find myself looking forward to being home again because it is very comfortable to be home with my parents." --Rock

All Deaf-Lat students consider home a comfortable space where they can be themselves. When Deaf-Lat students arrive home, they use their time to release different types of stress from school and be with their family. For instance, Carlos compares his bed, dresser, and bedroom between RSSD and home. He likes the idea that he is able to have more things at home, such as blankets and games. He feels that there is a long list of rules at RSSD, and he

has his own rules along with what is given by his parents at home. He feels secure with leaving his stuff all over the place at home, as opposed to his bedroom at school, where he has to put everything in one place and lock it. He stresses, “*I just feel at home with my family.*” I also saw this with Tina.

I like seeing people with same skin color like myself. It feels good. We are common. I do not mean to be racist or create a label but I notice Mexicans and Latinos too tend to be more friendly, more open and acceptable... More family-like. I would say. Hmm and we do have Latino knowledge, Mexican culture knowledge and we do speak Spanish. When I am at home, I feel very at home with my family. I do not feel out of place. I feel so in place where I supposed to be my home. I feel very comfortable and I feel the same at grandma's house.

Based on Tina's excerpt, she feels at ease and not out of place when she is at home. Out of five Deaf-Lat students, Tina has the lightest skin, but she still feels connected with Hearing Latino community at home. Like the rest of Deaf-Lat students, Rock, Donny, and Barney all state they enjoy being with their families, however they dislike the idea of being left out since not ASL but spoken language is being used at home. It became difficult when they are home everyday for the summer so they often find ways to participate in summer school or Deaf camps to maintain touch with Deaf friends and use their visual language.

Even in Rock's case, he feels there are too many rules at RSSD. Being at home again helps him release stress and he can be himself:

I feel there are no rules and I do whatever I want. I like that my parents and I communicate...

Rock has a difficult time understanding why he is not allowed to do things at school, as opposed to at home, where his parents allow him to do whatever he

wants. Based on my observations, student interviews, parent interviews, and informal conversations, I see rules in every home, including Rock's. During the last school interviews, I asked Rock which area RSSD could improve, and he pointed out that staff at RSSD need to discuss instead of scold. Rock *feels* like there are no rules at his house because he is allowed to share his thoughts as he discusses and negotiates with his parents. This is what triggers him to feel he cannot be himself, since he cannot as freely share his feelings or perspectives at RSSD as he can at home. This issue is confirmed by Barney and Carlos as well.

Deaf-Lat students mention how important it is for them to be at home since it is a space where they are free from scheduled activities, allowing for "natural growth". Lareau (2003) reports that middle class and working class families differ in approaches to childrearing. The process of "concerted cultivation" is found in middle class parents, as they and their children have open discussions about "life." Often skills and talents of children of the middle class are cultivated through organized activities arranged and established by parents. Lareau (2003) discusses why working parents do not arrange busy schedules for their children as frequently. They promote accomplishment through "natural growth," with students free to do what they please.

The process of converted cultivation is not only found in middle class families, but also in residential schools for the deaf. RSSD is located near the heart of downtown Morelia. The area close to downtown has experienced years of gentrification and renovation, with a mixture of mainly high-class retail

businesses and residential neighborhoods with expensive homes. At RSSD, most staff members, regardless of whether they are hearing or Deaf, are White and middle class. Their lived experiences and ways of thinking are fundamental to their belief that it is necessary to arrange organized activities for all students.

Tina discusses a few factors that contribute to her participation in certain school activities, which are also relevant to other Deaf-Lat students. The first factor is “automatic decision,” which is when the school dictates that a student will participate in a certain school activity. The second factor is “recruitment through pressure.” Unfortunately, Tina feels a staff member broke her/his promise that s/he would be there for her to gain skills in a certain area, so she decided to quit. Motivation to participate is a third factor influencing involvement in school activities. Tina shares her perspective:

I don't know why I participate a lot. So I can have a lot of fun. (Nods) Make memories. But at the same time, sometimes I wish I did not participate so much so I could hang around with friends too. But hmm, it is a mix of both.

Tina questions herself about why she participates so much. Residential schools for the deaf often encourage Deaf students to be prepared for success. Are Deaf students pressured to achieve in the eyes of Deaf adults? This reminds me of a film, “Race to Nowhere,” which discusses stories of students across the country who are over-scheduled, over-tested, and pushed to over achieve. This is totally opposite of working class values for most of Deaf-Lat students except for Tina. Today, in our school culture, working class values have been constructed as “bad” and deficit. Tina admits she does anything to avoid staying

in the dormitory/cottage since most of her peers are born to Deaf families and, are day students who invest themselves heavily in after school activities.

Evidently, RSSD's social context starkly contrasts with that of the home neighborhoods of Deaf-Lat students and their working class families, as described in Chapter 4. Barney describes how different it is between home and RSSD:

I live in a strong Mexican community and it is very different in Morelia-White culture. At home with my family, it is Mexican culture and behavior, which is different from RSSD.

Again, Deaf-Lat students are exposed to two different routines: “converted cultivation” at RSSD and “natural growth” at home. Deaf-Lat students mention there is full communication at RSSD, where there is open discussion about life. This means Deaf-Lat students are mostly taught about life based on the perspectives of White middle class adults. RSSD operates from an assimilationist perspective, where Deaf-Lat students are being pushed to assimilate to Deaf-Whitestream culture and Whitestream culture in general in school. Urrieta Jr (2009) refers to “whitestream school” as educational settings that serve kindergarten through graduate students utilizing either official or unofficial curricula that are based on the White way of knowing through morals, values, practices and principles transmitted from white Anglo-American culture and White supremacy. Deaf-Whitestream is based on White-Deaf discourse is dominated by White Deaf people and structured based on white, cultural Deaf and middle-class perspective.

Before moving into second theme, I recognize that the Deaf-Lat undocumented students do not have the same privileges as Deaf-Lat students with U.S. citizenship. Holland et al. (1998, p. 271) call this “positionality identity,” which is connected to power, rank, and status. There are two themes that emerge in reference to their unique cultural-emotional ties in the stories told by the Deaf-Lat undocumented students.

Undocumented Students

Deaf-Lat Cultural Emotional Ties #1: Anxiety

If I was asked if I am US citizen at any time, how am I supposed to answer? If I already have my state ID, what should I do if the police come to me? -Carlos

Just like other undocumented Latino individuals, Deaf-Lat undocumented students feel gripping anxiety over revealing their residential status. In this study, not all Deaf-Lat undocumented students immediately revealed their residential status when we met for the first time. All of them feel paranoid and unsafe about the chance of being caught and deported when they go into public places, and they know they need to be careful. Barney describes dealing with peer pressure:

When I am home for the weekends or during breaks, I get very paranoid when I am in public places because I am not a US citizen. I may get caught and be deported. Like, for example, my friends planned to go south near the border for spring break and I was hesitant to join. I know I have a high chance of being caught. My friends persuaded me to join. I feel they were kind of forcing me to go. I told them, “no.” I was unsure so I asked around whether it was safe. I got different answers and I remained unsure. Then, I asked my best friend, and [s/he] suggested that I not go since I would be stopped at the border patrol checkpoint and I would be asked if I am a US citizen. That helped me with my decision and I decided to decline and stay home.

From this excerpt we see how Barney was living in fear in public places. He struggles with the idea that his friends could not relate to how he feels. As an undocumented student, he struggles with peer pressure and he had to ask around before he made a final decision to lessen his anxiety. This is also seen with Carlos.

Carlos discusses why staying home a lot is necessary:

At home, there is nothing around the apartment. If I go out walking around 6pm or 7pm, there is a high chance I will see police since there is a police department near the apartment complex. I just need to be careful.

From this excerpt, we see that Carlos is knowledgeable about his neighborhood especially which time of the day police are on the road. He took extra caution to lessen his anxiety.

Rock recognizes there is abuse conducted by authorities:

I hate seeing cops. I get anxious when I see them and remain positive and move on with my daily activity. (Thinking) Hmm, I hate when they think they have the power to take revenge by simply pulling out their gun and pointing at someone like myself if I am totally innocent. They can just randomly decide at any time. I cannot randomly decide what to do. That is what I hate about it. If they arrest me, I am in trouble. If I defend myself, I still get into trouble. So what I will do is to let it go if the police catch me, I will pay for the charge. It will be less trouble for me. If I cause trouble then I get myself into more trouble.

From Rock's excerpt we see that Rock does not feel safe around law enforcement. He is aware of the long struggle with police brutality within our society. There have been many incidents with police brutality toward deaf people (Lewis, 2014) due to the fact that the police lack understanding and empathy toward language difference between themselves and Deaf people. There are

many Deaf men of color were brutalized by the police which it's believed to be based on racism.

With heartache, I witnessed sadness in one of the Deaf-Lat undocumented student's eyes as he related that his father had been arrested and jailed. With limited communication access at home and a complicated judicial system, it was difficult for him to get clear information about the court proceedings and whether his father would be deported. He sought and received counseling at RSSD to help him cope with his emotions. At the next home visit, I felt relieved when I saw his father home however he was waiting for court to determine his fate.

All of the undocumented Deaf-Lat students have a couple of years before they graduate. The feeling of uncertainty causes stress about what their future will hold for them. Carlos, Barney and Rock were able to get their state ID, driver's license, and work permit during the year of the study through the Deferred Action Childhood Arrival consideration. Carlos, Rock and Barney expressed interest in finding jobs and enrolling college. Barney still feels conflicted with the idea that he does not have full U.S. citizenship, which is important at this time of his life. He acknowledges, "*It is a complex process where we must follow criteria and spend money to process the application.*" He wants to get U.S. citizenship so he "*can get help financially and find a job.*" Barney still feels anxiety because anything can happen to him. Carlos discusses a teacher's response to his classmate's question:

In career class, my teacher was discussing future employment. That White boy asked, "But Carlos does not have US citizenship." The teacher replied, "I know, poor Carlos, he does not have US citizenship, which means he will have a hard time finding a job in the future." I just sat there looking and thought to myself, "Oh."

Through this excerpt we see that the teacher instilled low expectations and sense of self in Carlos' potential to find employment which is an example of racial microaggression within academic space (Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). Carlos was also put on display as an undocumented student which is also called visual racial microaggression. Carlos continues to discuss his feelings about his multiple identities:

"My male and undocumented identities are mainly affected since I want to go out and do things but I don't have a car."

From this excerpt, I saw how Carlos struggles with his self-esteem. He feels his inability to get a driver's license affects his ability to become independent. He indicates he feels he is still a boy, not a man, since he has not gotten a car yet.

Deaf-Lat Cultural Emotional Ties #2: Safety

I feel safer at RSSD as opposed to home. -Barney

One Deaf-Lat undocumented student admits he does not feel safe to speak up and fight for social justice in public, since he fears being caught and deported. All Deaf-Lat undocumented students feel safer at RSSD. One Deaf-Lat undocumented student used an analogy to describe how RSSD protects Deaf students and especially undocumented students:

RSSD is like a hen house with students who were gathered as eggs. All students are immediately gathered and protected in a safe space. If they are caught for any kind of troubles, the police officers cannot take students away. So instead, RSSD makes sure students are placed on restriction or suspension. During that time, students are taught about legal issues.

All Deaf-Lat undocumented students feel safer to speak up, give staff or students a hard time, or even break rules at RSSD. They discuss their experiences:

As an undocumented student, I feel safer at RSSD. This is because, for example, if I get myself in trouble with the law, my name will be on the record at RSSD. Seven years after I graduate, the record will be thrown away. This will not happen if I get caught at home. I once got myself into trouble and a detective came to RSSD. He met with me, questioned me, and I only got a warning. I was relieved and got back to the dormitory/cottage. I feel safer at RSSD than at home. --Barney

Rock describes how he took advantage of the system through resistance:

Actually, here at RSSD, I do not give a damn. Nobody off campus came to arrest me. They just put down my name on the list. That is for school only. I am okay with that, but in the working world, I do not want to get my name on the record, so I am more careful. If something happens here, like for example, if I run away or steal and I get arrested, school will protect me from going to jail. I will end up in school suspension instead. I like the idea that RSSD protects me. I asked them [staff] why they are doing it. They said RSSD is special education. Hearing people think deaf people are dumb and do not know anything. So I took advantage of it. I feel it is different because there is a protection here... If I get busted for something, RSSD will protect me. I feel like I am a US citizen here. I feel like it. Yes, I am still a Mexican, but when I live in the dormitory/cottage, I feel like I am American. --Rock

Again we see that Rock was positioned as a special education student, and it was through this experience that he discovered RSSD is a safe haven. RSSD is accountable to protect all Deaf and hard of hearing students, so he took this opportunity to use various tools to revise and establish his new identity,

where he could he could speak up and fight back, regardless of his residential status. This is the opposite of his behavior in public places.

The identity of Deaf-Lat undocumented students shifts between contexts. In public places or at home, Deaf-Lat undocumented students are at higher risk of being directly contacted by law enforcement than they are at RSSD. At RSSD, law enforcement must go through school administrators prior to having direct contact with any students, and communicating with students includes having an interpreter and a school or dormitory/cottage supervisor. Deaf-Lat undocumented students have learned that RSSD will determine if their “disability” interferes with their understanding of their wrongdoings. If this is the case, they are dismissed, although they must go through some kind of instruction to learn not to repeat their wrongdoings. In this situation, they take advantage of the misconceptions policymakers have about deaf children.

During the year of the study, all Deaf-Lat undocumented students experienced different types of stress with their immigration status at home and at RSSD. Most importantly, all Deaf-Lat undocumented students feel fortunate that RSSD protects them. They, along with other undocumented students at RSSD, were able to learn through exchanging information on how to play with the system from what they learned through past experiences. All of them are currently at different stages of obtaining their US citizenship. Rock discusses his feelings as his paperwork is being processed.

I feel I can relax now. I do not feel too paranoid and cautious. I feel very relieved, but I still need to be careful until I get my US citizenship. Without

US citizenship, I have mixed feelings, with low undocumented pride. But now, as I am waiting to get my US citizenship, my pride is growing. I feel if I attempt to reach for my goals as an undocumented student and I get discriminated against, I would feel so sick. It wastes my time to chase my goals. With US citizenship, I would set up my goals and accomplish them. If I screw up with my goals, I can try again to reach for them.

The positional identity of undocumented Deaf-Lat students weakens when they are at home because of their reduced protection from law enforcement. To protect themselves, Deaf-Lat students attempt not to come any closer to law enforcement than they have to. They travel far away from the border, circumvent walking near the police department, and avoid putting themselves in the spotlight in public places.

Deaf-Lat undocumented students have stronger emotional ties to RSSD as an institution since there they have peers and other resources to exchange information. Their language access helps them understand what they can and cannot do.

Discussion

Deaf-Lat students report that they have ties toward certain spaces and individuals to meet their cultural-emotional needs, such as having full communication access at RSSD and being able to be free from scheduled activities at home, where they can rest, eat familiar home food, and have comfort. They are able to circumvent communication barriers or cope with negative experiences, such as feeling left out at home. Deaf-Lat undocumented students have their own unique issues where they experience strong resonance to RSSD in the area of citizenship. They feel safer at RSSD as opposed to home.

This feeling of safety also gives Deaf-Lat undocumented students many opportunities to resist or break rules. The cultural-emotional ties is one of two main themes Deaf-Lat students learn to recognize their multiple identities as they grow. Multiple microaggressions is the second theme I discuss next.

Theme Two

Multiple Microaggressions

Everyone fits in, all together, and has a normal school life. No one is left out. No matter who you are, we are all together in one place. --Tina

At RSSD, I think we are all the same because we are all Deaf and we sign. However, I do not think White students respect me as a Mexican. --Barney

Other than audism, all Deaf people experience different type of microaggressions related to their language, race, gender, disability, class, citizenship, and/or sexual orientation in different spaces, all of which are severely underreported. Sue (2010, p. 40) provides a thorough definition:

Microaggressions can be overt or covert but they are most damaging when they occur outside the level of the conscious awareness of well-intentioned perpetrators. Most of us can recognize and define overt forms of bias and discrimination and will actively condemn such actions. However, the “invisible” manifestations are not under conscious awareness and control, so they occur spontaneously without any checks and balances in personal, social, and work-related interactions. They can occur among and between family members, neighbors, and coworkers, and in teacher-student, healthcare provider-patient, therapist-client, and employer-employee relationships. They are numerous, continuous, and have a detrimental impact upon targets.

Linguicism is targeted toward Deaf-Lat students who use home signs, gestures or home country signs, which may cause them to be perceived as low functioning or, unintelligent. Signing and facial expression are inseparable

therefore Deaf-Lat students could be viewed negatively if they are dark-skinned and they use their facial expressions.

Tina discussed her experience when she joined RSSD. She had her hair up in ponytail and her cochlear implant was visually revealed:

Strong Deaf Power (DP) students born to families who also grew up in residential schools waved, “Hey, what’s that?” and they just announced to everybody as I watched. I thought to myself, “Ok. I think it is no big deal” and I just ignored them... I was not feeling very confident in middle school. I feel foreign for using a cochlear implant... I remember one or two students asking me, “Hey, I am not insulting you or anything like that but why are you using cochlear implants? Why are you using them? They are not needed.” Since I did not have confidence in myself and I was naïve, I was still finding my identity. However, I got some support from cochlear implant users. Some students would look at me and say, “Interesting,” and they just left. I was like hmm. I thought they wanted to chat with me as friends, so forget it. I turned off my cochlear implant so I can be treated normally and be one of them... I also have the same classes with a girl all day who has the tendency to scream all day. That gave me headaches and became irritating, so I decided not to use it... I use it at home only. Deaf school, no thank you. Since everyone is deaf and everyone signs, even if there is someone talking orally, I would still rather not to do it. It is not comfortable because RSSD is a “Deaf” space. I use my cochlear implant at home to listen to music. I could have conversations with someone about it. I do not want to be left out. It also helps me read lips and that helps me understand better. Now I do not care because more students have cochlear implants in high school, so it is not too bad.

From this excerpt, I saw this as microaggression since Tina was placed on display. Tina did not feel safe and decided that RSSD is not an acceptable place to wear her cochlear implant. However, Tina refuses to stop wearing her cochlear implant at home since she believes it benefits her and “to get a cochlear implant, it should depend on the deaf person’s decision, not on hmm, it is not other deaf people’s decision”. Similarly, Barney declines to use his hearing aids at RSSD:

I did not want to. There is too much yelling here and I often have headaches from that. Everyone signs so my hearing aids are not useful here. Students also kept asking me why I was wearing my hearing aids and it became uncomfortable.

In this excerpt we further see how Barney and Tina accommodate the culturally Deaf students by not wearing them against their own wish. They strategically use devices that are supposed to be acceptable in certain places. Both Barney and Tina claimed they prefer ASL as conversational language with their Deaf friends, but they wear their assistive devices at home, since they are interested in listening to sound and using their voices when pronouncing words with their families. At the end of the study, Tina admitted she does not always wear her cochlear implant at home, but expects to wear it when she goes to college. Barney decided not to wear his hearing aids at home which upset his parents.

Other parts of Tina's intersecting identity clash as she assimilates further into Deaf-Whitestream culture:

In middle school, I felt very, very, hmm, very "Mexican" because White people would just look at me and walk away. So I stayed with this (Mexican) group because we are all the same. Now I do not face that problem. Mexican students tend to stay together, but not me, because they are very behind with education. They orally talk (moving mouth) and their signing is not fluent since they sign in English order. I looked at them and now I moved to this group where everyone signs fluently. I have more knowledge of both English and ASL...that is why I think Mexican students who struggle with signing and stay together are limiting themselves. I do not want that. I had to force myself to be in the ASL group, where I missed much information. I had to pick up and match certain signs to certain facial expressions along with vocabulary through observing. Then, from that, my vocabulary grew. That is how I pick up signs... Now I see more White people and very few Mexicans...

From this excerpt I saw how Tina was assimilating into Deaf-Whitestream culture at RSSD. She made the relationship between Mexicaness and intelligence. Tina explains why she does not hang around with Mexican students.

Here at school, I do not hang around with other Mexicans. I would rather hang around with people who have the same education level and are on the same conversation level so I can have normal conversation. I do not have to explain myself. I can just be myself. Communication access is the only reason. I have to sign more slowly with the kids in the Mexican group. Often times they do not get what I am saying and I have to explain myself. I do not have to do that with the DP group. Over at RSSD, I have become one of the very DP people, I am proud to be Deaf and a complete ASL user... I am proud of who I am. We socialize. Mexicans do not socialize. Hmm, people do not consider me Mexican because I am assimilated in White culture. Sort of. Because I hang around with "White people." They are more strong Deaf. I notice it is because of my light skin and I do not act Mexican. Well really, the school labels the dormitory/cottage as Mexicans and they are not smart. Day students are smart or gifted. They asked me, "Are you White?" "Are you a day student, right?" I answered, "No, I stay here at RSSD." They were surprised, especially seeing the shocked responses on the faces of many teachers.

From this excerpt we see that Tina feels she could have normal conversation with people with same education level. This is a sign of linguicism built into her attitude toward Mexican students. Tina's Deaf identity became stronger since the first day she arrived RSSD. Tina also experiences racial microaggression since students and teachers have low expectations of cottage students who are mostly Mexicans/Latinos. Tina realizes that most of her classmates and peers are DP Whites and day students, and she enjoys an equal level of conversation with them. To avoid the label placed on the Mexicans in the dormitory/cottage as deficient, Tina keeps herself busy all day to stay away from the dormitory/cottage. This behavior reveals she internalized oppression with

racism, classism, linguicism and audism; she overlooked her class, language and skin color privilege.

Tina and Barney have experienced similar types of microaggression in the area of linguicism. Tina responded by being quiet, leaving her cochlear implants home, and jumping in with both feet while learning ASL. In Barney's situation, he said nothing, left his hearing aids home, and hung out with his dormitory/cottage friends.

All Deaf-Lat students, except for Donny, agreed that dormitory/cottage students are mostly Mexican and considered "low function." Tina did not mention this term, but indicated that both groups were socially constructed based on sign fluency and intelligence. Barney describes what he was told when he first moved to RSSD:

I did not know who to hang out with since I was new. Some students warned me not to interact with specific groups who are not smart and very low.

When I asked Barney what "not smart" and "very low" meant to him, he elaborated further:

There are many insults, such as "you are a low functioning student." Low functioning is used to label Mexicans since their talk does not make sense, they talk off point, and they do not write well. When staff members scold these students, they respond with excuses: "Well, I could not help it. I am low function." Actually, students in the dormitory/cottage were labeling others or calling themselves "low function," and now the dormitory/cottage staff members say the same thing about students.

Through this excerpt, we see that Barney was able to witness bullying at RSSD in terms of "implicit intelligence" being positioned relative to others based

on social positioning (Hatt, 2012). Hatt (2012) adds that smartness could be a tool used by some who attempt to make sense of their own identity. Barney was a lot more sensitive to students who internalize as ‘low function’ and how inappropriate it is for staff to make this kind of remarks.

Carlos brought up “low level” as well, and I inquired about what he meant.

Carlos shares his view:

I notice both groups are different since the dormitory/cottage students are mostly Mexicans, and they are both low and medium functioning level students. Their conversation topics are often about birthdays, sports, and games. They only think about physical activities. Most of them moved to RSSD from public schools. Day students are mostly high functioning level students and they are Whites. They tend to discuss a wide range of topics about the world. They tend to be calm while they talk. I can talk with both groups. In fact, I do not hang out with day students very much, but I do feel comfortable talking with them since I enjoy more stimulating conversation.

From this excerpt, we see that Barney and Carlos similarly compare two different groups, describing Mexicans who stay in the dormitory/cottage as being less smart and educationally advanced than the White Deaf students, who are mostly day students.

Most of Rock’s friends live in the dormitory/cottage, although he has a few day student friends. Rock tends to hop between groups, but stays with his dormitory/cottage friends most of the time. He states that there is a clear gap between the two groups in the cafeteria, relating it to the topic of being low function:

You will see a clear gap in seating between the dormitory/cottage group and the day students in the cafeteria. I see two differences between them. The dormitory/cottage group tends to be low functioning, or regular

*students. The other group is day students. They are gifted and they take advanced classes. They do not interact with each other...
Dormitory/cottage students are majority Mexican, although there are a few Whites too. This is what I notice and it is very explicit. I am more comfortable interacting with dormitory/cottage students. I do not feel patronized by Deaf Whites, but I notice that they patronize my friends. That is so immature. When I look at the Mexican group, I do feel a little bad. I notice that most of the Mexican students are low function and they are not smart. I do see them as low function, but they have common sense! I think it is important to look at that, rather than seeing them as nothing. I am able to talk with them. Deaf Whites look down at them and they will not talk with them. I do not think that is right. It is important to see that Deaf Mexicans do have common sense. That is important, but they [Deaf Whites] do not see it that way.*

In this excerpt we further see how Rock notices the same thing as Carlos and Barney about two different groups. We also see the contradiction in Rock's perspective toward cottage students. First he agrees that the cottage students are low functioning, unless he defines this term differently such as struggling academically, but then Rock quickly points out that this very same group from the cottage has common sense. It is as if he is referring to "book smarts" versus "street smarts" (Hatt, 2007). Hatt (2007) discovers that every participant except one in her study clearly identified the difference between being "book smart" and "street smart." The participants also stress how important it is to be "street smart" and refer to this as a concept to debunk the common definition of smartness which is ingrained in education system.

Much later in the year, Carlos elaborates further:

Most Mexicans live in the dormitory/cottage. Day students are mostly Whites. Mexicans are considered lower level. I think Mexicans are all the same and I am comfortable with them. I take turns talking with dormitory/cottage students and day students. I do not get to interact much with day students, but I do feel comfortable with them. I saw a day student

who insulted dorm students: "You can't play at all in sports," and things like that, because they are Mexicans. The day students were seniors and they are big in size and the dormitory/cottage students are skinny. I know very few students who are comfortable with day students. Many are not. I guess this is because most dormitory/cottage students have the same classes together and probably just one joins day student classes. Maybe. They also sit together in the cafeteria. The cafeteria room is very big, but you can see an invisible line in the middle, with Mexicans like myself and some Whites who are low level on one side of the cafeteria, and high level students on the other side of the cafeteria. It tends to be that way. It just happened like that. I notice that where the low level group sits are also non-US citizens. Some were born in México and moved here, learned sign language late. I straddle back and forth. I think different levels are based on IQ, race, background, and communication level.

From this excerpt, Carlos witnessed multiple racial microaggressions and bullying by Whites toward Mexicans in terms of their intelligence and size. He also noticed in-school segregation between the cottage students and day students in the cafeteria. The Mexicans group (low level, undocumented, and language delay) with some Whites who are also positioned as low level.

Tina said she is an academic student and tends to hang around with her "DP group of friends" during school, admitting she pretends not to know Mexicans from the dormitory/cottage by not talking to them. When she sees them, she just walks away and insists she is not mad at them. When school is out, Tina chats with Mexicans in the dormitory/cottage. She describes why she behaves this way:

If I talk with Mexicans at school, then DP students will talk negatively about them. I feel bad that we talk about them. I feel bad. DP students would say, "That is nuts! I do not understand why they talk like that." I saw their statement. Hmm, but if they are talking about students I do not know, that is fine. But if I know those Mexicans, I prefer not to see DP students talk like that about them. DP students say, "That is real nuts! Why? I wonder why?" If DP students just let it go, I just let it go too, but when they

say, "What are they doing here?," I am in a very, I am in a very, VERY awkward position. If DP students are open, even if they do not talk with them but still make a welcoming space for them (Mexicans), I guarantee you that DP students would feel fine, but they are themselves awkward. I tell them (DP students), "That is fine," and pretend nothing is happening and talk as a Mexican student stops by. When the student leaves, DP students say, "What is he doing here? I do not even know him! I do not even socialize with him. Oh man!" I just look at him (smiling) and reply, "I understand." Very awkward position. I try to keep both apart. In the daytime, I talk with my friends so I get to use my comfortable conversational level. At night, in the dormitory/cottage, I talk with the Mexicans. It is a very awkward position for me. It is hard... awkward feeling shifting between two. I try... try to be nice.

When I look, I just cannot joke along. Sometimes, I say "stop it" if it is really mean, like using "W" (i.e., wigga) on the nose or like that. I say (shaking head), "No, no, don't use that sign, no, no." They persist. Now for the DP students, they say, "Mexicans are stupid" (mimicking sign). I tell them to stop, but sometimes, they go on and on. I just give up. Most importantly, I do not join their conversation, nothing, I do not encourage them to do that. Nothing. I try to shift their focus in subtle ways. I say, "I understand, but it is not their fault." DP students say, "Oh, that is true." That is when I feel relieved. Then Mexicans put "W" on their noses and say, "They [White students] are smart and gifted." I tell them, "No! You are smart too." Then the DP group says something, then Mexicans say something, back and forth. It makes for very, very, very complicated feelings. DP students tell me, "You have the guts to live in the dormitory/cottage, I cannot do it! How can you talk with them? How could you do it?" I tell them it is no problem. They ask, "Do you feel you have to?" I reply, "I guess so. Hmm." I feel out of place. Hmm, I did not really answer their questions. I tell them that I keep myself busy and I am into sports so hmm. Oh, I see. They let me off the hook and I feel relieved. Very awkward! I am not one of the Mexicans. Not many people are in the middle. I feel like I am the only one in the middle. I feel like it! I am not one of the DP. (Shaking head) I am in the middle of both sides. I already know I will always be in the middle of that because I am Deaf and not White. For sure, I will not be in the middle of everything. I am a Mexican, Deaf, academic student, so that put me in this position. Well, plus, hmm, I was raised to be very nice to everyone. It was emphasized I should be respectful no matter what. If you respect them, they will respect you. If you are nice to them, they will be nice to you.

From the above excerpt, I see Tina struggling with how her DP friends spoke about Deaf-Lat students whom she knows since, especially at RSSD, everyone knows one another very well. Tina is other nepantlera who straddles between the dormitory/cottage students and day students to get what she needs academically, linguistically, and emotionally. She was also taught *educación* which is the “foundational cultural construct” that offers guidance on how she should treat others and live her life with respect, responsibility, and sociality (Valenzuela, 1999).

Although Tina feels she is capable of interacting with DP students, she found herself in a situation beyond her control when she was suppressed by some Deaf teachers:

I like my cooking class. There I can be myself and the teacher has such a comfortable presence. It feels like home. I can... not really take charge... it just feels comfortable. There is also a wide range of kids in the class, not just the kids from my level. And, the teacher does not play favorites... S/he is deaf. Her/his son is in the strong DP group. S/he is in high school. S/he reacts to everyone the same way... Other staff members do show favoritism. For example, in one of my classes, students are seated in one arced line and the teacher has his/her favorite students sitting on one side, where that teacher chats with them more. If any of his/her favorite students asks a question, even if it is off topic, s/he will allow a big discussion. The quiet students sit on the other half of the arced line, and if one of the quiet students tries to ask a question like “What if...,” the teacher responds that the question is off topic and there is no time to go into it.

I am not in the quiet group, but I do not like to be called on. If one of the quiet ones asks something, s/he says that we do not have time to discuss it. When there is a discussion in class, s/he might ask the quiet group if they have anything to add, but does not engage them. S/he is always engaged in discussion with her/his favorite students. S/he will even joke around and tease her/his favorite students. S/he jokes around and shakes her/his fists, saying, “Watch out.” With other students, s/he just nods

quietly and says, "Don't do that." Her/his favorite group is a group of day students. The teacher passes us over. S/he does not see us as part of the "in circle." S/he is more engaged and interested in the day students, not us dormitory/cottage students.

With a cool teacher that includes everyone, I feel great and can be involved. Then there are teachers who play favorites with the DP attitude. They think toward students like, "What are you doing here?" and act like they do not want us there, that things would be better if we were not there so they can feel comfortable. Maybe because the white day students have always been labeled as smart and the Mexican dormitory/cottage students are... not smart. It may take several tries before one of the dormitory/cottage students gets an explanation. I do not think teachers have the patience for that. They would rather save their time and have easy communication with the White day students. We are not part of the "in circle." Even though we consider ourselves as strong Deaf people, dormitory/cottage students are not seen that way because we come from hearing families.

From Tina's excerpt I understood that as a Deaf student born to hearing parents, she was a lot more sensitive to her Deaf peers born to hearing families in her class. This time, Tina found herself oppressed by the Deaf from Deaf families so she positioned herself with the Mexican students and Deaf students born to hearing families. At RSSD, the majority of Deaf children born to Deaf families are day students, who are also Tina friends, so she felt rejected. One day after data collection, Tina and I bumped into one other and she quickly said, "After our interviews, I could see serious issues with favoritism very clearly especially with Deaf families here at RSSD!"

A few of the Deaf-Lat students also mentioned gender microaggression. Donny admits he is comfortable discussing most multiple identities, except for a couple: gender and disability. Gender identity is a struggle for him. Just like all other residential schools, RSSD is not a site for construction of Deaf identity only,

but gender identity as well. In Donny's situation, he struggles with his gender identity both at RSSD and at home, where he has been told not to behave like a girl:

Here at RSSD, I am well known as Deaf, male, Latino, and that I act like a girl... I played and interacted with my sisters all my life, so I am accustomed to it. Students often ask why I act like a girl... I try to explain to students that I grew up with three sisters and they understand... I have to explain to reduce misunderstandings. At RSSD, I attempt to change my male behavior. I do not care when students say that since I do not get hurt. I guess I am used to it. In fact, they should respect me. I just don't know the right way to be masculine. With all the other boys here at RSSD, I do not feel equal with them because I feel different since I talk like a girl. I feel embarrassed since I cannot be masculine like them... It is just that I can't change the way I am. I was bullied a lot and called different names like "fag," "gay boy," "girl," and "woman." I know I am straight, so it does not matter. Sometimes, I try to prove them wrong by kissing my girlfriend, but we just broke up. That is the only way I prove other students wrong. I also played football... They were surprised when they saw me in a photo. They thought I am gay and I declined. I have liked football since seventh grade. I also played tennis, basketball, and track, but that was only for one year.

From this excerpt, Donny acknowledges his multiple identities and that he was also positioned as a "girl" by his peers who consider him feminine. He claims he does not intend to behave effeminately, but he cannot control the way he talks. He was manipulated on how to be like one of the "guys." Donny often ignores comments made by his peers however he is reinforcing self-defeating resistance (Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001) which is known as having little understanding of historical oppression, however displaying behaviors that can be harmful to others, especially himself. Donny has filed a report about bullying but the problem did not stop so he just gave up. Donny indicates that staff members also tease him:

Sometimes staff members tease me, saying, "You are a smart girl." They are just teasing. I do not feel hurt by it since I am used to it. It has happened since fifth grade. It happens over and over. I do not get hurt or cry (looking at his nails/nodding). Some teachers and other staff members tell me to ignore them and be brave. That is how I resist. My sister tells me the same thing. She tends to give me good advice since I always share my experiences with her. She says just to demand respect.

From this excerpt, we see the comment made by staff members represents microaggression. If Donny has experienced that since fifth grade, it means RSSD failed to protect him. Most Deaf-Lat students confirm they see the terms "fag" and "gay" used frequently at RSSD and other schools nationwide.

Donny also faces disability microaggression. Donny feels his multiple intersecting identities make life more complex for him. His attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) is difficult for him to discuss. He brought up feeling like he is a low functioning student. When I asked him to elaborate, I found his definition of "low function" differs from that of other Deaf-Lat students. This may be related to the stigmatizing label he has picked up:

Low functioning means they do not know what to do with their homework. They keep looking around and having a difficult time understanding. I feel when we discuss ADHD, it is hard to talk about it.... Yeah, it is hard to talk about my disability. I feel emotional about it and I do feel bad. I am known to be funny, but the medicine quiets me down so I can focus. When I am ADHD, I am more fun, different, and like to chat. Students like me as a person with ADHD, since I am more fun and I chat a lot. But I want to be on medication because education is important to me. At the same time, part of me wants to remain fun and talkative. It would be nice if I could put aspects of both medicine and my ADHD together and become one person who is able to be fun and do well academically. I do not want to shift back and forth and choose education or fun, trouble, out of control. I struggle between both.

In Donny's experience, he struggles with maintaining his true self since when he is on medication, his friends see him as more quiet and less funny. He wants to please his friends through his humor and talkative personality, but here we see how difficult it is for high school teens to deal with peer pressure and friendship.

After a year of interviews and informal conversation, Donny became comfortable discussing his ADHD toward the end of the study. He mentioned that health center staff helped him feel good about himself:

I go to my doctor appointments at the health center. I keep getting positive comments that I am a role model. Students look up to me as if I am a very good person. I feel good about being able to be a role model here at school.

From this excerpt I saw how Donny is proud, being called a role model since he regularly takes his medication and his academic performance has improved. Earlier Donny indicated ADHD was difficult for him to accept especially with different types of microaggressions he experienced, he needs to feel good about himself.

Disablism is generally defined as oppressive behavior fuelled by socially constructed beliefs that certain people are disabled and/or inferior. Donny has had to deal with students mocking him by imitating his behavior while on medication, and he just ignores them. Ignoring is how Donny copes with disability microaggression. He admits that without medication, he can become aggressive and get physical with other students, which he knows is not good for him. He

admits he looks up to another student, but they always disagree or argue. His experience with this student is imbued with many sources of microaggression:

Yes, there is a Mexican student who is a freshman. He is a leader. He participates in many different activities. I look up to him and want to be like him. There is a point system at RSSD for students to earn points if they participate in different activities. He got third and he is only a freshman. Wow. He is committed to Deaf-related activities like Junior National Association of the Deaf, not Latino-related activities. However, I do not trust him. He brags that he is from a Deaf family and he is very against mainstreaming programs. His parents graduated from two elite residential schools and Gallaudet University. I want to be his friend, but he lies about many things. We have had a lot of problems for a long time and we live in the same dormitory/cottage. He said it is important to be strong Deaf and show intelligence. He said he will have a large deaf family. I think he gives me a hard time because I am from a hearing family. He once asked me what kind of job my dad does. I felt awkward, but I told him that my father works as a janitor. He was like, "Ugh" (covering his mouth), and he giggled. I just ignored him. I feel a little humiliated by him and I just don't like it. I admire that he participates a lot, but he is not a role model.

In this situation, Donny may have experienced multiple microaggressions in the areas of race, deaf status, parental deaf status, and class. This is not new since that topic is seen in all residential schools for the Deaf. This practice is often promoted by the members of the Deaf community.

Two Deaf-Lat undocumented students brought up citizenship microaggression. A group of boys was caught with drugs at RSSD. It was during the year when the Mexican drug war was in the media spotlight. Barney discussed a comment made by a staff member: *"It is your fault you brought drugs. Mexicans always get into trouble."* Having no role with the drugs at RSSD, Barney was surprised with what he saw. Throughout history, Mexicans have

been patronized regardless of their citizenship, and they often struggle to overcome stigmatized labels.

Rock shares another example of microaggression from a staff member:

When I was a freshman, one staff member once said, "You cannot read, go back to México." I just lost it... I was so furious, I could have hit him. I was gonna approach him, but my friends stopped me.

Rock responded by becoming angry and filed a report with a supervisor which is one of his agency tools. The staff member was transferred to a different dormitory/cottage and later apologized.

The topic of US citizenship emerges with Tina too:

It is very uncommon for me to have White friends here, I mean here at home. Over at RSSD, yeah. So I emphasize I am an American. If I say I am Hispanic, they will say, "Oh you are not US citizen." I tell them, "No," I am... Actually, many people discuss the topic of not having US citizenship, having it, or just having a card. I just tell them I am a US citizen. They said "Oh," and leave me alone and continue with the discussion. I am full American. (Smiling) I say that because I do not question my US citizenship. Am I a US citizen yet? Do I have a green card? I ask myself different questions and worry. Will I be able to work? Or whatever.

From this excerpt I saw Tina's citizenship privilege as passing as White, and her comment contains subtle microaggressions since she internalized undocumented status as problematic and she dislikes being questioned.

Racism may be linked to citizenship. All Deaf-Lat undocumented students, including Tina, report experiencing racial microaggression. They have all been called "wetback" by peers, but they responded differently:

Everyone refuses to call me "wetback" because I get pissed off easily. They often say that to me and I do not even care. If I am standing with my Mexican friends and someone calls me a wetback in front of people, I

don't like that. If I am alone with another student and he playfully tells me it directly, it is fine with me. However, in front of the crowd, I get pissed off easily. I know it is not right. It is actually fine because I never crossed the border illegally. We just crossed the border in a car and our visa expired, then we stayed here. That is all. --Rock

Last year, my friends and I used the term "wetback," but it was not an insult. We were just having fun with it. It is not insulting. I do not feel anything if someone calls me a "wetback" because I did not cross the bridge. I rode on a bus. If Mexican students call me that word, I simply insult them back...I think I am overall respected at RSSD because I am recognized as all-star football player and in other sports. Because of football, other students are afraid of me. --Carlos

Rock and Carlos feel the term "wetback" is excusable only if they all are joking. Both also consider wetbacks those who walked across the border, not those who crossed the border by car or bus. Carlos feels his status in football helps both athletes and non-athletes respect him as a person. In addition, both Carlos and Rock use their male aggression as agentic tools to defend themselves.

Barney was also called a "wetback," and he describes what he did:

If I spoke up, they would insult me back. So I just have to be careful with what to say. I know them too well. It is better not to say anything because I do not feel safe.

From this excerpt, we see that Barney could not speak up and fight for social justice for the Deaf-Lat community because he does not feel safe; therefore, he remains quiet, which is how he copes with microaggression. Barney reinforces self-defeating resistance (Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001).

Barney was taught by his parents that it is "*better to back away from that kind of, of any problems that come up.*" Lessons in how to deal with

microaggression are often taught by parents themselves, who want to keep their children safe. In this excerpt we see how opposite it is with question #14- "I can arrange to protect my children most of the time from people who might not like them" instilled in the mind of White people with White privilege (McIntosh, 1988).

Tina is unsure if she is respected as a Mexican, but plays along with her peers who tease her:

Yea, people will mess around with me and say things like, "Oh, that's right, you're Mexican," "You have a little Mexican in you," "You're lucky you're smart, not like a real Mexican," "You're lucky your parents know sign, not so low, like those other Mexicans," "Come on, you're Mexican, come on,"... that kind of thing. My reaction is... "Umm, we're all American, can we just put all that aside." When some white people are talking to me, they may say, "Oh, you are a little Mexican! So you should know that!" and things like that, so I guess... a little... I don't know, really. I just go along with things... I just live in America and I'm just a person. But, with family, I feel like I'm part Mexican because we are all the same. Everyone knows what things are, everyone knows what you're talking about. But here, I think maybe because of who I hang out with, most of them are White, I do not feel like I am Mexican. I feel I am White. I've even had someone tell me that I look White and not Mexican. I've asked people what they think my background is and they say White. They're shocked when I tell them that I'm part Mexican. They'll say, "You're not Mexican," and act out their version of what a Mexican is like. When I tell them that I'm Mexican, but I just don't show it, they say, "Obviously you're a Mexican assimilated in White culture." What do I say to that? I usually just say, "Sure." Sometimes, people will amp up the teasing by saying things like, "Come on Mexican, you know how to swim," or "Look at all the water she's leaving behind. Someone grab a towel to wipe it up. Look everybody, her back is all wet." They do that kind of thing while we are all teasing one another about our different races. I do it too. I might tease someone who is black or some other race. That kind of thing. Nothing that's too hurtful, but I think that's because of who I hang around with. Maybe the other Mexican kids are getting it worse than me.

Again we see the problem of racial microaggression and self-defeating resistance. Tina plays along with her White friends who call her "White" since she

is one of only a few Mexican students at a higher academic level. She reminds them that everyone is American to sidetrack American versus Mexican discourse. She is from a hearing family, and they are the only people she interacts with whenever she is home. She admits she is associated with Hispanic people when she is home, which differs from when she is at RSSD, where she hangs out with White friends. She feels shifting between life at RSSD and home is a game for her; she wears masks of different characters to fit in with different groups of people:

Life is a game... Life is just like a game (thinking). It is like masks. I use a lot of different masks, just like a game. You have different characters in a game.

In this excerpt we further see how she straddles between “playing the game” and “selling out” which depends on contexts she is in and individuals who she is with. “Playing the game” could be defined as “strategic understanding of power and a critical exertion of activist agency, while also simultaneously a critical and conscious perpetuation of the system” and “selling out” is when “conformity to the whitestream game occurs, the willingness to conduct *transas* is surrendered” (Urrieta Jr, 2009, p. 33). Tina admits she loves performance so she is very good at assuming different characters and different masks throughout the year.

When Carlos had some problems at RSSD for a brief period, he left and enrolled in a public school in Meme for three months, where he experienced racial microaggression:

Here at home, I experienced a conflict with one White deaf student in public school. That boy is hard of hearing and wears a cochlear implant. He is racist (thinking), maybe not, but he rejects me. For example, I was with a group of students walking into a building. He quickly cut in and walked in front of me. I just ignored him. It happened over and over. He calls me "B-e-a-n." Beaner, that is right. I just remembered that word, beaner.

Carlos handled both situations by ignoring them. He decided to return to RSSD since he felt there was not much opportunity for him to participate in sports in public school.

I asked all students, "*How do you cope when you have trouble with school?*" Since Tina is the only student on an academic track, she shares how favoritism bothers her:

I would speak up, I could talk with someone above... If I get support from a staff member about my concern, then I would talk with someone above, such as a supervisor (name) or if it is school-related, to a teacher whom I feel is very biased, probably because I am from a hearing family. Anyway, I would go around and talk with the principal and resolve things... I have this teacher (sign unclear). Whoa, that teacher gets on my nerves because I worked hard as that teacher chatted with those White students from d-e-a-f families. Hmm, that teacher knows one of those students, that girl, all their lives; she's from a deaf family with a strong deaf background. That teacher knows those students. Hmm, I do respect that teacher. Of course, Mom heavily emphasizes respect, r-e-s-p-e-c-t!

Once I was working in class and I noticed a group of students talking, I do not see anything wrong if the teacher does not say anything about it. But then I started chatting and that teacher waved to me, "Get back to work." I thought to myself, what about that group of students?! Not fair, I thought. That teacher told me to go back to work and I said, "I saw them talking too." That teacher said, I told them the same thing. I thought to myself, there was no procedure for consequence. I am usually respectful but I ignored that teacher that moment. Maybe for other people, ignoring is no big deal, but for me, it was the most rebellious side of me. Whoa, for a good girl like myself. My worst punishment is when I woke up late. Anyway, the point is that, I ignored and I chatted again. The teacher again asked me to go back to work. I told the teacher, "What about them?" The

teacher actually talked along with those students and laughed along with them. It is SO wrong! I was so mad. I continued to work and two other friends were with me. We discussed what we saw. We agreed that it was not fair. The three of us are different from that group because one student is a Russian, from a hearing family just like me. She could be identified as a "hearing person in the head." I am a Mexican and Iranian- whatever. The other student is from a deaf family but non-White and non-American. She is fluent in ASL. That kind of thing happens sometimes because I am Mexican. I am the only Mexican girl in that class. She would watch me with sharp eyes and tell me to go work. I just move on and work because I do not want to deal with her. It is because I am Mexican and from a hearing family. Whatever! There are a few other Deaf White teachers who are like that too.

Several types of microaggressions are apparent in Tina's above account: racial, deaf status, parental deaf status, and possibly residential status. Tina finally put Iranian along with Mexican as part of her multiethnic identity here in her excerpt reveals her consciousness raising. Barney faces a similar problem in class where he feels some of his Deaf White teachers disrespect him:

The majority of teachers are White and I feel they do not respect me. While they teach, they focus on a group of smart students and ignore me. Smart students are fluent signers and they can participate in discussion or share news. I try to say something but the teachers ignore me. I do not want to become embarrassed, so I better say nothing. Those smart students are day students and from Deaf families. They tend to say, "Deaf pride" or "DP." Of course, I am proud to be Deaf and I think it is good. A few hearing and deaf teachers showed they care for me by giving me advice as I enter the working world and fill out forms for college. Other hearing and deaf teachers do not care. They do not encourage me or anything like that. Teachers also did not encourage me to preserve my culture or teach me Mexican history in classes, except for Spanish class.

Carlos and Rock brought up another related issue of differential treatment they experienced and witnessed at RSSD. Carlos expresses his concerns based on his observations:

The school principals, actually the administrators, are majority Whites. They exclude the Mexicans for fair punishment. Mexicans often get into trouble. For example, if Mexican students and White students get into trouble for the same reason, they end up being in school suspension. White students are suspended for 2-3 days but the Mexicans are suspended for 4-5 days. It happens a lot with my friends. We discussed and noticed the pattern. I think White students get into less trouble because administrators empathize more with them. Mexican students noticed the difference in treatment, so they filed a complaint with the ISS supervisor. The supervisor is not Mexican, but s/he admits s/he notices the same thing. The supervisor said it is possible that the principal plays favoritism with White students.

Rock discusses his case:

There are a lot of problems in the dorm. Sometimes, school can be terrible. Rules kept changing and were not stable, but kept changing. For example, I played around in school, and I was sent over to detention during lunch hour for one day. I thought, fine, it is only for one day. Then, the next time I played again, I was told to go to detention for three days. I thought, whoa. Why three days this time? The number of days in detention varies, so I was often confused. When I am done eating and I want a second plate, I must talk with the principal via videophone and explain how I ended up in detention and how I could improve. I am sick of it. If I want a third one, I must meet with the principal via videophone again and say the same thing. What is the point? That is stupid!

From Carlos and Rock's excerpt, this report echoes to the most recent federal data that reports minority students face harsher discipline and arrested in schools. As seen earlier, Deaf-Lat students shared their concern about unfair treatment in suspensions and disciplinary action toward Deaf-Lat students and criminalization of Deaf-Lat students.

Discussion

Kannapell (1993) proposes there are three different types of hierarchies of power. The first hierarchy, called simply the "Hierarchy of Power," is based on

how Deaf people view our society. The three categories that determine where a person fits are race, gender, and hearing status. White hearing men are on the top and deaf minority women are on the bottom.

Hierarchy of Power
white hearing men
white hearing women
minority hearing men
minority hearing women
deaf white men
deaf white women
deaf minority men
deaf minority women

Kannapell (1993) identifies two additional hierarchies within the Deaf community, which incorporate power and a more detailed categorization of hearing status. Members of the hearing community are status holders in only one of these two: "Hierarchy to Fit into the Hearing Community." This is similar to Humphries (1977) concept of audism, but based on an educator's point of view. In Deaf Education, more than 90% of teachers who work with deaf children are hearing. Deaf children pick up the stigma that ASL and Deaf culture are inferior and they become audists after they climb to the top of the hierarchy. They are considered "smart" and rewarded with better jobs and resources. They develop an attitude of superiority, and patronize deaf people who are culturally Deaf.

Hierarchy to Fit into the Hearing Community
(educator's point of view)

hearing person
hard of hearing person
person deafened at later age
person deafened at early age
"oral success" person born deaf with speech and speechreading skills

person born deaf with English reading and writing skills
"oral failure" person born deaf with minimal oral or English skills
"low functional"
"low verbal"

If you turn this hierarchy upside down, you will see a third hierarchy, called "Hierarchy within the Deaf Community," which is historically socially constructed within the Deaf community, based around cultural and linguistic identity. Membership is based on the criteria ASL fluency level, student and family deaf status, and educational background. In this scheme, culturally Deaf people are considered powerful compared to hearing people.

Hierarchy within the Deaf Community

culturally Deaf person (*ASL user, Deaf school product, Deaf family*)
culturally Deaf person (*ASL user, Deaf school product, hearing family*)
person born deaf, later learns signing (*oralists, products of mainstream school*)
person deafened at early age
person deafened at late age
hard of hearing person
hearing person

Kannapell (1993) points out that if we overlay transparencies of the hierarchies together, the image becomes unclear, reflecting the confusion Deaf people experience by being trapped between them. This increases the tension of identity and language struggles. Kannapell (1993, p. 4) states that deaf people often ask the following questions:

Am I better off being like hearing people or Deaf people? Should I place my deaf child in a Deaf school or a mainstream school? Should I use ASL or English with my deaf child? Should I call myself 'hard of hearing' or

‘hearing impaired’? If I use ASL, will my English or my speech deteriorate?”

It is proposed that a paradigm shift (i.e., a change in consciousness) is needed to break away from the stigma and mythology about the inferiority of Deaf people and their languages. Kannapell (1993) proposes that education should play an important conscious role in identity development and promoting discourse about power structures.

Kannapell’s (1993) hierarchies provide a good foundation for understanding power structures within Deaf communities, but are limited because they provide no space for other aspects of multiple identities, such as disability, sexual orientation, citizenship, religion, and many more. The power issues found in Deaf Education are not necessarily limited to gender, race, and deaf status only. I developed a model of factors contributing to hierarchical status based my Deaf-LatCrit framework on all of the types of microaggressions experienced by the Deaf-Lat students in my study, which were highly overlapping.

Model of Multiple Identities Revolving Around the Axis of Self

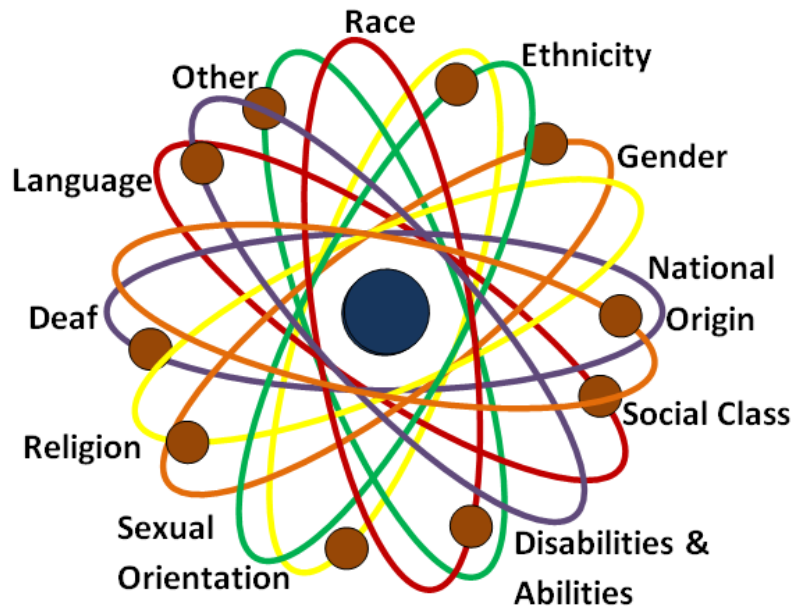


Figure 8. Multiple Identities and Self as Axis

This model of multiple identities moves in much the same way as an atom. An individual person is represented by the nucleus, which remains constant in the center. Each identity that the individual holds or connects with is represented by a different sub-atomic particle, or core of the identity, which orbits around the nucleus. As the person experiences conflict, awareness, or greater understanding of a particular identity, the orbital path of that identity thickens in response. Multiple identities are affected in different degrees. Each individual does not have the same number of identities, and sub-atomic particles may be added to a person's axis. This is how I visualize each human being experience in the figured worlds which supports Deaf-LatCrit framework.

Scholars (Holcomb, 2010; Jankowski, 1997; Lane et al., 1996) have mentioned that Deaf people are an oppressed group. However, it is problematic when they fail to look to the bottom and acknowledge the fact that Deaf people struggle not with audism only but serious issues with racism, sexism, classism, linguicism, sexual orientation, color skin privilege, White privilege, citizenship privilege and much more particularly when it comes to education. As Freire (1974) reminds, the oppressed can become “oppressors, or ‘sub-oppressors’” if they do not seek liberation. Unfortunately, not many White hearing and Deaf scholars in the fields of Deaf Education and the Deaf community are not taught about White privilege (McIntosh, 1988) and other types of privileges. Some scholars acknowledge injustice issues, but choose to cover their eyes and/or ears and not actively participate in social justice. That explains why little is written about different types of microaggressions in residential schools for the Deaf.

Conclusion

Deaf-Lat students recognize that their multiple identities are at play depending on who they interact with and in which space they find themselves. Both cultural-emotional ties and multiple microaggressions contribute to how Deaf-Lat students define their multiple identities. They also define themselves based on both cultural and social constructs. For instance, all Deaf-Lat students unconsciously reinforced the use of intelligence microaggressions toward their own Deaf-Lat peers. Deaf-Lat students are victimized by both dysconscious racism (J. King, 1998) and dysconscious audism (Genie Gertz, 2008). J. King

(1998) explains that dysconscious racism is “distorted consciousness” toward the true meaning of racism due to ignorance and limited experience. A similar concept applies to Deaf people; they have impaired consciousness because of their belief that hearing people are superior (Genie Gertz, 2008).

On the other hand, Deaf-Lat students showed how they use different types of transformative resistance (Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001). The resistance could be anything from reactionary behavior, self-defeating resistance, conformist resistance to transformative resistance. Reactionary behavior is also called oppositional behavior but not a form of resistance. Students are not into social justice therefore they lack critique of discriminatory practices. Students act out, misbehave or challenge authorities. Self-defeating resistance occurs in today’s schools where students speak up about discriminatory practices without any real interest in social justice. The students who drop out of school repeat the oppressive conditions, which is self-defeating and does not transform their oppressive status. Conformist resistance is the third type of resistance found in students who are motivated for social justice movement but do not recognize systematic oppression. Students attempt to get better and hope to see the situation improve, yet blame themselves or others for the negative incidents. Examples include students who would attend a workshop or counseling session, act as a tutor or big brother and sister mentor, but this process alone does not debunk institutional oppressive practices. Transformational resistance is when students shake oppression and ask for social justice, such as proving others

wrong. Deaf-Lat students in this study showed different types of resistance like acting out, ignoring comments, walking out, being disruptive, talking back, quitting school, and discussing or challenging issues.

I do not think some Deaf-Lat students feel completely safe to speak up on certain issue, because if they do, they fear they will be rejected. Barney discusses how he copes with racial microaggression.

If I spoke up, they (students) would insult me back. So I just have to be careful with what to say. It is because I know them too well.

I also sense Tina did not feel completely safe to reveal her racial/ethnic identity at RSSD. Below is our conversation.

C- (nodding) Interesting. During home interview, you mentioned that you feel more Mexican because you instill Mexican culture, food, practices and all that.

T- (nodding)

T- (thinking) Here (RSSD) I do not feel so Mexican. Not me. It is just we are in a melting pot and we all are mixed.

C- You do not say, "I am Indian, xx Iranian here". Do you say, "I am White and American?"

T- (shaking head lightly) No, I would say, "No, I am $\frac{3}{4}$ Mexican, $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{3}$ Iranian.

C- So you kind of could pass as a White person here in America.

T- (nodding rapidly- confirmation yes) Actually, I feel sorry for that person when I was asked if I was White. I nodded, "Yes" but I am not actually it.

C- Oh I see, so it depends who asked you, who talked with you and it depends on location too.

T- Really, really, it is from you. During the interview process, it actually made me realize that I actually go that far to walk on eggs. I did not realize that. (mouthing- Wow!)

Tina did not realize she really invests in playing the game by using her agentic tools- passing or avoiding certain issues. In this situation, she attempts to protect herself perhaps because, like I mentioned earlier, multiracial-multiethnic identities are not sufficiently discussed. It is also difficult to speak up in a small community for fear of rejection. At RSSD, and all other residential schools for the Deaf, students know who is who, which is totally opposite to large public schools. This is also seen in the Deaf community.

In the same way, there are many unreported rapes at Gallaudet University.

Women do not feel safe reporting abuse since the community is very small:

But such charges hit particularly hard in the tight-knit world of Gallaudet - a place where students can shed the isolation of being deaf in a hearing world, and instead feel accepted and safe.... Gallaudet's 2,200 students are a close-knit group: Communication is mostly nonverbal, but nonstop. So "If someone is raped, everyone finds out about it, and the stigma is hard to remove," says Ebeling. "It goes with you all the rest of your life." (Castaneda, 1994)

Deaf-Lat students are marginalized within a larger marginalized group like RSSD and Deaf community. In next chapter, I redefine Deaf-Lat identity and relate my general findings. I also elaborate on Deaf-Lat Critical Theory and provide some final thoughts. I wrap up my personal journey as a Deaf-Lat researcher and discuss implications of my research.

Deaf-LatCrit paved a new pathway for Deaf-Lat students to share their intersectional identities and experiences in two different contexts. Deaf-Lat

students showed how much they relate to their Deaf-Lat Cultural Emotional Ties at both home and RSSD. Deaf-Lat students also recognize their multiple intersecting identities however insufficiently, and discuss different issues, other than audism, as seen in the Deaf community.

I want to conclude this chapter with a poem with different stories pulled out from Deaf-Lat students experiences along with mine. The poem is a mixture of English, ASL and Spanish.

We Are Mucho Más

you think we are same just because we are Deaf
sí, we are both Deaf, *pero you stop looking there*
just "Deaf" does not fill the space we occupy
we drop our *cultura y lengua*

la familia es nuestros huesos
nuestra cultura y lengua son nuestra sangre
they run through us, hidden to us
we do not see nor know our Deaf-Lat history
american history belongs to White, always will
Deaf history belongs to White Deaf, always will
we two, completely same Deaf?
not

You said you're just playing around
come on, don't be so sensitive!
spic, wetback, W-E-T-B-A-C-K...
no es broma.
no funny matter. funny zero.

nuestros nombres son largos
shorten it
hard to spell
change it
paint our names with white
wash

our English and *spanGLISH* suck
we are too dark and too short
we are lazy
we are stupid
we don't belong here
you tell us to go back to *México or far South*

you think ASL is *mejor que*
any home signs
english *superior* ASL

ASL *superior* other sign languages

comida is important to us
fast food McDonald's even Taco Bell
we aren't talking about that
nuestras madres cocinan mejor *que eso*

we are in wrong class?
We take woodshop, art, autobody shop
not "high functioning" enough for you?
hablar con pasión
something is wrong with our attitude
be quiet or go back to *México*

Our brown bodies for free?
worthless to you, just a fetish
we shield ourselves, you call us, *puta!*
you want us to show and tell – you still call us *putas*
and convince yourself that we asked for it

You know que *trabajamos* del *corazón*
Yet, you took advantage
with small money or pat on the back, tokenism at its best
my papa works as a janitor, you giggled
my *corazón sangre*
papa *trabaja duro*, never good enough for white folks
comida on our plates

educacion es importante to us.
you announce to the new parents
we have a Hispanic Club!
pero...no qualified teachers
our raised arms heavy in class
arms down now, never seen
focus on White Deaf students only
sí, white Deaf students from Deaf families
hearing parents not good enough?
nuestros amores are completely different
their *amor* pours through our *ojos*, *but still*

No lo ves. ¿Por qué?

You do not understand what it is like to be Deaf-Lat

Not just Deaf-Lat but imagine if your eyes could see

Social Class

Gender

Disability

Sexual Orientation

Language

Education Background

Plus what else?

We are not just Deaf. We are *mucho más*.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

In this chapter, I discuss the rationale for conducting this study and present a summary of researcher's insights, relationships of the current study to prior research, theoretical implications of the study, explanations of unanticipated findings, implications for practice, and recommendations for further research. I begin with a personal story that illustrates the struggles of obtaining education as a Deaf-Lat individual.

After consulting my advisor, I decided to take Mexican American Studies (MAS) Graduate Portfolio courses, which required an extra year. I decided to take MAS courses primarily to gain a deeper understanding of myself as a Deaf Latina, and of the socio-historical circumstances of Latino communities and their impact on Deaf-Lat communities, preeminently Deaf-Lat students and their families.

In my MAS classes, I noticed that some students codeswitching between Spanish and English during class discussions. When this happened, the sign language interpreter would stop and say to me, "Sorry, s/he is speaking Spanish." Initially, it did not bother me because I support students being able to speak in any language in which they are comfortable. But the more often the Latina/o students codeswitched, the more often the interpreter would say, "Sorry, they said something in Spanish and I don't understand." I realized I was missing what students were saying, which led me to become lost and unable to participate in their conversations.

I sent an email to Deaf services (I am not fond of the term “Disability”) asking for a trilingual (ASL, English, and Spanish) interpreter for all MAS courses. My request was not denied, but it took almost a whole semester to fight with Deaf services to grant my request. It was emotional and briefly sidetracked me from my academic pursuits. I requested a meeting with a supervisor along with an interpreter to express my concern about Deaf services and the quality of interpreters. At the meeting, the supervisor asked me why I needed trilingual interpreters, and I explained my reason. She asked, “How much Spanish do you know?” I was appalled by this question. I feel I did not need to be interrogated, but to be provided a trilingual interpreter to make use of the multiple languages being used in class.

Like a burro, I fought until I got a trilingual interpreter. I was excited by how I was able to fully understand conversation spoken in Spanish, which enabled me to participate more. Then I was told, “Trilingual interpreters are too expensive.” This experience is one of many stories of the constant battles we Deaf-Lat students must fight to obtain equal access to education.

The Deaf community, as a close-knit group, plays a big role in promoting Deaf identity through the practice of Deaf culture. Within the Deaf community, the splintering continues beyond Deaf versus hearing, with the dichotomy of d/Deaf children who were born to d/Deaf families versus d/Deaf children who were born to hearing families. Residential schools for the Deaf are spaces where d/Deaf students are encouraged to be proud of their Deaf identity and culture (Lane et

al., 1996). However, the home cultures of DSC seem to be insignificant and are not incorporated in pedagogy and curriculum. When holidays, observances, or monthly celebrations are just around at the corner, home cultures of Deaf-Lat students are briefly and superficially discussed, then they are placed back in the margins.

As explained in Chapter 2, most educational research about d/Deaf children has not been situated around the topic of intersectionality, but on a singular identity. Recent publications about Deaf epistemologies have aimed to promote bilingual (ASL/English) instruction, but have neglected Deaf-Lat students, the majority of whom are born to hearing parents who primarily use Spanish at home. Especially near the United States-México border, there are many Mexican Sign Language (LSM) users and multilingual users (English, Spanish, ASL, LSM). The concept of bilingualism in the Deaf community fails to recognize, and perhaps even devalues, non-English spoken languages and non-ASL signed languages.

Barney's parents discussed why it is important for Barney to learn Spanish.

Carla: Do you all think, that the school should, should be teaching Barney written Spanish?

[parents nod their heads]

Mom: Well yes, because, well like here at, at home, well almost all- the language used most is Spanish. And Barney understands English the most.

Dad: Well, I would like it if he could learn written Spanish too, because a person who knows two languages is worth twice as much... Yes, apart from that, I think that like in school, well yes, yes, it's like another subject. Because when I studied in Mexico, they taught us English, and written English too. They taught us so that afterwards, if we had to work, and we had to talk to people who spoke English, we would know how to.

It should be the position of education for the d/Deaf and hard of hearing students to help Deaf-Lat students and other d/Deaf and hard of hearing students from non-English speaking homes to become multilingual. Skutnabb-Kangas (1988) reminds us that it is “a necessity for them, and not something that they themselves have chosen”.

Deaf epistemologies also stress the importance of having Deaf Studies classes for all d/Deaf students. This process is empowering and liberating for the the Deaf community who have been oppressed for centuries; however, Eurocentric Deaf studies curricula continue to disempower Deaf-Lat students' home languages, cultures, traditions, and histories. The issues and discriminatory experiences faced by Deaf-Lat students differ from those of White

Deaf students, in the areas of immigration, citizenship, home spoken and signed languages, national origin, and culture.

Researcher's Insights

In this study, Deaf-Lat students repeatedly claim they have multiple identities. With full communication access to conversational language at RSSD, ASL is the primary contributing factor in strengthening their Deaf identity as they interact with their d/Deaf peers at RSSD. Deaf-Lat students indicate their teachers do not incorporate their home culture in their curriculum. They are able to identify their family cultural practices and traditions, but they do not fully understand the meanings behind them. They express interest in learning more. They indicate they wish the whole family knew how to sign so they all could have meaningful conversations.

All of the Deaf-Lat students claim they have emotional and cultural ties that motivate them to return home on the weekends. They like the idea of being with their families, where there is comfort, rest, and recovery from a busy week, and where they can eat familiar foods not available at RSSD. Their home bedrooms are fully decorated, as opposed to their plain, white-walled bedrooms at RSSD. Although Deaf-Lat students like being at home, they dislike the feeling of being left out of family conversation, since not all their family members know how to sign. Once home, they often eagerly anticipate being with their Deaf peers again for socialization. As they go back and forth, Deaf-Lat students recognize that both RSSD and home are equally important, and they would not

choose one over the other. They need both spaces to meet their linguistic, cultural, and emotional needs.

Functioning Levels

All Deaf-Lat students report that students at RSSD are positioned and categorized as low, middle, or high functioning. They agree that being high functioning is based on whether they are born to Deaf parents, have ASL signing fluency, and perform well academically, all of which reflect a level of intelligence (See Figure 3). High functioning students are noted to be mostly White and day students.

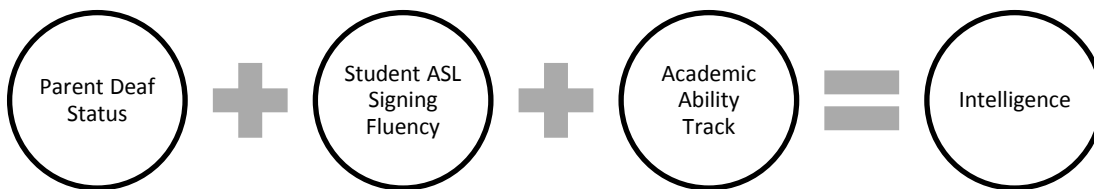


Figure 9. Functioning Levels

As seen at RSSD, which is just one part of the Deaf community, the above circles represent cultural, linguistic, and social capital held by high functioning Deaf students. Deaf-Lat students in this study claim that cultural, linguistic, and social capital are gained if one or both parents sign well. Students with signing parents are seen as “lucky,” as in Tina’s situation. Having a deaf or hard of hearing sibling is another way they gain cultural, linguistic, and social capital.

All Deaf-Lat students acknowledge they are racially different from the majority of day students. Tina considers herself “lucky” with her light skin, since

passing as White is possible. She is often mistaken for a White person, and she plays along until questioned. When questioned, she encourages others to look at everyone as American, as opposed to as members of certain racial and ethnic groups:

Recently a student asked me, "Are you a Mexican?" and I said, "No!" (giggling). I am three-quarters. Kind of! I think maybe I say that all the time. I emphasize three-quarters, not full. I need to make it clear... I emphasize I am three –quarters Mexican, one-quarter, etc. I get into specifics. I did not notice that.

I asked Tina if she talked the same way at home. She responded:

Oh, that is prohibited! I am prohibited for saying that. Prohibited! People at Oviedo will ask me, "Why do you say that?" They will ask me questions and tell me, "Look at your family!" I will just sit, sulk, and not know what to say.

Tina admits she feels "lucky" since her mother signs fluently. She also performs well academically; therefore, she often finds herself with high functioning students in her classes. However, Tina learned she could not be fully a part of the high functioning students' social circle, since she was not born to Deaf parents. She struggles with favoritism in her classes taught by some Deaf teachers who were born to Deaf parents, who treat her differently, with patronizing attitudes.

All Deaf-Lat students attempt to gain cultural, linguistic, and social capital at RSSD by showing their abilities, such as trying to sign well or participating in Deaf-related school activities and sports so they have contact with high functioning Deaf students for possible friendships. Other than Tina, none of the Deaf-Lat students specifically identifies in which functioning group they are

positioned, instead claiming they interact with both low and high functioning groups. Deaf-Lat students report that low functioning students are born to hearing parents, lack ASL signing skills, are non-academic track, are Mexicans, are undocumented, and live in the dormitory/cottage. The low functioning group is marked by deficit thinking. Discourse among the students about the challenges they face is riddled with references to race, ethnicity, citizenship, gender, disability, and sexual orientation

Relationship of the Current Study to Prior Research

In Foster and Kinuthia's (2003) study, respondents report having emotional ties to their racial or ethnic backgrounds and they were also drawn to their Deaf peers due to the ease of communication. This is also seen with Deaf-Lat students in this study, where multiple identities shift just like subatomic particles as they enter certain figured worlds.

The ethnographic study with Native Deaf by Dively (2001) reveals that racial groups embrace their multiple identities, as opposed to choosing one identity over another, similar to the findings of this study. As I explain in Chapter 2, Wu and Grant (2010) assert that we do not have to choose one identity over another. If we refuse to acknowledge one part of our identity, it is as if we deny part of ourselves.

Just as in this study, the studies of Dively (2001) and Foster and Kinuthia (2003) share a theme about the difficulty faced by DSC in learning about their racial or ethnic backgrounds due to limited communication with hearing family

members and due to being enrolled in residential schools for the deaf with White students in the majority. Deaf-Lat students in this study state they are not taught about their home culture and history in school. DSC experience racially based microaggressions and discrimination at residential schools for the Deaf, where racial identities are not validated and respected (Dively, 2001; Foster & Kinuthia, 2003).

Theoretical Implications of the Study

As discussed in Chapter 2, the issues of interest to Critical Race Theory (CRT) in Education include differential treatment, education inequity, racism, social construction, interest-convergence, and racialization, all of which reinforce the White supremacy hegemonic system. Latina/o Critical Theory (LatCrit) splintered from CRT to move beyond the Black and White binary, exploring language rights, citizenship or accent discrimination, immigration, and multi-identity. LatCrit scholars discuss issues that impact the Latina/o community, but thus far have failed to look at where Deaf-Lat individuals are positioned. LatCrit including CRT fails to unpack hearing privilege, which often pushes Deaf-Lat individuals to the margin, where visual language is not available for full language access. Unfortunately, audism is also seen in the Latina/o community, where ignorance and prejudice promote spoken language as superior over signed language. I utilize a new theoretical framework, Deaf-Latina/o Critical Theory (Deaf-LatCrit) in Education for this study, adhering to four fundamental tenets: intersectionality, ideologies, consciousness, and storytelling.

Deaf-LatCrit proposes *intersectionality* to challenge rigid, singular “Deaf identity” discourse in education by pulling out all other multiple identities and weaving them together: race, gender, class, sexual orientation, nationality, and any others. Deaf-Lat described themselves using the following words and phrases: athlete, mean, former mainstreamed student, girl, hard of hearing, Latino, U.S. citizen, nice, straight, undocumented immigrant, male, multiethnic, brother, smart, Hispanic, bad, exposed to ASL at an early age, Mexican, Deaf, a person with ADHD, low or middle functioning, and hard of hearing. None of Deaf-Lat students identify themselves as Deaf only which is total opposite from Deaf education literature. Deaf-Lat students were comfortable enough to discuss their Deaf experience due to communication access at school, but most admit they lack knowledge about Deaf culture, Deaf history, Deaf people, and ASL since they were not taught Deaf Studies. Deaf-LatCrit encourages open dialogue about multiple identities, as opposed to Deaf identity alone.

Ideologies, the second tenet of the Deaf-LatCrit framework, recognizes that racism and linguicism are tightly intertwined in the lives of Deaf-Lat students. The Deaf-Lat community is plagued by the institutional and individual forms of racism in our Eurocentric society and in the Eurocentric Deaf community. Most Deaf-Lat students in this study have experienced racial microaggression and discrimination by both students and staff. Multiple linguicism is also experienced by Deaf-Lat students, both in the dominant spoken society and in the Deaf community, due to deeply embedded societal linguistic ideologies. These

conflicting linguistic ideologies and the resulting multiple linguisticism can be seen in the experiences of Deaf-Lat students in this study. Rock was suggested to return back to Mexico since he does not know enough English. Barney and Tina experienced being forced, against their wishes, to speak or to read lips in public schools. The same two students were criticized for wearing cochlear implants or hearing aids when they first enrolled in RSSD. This criticism implies that listening or/and speaking are necessary in public schools but not in a space like RSSD. They experienced two different linguistic ideologies in two different spaces, which echo Kannapell's (1993) hierarchies. In public schools, teachers attempt to position them into the second hierarchy ("hearing community hierarchy"); however, they are pulled into the third hierarchy ("hierarchy within the Deaf community") by Deaf students. Multiple ideologies may even be present in a single space.

The third tenet of Deaf-LatCrit is *consciousness*, which refers to the process of awakening consciousness as Deaf-Lat students learn about themselves, understand why microaggressions and discrimination happen, and how to really protect themselves through resistance and negotiation. For example, Carlos states he became more aware of his identity through our discourse:

(C) *I look at myself as Deaf male. That is all.*
(Carla) *Oh I see. Not a Mexican?*
(C) *No.*

As seen Carlos's excerpt above, he does not recognize his racial identity but identifies himself as a Deaf male. After a year of study, Carlos gave an interesting response.

(Carla) As I asked you different questions, do you feel the questions helped you to reflect upon your identity?
(C) Oh yes... Now I look at myself as Deaf, Mexican, undocumented, and male... I also did not notice before that low, middle, and high function groups are linked to Deaf culture, Mexican culture, and other things. The high function group contains mostly Deaf families, compared to other groups with mostly hearing families.

From this excerpt, we see Carlos' consciousness being raised further and he was able to observe and reflect more about social injustice issues at both contexts. At the beginning of the year, Carlos felt that the term "wetback" was acceptable when his friends were joking around. As we met for interviews throughout the year, he recalled his experiences of racial microaggression in public school when a White Deaf student called him "Beanie" and at RSSD when a White Deaf boy called him "wetback." He was left puzzled and said nothing. At the end of the year, in contrast, Carlos indicated he would insult anyone who calls him a "wetback." Carlos admitted he was stunned when his father shared his experience of being denied medication at a pharmacy since he is not a U.S. citizen. I was able to see Carlos develop Deaf-Lat consciousness as he learned about how racial microaggression and discrimination can degrade him as a person and his family unit.

Tina adds, *"As I explored myself, I unpacked my feelings with you. Every time I say something, I learned something about myself. Oh! Oh!"* In Tina's

earlier excerpt, she mentions she did not realize she was playing the game all along until she participated in this study. After data collection, Tina and I arranged to meet again so I can return her cultural document artifact. She describes some recent challenges she experienced and how she now view RSSD differently.

Barney and I were discussing about how we learned from this study. Barney replied, *“I learned from my parents as they told the truth what they thought of me and I want to change that...I think I learned a lot about school. I did not think that White, Black and Mexican students are any different. However, they are actually not the same. Each group have their ways and their views are different. Before the interview, there was discrimination. During our interview, I learned that I can encourage my friends not to discriminate and that they can change.”* Barney was able to observe and reflect issues he saw at RSSD and discuss every time we meet throughout the year.

Donny replied, *“I enjoyed that we talked about me and my experiences. I want to talk more about me, Donny. I enjoy answering your questions since I learned from it”* Donny did not want me to stop my study since he enjoys being part of this study and he admits he learned about himself. Other example of transformation is seen with Rock. After his graduation, I met with Rock for the last time at his parents’ house, I asked him about what he learned at RSSD and with the whole study. Rock stresses on the importance of respect, *“If things go cool between me and other students, they must respect me. People think I am*

mean but I am not. It is because of my tone. If they respect me, I will respect them back... For behavior (shaking head) I learned everything on my own. If I feel oppressed by staff, I would just rebel...I am 2nd Rock. I left the first Rock there at RSSD.” He admits he misses his friends but he was so ready to start his new life and was eager to start his new job. It is an honor to witness Deaf-Lat students consciousness awakening process as they participated in this study. *Storytelling*, the last tenet of Deaf-LatCrit, is a process of sharing Deaf-Lat knowledge to validate Deaf-Lat realities. Storytelling helps correct distorted claims by non-Deaf-Lat storytellers. Deaf-LatCrit emphasizes creating a central, safe space where Deaf-Lat stories can be shared without being unfairly criticized, or worse, brushed away to the margin. As mentioned in Chapter 4, as Deaf-Lat students talked, they often looked and waited for my reaction. In return, I often signed, “Oh I see,” “That is interesting,” “That is a good perspective,” or “Oh, Wow. I never thought of that.” Barney was asked to describe what family means to him and I asked him to elaborate more, reminding him that there is no right or wrong answer. He lifted his head, which refers to “Oh, I see” in ASL, and began to relax and further shared his thoughts. Barney also experienced exclusion in his class by a White Deaf teacher who ignored his perspective, and he decided to remain quiet to avoid embarrassment. It is crucial to create a safe space for Deaf-Lat students to share their perspectives without worrying whether their perspectives are wrong. Deaf-LatCrit emphasizes the importance of storytelling in the eyes of Deaf-Lat students.

Summary of Results in Relation to Research Questions

What are the intersectional identities and experiences of high school-aged Deaf-Lat students enrolled in a residential school for the Deaf? This is the primary question of this study. In this section, I address several sub-questions in an effort to answer the main question.

Question 1: How do the identities of Deaf-Lat students differ in separate contexts (home versus school)?

Deaf-Lat students participate in “figured worlds,” defined as “socially produced, culturally constructed activities” in certain communities (Holland et al., 1998, pp. 40-41). All Deaf-Lat students indicate that their multiple identities travel with them everywhere they go. Emotional ties related to certain components of identity become stronger or weaker, depending on Deaf-Lat students’ social positions in different settings and on the individuals or groups with which they interact. Like other residential schools for the Deaf, RSSD contains institutionalized structure promoting American Deaf White culture. All Deaf-Lat students claim to be proud to be Deaf. They also state that their Deaf identity tends to be stronger when they are at RSSD, since almost everyone there uses visual language (ASL). Not all Deaf-Lat students in this study are positioned the same, since they are socially constructed through conversation in the areas of race, ethnicity, deaf status, parent hearing status, ASL fluency, residential status, citizenship status, and academic level.

As Deaf-Lat students return home for the weekend, they travel through the American hearing-dominant community, where spoken English language is used, into the Latino community and neighborhoods where their parents either speak Spanish only or both Spanish and English. All Deaf-Lat students feel their Latino identity is stronger at home, as opposed to RSSD, since they participate in community practices, such as eating home cultural food and observing family culture and traditions . They feel their Deaf identity is weaker at home, since they do not get to use ASL and practice Deaf culture like they do at RSSD. Their Deaf identity strengthens temporarily when they have the chance to use ASL at home with their friends or others who know it. Deaf-Lat students feel home is their safest space over the weekend, but they feel they are perceived as having a disability or stigmatized as deficient. This is felt more strongly when they enter public places.

Question #2: How do Deaf-Lat students recognize their multiple identities?

As mentioned earlier, Deaf-Lat students feel their ability to use ASL for social, personal, and academic purposes helps them recognize their multiple identities. During the process of forming their consciousness and agency, Deaf-Lat students are told who they are and pick up certain behaviors to reinforce their self-understanding. At RSSD, for example, Deaf-Lat students are taught by both staff and students to resist the deficient thinking by which deaf people are marked, and instead to be proud. There is discourse on deaf-related issues, such as personal deaf status, family deaf status, and ASL fluency. They also learn

about their multiple identities through conversation with their friends or when their backgrounds (e.g., race, disability, gender, class, citizenship) are challenged through different types of microaggression. Not all Deaf-Lat students agree on how they are positioned by others. To avoid fallacious labels, they consciously perform specific behaviors to avoid being stereotyped or to remain subtle about components of their identity.

All Deaf-Lat students acknowledge their home racial background. They do not see their home culture being incorporated in class instruction. The Hispanic Club addresses only one level of curriculum reform by reinforcing the contributions approach, since the topics addressed by the club often focus on holidays, food, and festivals only. The Hispanic Club does not address the structure of curriculum to empower students to share their perspectives based on their racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds, which could eventually empower them to become social activists equipped to recognize and resolve social injustice issues (J.A. Banks, 2004). Therefore, they feel their Latino identity is lower at RSSD. All Deaf-Lat students are able to name specific family celebrations and traditions in which they participate at home, however they do not fully understand the purposes of these practices due to poor communication access. They recognize that having access to ASL or not alters the degree to which they relate to different components of identity. All Deaf-Lat students are comfortable discussing their Deaf identity, but they found discussing other identities awkward since they do not often talk about them.

Question #3: How do Deaf-Lat students experience living in two different cultural contexts?

All Deaf-Lat students recognize that RSSD and home are culturally and linguistically different. RSSD considers itself a bilingual-bicultural (BiBi) program where ASL and English are promoted for language acquisition. Deaf people are in the majority, as opposed to hearing people. Like all other residential schools for the Deaf, RSSD employs teachers who are majority Euro-Americans. Euro-American Deaf culture is the community practice. On the other hand, in the homes of Deaf-Lat students, hearing Latino people are in the majority, and they speak Spanish only or use both Spanish and English. All families maintain at least some of their home language, culture, and traditions. This requires Deaf-Lat students to develop cross cultural skills for straddling different cultural contexts.

Deaf-Lat students decline to choose between RSSD and home since both spaces resonate with their multiple identities. Deaf-Lat students have cultural and emotional ties to home in the areas of food, comfort, and unorganized activities. They admit they wish they could have more access to visual language at home, which reinforces their cultural emotional ties to RSSD, where everyone signs and they are able to understand what is being said all day long. In addition, Deaf-Lat undocumented students feel safer at RSSD, where they know they will be protected if they are approached by law enforcement.

Deaf-Lat students develop cross cultural skills through use of multiple languages: conversational ASL, literate English, and a little Spanish, along with

other communication modes for certain cultural contexts, such as homemade signs, writing, texting, communicating through Spanish video relay interpreters, reading lips, pronouncing words, or gesturing. They also learn to use “approved” hearing and Deaf cultural behavior in certain contexts. For instance, at RSSD, Deaf-Lat students stomp their feet, flick room lights, wave, or tap on tables to get other Deaf people’s attention, but these behaviors are considered inappropriate in public places or homes since they violate the norms of hearing society. Deaf-Lat students need to constantly codeswitch culturally and linguistically when traveling into different figured worlds.

Question #4: How do the clashes associated with multiple identities affect the families of Deaf-Lat students?

All parents acknowledge there is discrimination toward Deaf people in hearing society. They hope their deaf children are capable of advocating for themselves. Most parents worry about how their Deaf-Lat children will communicate with hearing people in the working world. Donny’s mother shares her thoughts:

I think that, well, I think that he will also encounter that. That... there’s discrimination, and there’s... it’s not very easy, I think, for him to find work, and even more so here, in Greentown. It’s very hard. Because here there are almost no, um, deaf, like in Morelia, there are a lot, I’ve seen it. But here, yes, it will be more difficult. And, sometimes I, I, I... I’m... I’m scared, that- of what will happen to him when he leaves school. He doesn’t know how to express himself well. And so, it’s like it makes me more- How will he express himself in life, how, how will things go for him? I think that he still has to learn more about how to survive in this world of hearing people.

Similar responses were given by all other parents. They desire that their Deaf-Lat children be able to read and write well and achieve academically as tools to defend themselves from discrimination in the working world.

Most parents assume that since all the students are Deaf in a space like RSSD, they are all the same because of the way they communicate. They are appalled to learn that their Deaf children experience different types of microaggression at RSSD. Some parents had not considered that their Deaf-Lat children are positioned in multiple minority categories, which means they have increased risk of microaggressions or discrimination. In majority-hearing communities, they are in the minority as deaf. And in deaf-majority communities, like RSSD, they may be in the minority or face discrimination in terms of race, ethnicity, gender, disability, class, sexual orientation, and undocumented status.

Rock's parents discuss how they notice discrimination at RSSD from students and staff.

(Mother) Rock was discriminated against at RSSD. At first, he was a good boy and staff spoke highly of him. He played football and that bolillo (mother asks for forgiveness for using the word "bolillo," not meaning to insult white people). Anyway, one White boy bullied Rock and he remained tough. Even that White coach picked on Rock. The school believed the coach, not Rock. That is when Rock started to have problems. We feel it is due to discrimination. After, the school told us that Rock was great, but Rock became worse. His problems continue and continue. One time I called for a meeting with his teachers and the school counselor. I explained the situation and I pointed out, "You said Rock was behaving badly and he would not change. But remember when he first arrived at school, you guys said, 'Wow, Rock is a wonderful student.'" It is all written on documents. So obviously there is something wrong at school. School treated Rock differently and changed him. I was fed up. The school accused Rock. The school hurt my son, it is like they ruined my son. The school wants Rock to take Ritalin; the school staff thinks it is

Rock's behavior. For two months, Rock arrived home and looked zombied out. I did not like what I saw. I decided to stop the medication. The school said, "Well, Rock needs it so he can control himself." That is when I decided to show up to school meetings. I believe Rock can control his behavior, but the school attacked him, so he had to defend himself. After I spoke up, school staff adjusted their approaches and strategies. When Rock stopped taking his medication, he finally changed and got better.

(Father) Uh no, in that I've seen that they don't... they don't respect him much because, we've seen a lot... well we call it like... like discrimination. One time, my son picked on a kid, and they punished my son. After that, another kid picked on my son, and they wanted to punish my son. (Pause) That's where I saw, that's where I saw the most marked discrimination that they were carrying out. Because I told my wife, it can't be that when my son picks on someone he gets punished, and when he's picked on he also gets punished- that's not right to me. That was the... the most, most strong case that I saw where they were discriminating.

Four out of five sets of parents acknowledge there is injustice in our society, but they believe things could become better if they focus on the positive.

Carlos's father discusses his view:

Yes it is, but, they're things- situations that are endured, bit by bit, and... and um, they're not that difficult, because, because it can be managed a little bit at a time, each one. You can't, can't, can't live focusing on that. You have to keep looking for a solution, and all that.

Barney's father believes that different problems in our society do not necessarily pull him down, but strengthen him as a person:

Well, it could be, but, um, th-th- those problems could make him stronger. And in the moment that he does achieve success, um, instead of being a frustrated person, he can be an example for others.

Overall, parents hope their Deaf-Lat children can become successful adults despite oppression.

All Deaf-Lat students confirm they have multiple identities and repeatedly claim to know more about their Deaf identity since they are around Deaf people

more and they have better communication access with Deaf people. When they are home for the weekend, summer, or holidays, they are surrounded by family members, the majority of whom are members of the Latino community. They indicate that lack of communication access prevents them from learning about their home culture. All Deaf-Lat students experience discrimination other than audism at RSSD. Deaf people need to be empowered to learn about and embrace their multiple identities, as opposed to singular Deaf identity.

Implications for Practice

According to Deaf-Lat students, RSSD is a White school that promotes Euro-American Deaf knowledge taught by a large pool of White teachers, which rings to the mission of the school. The mission statement mentions nothing about the importance of incorporating and preserving the home culture and language of Deaf-Lat students or other DSC. Only ASL and English are emphasized.

To address different types of microaggressions in schools, we need training programs designed to eliminate individual and institutionalized racism/linguicism for all administrators and staff members who work directly with students, given that the following discriminatory practices have been documented:

1. Low expectations of Deaf-Lat students
2. Tracking based on academic ability
3. Unfair treatment of particular groups of students
4. Promotion of bullying

RSSD Staff

Low Expectations. After my first presentation at RSSD to recruit student participants for my study, one of the dormitory/cottage supervisors came up to me and said,

I want you to know many of the students who showed up today are ones with low language level and they are not smart...Many of these students read on a first or second grade level. Many parents hold their Deaf children until it is too late. Then they enter RSSD during high school, and that is when they finally learn.

This statement echoes Solórzano's (1997) point that certain attitudes and behaviors toward students of color are promoted by racial stereotypes. Allport (1979) defines stereotype as "An exaggerated belief associated with a category. Its function is to justify (rationalize) our conduct in relation to that category" (p. 191).

In his book, *The Mask of Benevolence*, Lane (1992) discusses traits attributed to Africans, as found in literature of colonialism. Traits similar to these are also marked to the Latinos (Menchaca, 1997). Then Lane compares the list to another list of stereotypes about Deaf people found in the professional literature as seen in the copy of Lane's Table 2 below (See Figure 10: Lane's Some Traits Attributed to Deaf People in the Professional Literature). The author found that both groups are negatively marked with stereotypes by colonial and/or hearing authorities.

TABLE 2
Some traits attributed to deaf people in the professional literature

SOCIAL	COGNITIVE	BEHAVIORAL	EMOTIONAL
Admiration, depends on	Conceptual thinking poor	Aggressive	Anxiety, lack of
Asocial	Concrete	Androgynous	Depressive
Childlike	Doubting	Conscientious	Emotionally disturbed
Clannish	Egocentric	Hedonistic	Emotionally immature
Competitive	Failure externalized	Immature	Empathy, lack of
Conscience weak	Failure internalized	Impulsive	Explosive
Credulous	Insight poor	Initiative lacking	Frustrated easily
Dependent	Introspection: none	Interests few	Irritable
Disobedient	Language: none	Motor development slow	Moody
Irresponsible	Language poor	Personality undeveloped	Neurotic
Isolated	Mechanically inept	Possessive	Paranoid
Morally undeveloped	Naïve	Rigid	Passionate
Role-rigid	Reasoning restricted	Shuffling gait	Psychotic reactions
Shy	Self-awareness poor	Stubborn	Serious
Submissive	Shrewd	Suspicious	Temperamental
Suggestible	Thinking unclear	Unconfident	Unfeeling
Unsocialized	Unaware		
	Unintelligent		

Figure 10. Lane's Some Traits Attributed to Deaf People in the Professional Literature

These stereotypes are also reinforced by teachers and professionals in Deaf-related fields, especially Deaf Education. This occurs not only with hearing professionals, but also with White Deaf professionals who have a patronizing attitude toward Deaf students of color who are perceived as inferior. This is also seen with Deaf-Lat students in this study. As mentioned earlier during my first

visit at RSSD, the supervisor described Deaf-Lat students as unintelligent, slow learner, and poor in language.

Allport (1979) created a figure describing how racial stereotypes are used to justify behavior (See Figure 11). This figure contains three categories: intelligence and educational stereotypes, personality and character stereotypes, and physical appearance stereotypes. Deaf-Lat students can be placed under intelligence/educational stereotypes because they are perceived as dumb, leading to low expectations from teachers. The dormitory/cottage supervisor also blamed parents for the quality of education of Deaf-Lat students. The attitudes underlying this statement are seen in the first and second categories of the figure, since parents are perceived as dumb and lazy. During the year of my data collection, most Deaf-Lat students indicated they were not given enough homework or the assignments were too easy. They were also excluded from class discussion and when they attempted to participate, they were humiliated that their comments were considered off point. The attitudes and behaviors of teachers are serious problems for everyone involved.

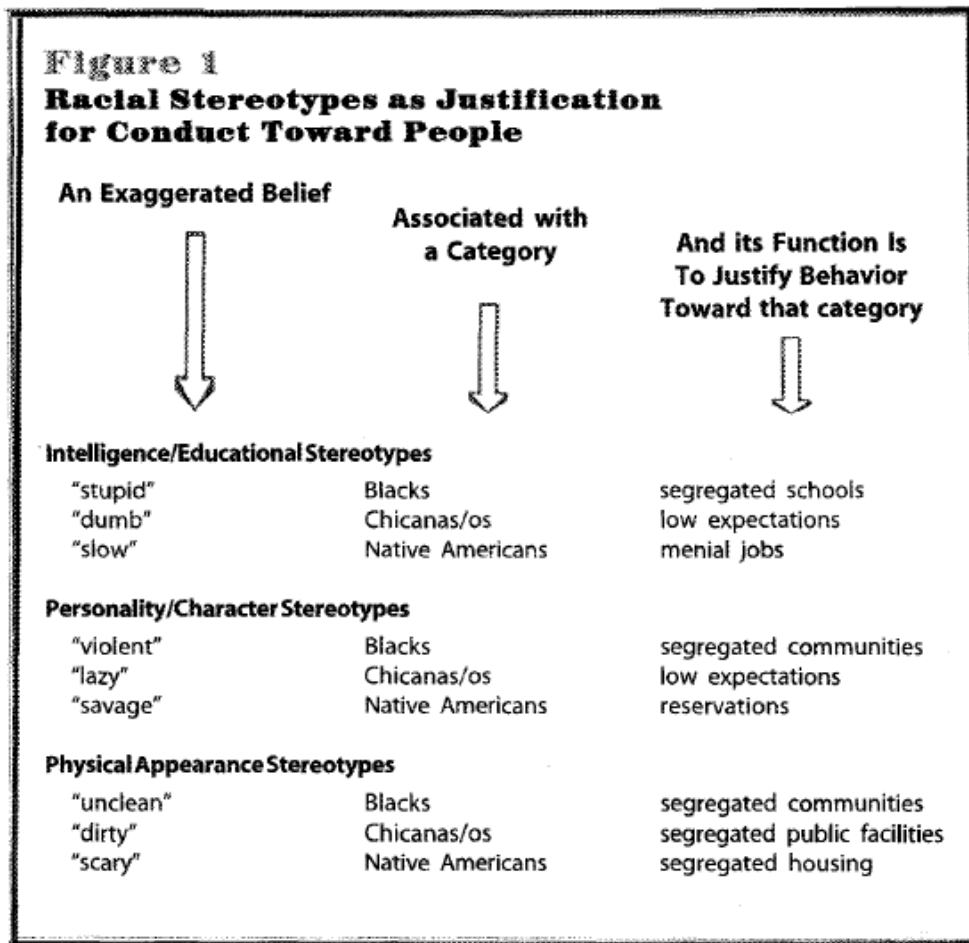


Figure 11. Racial Stereotypes as Justification

Oakes (1985) reminds us that determining what students can learn is based on the chances given to students to learn, which is all based on judgments. She argues that the decision to place students into certain ability groups is based on whether students show certain expected behaviors. If students display inappropriate academic or social behaviors that violate expectations of schools, they are grouped (i.e., tracked) with low and average students for instruction. Deaf-Lat students mentioned that RSSD promotes tracking.

Tracking. Black Deaf respondents in McCaskill (2005) study identify academic ability tracking as a problem, which is not a novel claim (Anderson & Bowe, 1972; Cohen et al., 1990; Hairston & Smith, 2001). A Deaf-Lat student admitted witnessing dormitory/cottage staff members and teachers using the term “low functioning” repeatedly to describe specific students. Some students responded by agreeing and signing, “Yes, I am low function.” The negative comments by RSSD staff transfer a sense of self-doubt to those students. Four out of the five Deaf-Lat students in this study were positioned in the low or middle track, where they were provided with vocational and some academic courses. They are hindered because the knowledge and skills made available to the upper track students are not made available to the lower track students. RSSD administrators and teachers lack understanding of how harmful tracking is. They need to learn to embrace all students from different backgrounds with different learning styles.

In addition to racially or ethnically based tracking, tracking at RSSD may also be based upon the hearing status of parents. Deaf-Lat students are excluded from the Deaf Power cultural circle since they are born to hearing parents, are not ASL native, and reside in the dormitory/cottage. These types of tracking are reinforced by institutional racism and linguicism. Institutional racism and linguicism also contribute to in-group favoritism.

In-Group Favoritism. Deaf teachers, coaches, and administrators are majority White and they are members of the big Morelia Deaf community. Deaf-

Lat students report that many of those staff members are born to Deaf parents or have Deaf children enrolled at RSSD. When school is not in session, their families and their children mingle with one another. There is no firm boundary between school and home community for them, which promotes in-group favoritism. Deaf-Lat students report that White Deaf students born to Deaf parents are given full attention in classrooms, are easily pardoned for rules they break, and are given fewer days of in-school suspension. Most Deaf-Lat students report experiencing unequal treatment due to their racial/ethnic background, being born to hearing parents, not being fluent in ASL, and/or academic functioning level. This is not to say RSSD staff members should not be allowed to interact during off work hours. Rather, they need to unpack their privilege and develop clear boundaries between their personal and school relationships so they can treat everyone the same.

Microaggressions. All Deaf-Lat students indicate different types of microaggressions are found at RSSD. They report it from both students and staff. The RSSD handbook states that students at RSSD must be free from harassment or discrimination based on race, ethnicity, gender, and citizenship. It is noted that students must respect all other students and staff and for staff to respect students as well. However, the Deaf-Lat students in this study report this is not the case.

McCaskill (2005) argues that bullying in Deaf residential schools needs to be addressed. She suggests strategies for students, teachers, schools, and

programs to prevent bullying. It is important for all school staff members to explore into the historical system of power.

Solórzano (1997) stresses the need to understand how racial stereotypes are based on deficit theoretical models in the media and professional contexts. There are many teachers who reinforce low expectations, tracking, in-group favoritism, and microaggressions. Noguera (2003) states that educators with low expectations “provide an education to their students that they would regard as unacceptable for their own children” (p. 20) which is unethical. Dysconscious racism and miseducation (J. E. King, 1991) are oppressive and must be brought to the attention of anyone interacting with students. During that process, they need to be willing to unpack and reflect upon their privileges as they explore the academic experiences of Deaf-Lat students and other DSC.

Teacher Preparation Programs

Many teachers and dormitory/cottage staff at RSSD have not had a chance to learn or be exposed to multicultural education in teacher preparation programs. Not long ago, the Gallaudet University Deaf Education program began providing one single-semester multicultural education course. The topic of multicultural education is also infused into other courses. Solórzano (1997) believes that the topics of race, racism, and racial stereotyping should be subject to ongoing discourse in the field of education. If Deaf Education preparation programs are committed to multicultural education, there should be no classrooms available for teachers with paternalistic attitudes. The schools should

be filled with social activists who are able to listen, empathize, and relate to the unique experiences and perspectives of those who are the least advantaged: DSC and those who are even further toward the bottom (Matsuda, 1987).

An administrator who underwent some multicultural training once approached me and stated that it is not her or the school's responsibility to teach DSC their home culture, it is the parents' responsibility. She is aware that 90% of Deaf children are born to hearing parents, but she chooses to remain ignorant through her denial. This reminds me of the work of Delpit (1995), who identified a "culture of power" that operates in schools and supports dominant U.S. society. White and middle-class teachers regard minority and low-income students as "other people's children." Delpit (1995) argues that teachers repeatedly fail to reveal the rules of the culture of power to students since they are "frequently least aware of — or least willing to acknowledge" (p. 24) the cultural power they hold.

In the following section, I discuss specific Deaf education-related organizations and provide suggestions for how they can improve their goal of meeting the needs of deaf students by incorporating multicultural education. These organizations must recognize the issues faced in residential schools for the deaf. They should be held accountable not just to education, but also to the lives of future Deaf-Lat students, other DSC, and other marginalized students.

Conference of Educational Administrators of Schools & Programs Serving the Deaf (CEASD)

The CEASD is an association of school and educational programs that cater to the needs of deaf and hard of hearing individuals. They offer accreditation for member schools, which is a voluntary process. CEASD members have expertise in education of deaf children, and accreditation adds value to the school because it ensures adherence to standards and opens doors for educators to connect and collaborate. There are 12 CEASD accreditation standards (Conference of Educational Administrators of Schools & Programs Serving the Deaf, 2012), but none incorporate culturally responsive pedagogy (Gay, 2000) or even allude to Deaf-Lat students and other DSC, much less their home cultures, languages, and resources in curricula.

CEASD could be strengthened in several areas:

1. CEASD must revisit and revise their 1981 approved resolution containing a list of recommendations to improve quality of Deaf-Lat education (Conference of Education Administrators Serving the Deaf, June 19-21, 1981, pp. 75-77). CEASD acknowledges the large numbers of Deaf-Lat students in K-12 educational programs and recommends hiring more Hispanic professionals. However, according to Simms et al. (2008), only 2.5% of deaf professionals are individuals of color. The number of Deaf-Lat professionals in the field of Deaf Education is not discussed, but the bleak findings show that only 13% of Hispanic Deaf students graduate, 25% graduate with a certificate, and 20% of Hispanic Deaf drop out

(Schildroth & Hotto, 1995), which explains the small percentage of education professionals of color. CEASD encourages young Deaf-Lat students and other DSC to seek employment in the field of Deaf Education, but the statistics indicate not many have attained this goal. CEASD has the responsibility to understand how prejudice harms Deaf-Lat students and their families as they address the issues of curriculum and pedagogy. CEASD proposes a bicultural approach, but does not apply it to Deaf-Lat students and their families, who are multilingual and multicultural. Therefore, multiculturalism is urgently needed. There are still very few certified trilingual interpreters in the field of education, and the number of trilingual interpreters needs to be expanded in other areas as well.

2. CEASD needs to train members in multicultural education and seriously commit to social justice in education.
3. CEASD needs to ensure schools incorporate home cultures and languages other than English and ASL.
4. CEASD needs to encourage residential schools for the Deaf to provide training in multicultural education and incorporate it into the curriculum.
5. CEASD needs to seriously address the academic gap between Deaf White students and DSC.
6. Prior to certification, CEASD needs to ensure that dormitory/cottage counselors are trained in multicultural education to work effectively with

DSC, as the majority of residential school students live in the dormitory/cottage.

7. CEASD members are majority White, as with professionals in Deaf Education. CEASD needs to recruit members from diverse racial backgrounds, whose rich knowledge and expertise is incorporated into programs, instead of treating diversity as tokenism.

CEASD is accountable for conducting and accrediting residential schools for the Deaf however not all residential schools for the Deaf participate in their effort. It is possible to make school better place if CEASD participate in different DPOC organizations conferences and get better sense of what we are doing for our future children.

National Association of the Deaf (NAD)

NAD plays an important role in protecting residential schools for the Deaf from closing or underfunding by state legislatures or other government officials. NAD now seeks for Deaf-Lat adults and other DPOC to be more involved with NAD through membership or becoming board members. At a recent NAD conference in 2012, a conference resolution proposed official acknowledgement of the fact that Deaf Women and Black Deaf Individuals were once denied equal rights by the NAD. Prior to 1965, female members were denied NAD voting rights and Black Deaf were denied NAD membership altogether. The NAD board and its members finally admitted that Deaf women and Black Deaf were oppressed

and that the organization never formally apologized for the discrimination. NAD expressed a long-overdue apology:

Therefore, let it be resolved that the NAD acknowledges and expresses sincere remorse and regret for the detrimental effects of its discriminatory exclusion of deaf women from voting privileges and discriminatory exclusion of deaf black individuals from membership and voting privileges.

Resolved, this is a call to action for the NAD including the Board, staff, all members and affiliates of our association, to remember this shameful history and ensure it is never again repeated.

Resolved, the NAD and all its members and affiliates shall work to ensure that discrimination against any individual will never be tolerated in any type or form, to educate ourselves about our privileges and accept others as our equal; and to correct any form of oppression (National Association of the Deaf, 2012).

This is a good beginning for addressing the discrimination faced by DPOC. We must remember, though, that history cannot be erased. NAD must ensure it will not repeat the history of Critical Legal Studies (CLS). CLS lawyers and activists fought for equal rights, which benefited mostly elite Whites (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). NAD made the same mistake by ignoring issues of DPOC, which led to the establishment of the National Black Deaf Advocate. Then followed other DPOC organizations. NAD members must be trained in the area of Critical Race Theory so they can better understand the varying needs of Deaf-Lat students, the Deaf-Lat community, the National Council of Hispano Deaf and Hard of Hearing, and other DPOC subgroups, including the National Asian Deaf Council, National Black Deaf Advocates, the Intertribal Deaf Council, and Deaf Women of Color. Our color can no longer be treated as invisible. NAD must be

able to look to the bottom of the Deaf hierarchy and recognize the following points:

1. Racism is deeply rooted in the US such that it has become ordinary, which deeply affects the quality of education of Deaf-Lat students and other DSC.
2. Their work must not be only for the interests of elite Deaf Whites, and instead should seek to assist Deaf-Lat individuals and other DPOC.
3. They must not reinforce biological inferiority and cultural deprivation perspectives that have oppressed Deaf-Lat students and other DSC.
4. Their work has historically reinforced singular Deaf identity discourse; therefore, they must look beyond into the existence of multiple identities of Deaf-Lat students and other DSC as they fight for social justice.
5. They must begin listening to the unique experiences of Deaf-Lat students and other DSC and become our allies.

I propose that NAD become more involved in the education of Deaf-Lat students and other DSC. They need to work closely with Deaf education programs to reduce the large academic gap between Deaf White students and DSC and push for multicultural education. It is not possible for NAD to promote justice within the organization only- it must commit to widespread educational justice for DSC. To achieve these goals, NAD must acknowledge their White superiority and White privilege as a first step in seeking social justice for DPOC.

National Council of Hispano Deaf and Hard of Hearing (NCHDHH) and Related State Organizations

During my interviews with Deaf-Lat students and parents, they could not name more than one Deaf-Lat role model. Four out of five parents were unsure if their Deaf-Lat children would be successful, they lacked clear understandings of why their profoundly Deaf children declined to use their voices, and were unaware of how crucial exposure to sign language at an early age is. They also had no idea where to take an ASL class. A couple of parents asked me for information on college scholarships, vocational rehabilitation, deaf agencies, trilingual interpreting services, and so forth. I provided them with support and resources to the best of my abilities. Despite being parents of Deaf-Lat children, they were not informed about resources available outside of RSSD.

NCHDHH and state Latino organizations are encouraged to create education committees to keep track of research involving Deaf-Lat students, so they can be part of Deaf-Lat students education process. Committees should seek to be actively involved with residential schools to ensure Deaf-Lat students are not deprived of equal access to education. One of the dormitory/cottage supervisors admitted to me that during the hiring process for dormitory/cottage staff positions, the applicants tend to be White. S/he admitted concern that there is no Deaf Latino role model for Deaf-Lat students. NCHDHH needs to help expose Deaf-Lat students to Deaf-Lat role models. This may be accomplished with Deaf-Lat youth leadership training to prepare students to become social

activists in the Deaf-Lat community and in the greater hearing society, to combat differential treatment and discrimination.

Parents of Deaf-Lat students have been accused of not being attentive to the education of their Deaf children. The NCHDHH should be more involved with educating parents about the importance of early intervention, signing at an early age for language acquisition, and reading to children. Parents should not be blamed, but educated. NCHDHH should advocate for Deaf-Lat students and their parents not just during the K-12 school years, but from birth to death.

Rainy State School for the Deaf (RSSD)

Deaf-Lat students lack counter-spaces, defined as “sites where deficit notions of people of color can be challenged and where a positive... racial climate can be established and maintained” (Solórzano et al., 2000, p. 70). In a study with African American college students who experienced racial microaggressions in both academic and social spaces, students were able to seek counter-space to gain support from other African American peers and faculty who could be sympathetic (Solórzano et al., 2000).

When I asked Deaf-Lat students about speaking up against microaggressions, they described how they preferred to brush them aside by ignoring or playing along. This echoes the story I related in Chapter 2 about a Deaf Mexican colleague who discussed why he feels unsafe in a Eurocentric residential school with a group of White Deaf staff. He feels there are no Latino teachers he can vent to and that he is the only one against a White “army.” He was excited about the function of NCHDHH and state Latino associations, since

he would be able to relate to other Deaf-Lat adults for emotional support. I believe Deaf-Lat students fear rejection or being tainted with stigma because they have no counter-spaces to gain support in a Euro-American-dominant residential school like RSSD.

The Hispanic Club at RSSD has the potential to be a counter-space, but it is not. Most Deaf-Lat students do not feel completely at ease with RSSD's Hispanic Club for several reasons: one of the two sponsors is non-Latino, sponsors promote superficial celebrations of heroes and holidays (James A. Banks, 1993), small numbers of Deaf-Lat students participate, they spend most of their energy preparing for events at RSSD, and they feel they do not learn much about their home culture and history. One Deaf-Lat student signed up for Hispanic Club on the first day of school, but was never informed of any upcoming meetings. Another Deaf-Lat student expressed interest in joining, but could not due to a schedule conflict, and another claims there are too many other school activities she prefers over Hispanic Club. One Deaf-Lat student was selected to attend the NCHDHH conference with other Deaf-Lat students, but admitted this was not particularly exciting since the topic was shifted once again to Deaf-related issues, such as Deaf rights and the Americans with Disabilities Act, rather than issues specific to Deaf-Lat members.

RSSD must consider selecting Hispanic Club sponsors who are Deaf-Lat and are knowledgeable about social justice, so they can teach Deaf-Lat students about their rights-- not only Deaf rights, but also their rights as Latinas/os. I stress

that Hispanic Club should not be the only counter-space. The whole school should provide counter-space for Deaf-Lat students and other DSC, so they feel safe and can learn to understand and know themselves not as Deaf people only, but as people with love and respect for every part of their overlapping multiple identities.

Limitations of the Study

As I attempt to understand the experiences and overlapping identities of five high school Deaf-Lat students, there are several limitations inherent in this study. Deaf-Lat students seemed to be more comfortable during interviews at RSSD than at home. Deaf-Lat students are more expressive when discussing personal issues at RSSD, which they do not discuss at all at home. I suspect this was because their parents or siblings were often in the same room, whereas at RSSD we were alone in the interview room. Being in a signing environment may also have contributed to their comfort level. Some Deaf-Lat students mentioned other students asked what a researcher like myself was doing in the gym, at athletic practices, in the dormitory/cottage, or at the student activity center. They did not answer or acted like they did not know me because they were nervous to be identified as participants in this study. At one point, students saw me walking with a Deaf-Lat student and inquired who I was. The Deaf-Lat student answered that I am a researcher. Two Deaf-Lat students somehow found out that they both were in this study and were able to talk about it together. I expressed my concern and both students assured that my identity and purposes were safe and that they

would not discuss this with anybody else. This could be considered a counter-space for them, but I was worried about losing confidentiality.

Another limitation I encountered was due to the lack of trilingual interpreters in small towns, during parent home visits. There was one situation where there was no trilingual certified interpreter available in one town. An interpreter agency recommended a certain interpreter who knew Spanish. I contacted this interpreter and met with her via Skype to assess her receptive and expressive signing skill and I decided to accept her. During the first home visit with a Deaf-Lat student and his parents, I immediately noticed that this interpreter lacked culturally relevant interpreting skills regardless of her claim of being Berlitz certified and a Gallaudet graduate. Her politeness was absent where she did not greet the family upon her arrival. She was too serious and lacked a smile on her face. At the end of the interview, the mother asked some more questions and the interpreter seemed to be impatient since she was eager to leave. I noticed that the mother and Deaf-Lat student behavior changed before the interpreter arrived and after she left. However after reflecting, I reminded myself she might be nervous or had not interpreted in this kind of setting before.

After reviewing my transcription, I noticed some errors made by this same interpreter, I asked her that we meet via Skype to resolve some issues for future interviews. She was resistant to meet via Skype and wanted me to send her an email instead. I stated that I prefer meeting via Skype since seeing facial expressions and responses is important to me and it is also part of Deaf culture.

Based on her unwillingness to meet with me, which reflected her inability to become a better interpreter, I decided not to use her services again. Interpreters must be willing to learn culturally responsive interpreting if they are to work with Deaf and hard of hearing individuals from culturally diverse regions in the United States (National Multicultural Interpreter Project, 2000). For this family, I had to use a video relay interpreter (VRI) for the parent's interview for the rest of the year.

I conducted interviews through VRI. This helped resolve some issue with the lack of an interpreter in certain towns or cities however I disliked the distance of the interpreter and sometimes, technology was not reliable. There were also times when internet services at Deaf-Lat or interpreter homes was weak or ineffective, which created periodic interruptions and sometimes delayed the interview process. During some interviews via VRI, parents could not hear the interpreter talking, and during others, the transcriber was unable to hear the parents' voices, so some information from the interviews was not fully grasped.

Another interpreter-related challenge I faced related to specific translations. In reviewing transcripts, I noticed some interpreters including the one I discussed earlier were using "tu" (the informal version of "you" in Spanish) as opposed to "usted" (the formal version of "you" used to show respect). This brought embarrassment to me, so I stressed to all interpreters that they use "usted" for future interviews. An interpreter brought to my attention that some parents who were born outside of the United States use the term "deaf-mute"

however this term is offensive to the Deaf community in the United States. I signed “deaf,” but an interpreter chose not to follow exactly the word I used and instead, said “deaf-mute”. I was irritated by this because I do not want to reinforce this deficient term. I was unsure whether the interpreters were aware they are not abiding by the interpreter code of ethics to interpret exactly what the deaf consumer is saying, or whether the interpreters were doing this with good intentions. This issue needs to be brought to attention at trilingual interpreter conferences.

By accident, I deleted a couple of videos and this was problematic for me. Regardless, I have some written notes I took after home or school visits but I don't I have 100% of the information stored. After this lesson, I learned to have a second video camera to record interviews as a back up and this helped tremendously.

Recommendations for Further Research

It is my hope that future Deaf-Lat research will flourish with unlimited possibilities in which Deaf-Lat students are placed at the center of Deaf-Lat research, curriculum, and pedagogy. I recommend further research in four specific directions:

1. Studies with a larger sample of Deaf-Lat students and residential schools are needed. It would be interesting to see findings using Deaf-LatCrit methods, including interviews, observations, and cultural artifacts from a

- larger group containing more diverse understudied subgroups (e.g., Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans).
2. We need further study of DSC who live in the dormitory/cottage to explore their multiple identities and school experiences. Dively (2001) related similar findings to those identified in this study. It would be interesting to explore into different racial and ethnic groups and subgroups to look for similarities and differences.
 3. Future study should include Deaf-Lat students who reside in the dormitory/cottage and were born to Deaf parents. A couple of Deaf-Lat students from Deaf parents expressed a desire to be part of this study. I chose to include hearing families only, but it would be interesting to investigate the experiences of Deaf-Lat students born to Deaf parents.
 4. A study investigating the possibility of establishing Hispanic Clubs at all residential schools for the deaf would help address the lack of counter-spaces for Deaf-Lat students. I am personally interested in exploring the rationale of establishing Hispanic Clubs in residential schools for the Deaf, how they can benefit Deaf-Lat students, and whether the function of Hispanic Club helps or harms Deaf-Lat students in the short- and long-term.

Final Thoughts

As a member of the Deaf community and as a product of a residential school for the Deaf, I had the opportunity to reflect upon different issues

emerging in the Deaf community over the last two years of my dissertation journey. The topic of intersectionality is now much more discussed in the Deaf community among DPOC via social media, the NCHDHH conference, and most recently, at the National DPOC conference. This is truly exciting, but I am saddened by hurtful comments and other microaggressions prevalent in social media, which have led some DPOC to back away from dialogue, since they do not feel safe. There are only a few White Deaf allies, leaving the majority of White Deaf people and some DPOC feeling we should focus on being Deaf only. They are victims of dysconscious racism (J. E. King, 1991).

Generally, schools are accountable for encouraging all Deaf children to embrace each part of their multiple identities. Schools must promote healthy dialogue starting in early childhood education, so they can discuss multicultural and social justice issues diplomatically, as opposed to the current tactless state of discourse in social media. Because Deaf Education teachers and administrators are majority Whites, they lack skills in unpacking their privileges and developing healthy dialogue. I suppose they fear dividing the Deaf community much further. We cannot allow DPOC and other marginalized groups to remain invisible in the Euro-American male-dominant heterosexist Deaf community.

It is with hope that this study promotes raised consciousness among all Deaf-Lat students, families, communities, and organizations. I am optimistic that my recommendations to look to the bottom of the Deaf hierarchy and fight for

social justice will be taken into consideration by administrators, teachers, and dormitory/cottage staff at RSSD and other residential schools, as well as the CEASD, NAD, and Deaf Education preparation programs. Most importantly, I propose for continuity within Deaf-Lat national organizations and conferences, and development of Deaf-Lat literature, priorities, and counter-spaces.

This dissertation has no ending since I won't forget my Deaf-Lat community, particularly, Deaf-Lat youth. There is still a lot work to do. Most importantly, I promise myself that I will never forget where I came from.

Appendices

Appendix A: Participation in Research Consent Form

August 2012

Dear _____,

You have been asked to be in a research study. Please discuss this with your parent(s)/guardian and consider whether you would like to be part of it. I am conducting this study to explore into the experiences and multiple identities of Mexican D/deaf students. I hope this study will help classroom and residential educators and administrators better understand how Mexican D/deaf high school students define their experiences and identities.

If you agree to be in this study, you and your parents will be asked to:

1. Answer questionnaire once at home and once at school
 - Fall 2012
 - home- student and parents (1 time- 20 minutes)
 - school- student (1 time- 20 minutes)
2. Participate in interviews at both home and school
 - Fall 2012
 - home- student (1 hour) and parents (1 hour)
 - school- student (1 hour)
 - Spring 2013
 - home- student (1 hour) and parents (1 hour)
 - school- student (1 hour)
 - Summer 2013 (once or possibly twice)
 - home- student (1 hour) and parents (1 hour)
3. Participate in conversation as the researcher observes
 - Fall 2012
 - home- student (1-2 hour) and parents (1-2 hour)
 - school- student (1-2 hour)
 - Spring 2013
 - home- student (1-2 hour) and parents (1-2 hour)
 - school- student (1-2 hour)
 - Summer 2013 (once or possibly twice)
 - home- student (1-2 hour) and parents (1-2 hour)
4. Participate in conversation as you show or create artifacts (e.g., journal, artwork, documents, videos, sketches, or anything else)
 - Fall 2012

- home- student (1 hour) and parents (1 hour)
- school- student (1 hour)
- Spring 2013
 - home- student (1 hour) and parents (1 hour)
 - school- student (1 hour)
- Summer 2013 (once or possibly twice)
 - home- student (1 hour) and parents (1 hour)

Please see if you answer “yes” to all criteria to be able to participate in the study:

1. You will be in high school in the beginning of fall 2012. (yes or no)
2. You will live at the dormitory/cottage during the week during fall 2012 and spring 2013. (yes or no)
3. You will live with family over the weekends during fall 2012 and spring 2013. (yes or no)
4. You will live with family during summer 2013. (yes or no)
5. You have a Mexican family background. (yes or no)
6. You have hearing parents. (yes or no)
7. You are from a working class family. (yes or no)

If you and your parents answer *all* “yes” and are interested in participating, please read, sign, and return the two attached consent forms within two weeks: 1) Participation in Research Consent Form and 2) Photographic/Video Consent & Release Form.

I will let you know if you and your family are selected to participate in the study. If you and your family want to participate but do not want to be videorecorded, you can decline (see Photographic/Video Consent & Release form). Remember, participation is voluntary. No one can force you. You will not receive payment for participating in this study. There are no risks to participating in this study. You can change your mind and no one will be upset. The records of this study will be kept private, although your responses may be used for a future study by these researchers or other researchers. This study is a required component for earning my doctoral degree. Findings may be shared in professional publications and presentations.

If you have any questions, you can contact me at 512-410-0677 (videophone or video relay service) or email me at carla_uta@yahoo.com.

Signing your name on this form means that the page was read by or to you and that you agree to be in the study. You will receive a copy of this form. If you have any questions before, after, or during the study, ask the person in charge. If you decide to quit the study, all you have to do is tell the person in charge.

Student Signature Date

Mother/Guardian Signature Date

Father/Guardian Signature Date

Home address: _____

City: _____ State: _____ Zip code _____

Phone number: _____

If you have any questions or concerns, you may contact my advisor, Dr. Luis Urrieta, Jr.:

The University of Texas at Austin
Curriculum & Instruction
1 University Station
Austin, TX 78712-0379
UT Mail Code: D5700
Phone: 512-232-4129
Email: Urrieta@mail.utexas.edu

For questions about your rights or any dissatisfaction with any part of this study, you can contact, anonymously if you wish, the Institutional Review Board by phone at (512) 471-8871 or email at orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Carla García-Fernández

Please remember to send the Photographic/Video Consent & Release Form too.

Appendix B: Photographic/Video Consent & Release Form

Student: _____

° **Flip Video Camera/Video camera:** The student will use a flip video camera or video camera to share thoughts or stories and to record favorite images and sites at both home and school. I will use the video camera to record interviews conducted with the student and family at both home and school.

° **Digital Camera:** The student will capture specific images to which she/he feels connected. The researcher will capture images that represent the student and family at both home and school.

° **Videophone/Skype:** I will communicate with the student and/or family via videophone or Skype, and it will be recorded at both home and school. This is to arrange dates and times for me to visit home or school.

The recordings of flip video camera, video camera, digital camera, and videophone/Skype will be kept until completion of study. Then they will be destroyed, unless the family wants to keep them.

Dear Student and Parent or Guardian,

Throughout the year, I will use photographs, videos, or work of *individual students or families* for my study. Students and their schoolwork will be identified by pseudonym only. No last names will be mentioned.

In an effort to respect parent and guardian wishes, as well as the wishes of student participants, I ask that you read the consent form below, indicate your preference, and sign and return this document:

Yes, I give permission to photograph and videotape.

Student Printed Name: _____

Student Signature: _____

Date: _____

Parent/Guardian Printed Name: _____

Parent/Guardian Signature: _____

Date: _____

Yes, I give permission to use the student's schoolwork for this study. The photographs, videos, and schoolwork will be given to us after completion of this study.

Student Printed Name: _____

Student Signature: _____

Date: _____

Parent/Guardian Printed Name: _____

Parent/Guardian Signature: _____

Date: _____

Yes, I want to participate in the study, but I do not give permission for photographs, images, or videos to be used for this study.

Student Printed Name: _____

Student Signature: _____

Date: _____

Parent/Guardian Printed Name: _____

Parent/Guardian Signature: _____

Date: _____



Carla's signature

Date

Send back to:
Carla García-Fernández
c/o Luis Urrieta, Jr., PhD,
The University of Texas at Austin
Curriculum & Instruction
1 University Station
Austin, TX 78712-0379

Appendix C: Student Home Questionnaire

Date: / /

Name: _____ Sex: Female / Male

Hometown: _____ Birthplace: _____ Age: _____

Born deaf or born hearing (circle one) / Became deaf at age of _____

_____ Unknown

_____ Heredity

_____ Illness

_____ Accident

Hearing aid / Cochlear implant/ none (circle one)

<p>Race/ Ethnicity: Which best describes you?</p> <p>_____ White, European American</p> <p>_____ Mexican/a, Latino/a</p> <p>_____ Black, African American</p> <p>_____ Native American</p> <p>_____ Asian American</p> <p>_____ Other _____</p>

<p>Generational Status:</p> <p>_____ 1st generation</p> <p>_____ 2nd generation</p> <p>_____ 3rd generation</p> <p>_____ Other _____</p> <p>_____ N/A (not applicable)</p>
--

Language(s):

Which written language is used at home?

_____ English only

_____ Spanish only

_____ Both English and Spanish

_____ Other: _____

Which sign language is used at home?

_____ American Sign Language

_____ Mexican Sign Language

_____ Other: _____

Which spoken language is used at home?

_____ Spanish only

_____ English only

_____ Both Spanish and English

_____ Other: _____

Education:

Mexico

_____ Primary School

_____ Junior High School

_____ High School

United States

_____ Elementary

_____ Middle School

_____ High School

Family member:

Do you have siblings? No _____ Yes _____

Name(s)

1. _____ hearing or deaf

2. _____ hearing or deaf

3. _____ hearing or deaf

4. _____ hearing or deaf

5. _____ hearing or deaf

6. _____ hearing or deaf

***** Thank you *****

APPENDIX D: PARENT HOME QUESTIONNAIRE

Date: / /

Name: _____ Sex: Female / Male (circle one)

Relationship: _____ Hometown: _____

Birthplace: _____

Deaf / Hard of Hearing / Hearing (circle one)

Race/ Ethnicity:
Which best describes you?

_____ White, European American

_____ Mexican/a, Latino/a

_____ Black, African American

_____ Native American

_____ Asian American

_____ Other _____

Generational Status:

_____ 1st generation

_____ 2nd generation

_____ 3rd generation

_____ Other _____

_____ N/A (not applicable)

Language(s):

Which written language is used at home?

- English only
- Spanish only
- Both English and Spanish
- Other: _____

Which sign language is used at home?

- American Sign Language
- Mexican Sign Language
- Other: _____

Which spoken language is used at home?

- Spanish only
- English only
- Both Spanish and English
- Other: _____

Education:

Mexico

- Primary School
- Junior High School
- High School
- Technical School
- Bachelor
- Master
- Doctorate

United States

- Elementary
- Middle School
- High School
- GED
- Vocational Education
- Academic Associate (AA)
- Bachelor (BA, BS)
- Masters (MA, MS, MBA, JD)
- Doctorate (PhD/MD)

***** Thank you *****

APPENDIX E: STUDENT SCHOOL QUESTIONNAIRE

Date: / / Year enrolled in school: _____ Class of _____

Language(s):
Which written language is used at **school**?

_____ English only
_____ Spanish only
_____ Both English and Spanish
_____ Other: _____

Which sign language is used at **school**?

_____ American Sign Language
_____ Mexican Sign Language
_____ Other: _____

Which spoken language is used at **school**?

_____ Spanish only
_____ English only
_____ Both Spanish and English
_____ Other: _____

Language(s):
Which written language is used at **cottage/ dormitory**?

_____ English only
_____ Spanish only
_____ Both English and Spanish
_____ Other: _____

Which sign language is used at **cottage/dormitory**?

_____ American Sign Language
_____ Mexican Sign Language
_____ Other: _____

Which spoken language is used at **cottage/dormitory**?

_____ Spanish only
_____ English only
_____ Both Spanish and English
_____ Other: _____

***** Thank you *****

APPENDIX F: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS SAMPLES

Interview 1: Student at home (Fall 2012)

Date: / /

1. How do you describe yourself?
2. How do you describe “family”? Can you give me examples?
3. What do you do when you spend time with your family?
4. What did your family teach you about life? Can you give me examples?
5. At home, who taught you the most? Can you give me examples?
6. How do you describe your family’s culture?
7. How important is family’s traditions to you?
8. Describe family celebrations you participate in? Which one is your favorite? Why?
9. How do you describe your family’s religion?
10. Who are some Latino leaders you identify with? How did they contribute to the Latino community?
11. How did you learn about Latino history?
12. Did you ever feel discriminated against because you are a Latina/o?
13. Do you think the Latino community can help to fight for social justice?

Interview 1: Family at home (Fall 2012)

Date: / /

1. How do you describe “family”? Can you give me examples?
2. How do you describe yourself as parents of _____?
3. How does your family spend time together?
4. What is your favorite room in this house? Why?
5. Describe family celebrations you participate in. Which one is your favorite?
Why?
6. How do you describe your religion? How religion does relate to family?
7. How important is it to teach your children your culture and language?
8. What does education means to you?
9. Who are some Latino leaders you identify with? How did they contribute to
the Latino community?
10. How did you teach _____ about Latino history?
11. Did you ever feel discriminated because you are a Latina/o?
12. Give me examples of how Latino community can help and fight for social
justice.

Interview 2: Student at school (Fall 2012)

Date: / /

((Submit transcript for member check if needed))

1. How would you describe RSSD?
2. How did you end up at RSSD instead of public school at your hometown?
3. What is your favorite room at RSSD? Why?
4. How do you describe yourself when at RSSD?
5. How do you do with your classes? Any challenges? Why?
6. Who is your favorite teacher? Explain why?
7. How do you describe your friends you usually hang out with? Do they also live in the dormitory/cottage?
8. Do you feel other students respect you as a Latina/o? How do you know?
9. Do you feel teachers respect you as a Latina/o? How do you know?
10. Do you see your home culture or history being discussed in different subjects at RSSD? Give me some examples.
11. Do you feel your teachers help you maintain your Latina/o identity? Please elaborate.
12. How do you describe your overall experience at RSSD?

APPENDIX G: PARTICIPATION OBSERVATION FIELD NOTES

Participant(s):

Location:

Date/Time:

Purpose:

A large, empty rectangular box with a thin black border, occupying the central portion of the page. It is intended for the user to write their field notes.

APPENDIX H: CULTURAL ARTIFACT NOTES

Participant(s):

Date: _____

Date: _____

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